

Exploring Social Media as Engagement in UK Development-led Archaeology

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Abstract

This research considers how social media is used by development-led archaeological organisations in the UK and if its content can be regarded as a form of non-specialist engagement. Despite digital communication increasingly being studied in heritage literature there is a limited body of research addressing development-led archaeology, a sector responsible for most of the work within the UK. The study aims to characterise created content, understand user interactions and responses, examine the challenges facing both practitioners and organisations and determine whether these platforms are delivering engagement within the sector. Quantitative and qualitative analysis is undertaken on Facebook data from archaeological company Pages, including a brief consideration of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, in conjunction with interviews with the staff responsible for running company social media accounts. The research concludes that the contrasting priorities of a marketized archaeological sector and broader disciplinary goals to engage non-specialists have created deeply embedded tensions that routinely marginalise communication initiatives. Suggestions on how these challenges may be approached and, potentially, overcome are also presented and discussed.

Contents

Figures	vii
Tables	x
Acknowledgments	xii
Author's Declaration	xiii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Development-led archaeology in the United Kingdom	4
2.1 Public Archaeology, Engagement and The Public(s)	5
2.2 Public engagement and development-led archaeology: attitudes, policies and practices	6
2.3 Sector Attitudes	8
2.4 Archaeological Attitudes	10
2.5 Engagement practices within development-led archaeology	12
2.6 Social Media: Prevalence and Use	13
2.7 Archaeology, the Internet and Social Media	13
2.8 UK Development-led Archaeology and Social Media	17
Chapter 3 Social Media and Digital Content Analyses	19
3.1 Content Analysis of Development-led Archaeological Companies' Facebook Pages and User Responses: A Methodology	20
3.1.1 Establishing Data Sources	20
3.1.2 Social Network Selection	21
3.1.3 Ethical Considerations	21
3.1.4 Content Acquisition	22
3.1.5 Date Range Selection and the Covid-19 Pandemic	23
3.1.6 Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Framework	24
3.1.7 Single vs. Multiple Category Coding	24
3.1.8 Developing and Testing Coding Frameworks	25
3.1.9 The Page Content (Posts) Coding Framework	25
3.1.10 The User Comment Coding Framework	25
3.1.11 Page Content (Posts) Coding Reliability Checks	28
3.1.12 Post Sampling Strategy	30

3.2 Audience Analysis	30
3.3 Practitioner Interviews	31
3.4 Post-Pandemic Data Sample	32
Chapter 4 The Development-led Digital Dataset: ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	34
4.1 Digital Presences: Websites and Social Media	34
4.2 Digital Presences: Social Media Selection	35
4.2.1 Twitter	35
4.2.2 LinkedIn	36
4.2.3 YouTube	36
4.2.4 Instagram	37
4.2.5 Other SNS	37
4.2.6 Absence of SNS	38
4.3 Development-Led Archaeology and Facebook: A Quantitative Exploration	39
4.3.1 Active vs. Inactive Accounts	39
4.3.2 Frequency of Posts and Posting Times	40
4.3.3 Posting Days and Timings	42
4.3.4 Discussion of Post Frequency, Days and Times	44
4.4 Facebook User-Page Interactions	45
4.4.1 Lurking or Listening?	45
4.5 Likes and Reactions	46
4.5.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO Likes and Reactions: Totals	48
4.5.2 ClfA RO and Non-RO Likes and Reactions: Organisational Analysis	51
4.6 Facebook Shares	55
4.6.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO On-Content Shares	56
4.7 Facebook Comments: Context and Visibility	59
4.7.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO Comments	61
4.8 Page Responsiveness: Creating Conversation	64
4.8.1 Page Replies	65
4.9 Discussion	68
Chapter 5 Qualitative Content Analysis	72
5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis: Facebook Page Content	72
5.1.1 Event Promotion	72
5.1.2 Company Promotion	75
5.1.3 Excavation/On-Site Updates and Finds/Artefacts	76
5.1.4 Blog Promotion	77

5.1.5 Media Coverage	78
5.1.6 Specialist/Post-Ex	80
5.1.7 Publications	82
5.1.8 Humour	83
5.1.9 Non-Archaeology	85
5.1.10 Other	85
5.2 ClfA ROs and Non-ROs: Content Differences	86
5.3 Facebook Post Characteristics	87
5.3.1 Content Directly Relating to Companies	87
5.3.2 Facebook Posts with Images and Video	89
5.3.3 Facebook Posts containing External Links	94
5.3.4 Shared Facebook Posts	97
5.3.5 Facebook Events	100
5.4 Facebook Post Features: Hashtags, Tags and Emojis	100
5.4.1 Hashtags	100
5.4.2 Facebook Tagging	106
5.4.3 Emojis	108
5.5 Discussion	110
Chapter 6 Qualitative Comment Analysis	111
6.1 Qualitative Comment Analysis: Facebook Comments	111
6.1.1 Facebook Tagging	114
6.1.2 Negative Comments	119
6.1.3 Interpretation and Questions	121
6.2 Facebook Audiences	124
6.2.1 Archaeological Users	125
6.3 Discussion	127
Chapter 7 Practitioner Interviews	128
7.1 Participant Roles	128
7.2 Social Media Objectives	130
7.2.1 Uncertainty	130
7.2.2 Engagement and Education	131
7.2.3 Event Advertisement	133
7.2.4 Recruitment	134
7.2.5 Sector Marketing & Company Promotion	135

7.2.6 Staff Morale	137
7.3 Planning and Scheduling	138
7.4 Social Media Content & Barriers	138
7.4.1 Barriers to Acquiring Content	142
7.4.2 Barriers to Creating Content	144
7.4.3 Client Confidentiality and Control	146
7.4.4 Internal & Archaeological Attitudes	150
7.5 Analytics and Evaluation	156
7.6 Training	158
7.7 Audiences	159
7.8 Responsiveness	160
7.9 Wellbeing	161
7.10 Discussion	164
Chapter 8 The Global Covid-19 Pandemic and Digital Archaeological Engagement	166
8.1 Practitioner Discussions of the Pandemic	166
8.2 Post-pandemic Data	169
8.2.1 Post-pandemic Sample – Quantitative Information	169
8.2.2 Post-pandemic Sample – Qualitative Content	174
8.3 Discussion	175
Chapter 9 Development-led Archaeology and Digital Engagement: A Discussion	178
9.1 Engagement in Market-driven Archaeology: Uneven, Unequal and Uncoordinated?	178
9.2 Social Media Content Creation: Subversion, Marketing and Managing Management	180
9.3 Breaking Barriers: Challenging “The Three C’s”: Content, Colleagues and Clients	183
9.4 “Social” Social Media – Engagement, Evaluation and Audiences	186
9.5 Creating a Practical, Scalable Digital Content Strategy	189
Chapter 10 Conclusion	195
References	197
Appendices	221
Appendix A: Qualitative Coding Book	222
Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form	252

Appendix C: Interview Script, Structure and Prompts	255
Appendix D: Interview Transcriptions	257
Interview 1: Chloe	258
Interview 2: Alice	275
Interview 3: Keiran	285
Interview 4: Ellen	301
Interview 5: Dawn	318
Interview 6: Louise	330
Interview 7: Samantha	339
Interview 8: Mark	351
Interview 9: Brendon	365
Interview 10: Victoria	377
Appendix E: Tables	394

Figures

Figure 1: A reframed “Magic Triangle” reflecting the UK’s development-led sector. Modified after Virágos 2019.	7
Figure 2: Facebook Page Content Coding Framework	26
Figure 3: Facebook User Comment Coding Framework	27
Figure 4: The total number of Posts on Facebook made by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	40
Figure 5: The average Posts per month on Facebook made by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	41
Figure 6: The total number of Posts per day of the week from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	42
Figure 7: The total number of posts per time slot from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	44
Figure 8: The total Likes/Reactions (PDAs) received by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	52
Figure 9: The average Likes and Reactions (PDAs) received per post between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	53
Figure 10: The percentage of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Like or Reaction	55
Figure 11: The total on-content Shares received by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	57
Figure 12: The average number of on-content Shares received per post between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	58
Figure 13: The percentage of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Share	59
Figure 14: The total numbers of visible user Comments (not including Page Comments or Replies) received by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	61
Figure 15: The average number of visible user Comments received per post on ClfA RO and Non-RO Page content	62
Figure 16: The percentage of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Comment	63
Figure 17: The total number of Page Comments and Replies left by ClfA ROs, displayed alongside the total number of User Comments	66
Figure 18: The percentage of user Comments that received a response (either a Comment or a Reply) from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	67
Figure 19: The total number of Page Comments and Replies left by Non-ROs, displayed alongside the total number of User Comments	67
Figure 20: The percentages of Facebook Posts for each Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	73
Figure 21: The percentages of content that directly related to the ClfA ROs that posted it on active Facebook Pages from 1st June 2019 to 30th November 2019.	90
Figure 22: The percentages of content that directly related to the Non-ROs that posted it on active Facebook Pages	90
Figure 23: The percentages of ClfA RO Posts that contain either images or embedded, playable video.	93
Figure 24: The percentages of Non-RO Posts that contain either images or embedded, playable video.	94

Figure 25: The percentage of ClfA RO Posts that contain External Links and the percentage of those links that direct users to the respective company's own website	96
Figure 26: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that contain External Links and the percentage of those links that direct users to the respective company's own website	97
Figure 27: The percentage of ClfA RO Posts that were Shared and the percentage of those Shares that came from other organisations.	98
Figure 28: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that were Shared and the percentage of those Shares that came from other organisations	99
Figure 29: The percentage of ClfA RO Posts that were Events and the percentage of those Events that were created by other Facebook Pages/organisations	101
Figure 30: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that were Events and the percentage of those Events that were created by other Facebook Pages/organisations	102
Figure 31: Comparison of the percentages of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in ClfA RO Posts	103
Figure 32: Comparison of the average number of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in ClfA RO Posts	104
Figure 33: Comparison of the percentages of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in Non-RO Posts	105
Figure 34: Comparison of the average number of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in Non-RO Posts	105
Figure 35: A selection of Facebook Emojis (Burge 2018)	108
Figure 36: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 3,332 Comments present in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset.	115
Figure 37: The percentages of Secondary Categories of the 3,332 Comments present in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	115
Figure 38: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 3,135 Comments present in the ClfA RO dataset	116
Figure 39: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 197 Comments present in the Non-RO dataset	116
Figure 40: Content Acquisition barriers to conducting digital engagement mentioned by practitioners	139
Figure 41: Barriers associated with Client Confidentiality encountered by the interviewed practitioners	140
Figure 42 Barriers tied to the Internal Attitudes of archaeologists described by practitioners	141
Figure 43: Contrasting perspectives from practitioners on how their use of social media was affected by the pandemic	167
Figure 44: Comparison of the average posts per month for the combined sample dataset for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs between the 2019 dataset and the 2022 post-pandemic sample	170
Figure 45: Comparison of pre- and post-pandemic ClfA RO and Non-RO average posts per month	170
Figure 46: ClfA RO User-Page Interactions comparing the 2019 and 2022 datasets	172

Figure 47: Non-RO User-Page Interactions comparing the 2019 and 2022 datasets	173
Figure 48: Comparison of the coded content categories for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample	174
Figure 49: Comparison of the coded content categories for ClfA ROs posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample	176
Figure 50: Comparison of the coded content categories for Non-RO posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample	177
Figure 51: Proposed method for determining degrees of user engagement on content	188
Figure 52: A potential model for embedding engagement within development-led organisations	191

Tables

Table 1: Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Page Content (Posts) using Cohen's kappa	29
Table 2: Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for User Comments using Cohen's kappa	29
Table 3: Percentage of the 60 ClfA RO and 41 Non-RO companies with SNS accounts on respective platforms	35
Table 4: Summary of Facebook data gathered from development-led companies	39
Table 5: Totals and breakdown of Likes/Reactions from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	49
Table 6: Comparison of the seven ClfA ROs that posted more than 100 times and the number of Likes and Reactions (PDAs) that they received	53
Table 7: Summary of the average forms of Page-User interaction of both types of development-led organisations	68
Table 8: Content coding results for Posts found on both ClfA RO and Non-RO Facebook Pages	72
Table 9: The 10 largest Secondary Category coding groups	74
Table 10: Breakdown of different media formats for each Media Coverage Subcategory	79
Table 11: A summary of the key data associated with the Specialist/Post Ex Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	81
Table 12: A summary of the principal data associated with the Publications Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	82
Table 13: Comparison of the Combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO Primary Categories	86
Table 14: Comparison of the Combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO Secondary Categories	88
Table 15: A summary of Posts that did not involve or relate to the companies that created or shared them	89
Table 16: Summary of the percentages of video content posted to ClfA RO and Non-RO Facebook Pages	92
Table 17: The percentages of Posts containing at least one External Link for both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	94
Table 18: Comparison of Post Features (Hashtags, Facebook Tags and Emojis) present within development-led archaeological Facebook content	106
Table 19: Table comparing the Primary Categories of coded Facebook Comments left on development-led archaeological company content	112
Table 20: The number of Top-Level Comments for each Primary Comment Coding Category encountered for each Primary Content Coding Group for the combined dataset	113
Table 21: Table comparing the Secondary Categories of coded Facebook Comments left on development-led archaeological company Posts	117
Table 22: Comparison of the Tagging Secondary Categories for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	117
Table 23: The emergent Negative Comment coding groups and their proportions in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset	119

Table 24: The number of Top Level Comments which began Threads for each of the Primary Content Categories	123
Table 25: The Number of Responses by Pages to Top-Level Comments per Content Coding Category for the Combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO datasets	124
Table 26: Unique Users identified by Comment Sampling and those with publicly visible connections to archaeology for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs	125
Table 27: Comparison of the categories of Comments left by archaeological users compared with the full Comment dataset left by all users	126
Table 28: Summary of interviewees	128
Table 29: Primary locations from which interviewed digital engagement practitioners worked at their organisation	142
Table 30: Comparisons of combined ClfA RO and Non-RO averages for different user interactions between the 2019 and 2022 datasets	171
Table 31: Examination of individual ClfA RO and Non-RO increases and decreases in average user interactions per post from the 2022 post-pandemic sample	173

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

None of this thesis' research has been published in academic journals or any other form of peer-reviewed publication. Discussion of the research's aims and preliminary results were presented in talks at the 2021 ClfA Innovation Festival, "Social Media in Development-led Archaeology: Potential, Problems and Practicalities" and the 2021 ClfA Conference session, Create, share + engage: the archaeologists guide to digital content and social media, "Online Archaeological Engagement: Promoting a Profession?".

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the UK archaeology is dominated by work that sees companies undertake evaluations, excavations and analysis on behalf of clients to discharge the planning conditions necessary for development to take place. While the focus of the sector is on the delivery and completion of this work, communicating projects and their discoveries beyond the profession has become a recognised component of the archaeological landscape. With digital communication, particularly social networking sites, a core means of sharing information in contemporary society these online frontiers are unquestionably a key avenue for individuals to parse information and discuss the archaeological sites and artefacts emerging from development-led projects.

The origins of this thesis can be traced back to the author's role in the Must Farm excavations, an exploration of a Late Bronze Age pile-dwelling settlement in Cambridgeshire (see Knight et al. 2024). As part of the project, the author employed the routine use of social media, particularly Facebook, to communicate updates from the site on a regular basis, both during the excavation and post-excavation phases. This approach was designed to present a transparent, authentic and engaging depiction of a contemporary, development-led archaeological investigation and give audiences an insight into the practical processes employed on excavations.

The author has detailed Must Farm's wider public engagement strategy (Wakefield 2024) and its social media component (Wakefield 2020) elsewhere and for this reason it is not discussed as part of this thesis. However, the eagerness with which digital archaeological content appeared to be received among audiences led the author to become increasingly keen to understand how the sector was using social media to share information and engage platform users. With limited research having been carried out into the online outputs of development-led archaeological organisations it was clear that more data was needed to better understand its digital landscapes.

Indeed, few examinations of the content being created and shared exist and there is a paucity of studies exploring how social media users are interacting with, and reacting to, social media posts. Equally, there is little insight into the processes of the practitioners responsible for managing accounts and populating their channels with content, particularly the challenges they face in their roles. Furthermore, it is unclear what intent lies behind these online outputs and what organisations hope to achieve with them. Critically, is this content intended to constitute engagement by entertaining, informing and educating users?

This thesis characterises UK archaeological companies' social media outputs by focusing on Facebook to critically evaluate created content, user engagement and audience responses. Social media is used as a lens to explore the perceptions of development-led archaeological organisations toward engagement and a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach is augmented with interviews with the digital practitioners employed by companies.

The primary aims of the research are to:

- Quantitatively ascertain how common Facebook use by archaeological organisations is and the interactions audiences employ to respond to content.
- Qualitatively understand what companies are posting about and whether this content constitutes engagement.
- Assess the nature of visible user comments to determine how audiences are receiving and responding to posts.
- Examine the composition of archaeological Page audiences.

- Better understand the roles and responsibilities of practitioners. What do organisations consider their priorities to be? What is their experience of the sector?
- Assess the impact the Covid-19 pandemic has had on digital communication outputs in development-led archaeology. Have lockdowns had a lasting change on online content?

Chapter Two discusses the UK's development-led archaeological sector and its innate market-driven ties to the construction industry that underpin company motivations. It then defines and explores concepts of engagement before focusing on the typical "outreach" practices that occur on archaeological projects. Finally, it discusses the growth of digital engagement within the discipline and highlights the critical concerns for social media use as a communicative tool for archaeology.

In Chapter Three the research's mixed methodological approach is detailed including the use of manual social media content collection to support a "small data" approach and facilitate the inductive generation of qualitative coding. Complementing social media derived data are a series of responsive practitioner interviews, designed to elucidate the real-world practices and barriers encountered on a day-to-day basis by those working in the field. The chapter concludes with a discussion of post-pandemic data sampling.

Chapter Four focuses on the thesis' quantitative dataset, where different types of archaeological organisation and their selection of social media platforms is scrutinised. Posting frequencies are studied before the research concentrates on user interactions and how they can be understood in terms of engagement. The prevalence of Page responsiveness is also examined to determine how participative company archaeological spaces are.

The qualitative character of archaeological social media content is the focus of Chapter Five, which reports the results of the content coding of the studied Facebook posts. Categories are detailed, highlighting what organisations opt to present most and how the profession is typically depicted to audiences. Following this, post characteristics such as the presence of media, external links and social features (hashtags, emojis, tags) are described, enabling insight into the formats and templates companies deploy when creating content.

In Chapter Six the results of the qualitative analysis of a sample of user comments are presented and the key forms of replies are studied. Establishing the degree of responsiveness and dialogue occurring in online spaces is necessary to determine engagement and is examined here. This chapter ends by investigating the composition of the users that leave comments, to assess how many may have a current or prior archaeological background.

An in-depth study of practitioner interviews is conducted in Chapter Seven. Organisations' objectives are examined before a detailed analysis of the barriers to digital engagement are explored. Both existing disciplinary concerns are highlighted alongside emergent themes and issues raised by the ten participants from varied archaeological backgrounds.

Chapter Eight features a quantitative and qualitative post-pandemic comparative sample designed to update the primary dataset from 2019 and ascertain if Covid-19 had impacted company approaches to content dissemination.

The thesis concludes with Chapter Nine's summative discussion that draws together social media data with the experiences and perspectives of practitioners. Arguing for greater institutional support for, and investment in, archaeological engagement across the UK sector, this research makes an impassioned plea for non-specialist communication to be reframed as both a necessary and essential output of commissioned work.

Given the many ingrained institutional, financial and personal barriers to this occurring, the thesis proposes a means to enhance perception of engagement through presenting outputs as a saleable product to both clients and management and increasing the participation of archaeological colleagues to ensure non-specialist communication can be achieved. With social media an indisputably inseparable component of societal and interpersonal communication, this thesis raises timely and relevant issues that are a concern for contemporary archaeological practice.

Chapter 2 Development-led archaeology in the United Kingdom

Archaeology as a discipline has a long history. For much of that history the study of the human past was largely a diversion: a leisure activity for a select group dominated by private collectors and antiquarians. The roots of archaeology as a profession grew in institutions and academia with the exploration of material culture regarded as an intellectual pursuit.

This perception of archaeologists as scholars has become ingrained in the collective psyche. The 2014-15 pan-European NEARCH survey (Kajda et al. 2018) found that most respondents believed that universities (73%) or public institutions (66%) were responsible for archaeological research. The study highlights that, throughout Europe, the public's perception of archaeology is one of an area of study divorced from the market economy (Kajda et al. 2018).

For decades in the UK (Aitchison 2012; Everill 2009) archaeology and the construction industry have shared an often-uncomfortable relationship, and the profession exists within the market sphere. Between 1990 and 2011, 60,000 recorded archaeological investigations took place, 90% of which were carried out by organisations working on developer projects (Fulford 2011). Development-led archaeology dominates the profession, valued at £247m in 2021 with 4,700 staff working in the sector (Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2022). Elucidating the complex relationship between the construction industry and archaeological organisations is necessary to establish the character of the market landscape in which the profession finds itself working.

A range of terminology has been used to describe archaeology carried out in advance of construction. "Development-led", "commercial", "developer-funded" and, the predominantly European, "preventive archaeology" are commonly used (Trow 2016). All are effectively interchangeable, and describe work carried out in advance of development to "mitigate" archaeological remains. These strategies can range from leaving material in situ to its complete removal, with the perceived value of the archaeology the deciding factor in what methodology to employ (Trow 2016). For consistency, this research will use the term, "development-led archaeology" which reflects the driving-force developers play within the UK's construction industry. Their priorities are at the forefront of projects and archaeology is regarded as secondary to development.

Histories of development-led archaeology in the UK are available (Aitchison 2012; Everill 2009) with the key changes to the UK's archaeological landscape occurring primarily within the last 30 years where professional practice has been inexorably tied to private funding, overwhelmingly from developers (Aitchison 2012). Before the landmark publication of Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG16) in 1990, archaeology was rarely funded by developers (Aitchison 2012; Everill 2009; Trow 2016). Instead, it depended upon governmental financial support, typically for high-profile discoveries, resulting in large amounts of archaeology going unrecorded (Aitchison 2012; Trow 2016). Archaeology began to receive recognition as a less-academic profession with its incorporation into the 1980s' Manpower Services Commission, which saw increasing ties between archaeologists and the construction industry (Everill 2009).

From this foundation, PPG16 was created, formally establishing the responsibility for developers to fund archaeological research prior to their projects (Aitchison 2012; Everill 2009). The content of PPG16 ultimately evolved, creating subsequent documents, Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS5) and the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) which have all continued to stress the importance of archaeological remains and the "polluter pays" principle. These documents address heritage assets and the historic environment as part of the planning process and place formal conditions on developers to record and remove

archaeology where required (Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities 2023).

PPG16, a humble planning document, drastically altered archaeology in England, producing thousands more excavations and generating a demand for trained professionals to undertake complex, skilled labour. To meet this demand, dedicated archaeological organisations arose that were able to carry out the required work (Aitchison 2012; Everill 2009). The UK's development-led archaeological framework has now been established for over a quarter of a century, outpacing academic, community and non-commercial institutional research. However, while this system has undeniably made substantial discoveries and generated vast quantities of data (Historic England 2015a; Trow 2016) it is built atop the inescapable financial tension between clients and archaeologists.

Development-led work categorises archaeology, the complex evidence of past human activity, as a problem to be dealt with before construction can proceed (Flatman & Perring 2013; Perring 2015a; 2015b; Zorzin 2016). Within the current landscape, archaeological work is a business and draws management practices from the construction industry (Orange & Perring 2017; Perring 2015b). Archaeological material thus becomes coldly quantified and can be seen by clients as another barrier to progression, akin to ground contamination or demolition work.

Attitudes have become firmly established within companies and traditionalist practices are embedded within senior management structures “dominated by archaeologists who oversaw the advent and development of the status quo” (Watson 2019, 1645). As Watson (2019) argues, the current system is so entrenched it has created a vacuum, devoid of alternatives and compounded by post-2008 governmental austerity. This overwhelming focus on competitive tendering has led to stagnation, disenfranchising field teams and devaluing expertise, enthusiasm and dedication (Everill 2007; 2009; Watson 2019).

Development-led archaeology positions clients at the top of a hierarchy in which the archaeology itself becomes part of a market-orientated profession that seeks to maximise profit and lower costs. Organisations may have high turnovers, but profits are typically low (Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2022), making them vulnerable to fluctuations in the construction industry, particularly in times of uncertainty. While many archaeological units are not-for-profit they are still financially dependent on developers and tender for work.

With most UK archaeology bound to development work, companies are focused on winning tenders, delivering projects on-time and under-budget and maximising profit to ensure the continued survival of their businesses. What impact does the monetisation of archaeology have on institutional attitudes towards public engagement, outreach practices and non-specialist outputs?

2.1 Public Archaeology, Engagement and The Public(s)

Many of the terms employed within archaeological outreach have varied meanings and uses (Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez 2015) making it necessary to define the three main terms that play a core role in this research.

Public archaeology is used to refer to the disciplinary practice of professional archaeologists working to engage non-expert audiences with archaeological resources, data and narratives (Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez 2015). This form of public archaeology can vary in the “social practice of communication and representation” (Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez 2015) and discerning these variations in the digital landscape is one of the focuses of this research.

The term “public engagement” has a myriad of definitions and uses, ranging from the precise to the flexible (King et al. 2016; NCCPE 2023a). The National Co-ordinating Centre

for Public Engagement (NCCPE) define engagement as “a two-way process, involving interaction and listening, with the goal of generating mutual benefit” (NCCPE 2023a), a definition adopted in heritage-based research (King et al. 2016). The emphasis on engagement being a multi-directional process is apt and reflects pertinent issues that form the crux of theoretical discussions on archaeological use of social networking sites (SNS). However, while the intention of engagement work may be for “mutual benefit”, it should be noted that engagement can be negative as well as positive (Flatman et al. 2012) and such forms will be included within this definition. This research adopts the NCCPE (2023a) definition of engagement while acknowledging the potential for adverse forms of interaction to occur. As the NCCPE (2023b) note, the term “the public” is problematic and suggestive of a homogeneous entity, as everyone is a “member of the public”. Equally, use of the term may be overly simplistic and it can fail to portray the great variability in communities, individuals and agencies (NCCPE 2023b). In this research, “public” is used to refer to all non-specialist groups that archaeologists seek to engage. Where certain groups or communities are discussed, this will be specified.

2.2 Public engagement and development-led archaeology: attitudes, policies and practices

Historic England (2015a, 1) published a glossy summary of 25 years of development-led archaeology in the UK and its “outstanding and positive impact on society”. The celebration comes complete with a rosy foreword from the Chief Executive of the British Property Federation (Leech 2015, emphasis added) that “the public benefits – for education, for place-making, for senses of identity and for tourism – are *potentially huge*” under development-led archaeology. However, are any of these “potentially huge” benefits being delivered to the public and where do non-specialists fit into the schema of development-led archaeology? Virágos (2019) argues that within archaeological heritage management the three main stakeholders are the financier (typically developers), the profession (archaeologists) and the public, situating them within a “magic triangle”.

The choice of an equilateral triangle implies that each party is equally important (Virágos 2019), when in development-led archaeology this is not the case (Figure 1). The three predominant stakeholders’ interests in archaeology are often wildly divergent (Goskar 2012; Orange 2013; Perring 2015a) and can be diametrically opposed. With clients keen for archaeology to be done as cheaply and quickly as possible, and archaeological contractors eager to deliver this service, it is difficult to see a place for informing the public and including them in this process.

The tension within development-led archaeology between profit-orientated projects and the disciplinary responsibility to deliver public benefit was formally recognised by the work of the Southport Group (2011). The report acknowledged the powerful commercial drivers that archaeological units faced and how strong these were as barriers to delivering effective public engagement (Southport Group 2011). Despite acting as a catalyst to encourage change within the sector, a wide range of factors have prevented the report from delivering widespread change (Nixon 2018). Indeed, delivering public benefit from development-led work remains a key concern for the next 25 years of archaeology in the UK (Wills 2018).

In an analysis of the impact of the Southport Group’s 2011 report, Nixon (2018, 9) noted “economic pressures on service providers, in a highly competitive commercial market, mean that they hesitate to design any perceived extras into a project – and public engagement can still be perceived as an ‘add on’ – by archaeologists as well as by clients”. This view of public engagement as an optional extra (Pett & Bonacchi 2012; Nixon 2018) is deeply problematic and only reinforced by the lack of a policy obliging developers to support outreach initiatives. Even where such measures exist, such as Sweden (Gruber 2017), their efficacy in reaching

THE MAGIC TRIANGLE

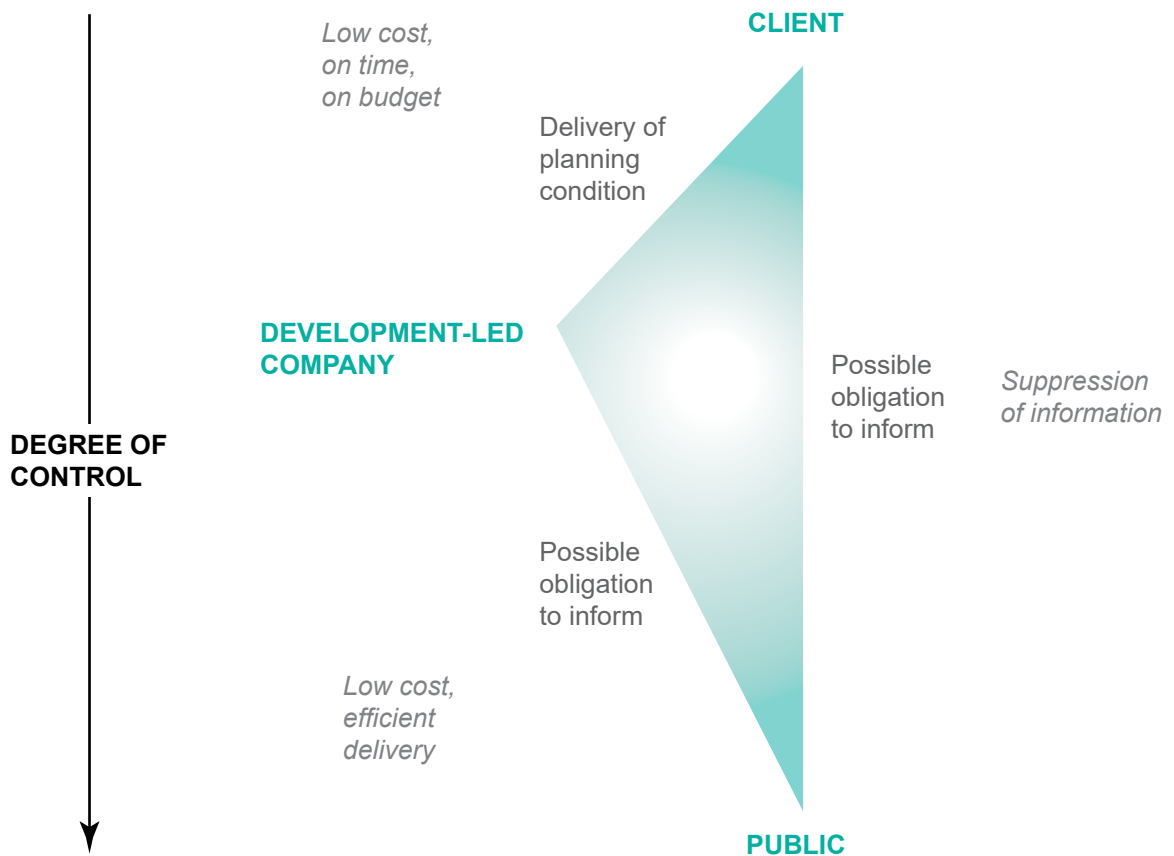
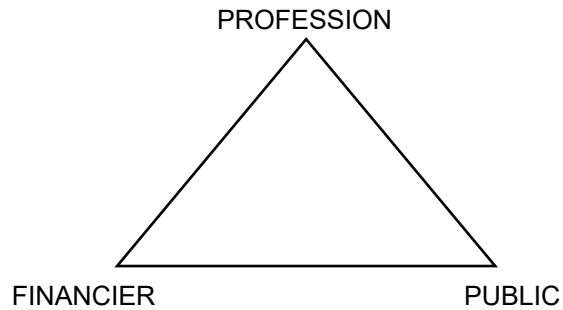


Figure 1: A reframed “Magic Triangle” reflecting the UK’s development-led sector, where the priorities and power of the client sit at the pinnacle of a triangle. Modified after Virágos 2019.

a wide audience and delivering engagement has been debated (Arnberg & Gruber 2014; Gruber 2017).

2.3 Sector Attitudes

A series of common attitudes from developers concisely illustrates the construction industry's aversion to public communication. When choosing an archaeological contractor, developers will usually seek the lowest cost and/or the fastest turnaround. They are unlikely to spend money they are not required to on carrying out public dissemination. Where components of public outreach are included in archaeological contractors' Written Schemes of Investigation (WSI) there is no guarantee they will be carried out and little recourse if they are not. While many WSI and tender documents are publicly visible, the identity of the following company has been withheld as it is not this research's intention to "name and shame" operators working in challenging environments, merely to highlight the pressures on engagement practices and how they are perceived within work schemes.

In 2016 in the East of England, one archaeological organisation's successful tenders for a multimillion-pound residential development included detailed descriptions of the public presentation strategies in the relevant WSIs. These included traditional site open days, community excavations and temporary displays on hoardings alongside a substantial digital component. The proposed digital outputs included phone app/podcast/Bluetooth downloads for guided walks around the development area, monthly leaflets with barcode tags to access excavation blogs and video diaries, a significant web presence and the regular dissemination of discoveries via social media to reach a wide audience. While the open days and a small community dig did occur, none of the other proposed engagement took place.

The disappearance, or reduction, of proposed public engagement between the tender and the completion of development-led projects does not appear to be uncommon in the UK, though further research would be beneficial to quantify its extent. When time and budgets are tight for archaeological contractors, the first cost-cutting exercise is often to scale back or remove "add-on" outreach and redirect earmarked funds towards urgent concerns. However, the decision by some contractors to write expansive engagement descriptions into WSIs to increase the strength of their tenders, but with little intention of implementing them, should not be dismissed.

Local authorities can make engagement a component of planning conditions for developers, which can produce fantastic results for the public (see Peacock 2018). However, given cuts to local government from a decade of austerity policies these valuable roles always appear in danger, particularly during times of economic uncertainty such as in 2013's Profiling the Profession report (Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2013) where 25% of jobs disappeared. With fewer experienced local government archaeologists encouraging unwilling clients to undertake outreach, there is less reason for developers to invest in engagement.

Aside from cost, one of the primary reasons developers are reluctant to allow archaeologists to spend time and money on public engagement is the fear that communication will jeopardise their projects. Across many development-led excavations there is a deep unease that openly sharing details of archaeology with a wider audience, particularly local residents, will provide them with ammunition to shut down or delay unpopular construction projects (Everill 2009; Goskar 2012; Nixon 2018; Orange & Perring 2017; Perring 2015a; Powers 2014; Southport Group 2011; Zorzin 2016).

This perceived danger of the public uniting behind archaeology and using it as a "convenient vehicle for objection to change" (Perring 2015a, 169) has led to client confidentiality becoming a major barrier to any form of outreach. Some developers seek complete control of communications and forbid archaeological staff from sharing any information or images on

social media and prohibit contact with the media without express approval and prior training, as Zorzin (2016) experienced on an infrastructure project.

The Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) is the UK's main professional body that represents archaeologists. CIfA (2023a), "set standards for archaeological practice and issues guidelines to support these". In CIfA's guidance document for field excavation it notes that "the archaeologist must emphasise his or her professional obligation to make the results of archaeological work available to the wider community within a reasonable time" (CIfA 2023c, 17). However, it also states that "the archaeologist undertaking the work must respect the requirements of the client or commissioning body concerning confidentiality" (CIfA 2023c). This acknowledges that the client sets the boundaries for communication and any public engagement work can only be carried out subject to their approval. Where "public engagement" does take place, developers (and archaeologists) can simply regard it as a PR opportunity to secure good press and publicity. Some clients may even "appropriate" the archaeology (Zorzin 2016) using it in marketing and publicity while being deliberately ambiguous about the work and whether it is delivering any meaningful public benefit.

Developers' attitudes regarding a project's output are usually fixed on the mandated, technical post-excavation report as the deposition of these documents is often needed to unlock funding and subsequent stages of construction. While these "grey reports" are now almost always publicly accessible online (Goskar 2012; Nixon 2018; Wills 2018) it has long been recognised that their quality is highly variable (Hamilton 1999).

The situation has unquestionably improved from the unevenness in publication described by Fulford (2011). Most professional archaeologists believe the primary functions of these excavation reports are to provide data for research and dissemination for public benefit (Jones et al. 2003). Surprisingly, 22% of respondents to the Council for British Archaeology's (CBA) THE PUBLICATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS: A USER NEEDS SURVEY (PUNS) felt that this form of report was an appropriate format for public dissemination (Jones et al. 2003). While the remaining 78% thought other media were better suited for non-specialists (citing open days, exhibitions, television, radio and popular publications) it is staggering that a fifth of professionals felt grey literature and excavation reports were suitable formats for the public (Jones et al. 2003).

These documents have been widely criticised as being tedious and boring (Hamilton 1999; Harding 2007; Hodder 1989), filled with coded, jargonistic language impenetrable to non-specialists (Hodder 1989; Opitz 2018; Perry & Morgan 2014; Pilaar Birch 2013), perpetuating an outdated, overly technical format (Bradley 2006; Hamilton 1999), presenting archaeology as depersonalised and authorless (Hamilton 1999; Hodder 1989) and removing any excitement and meaning from excavations (Hodder 1989). When disciplinary professionals struggle with these reports how can they deliver any form of public engagement for non-specialists?

Gauging who is accessing these documents is unclear and the PUNS report suggested that most grey literature is read (or skimmed) by the people who either produce it or are involved with archaeology (Jones et al. 2003). The PUNS report did not consult with "lay" audiences and the landscape has subsequently changed with the development of the internet and the routine deposition of reports with the Archaeology Data Service. Exploring who reads these reports may reveal that they are finding non-specialist audiences. Yet, describing these formulaic documents filled with arcane terminology, depersonalised descriptions of methodology and emotionally sterile, dehumanised interpretation as public engagement seems disingenuous when they are clearly not produced for this purpose. Work is being done to develop digital excavation reports to cater for varied audiences without compromising the scholarly value of such publications (Opitz 2018). As Opitz (2018) acknowledges, the financial implications of creating such publications are likely to prevent

similar documents appearing in the development-led sector.

Some clients may be supportive of public engagement, particularly when it falls within a charitable or public sector remit (Orange & Perring 2017). Not all developers view archaeology as an expensive problem in need of a cost-effective solution, but this attitude is the exception rather than the rule. Detailed accounts of effective developer-contractor partnerships are rare, though L-P Archaeology's collaboration with the client at Prescott Street is notable (Hunt et al. 2008; Morgan & Eve 2012; Richardson 2007). The excavation sought to democratise the archaeological process and encourage non-specialist engagement using an innovative website that shared the site's archive as it was generated (Hunt et al. 2008; Morgan & Eve 2012; Richardson 2007).

The commonly encountered developer perception of public engagement as an unnecessary additional expense is understandable, as their businesses seek to maximise profit in a market focused society. Speaking about benefits to the public generated within development-led work, Fredheim & Watson (2023, 15) note that any generated are "arguably due to archaeologists' ability to resist the system rather than the design of the model itself". Within this system, how do archaeologists and their organisations perceive outreach and what activities do they undertake to reach non-specialist audiences?

2.4 Archaeological Attitudes

Historically, there has been limited research into archaeologists' perception of public engagement (Richardson et al. 2018a). However, work by Richardson et al. (2018a) highlights important trends in attitudes from a UK-focused survey with a high-proportion of development-led respondents. Several questions drew strong responses from archaeologists supporting public engagement. 91% disagreed that engagement was a waste of time, 82% felt it could make a difference to the archaeological sector, 88% felt their research was of interest beyond the sector and 70% of respondents thought that they were treated with respect by the public (Richardson et al. 2018a). The survey clearly underlines that most archaeologists feel strongly about the responsibility to communicate with non-specialists.

However, attitudes towards undertaking public engagement and its perception among fellow archaeologists were far more conflicted. Only 53% of respondents felt that this was helpful to their work and 15% considered that it actively got in the way of archaeology (Richardson et al. 2018a). Tellingly, 89% of archaeologists felt there were further unrealised opportunities for engagement, 26% did not have time to include this in their work and almost 40% were unsure if their colleagues valued this work or, alternatively, regarded it negatively (Richardson et al. 2018a). A 2013 survey on public engagement in development-led archaeology by Orange et al. (2020) found that most respondents did not regard engagement as an archaeological skill and that it was not always seen as a specialist or professional undertaking.

Client discretion was cited by multiple respondents as the main barrier to public communication (Richardson et al. 2018a), something echoed in research by Orange et al. (2020). In a discussion of the reasons why information is not quickly shared by commercial archaeologists, Powers (2014) mentions client confidentiality and lack of funds. However, she goes on to list several reasons why archaeologists themselves are reluctant to disclose their findings during or just after excavations (Powers 2014), including understandable concerns about site security. Should archaeologists really avoid sharing their work, artefacts and thoughts until after the post-excavation for fear of being wrong as "good research and publication takes time" (Powers 2014)?

Despite sizable figures of archaeologists clearly supportive of, or at least receptive to, public engagement work there was clearly a small vocal group of practitioners expressing

strong views against the practice (Richardson et al. 2018a). 10% of respondents felt that engagement diluted their work, 5% felt it was a waste of time and 25% thought it was not useful (Richardson et al. 2018a). One of the primary reasons for the active resentment towards outreach among a disparaging minority seems to be the perception that it erodes authority and devalues expertise. Such attitudes are neatly captured by a respondent (Richardson et al. 2018a) who commented that communication with the public has now “gone too far” and that archaeologists including non-specialists in their work are “handing over the reigns (sic) of their professionalism”.

The belief, that engagement compromises the quality of research, that it stems from a non-scientific background and is a derivative of the “cultural heritage world” (Depaepe 2016; 39) is clearly felt by some professionals. Such thoughts are rarely openly articulated unless from behind a veneer of non-political-correctness, as though doing so can lessen the offence of statements like “all agree that the pre-eminence given to public outreach was important during the birth of preventive archaeology, but can now be considered a sort of cancer” (Depaepe 2016; 39). Fears that communicating with the public diminishes expertise and reduces the authority of the professional is particularly ironic given that heritage professionals appear to reinforce their control of the discourse whenever possible (Schofield 2014; Smith 2006). This continued reproduction of expert-amateur “broadcasts” has been identified as operating in archaeological public engagement (Arnberg 2014; Bonacchi & Moshenska 2015; Bonacchi & Petersson 2017; Henson 2013a; Richardson 2013; 2014).

The report by Richardson et al. (2018a) presents an illuminating insight into the overall perception of engagement by archaeologists but what of the attitudes of senior management, who dictate the schemes of work and allocate funds, within development-led organisations? As Goskar (2012) acknowledges, misapprehension about outreach and ingrained institutional prejudices exist within archaeological organisations. Convincing management structures, who are comfortable with the status quo (Watson 2019) and those who increasingly regard the bottom line of accounts as measurements of success (Perring 2015b), to diminish profit margins with engagement is a major challenge. Elsewhere in the heritage sector, managerial attitudes towards social media have been identified as highly variable and particularly changeable depending on organisational size (Booth et al. 2019). Among museum leaders the most common attitude expressed towards social media was one of scepticism, with 33% of managers considering “social media to be in conflict with the museum’s functions and values” (Booth et al. 2019, 9).

There appear to be approximately 250 “Public Archaeologists” (c.4% of the sector’s workforce) working in the UK (Aitchison et al. 2021), suggesting these roles are now more formal than in 2012-13, where just 15 were recorded (Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2013). Training for those working in archaeological public dissemination appears to be mixed, as in 2013 over 70% of those who had undertaken engagement had never received any training (Orange et al. 2020). Similarly, resources are limited suggesting upskilling staff in non-specialist communication is less important than “practical” guidance for recognised specialisms such as geomatics, survey and photography. While there are some engagement-related resources available from BAJR (2023) and ClfA (2023b), most focus on technical skills and health and safety rather than engaged participant experience. ClfA (2023b) produce training plans and have nine that deal with public engagement. Eight are unavailable online and it is unclear what they contain as most have similar titles (Archaeology outreach, Communicating archaeology, Digital dissemination, Education and outreach, Public archaeology, Teaching archaeology, Training and outreach). Equally, it is uncertain how widespread the uptake of these documents has been especially as most are offline and not easily accessible.

Against this backdrop of conflicted disciplinary attitudes how can the passion for public

communication identified by Richardson et al. (2018a) be transferred upwards? How can archaeologists convince senior management and clients of the need to go beyond their obligations and deliver engagement?

2.5 Engagement practices within development-led archaeology

Since the inception of the discipline, archaeologists have always sought to communicate their research, but for a considerable time this was largely carried out between existing practitioners (Henson 2013a). The responsibility for archaeologists to share their work beyond the insular research community is a more modern development with advances in communications technology in the 20th century facilitating the beginning of more widespread dissemination (Henson 2013a; Kulik 2007; Perry 2017).

Despite the significant barriers to outreach previously discussed in development-led work, many of the UK's largest archaeological contractors list public engagement as one of the core services they offer. Some contractors choose to frame their public engagement as a facet of PR and promotion for the client and emphasise its media impact, a strategy which may make them more receptive to commissioning this work.

Archaeological outreach typically conforms to a limited set of practices that have become the default formats for fulfilling public engagement criteria. When activities do take place, they usually consist of talks and lectures (often to societies or local interest groups), tours of excavations, visits to local schools or the loan of artefacts boxes, press days with journalists for local and national press and allowing production companies to create programmes featuring excavations (Orange & Perring 2017). All these forms of interaction are predominantly unidirectional, being led by archaeologists who speak to rather than with the public. While there can be the opportunity for audiences to ask questions, as in the case of talks, tours and school visits, these are usually placed in the marginal time at the end of such activities. The public are positioned as passive in this framework, receiving the information being shared and given few opportunities to engage in a dialogue. Alternative forms of outreach activities do occur within development-led archaeology including touring exhibitions and creating virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR) and gaming experiences.

More participatory forms of public engagement also exist in development-led contexts, particularly volunteer opportunities and community excavations. Volunteering with archaeological contractors rarely involves fieldwork, instead offering members of the public work including finds washing, environmental sample processing, digitising documents, artefact marking, packaging finds and assisting at visitor attractions. The above roles can be problematic forms of public engagement, as they are parts of the post-excavation process but can be considered the most menial and least interesting by professional archaeologists. Archaeological contractors can help local archaeological groups with excavations, providing advice, support and mentoring on funding applications. Community excavations typically take place separately from development-led work but can be incorporated into contractors' projects.

Critically, it is currently unknown how widespread physical public engagement within development-led archaeology really is. Anecdotally, engagement tends to occur predominantly on larger excavations and is not considered necessary for smaller or short-term projects, though further research into these activities would be highly beneficial. How participative are the engagement practices being employed in the development-led sector? How are the entrenched tensions of working in a profit-driven market-economy with variable clients and revenue streams manifested in public engagement work?

This research seeks to address these questions by examining an increasingly prevalent component of modern public archaeology: social media use.

2.6 Social Media: Prevalence and Use

Social media have radically altered the communications landscape since their dramatic rise within the wider “Web 2.0” package during the mid-to-late-2000s. While the term Web 2.0 and some of its components have been consigned to history, the social core that evolved during this period has made today’s internet a more participatory environment. Sharing, commenting and user-created content are no longer features solely of social media platforms and are now common online. As Fuchs (2014) and Siapera (2018) acknowledge, definitions of social media can be diverse. Despite this variability, all definitions emphasise technologically-enabled sociality, employing terms such as communication, connecting, collaborating, creating, co-operation, networking, publication and sharing (Fuchs 2014; Siapera 2018).

Social networking sites, the specific platforms on which people communicate and interact with one another through user-created profiles, have typically been at the centre of social media. Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Twitter have helped shape and define the image of social media and continue to attract sizable numbers of active users (Dixon 2023). Following Elon Musk’s acquisition of Twitter, the platform was rebranded to X in July 2023 (McCallum 2023), but as data and references to this SNS all occurred prior to the restyling, the site will be referred to as Twitter throughout this research.

Globally, SNS dominate internet use with an estimated 30% of all online time spent on social media (Siapera 2018), though many of the top social networks are now “closed” user-to-user or user-to-group messaging services such as WhatsApp (Dixon 2023) making analysis problematic. Social media are continually “mutating” as Kidd (2019, 194) describes this environment of changes to terms of service, shifts in platform popularity and the regular addition and removal of features. Those seeking to use SNS to create and distribute content to connect with audiences must keep up to ensure they are still relevant in a fast-paced digital landscape.

Facebook has almost 3bn active users, YouTube has 2.5bn and Instagram has recently reached 2bn (Dixon 2023). However, the oft-discussed Twitter lags behind with an active userbase of 550m (Dixon 2023). Despite a growing increase in competition, this core of SNS remains a key source of information and communication amongst UK web users (Ofcom 2022a). People in the UK are increasingly digitally dependent with adult internet users spending four hours a day online (Ofcom 2022b). UK society is “always on”, with on-the-go internet access enabled by widespread smartphone ownership. Internet use in the UK heavily involves SNS as 98% of online adults were using at least one type of online communication platform in 2021 (Ofcom 2022a). The Meta-owned Facebook and Messenger were the second most used UK website/apps, attracting almost 47m users each month (Ofcom 2022b), almost 70% of the population. Indeed, eighteen per cent of time spent online by UK adults is on Meta websites and apps (Ofcom 2022b).

SNS are now a deeply ingrained facet of people’s everyday lives in the UK, forming an important means for people to interact with others and their surroundings. Unsurprisingly, archaeology has recognised the potential for using these platforms for communication.

2.7 Archaeology, the Internet and Social Media

A discussion of public archaeology’s historical relationship with the internet and social media is necessary to understand today’s digital heritage landscape and the ongoing debates that underpin this subdiscipline.

Archaeological communication on the internet has deep roots with early inter-scholar

“electronic conferences” dating to the mid-1980s (Carlson 1997). These took the form of newsgroups, such as the Archaeological Information Exchange, where archaeologists would subscribe to receive messages and exchange information (Carlson 1997). During the 1990s the internet’s potential for reaching wider audiences began to be used for non-specialist archaeological dissemination including virtual museum exhibitions (Allason-Jones et al. 1995; Schweibenz 1998) and as educational resources at differing school levels (Garfield and McDonough 1997; Lock 2004). While dedicated social media were still a decade away, precursors to recognisable core SNS components were being used to share and discuss archaeology. Newsgroups, email discussion lists and web forums (Carlson 1997; Champion 1997; Younger 1997) all feature interactive, social features reminiscent of the foundations on which SNS are built. Younger (1997, 1052) lists familiar elements when describing how email discussion lists “read like oral conversations, they can be exchanged almost instantaneously and often participants are unknown to each other”.

Fascinatingly, many of the seemingly new concerns around current archaeological social media use are found in earlier discussions of internet content. The presence of trolls and abuse (Carlson 1997; Younger 1997), fringe archaeology and the uneven quality of online information (Brunn 1997; Champion 1997), the deliberate misappropriation of data by groups, such as White Supremacists (Sturges & Griffin 2003) and the lack of institutional support and understanding of digital content by managers (Brunn 1997) are still frequently discussed today.

In the early 2000s, archaeologists, particularly McDavid (2004a; 2004b), Joyce and Tringham (2007), began to explore the internet’s ability to contest the unchallenged dominance of traditional publication and research dissemination. Archaeological communication had primarily consisted of a blend of formal academic publications and mass media broadcasts and articles. Invariably these methods both displayed and reinforced archaeological authority, placing audiences as passive recipients with little agency to become more involved. McDavid’s work (2004a; 2004b) saw a desire to use the internet as a democratising tool not only to enhance user interaction but to challenge archaeological expertise. Seemingly foreseeing the imminent arrival of social media, McDavid (2004a; 2004b) felt interactive website elements, such as discussion forums, could be used to deliver the core postprocessual tenets of reflexivity, multivocality and interactivity.

Equally, Joyce and Tringham (2007) relished the non-linear nature and flexibility of online spaces where audiences could navigate more freely. McDavid (2004a; 2004b), Joyce and Tringham (2007) all saw the internet’s possibility to accommodate diverse user perspectives and subvert the stranglehold archaeologists had over non-specialist access to, and consumption of, their work. Indeed, these early explorations of online heritage and the identification of the internet’s potential to democratise and diversify the discipline continues to underpin discussions surrounding digital public archaeology. As SNS and interpersonal internet communication became an increasingly important facet of people’s daily lives, heritage practitioners and institutions began to explore these technologies. The discussions of McDavid (2004a; 2004b) and Joyce and Tringham (2007) became the prelude to a wave of similarly positive writings extolling the benefits and untapped potential of participative web technologies.

Within this enthusiastic discourse, authors began to regard the rapidly evolving online communications landscape as possessing the tools needed to address the central issues public archaeology had been facing for decades. Social media, chiefly SNS and blogs, were discussed as a powerful new weapon in the armoury of archaeologists eager to destroy entrenched disciplinary barricades that separated an interested public from their work.

Amidst the early writings on digital heritage, consistent themes emerged across both museology and archaeology. Perhaps chief among these themes is the greatly enhanced

accessibility afforded by social media (Armstrong 2014; Austin 2014; Beale & Ogden 2012; Beierlein de Gutierrez 2014; Head 2016; Henson 2013b; Kansa & Deblauwe 2011; Morgan & Eve 2012; Shipley 2014; Stanley 2014; Tong et al. 2015). SNS allowed archaeological information to be shared without the constraints of time or location. Similarly, the ever-increasing uptake of SNS by a seemingly hungry public were seen by archaeologists as providing access to larger and, most importantly, more diverse audiences than ever before (Caraher 2008; Henson 2013a; 2013b; Killgrove 2014; Meyers & Williams 2014; Morgan & Winters 2015; Pitts 2013; Poucher 2016; Whitaker 2014). In a discipline where certain groups are known to be largely absent from engagement efforts (Philips & Gilchrist 2012; Thomas 2017), the digital potential to redress this imbalance was welcomed.

Fresh debates on disciplinary control of the past were ignited with the publication of Smith's notable *Uses of Heritage* (Smith 2006), which emphasised the authoritative stance of organisations and institutions. Addressing such concerns, digital heritage practitioners turned to social media as a means of ceding control and diminishing authority via the interactivity of participative online platforms. SNS and blogs shed the unidirectional constraints of traditional publication media and gave audiences the chance to engage in dialogues with specialists (Austin 2014; Beierlein de Gutierrez 2014; Brock & Goldstein 2015; Caraher 2008; Giaccardi 2012; Hagmann 2018; Henson 2013a; 2013b; Kansa & Deblauwe 2011; Kelly 2010; Kuan 2015; Laracuenta 2012; Morgan & Eve 2012; Morgan & Winters 2015; Morrison 2014a; Valtysson & Holdgaard 2019; Whitaker 2014).

The small associated costs, low technical barriers to entry and direct access to millions of users provided archaeologists with their own digital platforms to talk with the public. Disciplinary coverage no longer needed to be filtered through the fickle media triad of television, radio and newspapers prone to exaggeration, misrepresentation and inaccuracy. The belief that social media afforded heritage practitioners a greater degree of control over the depiction of their profession was frequently celebrated in an environment where pseudoscience was proliferating (Armstrong 2014; Brock & Goldstein 2015; Brockman 2016; Henson 2013b; Killgrove 2014; Beierlein de Gutierrez 2014; Meyers & Williams 2014; Morrison 2014b; Pilaar Birch 2013; Pitts 2013; Shipley 2014; Whitaker 2014).

However, as the body of literature on digital heritage expanded, a growing number of authors pushed back against perceiving social media as a techno-utopian digital panacea (Bonacchi & Moshenska 2015; Kidd 2016; King et al. 2016; Perry 2015; Perry et al. 2015; Richardson 2012; 2014; Walker 2014a; 2014b). What followed was the rise of more cautious and critical discussions of digital public archaeology that sought to reassess the potential benefits of SNS and associated technologies. The recently vaunted "potentials" of social media were judiciously reappraised and found to be more complex and problematic than initially presented. Digital engagement was not necessarily more accessible and possessed barriers of its own (Bollwerk 2015; Bonacchi & Petersson 2017; Caraher & Reinhard 2015; Colley 2013; Richardson 2014; Walker 2014a). Similarly, the medium's ability to reach wider, increasingly diverse audiences was challenged (Bollwerk 2015; Bonacchi 2017; Bonacchi & Petersson 2017; Bonacchi et al. 2015; Gruber 2017; Kidd 2019; King et al. 2016; Kowalczyk 2016; Pett 2012; Richardson 2012; 2015; Richardson & Dixon 2017) with critics highlighting the difficulties of obtaining reliable digital demographic data and noting that online spaces may simply be populated by traditional, "offline" heritage audiences.

Within this second-wave of writing, the most critical discussions focused on social media's ability to challenge the authoritative control over the flow of information to non-specialists. Rather than facilitate two-way dialogues and subvert a hierarchical system, the use of digital technologies by archaeologists and heritage institutions were seen to reproduce one-way broadcasts and reinforce disciplinary control in online spaces (Bollwerk 2015; Bonacchi 2017; Bonacchi & Petersson 2017; Caraher & Reinhard 2015; Huvila 2013; Kidd 2011;

Richardson 2014; 2015; 2017; Richardson & Dixon 2017; Richardson & Lindgren 2017; Walker 2014a; 2014b).

Additionally, the expanding discussions of digital public archaeology and its relationship with social media identified fresh concerns that continued to problematise the technology's use for outreach and engagement. These have included the prevalence and dangers of abuse (Kidd 2019; Perry 2014; Perry et al. 2015; Richardson 2017; 2018), a worrying disconnect from ethical considerations (Bonacchi 2017; Bonacchi & Krzyzanska 2019; Kidd 2019; Perry & Beale 2015; Richardson 2018), an absence of evaluation and assessment (Bollwerk 2015; Ellenberger & Richardson 2018; Richardson & Dixon 2017; Wilkins 2019) and ingrained institutional negativity (Colley 2013; Webster 2014).

This more recent body of literature has helped redress the initial optimistic upsurge of interest in participative web technologies and there is unquestionably an increased awareness of the ethical, evaluative and human concerns of digital public archaeology. However, there are still unquestionably disconnects, both between theory and practice and within the literature itself. As Bonacchi and Krzyzanska (2019) note, current academic digital heritage writings are focused either entirely on epistemological concerns with no empirical basis or solely on the use of digital techniques to conduct research that has little engagement with wider intellectual discussions. Digital tools are increasingly being implemented to investigate archaeological content on social media including research into viral content (Zuanni 2017), the transformation of archaeo-historical knowledge into political identities around Brexit (Bonacchi et al. 2018) and Instagram's use in the trade of human remains (Huffer & Graham 2017; 2018; Huffer et al. 2019).

SNS are favoured for their ability to produce big data, where automated tools are used to extract large quantities of user posts. Modern analyses have moved beyond the limited and entirely quantitative discussions Walker (2014a; 2014b) and Perry and Beale (2015) reacted against. Indeed, more mixed quantitative-qualitative methods are now increasingly employed (see Bonacchi et al. 2018) that combine large quantitative datasets with smaller, targeted qualitative analysis. The disconnect between digital heritage practitioners who primarily consider the epistemological debates surrounding social media research and those carrying out data-oriented analysis (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2019) has created a fragmented sub-discipline of digital public archaeology. Both groups are seemingly content to continue working within their strands and seldom does research draw together what, for now, seem like parallel but unconnected pathways. Digital public archaeology exploring social media and analysing how online accessibility, audiences, authority and interactivity are manifesting in real-world applications is a growing area of research though one where it is easy for assumptions to proliferate. Thankfully, the body of literature is continually evolving with research into new areas including explorations of archaeological communication on Instagram (Caspari 2022), investigating TikTok as an educational tool (Khan 2022) and scrutinising pseudoarchaeology Tweets (Nugroho 2022), demonstrating an increased engagement with the online sector.

Despite the increased attention for social media, sustained, empirically-based and theoretically-grounded research into digital archaeological engagement is still much needed to understand how core concepts appear within everyday SNS use. Similarly, it is unclear whether any of the concerns identified above have filtered through to practical projects and been addressed by practitioners. Development-led archaeology is entirely market driven and notoriously slow to engage with emergent ethical, theoretical and research-focused discussions, especially when there is seen to be little economic motivation to do so. It is necessary for digital archaeologists working within this sphere to understand the current outputs, characterise working practices and conduct a detailed quantitative-qualitative analysis of development-led organisations' SNS presences, content and interactions.

2.8 UK Development-led Archaeology and Social Media

Formal publications concerning development-led archaeological use of social media in the UK are still uncommon. This is likely a consequence of organisational management being reluctant to dedicate time to SNS, let alone devote further resources to evaluating and analysing their usage. However, the limited body of writing provides an invaluable insight into early practice, perceptions and use.

During discussion of Archaeology South East's (ASE) adoption of SNS for community engagement in 2012, Orange (2013) highlights that the decision was taken to use digital platforms to make their work more accessible. Analysis of ASE's use of Facebook and Twitter was quantitative, providing descriptions of core metrics (Orange 2013). Interestingly, ASE appeared to dedicate substantial attention to this initial foray into SNS with their organisational accounts being managed by ten staff to create varied posts and share the workload (Orange 2013). Content included staff photo competitions, artefact spotlights and guest posts, though how much public engagement these received is not discussed (Orange 2013).

Wessex Archaeology's early forays into using the internet, chiefly their website, blogs and podcasts, for public engagement is comprehensively detailed by Goskar (2012). However, aside from the adoption of Flickr, SNS were yet to be utilised by the company to do more than draw users to the main website (Goskar 2012, 33). Both Orange (2013) and Goskar (2012) highlight the difficulties of conducting digital public engagement in the development-led sector owing to the unwillingness of developers to pay for outreach, client-confidentiality concerns and significant time poverty on projects.

A more critical evaluation of social media use in development-led contexts was conducted by Gruber (2017), who questioned how democratising these technologies truly are. Despite SNS providing basic demographic information to organisations, it is very difficult to determine if users engaging with archaeological projects are merely recreations of existing unrepresentative audiences who come with a prior interest (Gruber 2017). Gruber (2017) also highlights the ease at which shared information can "explode" virally online, where any creator control over how content is mediated, shared and sensationalised is instantly lost.

The Day of Archaeology (Richardson et al. 2018b) was a volunteer-run initiative which ran between 2011 and 2017. It created a blogging platform for archaeologists to share their work and attracted over 2,000 submissions during its lifespan. The project saw some interest from professional organisations working within the development-led sector (Oxford Archaeology 2016; 2017; Reeves 2011). In a Day of Archaeology blog, Reeves (2011) provides fascinating insight into the genesis of Oxford Archaeology's Twitter presence. Reeves (2011), on behalf of Oxford Archaeology, "signed up for the Twitter account thinking we'd use it for something". Most early content posted to their account was sharing Library content with only "occasional human person Tweets" (Reeves 2011). SNS content was far from institutionally organised and Reeves (2011) noted "we're not really officially endorsed by- or approved of- Oxford Archaeology. I secretly expect the day that we get shut down from upstairs". This image provides a stark contrast to two subsequent Day of Archaeology blog entries (Oxford Archaeology 2016; 2017) which saw two Oxford Archaeology specialists undertake more formal day long "Twitter takeovers" of their SNS accounts.

Perhaps one of the most striking explorations of development-led SNS use was conducted by Kelpšiene (2019) who examined the Museum of London Archaeology's (MOLA) Facebook communications. MOLA's Facebook content was regarded as functioning predominantly as "marketing", with the organisation not responding to any user comments (Kelpšiene 2019). Similar marketing-driven communications on Facebook have been noted

in other heritage organisations' use of the platform (Spiliopoulou et al. 2014). MOLA posted 22 times in a month, though only 14% of these posts were new material, and content attracted low numbers of user comments and interactions (Kelpšiene 2019). Here, MOLA seemed to be eschewing the more participatory and interactive conversation that early digital archaeologists associated with social media technologies.

The development-led sector's use of SNS for engaging the public and conducting outreach is currently poorly understood beyond anecdotal evidence, generalised presentations and a very limited corpus of peer-reviewed discussions that are predominantly quantitative. This thesis seeks to deliver a sector-wide investigation of professional archaeological organisations' use of SNS and its reception by audiences.

Chapter 3 Social Media and Digital Content Analyses

As discussed previously, analyses of digital outreach and social media-based public engagement are uncommon within archaeology. Where they have taken place, content analyses and associated variants have been employed by researchers to examine data and explore patterns (Huvila 2013; Kelpšiene 2019; Wakefield 2020). Content analysis can best be defined as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (Neuendorf 2017). The technique is well-suited to investigating qualitative data, owing to its versatility and applicability to mixed-media datasets (Neuendorf 2017). In the fast-moving environments of SNS, a technique that can be used to interrogate images, video and varied textual sources (posts, comments, replies etc) enables researchers to widen the scope of their studies.

The archaeological application of content analyses to SNS have focused mainly on quantitative data categorisation (Huvila 2013; Kelpšiene 2019). Both studies provided valuable insight into their respective topics, but the scope of the research was restricted by small datasets and limited coding groups. Wakefield (2020) examined a slightly larger sample and focused on qualitative user comments from a development-led Facebook page but notably did not investigate the content that prompted the responses.

The versatility of content analyses and their use on different sources of data have resulted in significant variability in methodological practices. With a limited body of research where this technique has been applied to archaeological social media (Huvila 2013; Kelpšiene 2019; Wakefield 2020), it was necessary to look to the wider heritage sector for examples of content analysis being applied to social media. Here, scrutinising social media content, comments and engagement is not uncommon (Cunliffe & Curini 2018; Hood & Reid 2018; Price & Kerr 2018). Notably, museology has been quicker to use and evaluate social media than archaeology owing to its desire to attract visitors, understand their experiences and generate actionable feedback. Over the past decade a growing body of work has been done by undertaking content analyses of museums’ uses of SNS, the content they generate and users’ reception of these digital presences (Budge 2017; Budge & Burness 2018; Chen 2019; Holdgaard 2011; Jarreau et al. 2019; Laursen et al. 2019; Lazzeretti et al. 2015; Padilla-Meléndez & del Águila-Obra 2013; Waller & Waller 2019; Zingone 2019). While non-digital, the work of Abaidoo & Takyiakwaa (2019) was also relevant, as it examines physical visitor book comments using a comparable method of content analysis.

Owing to the limited precedents for content analysis within archaeology, the methodologies in the above sources were examined to identify different practical approaches and help create a process suited to this research’s dataset. These 15 identified heritage-based content analyses stemmed from the directly relevant fields of museum studies and the cultural heritage sector and were valuable sources for assessing evaluative methods. However, outside the heritage sector, content analysis of social media data is employed regularly in research across a wide range of disciplines, from media studies to the medical sciences. While these subjects are clearly disconnected from archaeology and not necessarily directly comparable, the focus of such research is on the *same* social media content, such as account posts and user comments. Therefore, studying the methods used to characterise and examine similar forms of content is important to ensure that practices from other disciplines are considered when developing content analysis methodologies.

Alongside the heritage-based content analyses identified above, a further 20 methodologies were examined to see how approaches were conducted (Brunner et al. 2019; Chew & Eysenbach 2010; Döring & Mohseni 2019; Humprecht et al. 2020; Jain et al. 2020; Lei & Law 2015; Levy et al. 2013; McCorkindale 2010; Möller et al. 2019; Pantelidis 2010; Salgado & Bobba 2019; Schlichthorst et al. 2019; Shen & Bissell 2013; Small 2011; Sowles

et al. 2018; Stollefson et al. 2014; 2019; Tyrawski & DeAndrea 2015; Waters & Jamal 2011; Waters & Jones 2011). These were drawn from a wider range of fields to avoid the insularity of solely studying the limited existing disciplinary body present within archaeology and museology.

Scrutinising these 35 different methodologies for obtaining and examining social media data revealed significant variability, from automated, Big Data analyses to smaller scale, targeted investigations. Indeed, not all researchers explicitly discussed data collection (Döring & Mohseni 2019; Humprecht et al. 2020). Ultimately, study of this collection of approaches highlighted that employing a methodology for social media analysis can take a myriad of forms, all of which are valid if they are appropriate for the size of the targeted dataset, have a robust content analysis framework and are ethically sound.

This research's methodology was based on that employed by Wakefield (2020), with its framework used as a foundation against which the above studies were compared to check its legitimacy and explore the potential for including different techniques for acquiring data and examining it. Areas examined included automated versus manual data collection, the generation of coding schemes, approaches to different content formats (text, video, images), defining categories, intercoder reliability checks and ethical precautions adopted by authors. Elements of the methodology, from data acquisition to the coding framework, were checked against existing research to ensure such approaches had been employed elsewhere and were considered valid.

There is a growing perception of social media data analysis taking the form of automated collection and evaluation where software such as automated sentiment analysis, a technique that uses machine learning to categorise a message's emotion as positive, neutral, or negative, are employed to speed up research. However, manual approaches are still common (see 3.1.4 below) and formed the basis for this research as they were suited to this study and assisted with the development of coding frameworks.

The research's developed social media methodology is described in more detail in sections 3.1.1 to 3.1.12.

3.1 Content Analysis of Development-led Archaeological Companies' Facebook Pages and User Responses: A Methodology

3.1.1 Establishing Data Sources

This study seeks to characterise, assess and understand how development-led archaeological companies are using SNS. To create a detailed overview of development-led SNS presences the dataset has been generated using two sources: ClfA's list of Registered Organisations (ROs) and the Archaeology Data Service's (ADS) list of contractors who have deposited unpublished fieldwork reports (Archaeology Data Service 2020; ClfA 2023d). The UK's development-led archaeological companies can be neatly divided into two categories: those that have professional accreditation from ClfA (ClfA ROs) and those that do not (Non-ROs).

ClfA is the leading professional body representing archaeologists in the UK (ClfA 2023a). Many of the companies working in the commercial sector sign up to be ClfA Registered Organisations where, following regular inspections by ClfA and by adhering to professional standards and guidelines, they are recognised as being committed to "professional standards and competence" (ClfA 2023e). In April 2020, 83 ROs were listed by ClfA (2023d). This register was used as a basis to conduct searches across common SNS to identify which ROs had active social media presences. An "active social media presence" was

defined as an account or page that had posted a minimum of 10 pieces of content within the previous six months (following similar classification by Jarreau et al. 2019; Laursen et al. 2019 and Stellefson et al. 2014).

ClfA ROs form only part of the UK's development-led archaeological sector and many companies elect not to sign-up to receive recognition from a professional body. It was therefore necessary to explore whether, and if so how, these other companies made use of SNS. As public engagement is a recognised professional obligation for members of ClfA (2023c) it was considered important to see if this responsibility was reflected in Non-ROs and their digital output. The creation and deposition of a report on archaeological investigations is a condition of the planning process in the UK. These mandatory "grey literature" reports enabled a comprehensive list of Non-ROs to be identified using the ADS' library of contractors who have deposited reports (Archaeology Data Service 2020). Only active Non-RO companies were considered for study and the ADS' list of contractors was cross-checked against the Government's register of businesses, Companies House, to remove those that had been dissolved. Non-ROs that could not be verified as existing or active via online searches were discounted from the study. To create a comparative sample, active Non-RO social media presences were identified and filtered using the same SNS searches detailed above.

3.1.2 Social Network Selection

While one element of this research is to assess the range of SNS used by development-led companies, its primary aims are to understand how these platforms are being used, the content being generated and the nature of user engagements. To answer these questions effectively, targeted content analysis, both qualitative and quantitative, was performed on companies' Facebook pages. Facebook has been chosen owing to its market dominance (Dixon 2023) and, despite this popularity among users, its lack of widespread study within archaeological contexts (though see Huvila 2013; Kelpšiene 2019). Previous work researching SNS has favoured Twitter (see Hagmann 2018; Richardson 2012; 2014; 2015), a platform where archaeological information appears to circulate largely among archaeologists (Richardson 2012; 2014). It is currently unclear who makes up archaeological audiences and exploring interactions on engagement on varied SNS, particularly popular platforms, is a key issue for digital public archaeologists.

3.1.3 Ethical Considerations

As this research involved the collection and study of data ultimately derived from human interaction, the ethics of the project were carefully considered. As Richardson (2018) noted there are considerable ethical challenges and uncertainties surrounding work in digital public archaeology where there are varied attitudes towards data collection and study. Some institutions do not consider the collection and analysis of data derived from SNS as requiring an ethical review or prior informed consent from participants as it is viewed as "public information that they left behind" (Price & Kerr 2018, 171) though researchers often elect to ensure that their data is ethically responsible and protects participants. This SNS content analysis therefore follows issues considered by Richardson (2018) and guidelines established in Townsend & Wallace (2016).

This research only collected data from publicly accessible Facebook pages and, upon consultation with the University of York, as no direct human interaction was taking place between the researcher and participants it was decided that seeking informed consent from users would not be necessary. To further protect the confidentiality of Facebook users, measures were taken to anonymise all collected data to mitigate the risk of individual accounts being identifiable. The primary focus of the research is the overall understanding

of the sector's use of social media platforms. This will predominantly involve understanding collections of comments within coding groups. These groupings can range in size from tens to thousands and the research will not be focused on individual user content.

Targeted discussion of specific users' individual comments, posts and content will be used to illustrate coding categories and highlight important thematic points. In these instances, steps will be taken to achieve anonymity. Firstly, the social networking site page for each company will not be named and, instead, given a code for identification. Secondly, no user account names, profile pictures or other potential sources of identification will be used in the published research. Thirdly, no verbatim quotes will be used to prevent the potential use of searches to identify the original source. These measures received ethical approval from the University of York in May 2020 and data collection began the same month. All data was securely stored following the data management guidelines (University of York 2020).

3.1.4 Content Acquisition

Owing to the diversity of content analysis research facilitated by SNS, a wide range of methods have been employed to generate datasets. It should be noted that some authors choose not to discuss how the data was acquired, choosing instead to focus on its analysis (Döring & Mohseni 2019; Humprecht et al. 2020). Automated acquisition techniques are common, particularly when obtaining "big data" for study (Bonacchi et al. 2018; Chen 2019; Jain et al. 2020; Salgado & Bobba 2019; Möller et al. 2019; Budge & Burness 2018; Chew & Eysenbach 2010). Researchers may also employ dedicated data collection companies to obtain the information they require (Cunliffe & Curini 2018; Laursen et al. 2019). A commonly encountered assumption when discussing the study of data obtained from social media is that datasets will both be large and collected via automation. However, the manual extraction/recording of data from SNS is still widespread in digital content analyses (Budge 2017; Holdgaard 2011; Hood & Reid 2018; Jarreau et al. 2019; Lazzeretti et al. 2015; Pantelidis 2010; Tyrawski & DeAndrea 2015; Soules et al. 2018; Waller & Waller 2019; Zingone 2019), though it is sometimes assisted by screen capture software (Brunner et al. 2019; Price & Kerr 2018; Schlichthorst et al. 2019).

For this research, manual data collection of Facebook content was conducted. This method was chosen owing to the targeted nature of research, which was focused on investigating specific company accounts rather than trying to ascertain widespread trends across entire platforms. Similarly, the anticipated volume of data was lower and a manual method was selected to aid the development of the research's coding framework (see below). While "big data" analyses are unquestionably important forms of investigation, the nature of the research tends to dehumanise the highly personal character of user comments, homogenise the language of created content and lacks the fine-grained insight that a smaller, targeted dataset can provide. This research was designed to understand a small dataset for a specialised sector and avoid the impersonal mass of information generated by "big data" investigation. Indeed, authors have been critical of recent trends towards research projects favouring big data analysis. D'Ignazio and Klein (2020) coined the term "Big Dick Data" to reflect the fetishisation of larger datasets and a growing emphasis on the technical intricacies of this form of investigation.

Qualitative data was collected manually from the Facebook Pages of the predetermined sample of both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs. Collected Page content included Posts (text, links, images and video). Collected user content included Post Comments and Replies. Content was gathered from a defined date range discussed below. The in-flux nature of social media makes it difficult to study so a "static dataset" was created where posts were recorded at the time of collection via screenshots to create a fixed record that would not be subject to the removal or addition of fresh content. Data was then collected from this static point and

entered into Microsoft Excel to create a consistent and comparable dataset.

The primary focus of most social media content analysis is to gather qualitative data to identify and understand themes present within the data. SNS are also a ready source of rich quali-quantitative and quantitative information such as Facebook's user Likes, Reactions (emoji-based interactions including Love, Haha, Wow, Sad, Angry and Care) and Shares. It is common for content analysis investigations into SNS to gather this mixed qualitative and quantitative data to augment and enhance their main dataset with supplementary information (Budge 2017; Budge & Burness 2018; Chen 2019; Levy et al. 2013; Shen & Bissel 2013; Stollefson et al. 2014; 2019; Waters & Jamal 2011; Waters & Jones 2011). Following this precedent, additional quali-quantitative data was collected alongside the Facebook Page and user content.

It is important to note that the use and audience sizes of Facebook Pages varied dramatically across the 44 accredited and non-accredited companies. The frequency of Posts, number of user interactions per Post and the total follower sizes deviated from organisation to organisation and could often experience sizable variations during the research's timeframe. Unequal Facebook Page audiences, the volumes and variability of company Posts and potential company-specific biases towards certain content types are likely to have impacted on the overall CfA RO, Non-RO and combined datasets. Yet, there is still value in studying the collated, despite its composition consisting of unequal Posts from companies. The prominence of more prolific organisations is important to understand, as their contributions are unquestionably more visible across Facebook's archaeological communities. To mitigate the difficulties of resolving these statistical imbalances in the collated data, individual companies will also be analysed separately to assess the variability in Post categories across CfA ROs and Non-ROs.

3.1.5 Date Range Selection and the Covid-19 Pandemic

The primary objective for this research was to create a dataset that would help to provide an initial characterisation of the UK's development-led archaeological sector's use of social media, particularly Facebook. This "foundation" would hopefully create a baseline, to both inform subsequent practitioner interviews and enable successive analysis. To create this overview of SNS use, six months of each company's Facebook content was examined. With data collection beginning in early 2020, a period between 01 June 2019 and 30 November 2019 was chosen, giving a total of 183 days, 129 working weekdays and 54 weekends and bank holidays. An end date three months prior to the data collection was selected to reduce the likelihood that content would receive additional user interactions or be deleted during this process.

During the project's data collection the global Covid-19 pandemic resulted in a UK-wide lockdown that had an unprecedented impact on the UK's development-led archaeological industry and people's use of the internet. It rapidly became clear that this exceptional environment was creating a different online environment and owing to the uncertain nature of the pandemic, it was unclear how long it would last. The UK's lockdowns forced archaeological organisations into temporarily abandoning traditional physical engagement outputs and, for those that did seek to continue interacting with audiences, drove them into virtual spaces. This raised difficult questions as to whether the research should move away from the original intention to characterise and create a "baseline" of the digital sector, or whether it should redirect focus and try to capture an "up-to-the-minute" dataset reflecting the pandemic.

For questions exploring how institutional social media use had changed and adapted to Covid-19 it would be necessary to first understand the wider landscape, the original intention

of the research. This necessity to pursue the original aim combined with the uncertainties associated with the duration of lockdowns, difficulties in contacting furloughed staff and advice from the research's funding body the AHRC, meant that the focus of the research remained the creation and characterisation of a dataset centred on a pre-pandemic environment. However, a brief exploration of the post-pandemic archaeological Facebook landscape was also conducted, with a three-month research period between 1st June 2022 and 31st August 2022 explored in Chapter Eight.

3.1.6 Qualitative Content Analysis Coding Framework

At its core, content analysis is an investigative technique where data is sorted into groups using a coding schema or codebook (Neuendorf 2017). Content analyses of SNS have employed varied methods of generating the categories in their coding schemes. The development of coding groups can be either deductive or inductive. Deductive coding sees researchers creating their codes based on themes or trends present in academic literature, a method that has been used in investigating social media (Stellefson et al. 2019; Waters & Jamal 2011; Waters & Jones 2011). For deductive coding to be successful it requires a pre-existing body of relevant research within a discipline which, owing to the lack of existing literature within archaeological contexts, makes this method problematic. Inductive coding differs as it allows the categories to emerge from the data, often as the data collection is being undertaken, and has been applied to content analyses on SNS (Budge & Burness 2018; Chew & Eysenbach 2010; Jain et al. 2020).

Rather than adopt the mutually exclusive use of deductive or inductive coding, this research uses a mixed method following more recent trends in content analysis research (Abaidoo & Takyiakwaa 2019; Hood & Reed 2018; Jarreau et al. 2019; Price & Kerr 2018; Schlichthorst et al. 2019; Sowles et al. 2018). Deductive coding was used to identify initial coding groups based on the themes present in the limited body of relevant archaeological and heritage literature. As data was collected and samples studied iteratively, inductive coding was used to refine the preliminary categories. This mixed technique allowed the development of the coding scheme to be less rigid and more responsive to emergent themes.

Opting for a manual data collection method, rather than an automated technique was valuable as it aided the inductive generation and refinement of coding groups. During the collection process, the researcher was able to study the character and content of posts, comments, photos and videos and identify deficiencies in the initial set of categories and sub-categories. Where groups needed to be expanded to accommodate new themes or contracted to reduce over-coding, this inductive stage made it easier to do so. Indeed, this approach effectively turned the data acquisition into a primary phase of inductive trail coding.

3.1.7 Single vs. Multiple Category Coding

Initially, during the development of the coding framework, it was unclear how prevalent content containing multiple qualifiers would be. Previous research (see Chew & Eysenbach 2010) has sorted social media content into multiple coding categories, where it was suitable. During the earliest trial coding both multiple category coding and single category coding were both tested. In multiple category coding, an individual post is included in the tallies for every category it contained matching qualifiers for. Conversely, single category coding involved matching a post to the category it best suited, even if it contained qualifiers relevant to other categories.

Following multiple phases of testing, using both ClfA RO and Non-RO data, it was felt that single category coding was the best-suited form of analysis. While content contained multiple qualifiers, coding into a single category that best matched the primary focus of the

post was considered to provide the best body of comparative data from which to build an overview of organisational outputs. Opting for multiple qualifier coding would provide a more diffuse overview of the anatomy of content and lead to data focusing on the components of a Post, not the Post itself. Therefore, single category coding was chosen as it better suited the research's objectives.

3.1.8 Developing and Testing Coding Frameworks

Two coding frameworks were developed following guidance from Neuendorf (2017) and Schreier (2012; 2013). The first framework was used for Facebook Page Content (Posts) while the second was employed for User Comments. The Page Content coding framework was predominantly developed using inductive coding, owing to the lack of pre-existing literature on categorising heritage and archaeological-based social media Posts. This absence prevented a deductive or mixed-method technique from building initial categories. The User Comments framework was created using a mixed-method approach to generate initial categories deductively before inductive coding was used to refine and expand these.

3.1.9 The Page Content (Posts) Coding Framework

During the manual acquisition of the Facebook content used to build this research's dataset, emergent themes present in archaeological companies' Posts were used to inductively generate a series of preliminary categories. These preliminary categories formed the basis for three phases of trial coding to develop and refine these coding groups. Each round involved a sample group from three randomly selected development-led Facebook Pages, with the first using a group of 311 Posts, the second 300 Posts and the third and final trial another 300 Posts. The third trial coding was considered to have developed a framework that provided sufficiently inclusive coverage of Page content.

Owing to the wide variety of topics present in the organisations' Facebook posts, it was not possible to create a comprehensive framework that could neatly categorise every piece of encountered content. This necessitated the inclusion of an "Other" category. However, during the last phase of trial coding only two posts (0.6% of the sample) were coded in this way, suggesting the framework was robust enough to characterise most posts. Following the three phases of trials, the coding framework was created (Figure 2). The framework comprised 11 Primary Categories, eight of which contained Subcategories. One, Media Coverage, contained a second level of Subcategories, to enable the identification of the sources used for these Posts. Subcategories were created as they opened a secondary level of analysis. A codebook, containing descriptions of each Primary Category and Subcategory alongside markers and identifying features for coders, was drawn up to ensure consistency and repeatability during coding (see Appendix A).

3.1.10 The User Comment Coding Framework

Owing to the difficulty of coding each response that formed part of a conversation, for this research only top-level Comments were considered eligible for coding. Top-level Comments are the independent, individual Comments left by users and do not include any attached responses that form associated threads (though the number of replies each Comment generated was recorded separately). As content analysis on archaeological Facebook content had previously been employed by the author (Wakefield 2020), this earlier research was used to deductively inform the creation of the initial set of coding categories. Before a primary phase of trial coding began, the categories were amended based on discussions with archaeologists and heritage practitioners. Subcategories were also created, to complement the Page Content coding framework and enable a further level of analysis.

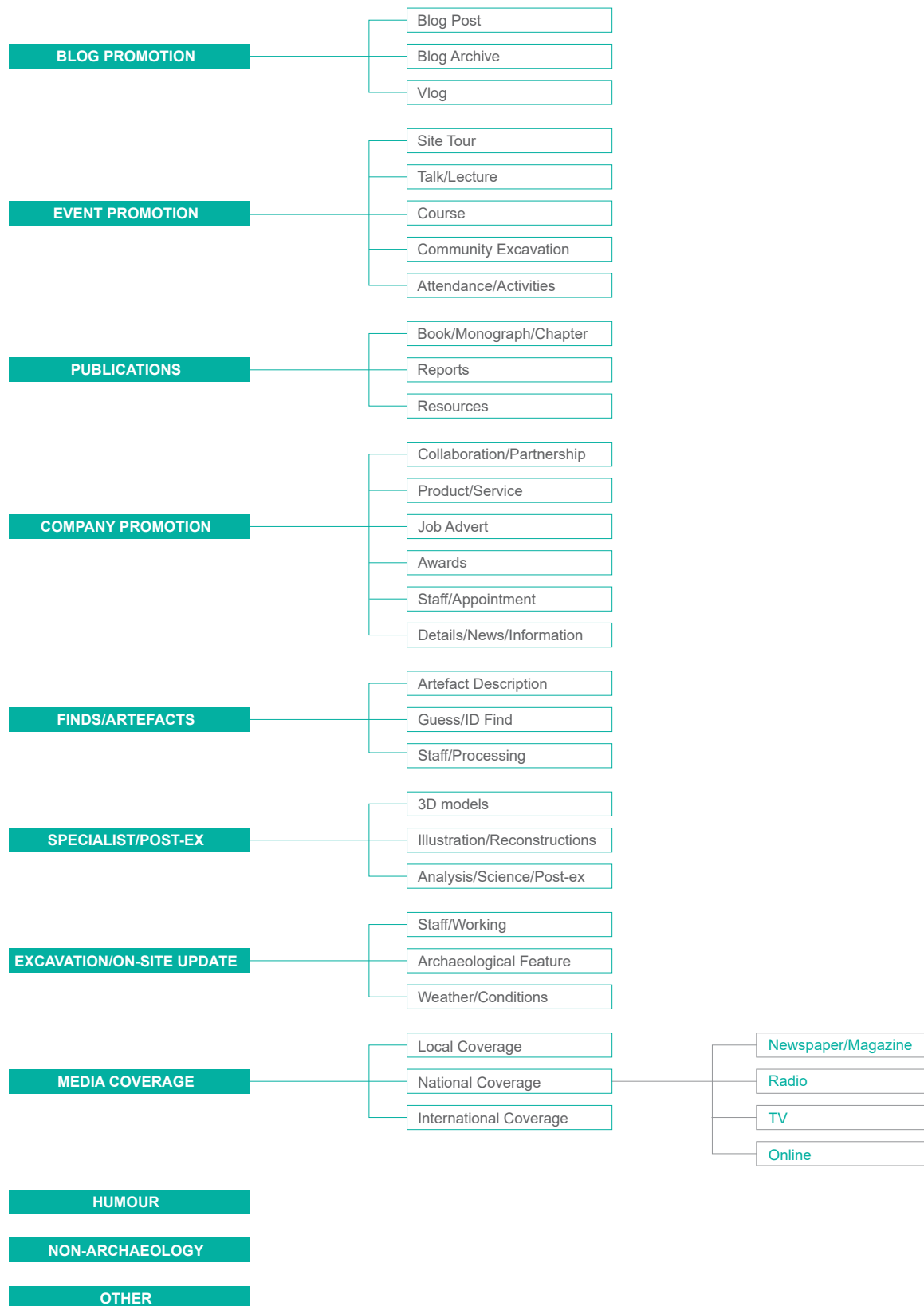


Figure 2: The Page Content Coding Framework with Primary Categories listed alongside their respective Subcategories. Through multiple rounds of trial coding, it was determined that not all Primary Categories would require Subcategories

Following the approach used for Page Content coding, the User Comment framework underwent three phases of trial coding, each of which examined 300 Posts. The first two rounds, resulted in some minor adjustments to the Subcategories, particularly in defining the present elements in a Comment that would qualify as identifiers for coding. Following a third trial coding, the Primary Categories and Subcategories were felt to be robust and to provide sufficient coverage for the content encountered and the User Comment coding framework was created (Figure 3).

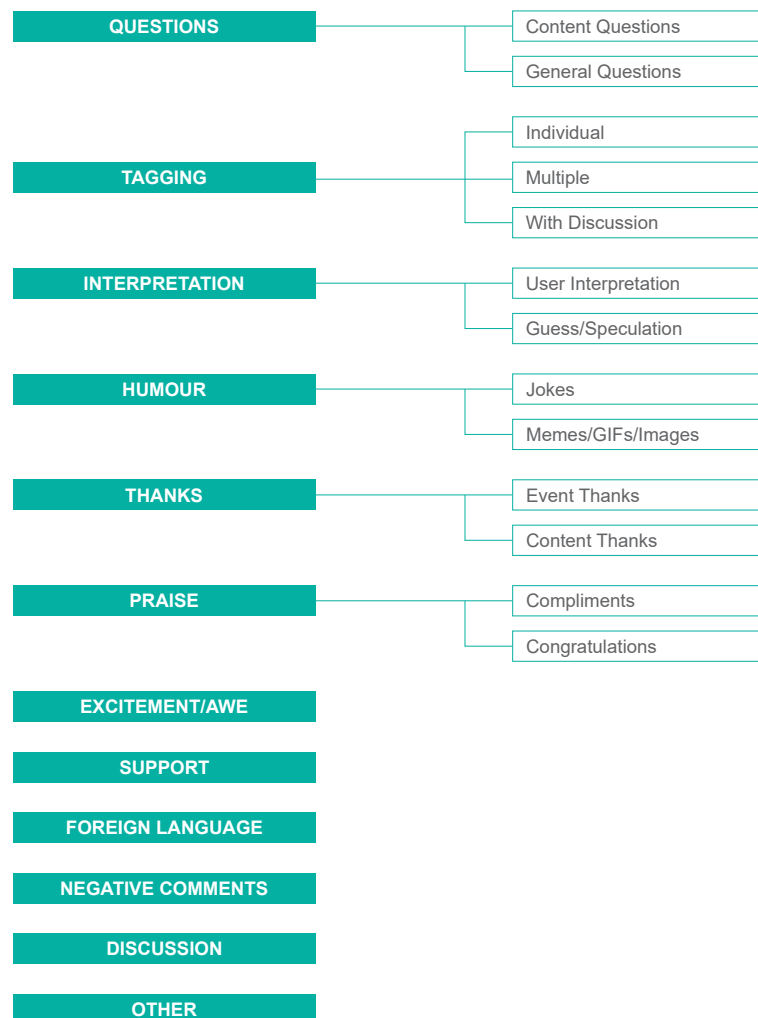


Figure 3: The User Comment Coding Framework. Primary Categories are listed in bold alongside applicable Subcategories. Note: Not all Primary Categories generated Subcategories

Owing to the amorphous nature of many social media comments, it was necessary to include coding categories that could encompass less defined and more specific but low-volume content. Two coding groups were created to tackle these more problematic categories. The first, Other, included User Comments that contained a highly defined and focused theme but were clearly separate from the rest of the Primary Categories. Where a comment was coded as Other, it was also annotated with a brief description to enable a post-coding analysis of this content to potentially identify further emergent themes. During trial coding fewer than 1%

of Comments were categorised as Other, which was considered an acceptable level.

The second category, “Discussion”, was created to capture the more ambiguous User Comments that are commonly encountered during social media exchanges. These were typically very brief statements of only a few words, unrelated content and discussions about non-archaeological topics, conversational exchanges that had not responded to threads and a further myriad of material that had no clear predominant feature. Where this amorphousness was encountered Comments were coded as Discussion to avoid the creation of hundreds of minor categories, where each would contain a handful of Comments. Having previously encountered the often-nebulous nature of social media discourse before (Wakefield 2020), it was felt that this category was a necessary feature of the coding. Owing to the time constraints of the research, the Discussion category was deliberately designed to be wide-ranging to allow a focus on the main identified Comment themes.

For more information on this category and coding criteria, please refer to Appendix A.

3.1.11 Page Content (Posts) Coding Reliability Checks

As Neuendorf (2017, 166) notes, for content analysis to be valid as a tool of measurement it is necessary to confirm “that the coding scheme is not limited to use by only one individual”. This is typically achieved using intercoder reliability checks, where other coders examine a sample of the data to ensure the results are not a product of an individual’s subjective judgement (Neuendorf 2017). As this research’s content analysis was being undertaken by a single coder, the author, it was imperative to correlate the coding schema with other independent researchers and professionals.

To check the reliability of the Page Content coding framework, tests were carried out with the assistance of three other coders. These included an archaeologist with extensive experience of the UK development-led landscape, an archaeologist that works in the UK museum sector and a digital heritage practitioner from North America. The three individuals were chosen owing to their relevant but differing backgrounds and experiences which would offer a range of insights into the coding framework. Coders were given two samples of content to code. These consisted of Page Content (Posts) alongside User Comments, which also included the Posts on which they were left to provide context for the coders. Neuendorf (2017, 187) acknowledges that there is no consensus on the sample size needed for intercoder reliability checks though they should “never be smaller than 50”.

Trial coding is a time-intensive process and all the coders worked full-time. The reliability checks required an initial meeting to explain the codebooks and categories, two phases of coding sessions on Page Content and User Comments, a follow-up meeting and a final sample following the completion of the content analysis by the author. Owing to this investment of time from the coders, it was necessary to employ the lower threshold of 50 Posts and 50 Comments for the intercoder reliability sample. However, it was felt that the use of three independent coders, alongside a sufficient sample, would still ensure a robust reliability check.

Each coder had a one-hour meeting, during which the research and its aims were discussed and both coding frameworks were explained. Following this the three individuals coded both Page Content and User Comment samples twice, entering the data into spreadsheets on Google Sheets. Once this has been done, another meeting was held where the coders were able to discuss any issues encountered and provide feedback on the coding framework.

Reliability was ascertained using an intercoder reliability coefficient, Cohen’s kappa (Tables 1 and 2). While numerous different coefficients can be used (Neuendorf 2017), Cohen’s kappa was selected as it is widely employed in content analysis studies. Neuendorf (2017)

acknowledges that there are no common statistical cut-offs to mark at what level an appropriate level of agreement is reached between coders. However, collating numerous proposed criteria yields a consensus that any coefficient above .80 “would be acceptable to all” (Neuendorf 2017, 168). The results of the coding tests from all three individuals produced coefficients above this recommendation, when testing the level of agreement for both Primary Categories and Subcategories together, the results yielded kappas of .93, .84 and .84 respectively. While there were some small discrepancies, such as Participant Three’s second coefficient being lower than the first, the results suggest that the coding framework is not limited to use by the author alone.

Participant Number	Page Content (Posts)	Cohen's kappa
Participant 1	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.89
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.93
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.92
Participant 2	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.82
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.89
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.85
Participant 3	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.93
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.96
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.89

Table 1: Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for Page Content (Posts) using Cohen's kappa. The Subcategories results show the coefficients where both the Primary and Subcategories from the coders matched the author's own categorisations

Participant Number	User Comments	Cohen's kappa
Participant 1	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.91
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.93
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.93
Participant 2	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.89
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.91
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.84
Participant 3	Primary Categories 1 st Round	.93
	Primary Categories 2 nd Round	.91
	Subcategories 2 nd Round	.84

Table 2: Intercoder Reliability Coefficients for User Comments using Cohen's kappa. The Subcategories results show the coefficients where both the Primary and Subcategories from the coders matched the author's own categorisations

3.1.12 Post Sampling Strategy

The six-month period of data collection yielded a total of 2,344 Posts, with 1943 coming from ClfA RO Pages and 401 from Non-RO Facebook ones. 4,074 User Comments were recorded, 3,835 on ClfA RO Posts and 239 on Non-RO content. However, many of these 4,074 Comments were thread replies and not “top-level” Comments. Owing to the difficulty of coding each response that formed part of a conversation, for this research only top-level Comments were considered eligible for coding (although the number of replies each Comment generated, was recorded separately). This created a dataset of 3,332 top-level Comments, 3,135 on ClfA RO Posts and 197 on Non-RO content.

After careful consideration on the merits of sampling these datasets, it was determined to code the complete dataset. This decision was made to try and generate the most robust dataset available and to avoid any of the potential problems associated with sampling that may lead to skewed results.

3.2 Audience Analysis

Understanding audiences is an essential component for delivering successful public engagement (Bollwerk 2015). As Comments are arguably the strongest visible evidence of user engagement on SNS, owing to their participative and dialogue-driven components, the sample focused on this form of Facebook interaction. To explore the Comments being generated user data was briefly examined to identify a prior connection to archaeology to gauge how much engagement may be generated from within the field.

Following calls for digital archaeological studies to be more ethically aware (Richardson 2018; 2019) and this research’s aim to ensure the relevant social media data preserves the anonymity of Facebook users, only a small selection of account characteristics from a sample of users was gathered in line with ethical approval. At the time of the data’s collection, hovering over a Facebook user’s account on a posted Comment would display a profile picture and, depending on the account’s security preferences, may also have displayed a job title and/or an educational qualification. This information was examined and used to identify the number of unique users Commenting on content and whether the profile pictures, job titles and qualifications (if present) demonstrated a link to archaeology or heritage. Aside from this publicly visible, auto-generated profile summary no individual profiles were directly accessed and any collected data in the research was anonymised.

Owing to the volume of comments encountered within the dataset a sample was chosen across ClfA ROs and Non-ROs of the first 25 top-level Comments from Page Posts (or all present if the organisation registered fewer than 25), with data gathered only if publicly visible. It is important to stress that this sample is not representative of Facebook audiences. Only a small proportion of users employ this mode of interaction compared with PDAs (see Chapter Four) and there are likely to be other biases impacting the sample on which individuals are more likely to leave Comments. However, determining how many Comments stem from pre-existing archaeological and heritage audiences is important to assess how widely Facebook content is reaching beyond the discipline.

Evidence of a user having an established connection to archaeology was recorded in two ways. Firstly, if the user’s account had publicly visible employment featuring an archaeological or heritage organisation as a current or previous employer or listed educational qualifications in the discipline. Secondly, if a user’s visible profile photo depicted them engaged in a common archaeological activity (on an excavation, working with artefacts, carrying out a survey). This use of images to identify those involved with archaeology as part of the methodology means it is hard to separate out “professional”

archaeologists from “amateurs”, including those who may volunteer or been involved in community projects. Irrespective of “professional” status, any demonstration of prior involvement with the discipline is enough to comfortably categorise these users as being an established archaeological audience.

There are likely to be many more users with a prior connection to archaeology within the dataset as not all archaeological Facebook users will advertise this connection so readily, by listing their employment details, qualifications or using a “work” photo on their profile. Equally, following 2018’s Facebook data scandals there is likely to be a greater awareness of account privacy settings limited the amount of publicly visible information available. Therefore, the true number of Facebook users with an established archaeological association will be higher than the figures reported below.

Carrying out a more detailed examination of archaeological social media audiences was beyond the scope of the research owing to the necessity to obtain more detailed personal data and ensuring the collection was ethically obtained and involved consenting participants. Given estimates that approximately 5% of Facebook users are thought to be fake accounts (Nicas 2020) it is possible some of the encountered profiles within the dataset are bots. However, given the close reading of the Comments attached to each profile as part of the research, no account had any typical flags associated with bot accounts.

3.3 Practitioner Interviews

To create a sample that reflected ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, different archaeological organisation sizes and geographical locations, a list of 20 companies was created that reflected variety in these areas. Companies were then sent an invitation to participate in semi-structured interviews alongside an information sheet providing further details about the project (see Appendix B). Emails and information were either sent directly to engagement personnel, if their details were listed on organisations websites, or via office or admin staff if no applicable contacts could be identified. Where invitations were sent to central accounts, positive replies from admin staff proposed a suitable interviewee with whom the researcher subsequently communicated.

Of the 20 companies contacted seven did not respond to interview requests, five of which were non-accredited organisations, making Non-ROs underrepresented in the interview dataset. To try and address this imbalance two additional Non-ROs were contacted, though neither responded and the limited number of non-accredited companies with active social media channels prevented any further attempts to source additional interviewees. A ClfA-accredited organisation declined to participate in the research, citing no available staff members as the reason and another expressed interest in participating in the research, though did not reply to follow-up messages.

Therefore, 11 organisations (nine ClfA ROs and two Non-ROs) agreed to participate in the project, with participants returning a signed consent form confirming their involvement in the research (see Appendix B). Interviews were carried out online in 2022 and recorded with the platform’s native call recording software. The interviews were semi-structured and developed using a “responsive interviewing” model designed to reflect the “dynamic and iterative process” of conducting interviews and “learn what is important to those being studied” (Rubin & Rubin 2005, 15). A framework of potential main and sub-questions was drawn up (Appendix C) to scaffold the interview and provide thematic prompts for the interviewee, if necessary. Main question topics included job roles, social media goals, content creation, platform selection, evaluation, audiences, responsiveness, colleague perceptions, barriers, the pandemic and training (Appendix C). Questions were drawn from themes present in disciplinary literature and emergent topics from this research’s quantitative and qualitative

analysis. However, the question framework was designed to be flexible and provide space for interviewees to speak about the issues important to them and to allow for unidentified themes to emerge.

Interviews were anonymised to encourage participation in the research and allow individuals to speak freely about issues they felt strongly about. One exception to this approach was the inclusion of DigVentures' founder and Co-CEO Dr Brendon Wilkins, who agreed to participate in the research and waive anonymity owing to the unique approach the organisation takes towards archaeological work that would have made DigVentures easily identifiable. While DigVentures' business model is notably different to other companies operating in the archaeological sector, their projects include development-led work with clients (DigVentures 2024). For this research, it was considered important to explore alternative mechanisms for online engagement and DigVentures' social-focused approach on community building and digital delivery provided a counterpoint towards more traditional development-led strategies.

Interview transcriptions were produced by manually editing Zoom Education's automatically generated Otter.ai captions in Express Scribe. Transcriptions were cleaned to remove filled pauses and similar repetitious phrases and all but Brendon's were anonymised. Each interviewee was then consulted to ensure they were satisfied with the removal of potential identifiers and the content of their responses. Following this process, one Non-RO interviewee withdrew from the research for unspecified reasons and the management of a participating CfA RO redacted approximately a third of their participating employee's transcript, despite its anonymisation, to permit its inclusion in the study. This left a dataset of 10 interviews with nine from CfA ROs and one from a Non-RO. Thematic analysis of the interviews was then conducted to identify commonalities between the participants' responses.

Where practitioner interviews are referenced and quoted in the text the interviewee's pseudonym is cited followed by the line number from the respective transcript (for example Appendix D: Dawn, 35-37). All transcripts are included in Appendix D.

3.4 Post-Pandemic Data Sample

The Covid-19 pandemic has unquestionably exerted an influence on social media use, as attested by the proliferation of research into its increased use and often its associated impact on user mental health and digital wellbeing (Burke et al. 2021; Gupta & DSilva 2020; Haddad et al. 2021; Liu et al. 2021; Valdez et al. 2020). Social media users' usage of platforms during the pandemic is thought not to have been typical (Kaya 2020). Equally, the rapidly evolving nature of social media platforms and ever-changing user behaviours and appetites, irrespective of pandemic impacts, creates an almost overwhelming degree of complexity when trying to understand and interpret audience interactions. Owing to the time constraints of this research and its primary purpose of characterising development-led archaeological social media use, it was not possible to conduct a detailed exploration of the post-pandemic digital landscape. However, a targeted examination aimed at gauging company content outputs in relation to interview discussions was undertaken both to identify potential change and possible areas of future research. A three-month period between 1st June 2022 and 31st August 2022 was chosen, echoing the primary data collection and to ensure this reflected what is typically a busy time for archaeological fieldwork.

The variable nature of development-led archaeological posting and content creation discerned from 2019's principle dataset made creating a representative sample reflecting this diversity difficult. It was decided to use a random selection of organisations, representing approximately one third of companies reflecting both accredited and non-accredited

companies, to ensure a sufficient range for the sample. To create a sample of the data, a random number generator was used to choose nine CfA ROs and five Non-ROs for a total of 14 organisations, 31.8% of the original combined dataset of 44 development-led archaeological companies. Posts were captured and recorded in the same manner as the primary dataset, to enable comparisons.

Chapter 4 The Development-led Digital Dataset: ClfA ROs and Non-ROs

The following chapter discusses the wider landscape of social media channels used by development-led companies in the UK before exploring the quantitative and qualitative data associated with their presences on Facebook.

Using the steps detailed in the Methodology chapter, two lists were compiled of active companies belonging to both categories of archaeological organisation, ClfA Registered Organisations (ROs) and non-accredited companies (Non-ROs). While the directory of ClfA ROs listed every accredited organisation in the UK, the catalogue of active Non-ROs was incomplete. Owing to the difficulty of tracking down contemporary company data and the time intensive nature of filtering the ADS' complete depositor list, a sample of Non-RO companies was created. This Non-RO dataset is not a complete summary of unaccredited companies, though it is a characteristic sample of 41 different sizes of organisation, ranging from multi-office organisations to “one man and his dog” operations.

Both ClfA RO and Non-RO lists were filtered to focus solely on companies that offered commercial, on-site development-led archaeological services. Organisations that did not directly undertake this work were discounted from the study. These included local government archives, environmental services and archaeological consultancies, which principally exist to liaise between clients and archaeological contractors, unless it was made explicitly clear in their digital presences that archaeological excavation was regularly undertaken.

At the time of the research's data collection, ClfA's Registered Organisation scheme consisted of 81 companies in England, Scotland and Wales. After examining each company, 21 were removed from the study for not meeting the above criteria. Of these omitted organisations, 19 were consultancy firms, for whom ClfA accreditation is undoubtedly a desirable asset when tendering for work with clients. A further two local government organisations were discounted as their work overwhelmingly dealt with local history archives and it was unclear if either carried out active development-led work. One company ran two independent social media accounts: one which represented the whole company and another that was focused on a regional office. This created a foundation of 60 ClfA ROs from which to explore development-led companies' social media outputs.

The sample of 41 Non-ROs includes a greater proportion of smaller and region-specific companies, many with few employees, though some larger multi-office companies are non-accredited. With smaller staff numbers, Non-ROs are unlikely to have dedicated engagement personnel. The focus of non-accredited organisations is more likely to be concentrated solely on completing the required archaeological work, on-time and under-budget. ClfA ROs are encouraged to actively publicise their development-led work and its results using diverse methods, from traditional physical engagement activities to the use of the internet as a communication tool (ClfA 2023c). Indeed, timely and effective communication and publication is one of the criteria that is assessed by ClfA before granting a company a RO status. However, Non-ROs are only bound to the required planning legislation and developmental control specifications where there is usually no formal requirement to carry out any form of public communication. This lack of a formal obligation among Non-ROs to conduct engagement for many projects is clearly reflected in their digital outputs.

4.1 Digital Presences: Websites and Social Media

Creating and maintaining a digital presence for a company is now commonplace for businesses, with dedicated corporate websites becoming widespread over the past 20 years. Therefore, it was unsurprising to see every ClfA RO had a dedicated company

website (Table 3). It is worth noting that these websites varied significantly in design and content, from sleek contemporary homepages to more “functional” designs. Despite a website being considered an essential modern business component, it is interesting that in 2020 only 87.8% of Non-ROs had a dedicated webpage (Table 3) with five having no online website, a notable impediment to prospective clients finding out about an organisation and their services and for non-archaeologists to find out about archaeological work.

	Website	Facebook	Twitter	LinkedIn	YouTube	Instagram	Sketchfab	Flickr
Percentage of CfA ROs with Account	100%	85%	75%	68.3%	40%	35%	31.7%	16.7%
Percentage of Non-ROs with Account	87.8%	58.5%	31.7%	51.2%	7.3%	19.5%	N/A	4.8%
Social Media Ranks	N/A	1	8	-	2	3	-	-
	N/A	1	4	6	2	3	-	10

Table 3: Percentage of the 60 CfA RO and 41 Non-RO companies with SNS accounts on respective platforms. Social Media Ranks show popularity of each platform (excluding messaging services). Upper row of ranks reflects global SNS popularity from Statista (2023) data and lower row for UK popularity from Social Media (2023) data

4.2 Digital Presences: Social Media Selection

The selection of SNS among development-led companies is of considerable interest, with Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn emerging as the clear favourites for both CfA ROs and Non-ROs (Table 3). However, there are notable disparities in social media use between the two forms of organisation, with CfA ROs having invested more heavily in SNS than their RO counterparts (Table 3). Facebook’s global dominance as the social networking platform of choice among users was reflected in its uptake by CfA ROs, with 51 (85%) organisations having created company Pages on it by 2020. Despite this popularity, just under two thirds of Non-ROs had signed-up for a Facebook account within the same timeframe. Even more surprising is that only 11 Non-ROs (26.8%) had active accounts that had posted more than ten pieces of content within the six-month research period. This limited uptake and notable degree of inactivity suggests that communication via social media channels was not regarded as a serious concern among most Non-ROs. The use of Facebook by development-led companies and user responses to the content they create is the focus of this research and is returned to in greater detail subsequently.

4.2.1 Twitter

Microblogging platform Twitter was used by both CfA ROs and Non-ROs with 75% and 31.7% of these companies holding accounts, respectively (Table 3). Twitter launched in 2006 (Arrington 2006) but it took six years for its popularity to skyrocket (Twitter 2012). It was during this period that many archaeologists started using the platform (Richardson 2012; 2014), including development-led companies (Reeves 2011; Goskar 2012). Twitter has long been a prominent social media platform within the wider public consciousness, buoyed by its use by politicians and celebrities, and interest has increased following Elon Musk’s controversial acquisition of the site in 2022 (Clayton & Hoskins 2022). However, despite its cultural prominence the platform’s number of regular users is dwarfed by its competitors, notably Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and TikTok (Beveridge & Lauron 2023; Lua 2023;

Statista 2023).

Despite Twitter's comparatively limited audience size, its continued use by the archaeological sector seems to stem from the platform's disciplinary legacy and its familiarity with professional practitioners. Equally, Richardson's (2012; 2014) observations that much of the platform's archaeological communication occurs within a specialist bubble appears to encourage the inter-archaeologist use of the SNS where practitioners can network, share publications and converse with others that share similar research interests. Of note was the disparity in Twitter use between accredited and non-accredited organisations, with more than twice the percentage of CifA ROs using the SNS (Table 3). Considering that Twitter is historically perceived as a core SNS (YouGov 2020), the discrepancy reflects the broader disconnect between SNS use between those organisations that are accredited and those that are not visible in this research (see below).

4.2.2 LinkedIn

LinkedIn is a business-focused social networking site that seeks to "connect the world's professionals", where individuals and companies can create accounts (LinkedIn 2023a; 2023b). LinkedIn is primarily focused on advertising jobs and providing employment services, though it offers inter-professional social networking and professional training (LinkedIn 2023a). Dedicated company accounts typically provide basic information and contact details, though they may also include details of any current job adverts and updates about their work.

Both groups of development-led companies used LinkedIn, with 68.3% of CifA ROs and 51.2% of Non-ROs having a presence on the SNS. LinkedIn's emphasis on jobs, company information and employees suggest that its popularity with these organisations is primarily centred on recruitment and business concerns, something described by interviews with engagement practitioners (Appendix D: Alice, 228-229; Ellen, 171-175; Samantha, 127-130). The platform is primarily associated with a professional audience engaged in networking, marketing and recruitment (Balkhi 2018; Osman 2020; The Muse Editor 2020). Indeed, during this research's Facebook content analysis many companies routinely shared LinkedIn job adverts.

While most development-led archaeological LinkedIn accounts solely focused on company details and recruitment, two practitioners described successfully sharing wider engagement content on the SNS (see Chapter Seven). However, for most companies the use of LinkedIn tied in with company marketing and business strategies rather than forming part of a wider digital engagement approach. It is telling that of the three most widely adopted SNS among development-led companies (Table 3), that one is not concerned with public engagement but instead centred on attracting new employees and improving corporate visibility. While LinkedIn ranks as the third most popular channel for CifA ROs, it is the second most-used channel among Non-ROs. For the latter, LinkedIn is almost as popular as Facebook, with over half of Non-ROs (51.2%) owning an account. This prominence suggests that business considerations are an important factor for development-led social media use.

4.2.3 YouTube

Despite YouTube's global success as the second most popular SNS, its use in 2020 by only 40% of CifA ROs and just 7.3% of Non-ROs presents a striking contrast. Closer scrutiny of these archaeological channels revealed a paucity of content and lengthy periods of inactivity. Of the 24 CifA ROs with YouTube accounts, 15 of these channels had less than ten videos, with an average of just 3.5 per channel. Similarly, 12 companies had not uploaded a video for more than one year, highlighting just how dormant many of these YouTube channels are.

On these inactive channels subscriber counts were typically in single figures, videos rarely surpassed a hundred views and evidence of user interactivity, such as likes and comments, were effectively non-existent. A handful of ClfA ROs had YouTube channels populated with content (two contained over a hundred videos, uploaded on a semi-regular basis) but these were clearly unusual.

This image of inactive YouTube accounts was reflected by the very limited Non-RO channels (just 7.3% had a YouTube channel). Of the three Non-ROs with YouTube accounts, none had posted a video in over two years. A single Non-RO channel had more than five videos, while another had just one. Of the 26 videos across all three accounts, just one had managed to receive more than 1,000 views and this was on content more than six years old.

The long-term inactivity of all but a few ClfA RO YouTube channels suggests that companies had only a brief foray into the world of video sharing. Most of these flirtations occurred in the mid-2010s, with a trickle of content being uploaded every few months before accounts became dormant. This abandonment may have been prompted from a combination of the resource-intensive nature of video production, the lack of interest from YouTube's audiences yielding poor view counts and a low initial engagement rate from users.

It has long been thought by marketers that video content on SNS is popular with audiences (Ahmad 2019) and regularly attracts higher rates of engagement than any other form of content (though see Appendix D: Victoria, 617-622 which challenges this). Video popularity is continually increasing, and it was estimated that by 2022 82% of all consumer internet traffic will come from online video (Ahmad 2019). The most probable explanation for the limited uptake of YouTube, and video content more widely, is the greater investment in time it takes to produce compared with image and text-based posts. Despite smartphones lowering the bar for entry to producing videos and more "guerrilla" style footage being used to capture archaeological work (Morgan & Eve 2012), in practice most development-led companies are not using it. This absence of video for most organisations prevents a greater use of YouTube despite its enduring online popularity.

4.2.4 Instagram

Continuing the sizable falloff in SNS accounts, Instagram was used by 35% of ClfA ROs and just 19.5% of Non-ROs (Table 3). Instagram's position as the third most used social media platform (Table 3) contrasts its low uptake among development-led companies. The SNS has an association with young people, an image that is supported by its demographics, with 60% of its users under 34 (Zote 2023). Given the desire among heritage organisations to engage with younger audiences, it is interesting that a SNS with a desirable userbase is seemingly being underexploited. Instagram appears to lack popularity with both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs and their limited adoption of the platform, despite it being a decade old, suggests a reluctance to engage with this SNS. This low uptake by organisations may be a result of Instagram's focus on mobile content where it is difficult to use browser-based methods to create updates, interact with audiences and manage content.

4.2.5 Other SNS

The use of other SNS by development-led companies was varied with no other platforms receiving the same degree of widespread use as Facebook and Twitter. Despite Tik Tok now having over a billion active users (Statista 2023), their use by archaeological organisations in 2020 was extremely limited and few companies held accounts. In 2022 the picture was surprisingly similar, with some companies having created accounts as placeholders that were otherwise unused (Appendix D: Victoria, 111-112). Indeed, three practitioners described their frustration at colleagues informing them they should be using Tik Tok without

any conception of the time investment required (Appendix D: Ellen, 336-337; Mark, 533-537; Victoria, 113-115).

Sketchfab, an online platform for viewing 3D models that contains many of the core elements of social networks, was used by almost a third of CfA ROs in 2019. However, none of the 41 Non-ROs in 2019 had an account on the platform, something which may stem from the comparatively high fees charged for access (Sketchfab 2023c). Sketchfab (2023b) has a specific category for 3D archaeology and heritage models though the site only has six million unique users a month (Sketchfab 2023a) making it a remarkably small social platform. 3D modelling is now an increasingly ubiquitous technique within the development-led sector, particularly given the popularity of photogrammetry as an on-site recording technique (see Must Farm 2016; 2019; 2020).

While many development-led archaeological companies use Sketchfab to privately provide clients or specialists with models (Must Farm 2019), it is also clear that some CfA ROs are sharing their 3D models as a form of digital public engagement (AOC Archaeology Group 2023; Oxford Archaeology 2023; Wessex Archaeology 2023). Many of these companies ensure models contain substantial contextual information including backgrounds to the models, details of the excavations/artefacts and links to supplementary content, such as blogs, that enable audiences to go further (AOC Archaeology Group 2023; Oxford Archaeology 2023; Wessex Archaeology 2023). Yet, certain forms of user interaction, particularly comments, appear to be rare. That many organisations are using a specialised platform to share the technical outputs of their work is an interesting potential form of digital engagement. Though if this content stems from a concerted strategy to disseminate information with non-specialists or is simply a means of hosting an existing product from the archaeological process is an area that would benefit from further research.

Flickr, a historically popular photo hosting and sharing SNS that has steadily dwindled since its acquisition by Yahoo (Honan 2012) and a shift towards a paid subscription model (Flickr 2018), had limited use by archaeological organisations in 2019. While 16.7% of CfA ROs and just 4.8% of Non-ROs held accounts, only two company accounts were still active by 2020. A small number of archaeological organisations had accounts on smaller SNS and sites with social components (Vimeo, Scribd, Pinterest, Tumblr, Soundcloud). On closer examination most were inactive and therefore were not studied.

4.2.6 Absence of SNS

Given the prevalence of social media in society it was surprising to find that in 2020 many development-led organisations had no presence on any SNS. Of the CfA ROs, 10% had no social media accounts, active or otherwise. While these companies all had an online presence in the form of a company webpage, these were “static” pages and most contained only basic contact details of an organisation and the services they offered. For Non-ROs it was more than twice as common to encounter companies with no social media with 21.9% lacking any accounts. Four Non-ROs had no social media and no website, leaving them with no digital footprint for prospective clients or the wider public. The data highlights an uneven digital communication landscape where a notable proportion of companies were consciously choosing not to engage with SNS, a trend that was more pronounced among Non-ROs.

Understanding why this concerted rejection of social media occurs within the archaeological sector is challenging, particularly as no organisations that chose not to hold SNS accounts engaged with this research. However, discussions with active digital engagement practitioners (see Chapter Seven) suggest that a combination of the ingrained institutional prejudices of senior management, fears over jeopardising company-client relations, concerns regarding costs and a reluctance to move away from traditional physical

engagement activities are primarily responsible.

4.3 Development-Led Archaeology and Facebook: A Quantitative Exploration

This section provides a detailed examination of the Facebook-derived quantitative and quali-quantitative data from ClfA RO and Non-RO Pages. It begins with an exploration of the frequency of SNS before exploring typical metrics associated with Facebook and, finally, discusses emergent themes of Page-User activity, Organisational Responsiveness and Engagement Influences.

4.3.1 Active vs. Inactive Accounts

Despite Facebook accounts for development-led companies being the most common SNS for both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, many of these accounts were inactive (Table 4). Only accounts which had at least ten pieces of content posted during the six-month research period were considered “active” and studied. Most ClfA ROs (85%) had company Pages. Yet only 55% of these organisations regularly used Facebook, with 30% of Pages being dormant. The proportion of inactive Pages was far greater among Non-ROs with just 26.8% regularly posting content (Table 4).

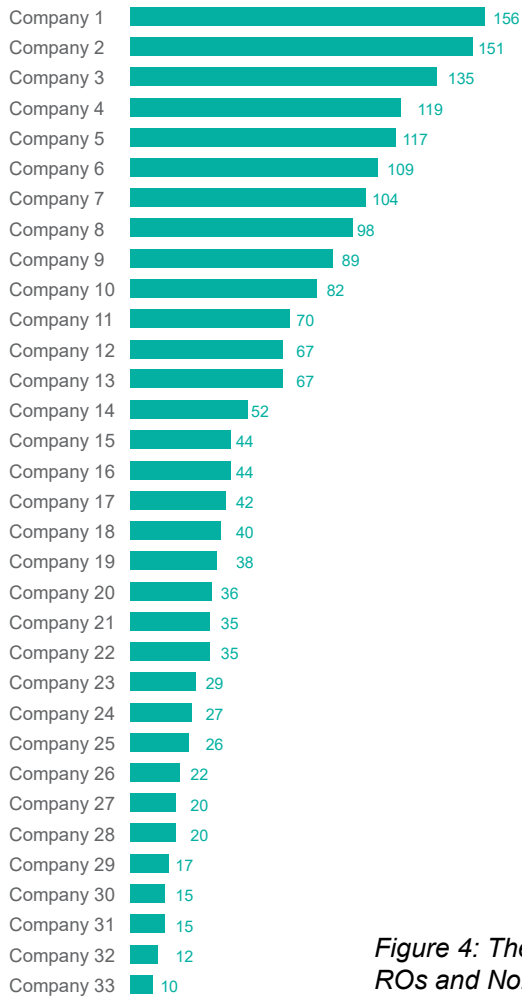
	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
Percentage of companies with Facebook	85%	58.5%
Percentage of companies with an active Facebook account	55%	26.8%
Combined Total Facebook Posts from All Companies	1943	401
Average Total Number of Posts per Company	58.8	36.5
Average Posts per Month per Company	9.8	6.1

Table 4: Summary of Facebook data gathered from development-led companies (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

These figures reflect the use of other SNS platforms by development-led companies in the above data. It appears common for archaeological organisations to create an account, often as the channel becomes widely adopted. This account typically receives a flurry of activity as the relevant platform benefits from the attention but this “honeymoon period” is rarely sustained and, as time passes, the accounts falter and quickly fall by the wayside.

For many development-led archaeological organisations it appeared difficult to keep their Facebook Pages populated with content. A deliberately conservative definition of an “active” Page (fewer than two new pieces of content per month) was chosen for the study period. Yet, even meeting this criterion was evidently difficult and less than half of the companies examined (43.5%) managed to maintain an “active” Page. Prominent distinctions were visible between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (Figure 4), particularly in the combined totals of posts from these respective groups (Table 4). ClfA RO’s active Facebook pages produced 1,943 posts during the six-month period, whereas Non-RO accounts generated 401. While there were more ClfA ROs than Non-ROs in the initial sample (60 vs 41), this difference does not account for the gulf in SNS use by the two groups.

CifA ROs Total Number of Posts



Non-ROs Total Number of Posts

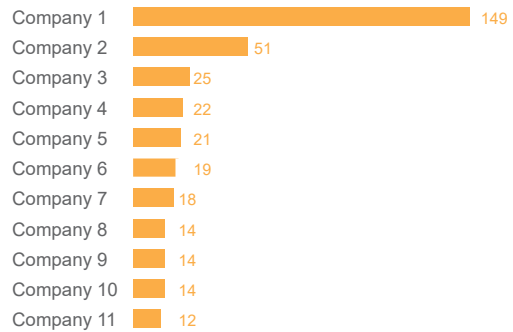


Figure 4: The Total Number of Posts on Facebook made by CifA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

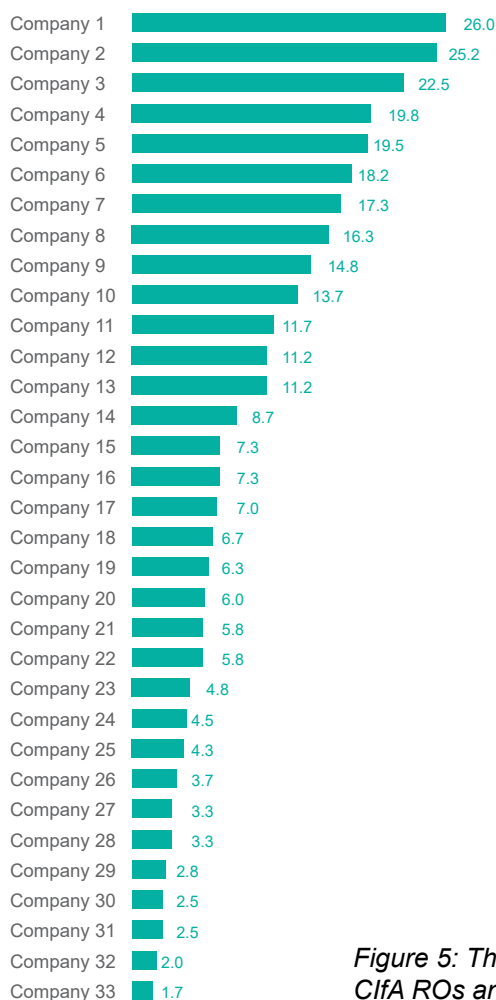
Non-ROs were engaging far less with SNS, both in terms of their wider platform uptake and the levels of activity on those that were adopted. Equally, despite CifA organisations demonstrating a higher degree of investment on Facebook, there was still significant variability in how accredited companies were employing SNS.

4.3.2 Frequency of Posts and Posting Times

The average total number of posts across the 33 CifA RO Facebook Pages for the 183-day study period was 58.8 (Table 4). This equates to an average of just under 10 posts per month (9.8), or approximately one piece of content every three days (Table 4). Excluding the 54 non-working days (weekends and bank holidays) from the period, where it is unreasonable to expect content, this produces an average among CifA ROs of one post every two days.

There was substantial variation in the frequency of posts across the CifA ROs. Only 13 of the 33 companies averaged more than 10 posts per month during the research period, with 11 creating fewer than five pieces of content on average (Figure 5). The highest posts per month average from a CifA RO was 26, while the lowest was just 1.7, showing the substantial differences between accredited companies.

Cifa ROs Average Posts Per Month



Non-ROs Average Posts Per Month

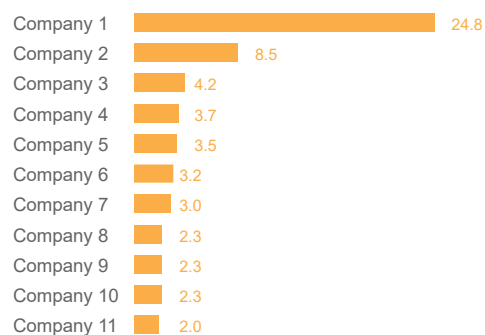


Figure 5: The average posts per month on Facebook made by Cifa ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Activity among Non-ROs was markedly lower, with the average total number of posts for these organisations standing at 36.5 (Table 4). Non-ROs' average posts per month were just 6.1, far lower than that of their Cifa counterparts. Indeed, this figure was boosted by one very active company that averaged 24.8 pieces of content per month. Aside from this one organisation, just one other Non-RO (Company 06) managed to average more than 10 posts per month (Figure 5). Eight of the 11 Non-ROs studied generated content, on average, fewer than four times per month (Figure 5).

Despite a higher proportion of Cifa ROs posting more frequently, the overall volume of content remained low across most organisations. Only one third of the overall sample of 44 companies managed to average 10 pieces of Facebook content per month (Figure 5). While two-thirds of all organisations had sparsely updated Pages, there were a select group of Cifa ROs, and a single Non-RO, that unquestionably used Facebook as a keystone in their wider communication strategies. However, it is important to note that the frequency of posting does not automatically translate into higher user engagement or audience interactions (see discussion of Comments for Non-RO Company 1 and 11 below).

4.3.3 Posting Days and Timings

Figure 6 shows the most popular days for posting Facebook content for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs in 2019. Non-ROs showed a very slight increase in content during the middle of the week, compared to ClfA ROs' tendency to post more at the end of the week (Figure 6). Curiously, for Non-ROs, there was little significant difference towards the numbers of posts shared on a weekday compared to the weekend. This suggests that for Non-ROs there was no demarcation between working and non-working days when it comes to sharing content on Facebook.

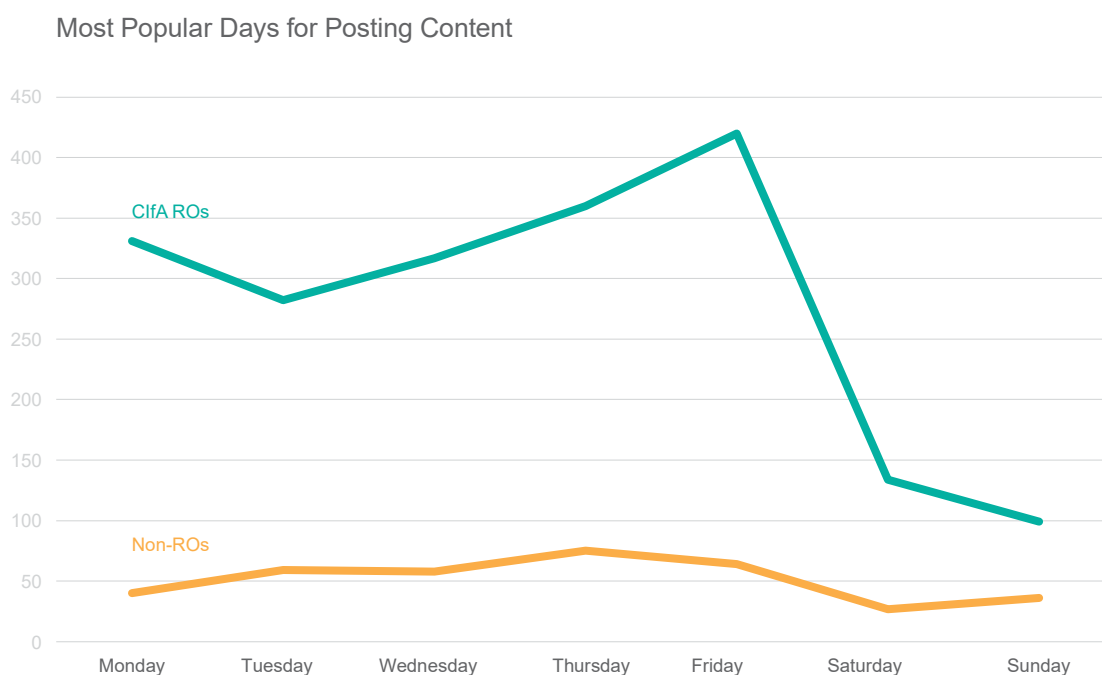


Figure 6: The total number of posts per day of the week from all ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Facebook (2023a) includes inbuilt scheduling tools that enable Page owners to prepare content in advance to be automatically posted at a predetermined date and time, enabling the easy sharing of material on weekends and holidays at any time. It may have been the case that Non-ROs were using scheduling to post content evenly, including weekends. However, the low post averages and uneven spacing of posts among non-accredited organisations implies an ad hoc, “as and when it suits” approach to Facebook use.

It can be difficult to definitively establish if a Facebook post was scheduled, particularly if it was done using internal platform options and not a third-party content manager (such as Hootsuite). However, when posts are scheduled, there is a high probability they will fall on an hourly or half-hourly interval rather than an irregular time (for example 09:00 rather than 09:17). While this will not always be the case, organisation posting times were analysed for potential evidence of scheduling and to determine consistency of content sharing. Among Non-ROs just 26 of the 401 posts (6.5%) appeared to have been scheduled in advance, indicating that non-accredited companies were seldom utilising this distribution tool. Indeed,

the regularity in post frequency across each day of the week appears to show a persistent model of impromptu SNS use rather than a pre-determined communication strategy. Indeed, it may simply have been the case that Non-ROs worked more frequently on weekends and their consistently low volumes of posting have artificially generated this trend.

While Non-ROs demonstrated an even distribution of content, albeit in limited volumes, ClfA ROs displayed greater variation in the days posts were shared (Figure 6). Accredited organisations favoured working days with an emphasis visible at the beginning and end of the week (Figure 6), with ClfA ROs having posted half as often on Saturday and Sunday compared with Monday to Friday. This trend appears to be indicative of accredited companies using Facebook during conventional employment hours and not using or monitoring Pages outside of work.

Employing a similar analysis of posting times to explore the potential for content scheduling described above, 341 of the 1,943 ClfA RO Posts (17.5%) were identified as being scheduled. While this is a considerably higher proportion than among their Non-RO counterparts, it still suggested that less than one fifth of ClfA RO content was preprepared and posted in advance. The implication that much of the content encountered in the research was not scheduled raises interesting questions surrounding how many posts among development-led archaeological companies are prepared in advance, rather than created and shared at the time. If so, this would suggest that SNS content is largely reactionary, with posts created as and when a content opportunity presents itself rather than staff having the opportunity to seek out and craft material to populate their Pages.

Scheduling tools can remove the need for out-of-hours posting. However, they do not remove the need for staff to oversee and moderate user reactions to content, a responsibility that typically necessitates timely responses to protect potential reputational damage to company and client image. Therefore, ClfA RO Facebook content being focused within the working week reflects concentrating posts where they can be monitored while mitigating the need for digital crisis management when managerial and collegiate support is unavailable.

Visible spikes in posts at the beginning and end of the working week for ClfA ROs, with 7.2% of Facebook posts shared on Monday morning and 10.5% on Friday afternoons, indicate that these were times where staff found it easiest to distribute content, just before or just after the weekend. Examination of the timings of posts demonstrate that, unsurprisingly, most posts are shared during typical office hours, concentrated between 08:00 and 18:00 (Figure 7). Despite the notable difference in post volume between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, there is also an interesting contrast between the preferred times for posting Facebook content between organisation types. ClfA ROs favour morning content, with most posts made between 08:00 and 11:00 whereas among Non-ROs there is a slight increase at the end of the working day, between 16:00 and 19:00 (Figure 7).

This difference suggests that among ClfA ROs, creating and sharing social content is more likely to be a recognised component of their job and workflow, taking place during their working hours (whether this is a formal responsibility is explored further in Chapter Seven's practitioner interviews). However, for Non-ROs the focus in post times occurring after 16:00 implies that most are shared after work, when posting in this more liminal timeslot will have less impact on paid work delivering archaeology on-time and on-budget for clients. This suggests that Non-ROs place less importance on Facebook posts, something reflected in practitioner discussions (Chapter 7).

There are also a small, though not insignificant, number of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that fall well outside of working hours. These posts, shared pre-06:00 and post-19:00 (Figure 7) are concerning, as it is hard to conceive why staff are being required to disseminate social media content so far beyond typical working hours. Given fears over the detrimental

impact SNS can have on mental health (Sheldon et al. 2019) and practitioner concerns over digital wellbeing (Chapter Seven), these posts suggest a problematic grey area between staff's personal use of SNS and the presence of implicit or explicit expectations from their employers.

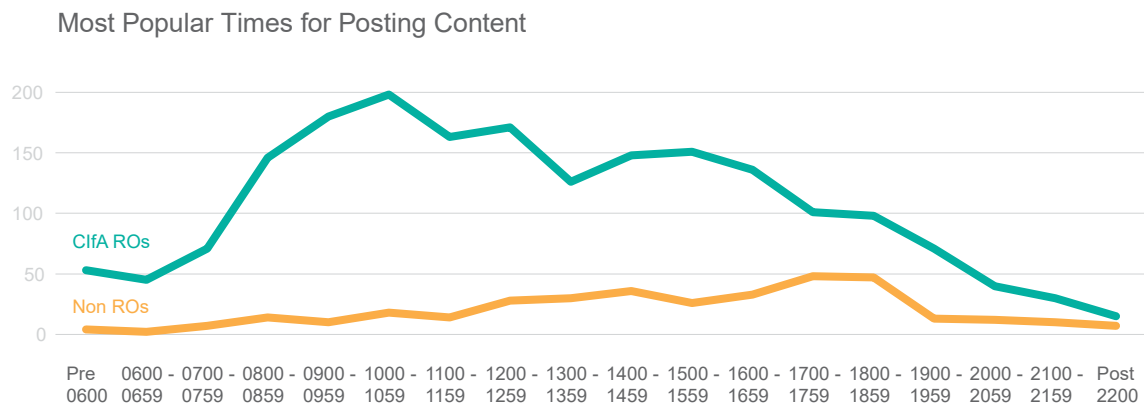


Figure 7: The total number of posts per time slot from all ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

4.3.4 Discussion of Post Frequency, Days and Times

Examination of post frequency, timings and the days content was shared among development-led archaeological organisations suggests that for many ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, Facebook use in 2019 was largely uncoordinated and ad hoc. Despite a greater proportion of ClfA ROs engaging with Facebook, there was still an overall inconsistency in the quantity and regularity of posts, creating a landscape where most companies are using this SNS erratically.

The research showed that some organisations, a handful of ClfA ROs and one Non-RO (Figure 4), appeared to be using their Facebook presence in an organised manner, where relatively regular content created a consistent stream of information for users. However, these organisations were in the minority. Indeed, much of the Facebook outputs of archaeological companies suggested posts appeared on an “as-and-when” basis, with little evidence for firms, accredited or otherwise, having social media strategies in 2019.

In the latest available examination of archaeological job roles in the UK, the Profiling the Profession Report 2020 (Aitchison et al. 2020), 51 respondents worked in Public Archaeology roles, though it was unclear how many of these positions were in the development-led archaeological sector. In the 2012/13 study (Aitchison & Rocks-Macqueen 2013) just three Education and Outreach roles in the field investigation and research category were recorded. This would suggest that for many fieldwork-based organisations there were few dedicated digital communication staff, particularly among smaller organisations.

Chapter Seven’s interviews with practitioners does include discussions with numerous staff with specific social media communications roles. However, participants were unlikely to

represent the sector more widely, as communication specialists were more likely to have the time and interest to participate in this research. Indeed, despite this selection bias numerous participants created and shared content on a less formal basis in addition to their primary roles (see 7.1 Participant Roles). Therefore, it appears that the frequency and timings of postings encountered in the dataset stemmed from many development-led archaeological organisations taking a more reactionary, ad hoc approach to creating and sharing content on Facebook. This general lack of investment in regular posts appears to indicate that companies did not regard social media as an important component of their wider messaging and dissemination, or that wider messaging and dissemination itself was not a priority.

4.4 Facebook User-Page Interactions

As previously discussed, SNS are popular sources for researchers owing to their accessible trove of quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative information can be easily accessed and comes pre-packaged in neatly labelled partitions reflecting different user behaviours. On Facebook, the most prevalent types of publicly visible user interactions are Likes/Reactions, Shares and Comments, though most SNS all have comparable categories (see Twitter's Likes, Retweets and Replies). Social media research typically focuses on these easily discernible user-Page metrics. However, it is important to consider that most users simply do not interact with digital content or, more accurately, do not interact in a manner that leaves interpretable metrics.

4.4.1 Lurking or Listening?

Since the earliest studies into internet use there has been a focus on online participation being defined as “actively contributing content and commentary” (Crawford 2012, 63). This underlying perspective, that participation requires visible interaction, led to the characterisation of non-interactive, effectively silent, users as “lurkers”. Academic perceptions of lurkers were immediately hostile (Crawford 2012; Edelman 2016). Lurkers, with their non-participative observation, were persistently characterised as freeloaders benefitting from the hard work of others and that they were non-productive, vacant bystanders that wasted bandwidth (Antin & Cheshire 2010; Crawford 2012; Edelman 2016; Kushner 2016). “Lurker” with its connotations of sneakiness, hiding and malice have created a term explicitly negative in nature (Crawford 2012; Edelman 2016) and, despite re-evaluations in the past decade, this negativity persists.

Despite this hostility, most internet users are lurkers. Writing in the mid-2000s, Nielson (2006) published a landmark blog highlighting that across SNS and online groups lurkers dominate audiences. Highlighting this digital participation inequality, Nielson (2006) discussed the “90-9-1 Rule”, where 90% of online users never contribute, 9% do so occasionally and 1% account for most content. This phenomenon creates highly skewed understandings of digital communities and that, while the precise percentages of lurking can be influenced it will never be possible to overcome this participation inequality (Nielson 2006). Nielson's 90-9-1 Rule has proved remarkably enduring in the ever-changing online world of SNS. Despite challenges to the concept, the proportion of lurkers appears to have remained constant (Kushner 2016). Companies, particularly those invested in social media platforms, have been continually investing in making participation easier. The implementation of liking, following and other one-click interactions are seen by Kushner (2016) as moves by companies to simplify and streamline participation and drive lurkers to become more involved.

However, lurking has received a more positive reevaluation within internet studies (Crawford 2012; Edelman 2016). Instead of lurking being characterised as a social dysfunction, which is incongruous given that it is the most popular online behaviour, it has been reinterpreted as

listening (Crawford 2012; Edelman 2016). Rather than viewing lurkers as being passive and ignoring content, these silent users are still participating by scanning feeds, choosing what to read and actively selecting which material to explore (Edelman 2016). As Crawford (2012) argues, listening is an essential facet of participation but there has been a disproportionate focus on more active forms, particularly speaking. Indeed, online participation needs to be reevaluated to recognise “how agency and engagement are developed through listening as much as through voice” (Crawford 2012).

Yet, lurking is a notoriously difficult form of engagement to understand in digital spheres. Where quantitative traces are left by silent users, they are at best vague. Facebook’s Reach metric (Facebook 2023b) tracks the number of unique users that saw content “at least once”. Reach is effectively an all-encompassing metric. It will include users diligently reading and absorbing posts alongside users pausing for a second to glance at an image as they scroll through their Facebook Newsfeed. How can researchers possibly unpick a user’s degree of engagement from this amorphous metric? If these users did not go on to leave a Like, Reaction, Share or Comment then it is virtually impossible to understand the nature of these lurkers’ participation or engagement.

It is the difficulty of deciphering these metrics, coupled with the legacy of lurking being considered as an unproductive, parasitical behaviour, that has led internet researchers to place it at the bottom of web hierarchies of participation (Crawford 2012). Social media engagements are often grouped and discussed as a hierarchy, either explicitly or implicitly, with studies often drawing out Likes, Shares and Comments as categories on Facebook (Kahle et al. 2016; McLeod-Morin et al. 2020; Wood 2020). Yet, there is a lack of discussion of the “silent majority” of users and a focus on the distinct, pre-existing engagement categories. This leaves Reach and Impressions, and therefore the few traces of lurking, either entirely absent or at the bottom of the hierarchy of meaningful digital participation.

Framing lurking in this manner disregards that these users are consciously signing up to platforms and making the effort to explore and digest content. Users clearly feel comfortable in this activity and as Edelman (2016, 166) highlights, “people lurk because that is what they enjoy doing, because they have nothing to say or because they are learning, reading, listening, forwarding or engaging in some other way”.

Within archaeological analyses of SNS, lurking has seldom been discussed (though see Richardson 2013). Indeed, during the dissection of a development-led archaeological projects’ Facebook use, Wakefield (2020) chose to focus on user-Page interactions while effectively dismissing metrics reflecting lurking behaviours (Reach and Impressions) as a less meaningful form of engagement. Clearly, lurking is a complex form of online participation but it should not be assumed that it is devoid of audience engagement. On a personal level, silent users may be highly involved with SNS content, Pages and communities. However, crucially, this connection may be invisible to researchers.

Owing to the research’s timeline and the disruption to archaeological working practices resulting from the Covid-19 pandemic, it was not possible to gain access to internal Facebook Insights from organisations. This limited the author’s ability to assess lurking behaviour. As a result, analysis focused on discernible and publicly visible user interactions. However, it is important to emphasise that the “silent” use of public Facebook pages is not necessarily a lesser form of audience participation and it is hoped future work may explore these invisible forms of interaction.

4.5 Likes and Reactions

The notion of liking content is one of the most common forms of user behaviour on SNS (Sumner et al. 2020) and is a feature present across all major platforms. A Like is a simple,

“one-click” interaction that leaves a publicly visible response to a post, image, video, or message. On Facebook, Likes were introduced in 2009 (Kincaid 2009) and dominate user-user and user-Page interactions. Indeed, among Facebook’s users it is far more probable for them to Like content than to generate it (Sumner et al. 2018). Reactions, emoji-centred variants of the Like, were released in 2016 (Stinson 2016) and are intended to be “a quick and easy way to express how you feel” as an extension of the Like button (Facebook Brand 2020). Facebook introduced a new Reaction, the Care, during 2020’s Covid-19 pandemic (Lyles 2020) though these were not encountered on content from the 2019 research period.

Facebook (2023c) describes Liking content as “a way to let people know that you enjoy it without leaving a comment”. Similarly, the platform designed Reactions to give a user the opportunity to “specify your response” and be “a quick and easy way to express how you feel” (Facebook 2023d; Facebook Brand 2023). Likes are the default Facebook response to content and are an interaction which requires less effort on the part of a user than Reactions. To leave a Like, a user simply must click or tap the Like button, whereas a Reaction requires a user to hover over the button and then select the relevant emoji (Sumner et al. 2020).

While Facebook’s definition of Reactions implies that these interactions can capture how a user feels when leaving one on a post (Facebook 2023d; Facebook Brand 2023), potentially adding an additional dimension to quantitative metrics, it is overly simplistic to equate the sentiment of an emoji with that of the user employing it (Tian et al. 2017). Indeed, literature on Likes and Reactions, has highlighted the complexities of meaning inherent to these “lightweight” response cues (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2018; 2020). Likes and Reactions are termed paralinguistic digital affordances (PDAs), simple functions that “facilitate communication and interaction without specific language” (Haynes et al. 2016). However, PDAs are increasingly seen as phatic communication, a minimalist form of communication that contains no substance or information but is nonetheless sociable (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2018; 2020). Phatic PDAs are vague and many of their applications by users can stray beyond the prescribed verbiage of the Likes and Reactions created by Facebook. A Like does not always mean a user liked the content.

This ambiguity of the intent behind PDAs has led to them being understood through the lens of Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST). AST considers that technology can be used either faithfully, according to its intended application, or ironically, where users employ it in ways beyond the original design (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2020). Research has shown that far from aligning with their titles, Likes in particular are regularly deployed by users in unfaithful ways (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2018; 2020). Alongside using Facebook’s Like function literally, to express enjoyment of content, research has found users employing it in surprisingly diverse ways. Studies found users engaging in metacommunication by using Likes to acknowledge that a post had been seen, facilitate relationships and fulfil social grooming by employing the PDA as a means of building or maintaining a connection with another user and self-presentation or promotion by using a Like or Reaction’s Newsfeed visibility to publicly align themselves with certain topics and content (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2018).

Despite the temptation to unhesitatingly use Facebook’s definitions that equate a Like with a like, these quanti-qualitative PDAs are more complex. As Hayes et al. (2016, 185) note, “though just a click, PDAs may have many meanings... providing intrapersonal and interpersonal meaning to social media users”. Equally, not only can there be multiple intentions behind a PDA, but they can be interpreted differently. PDAs are “decoded as well as encoded” (Hayes et al. 2016, 175). A researcher must therefore display caution when using these sources of data to extrapolate intent and sentiments. However, some research has suggested that Reactions, rather than Likes, are used more faithfully than ironically and are employed less automatically (Sumner et al. 2020). Similarly, research drawing from a

large dataset concluded that while Likes are more complex, the emoji-based Reactions are a “good source for investigating indications of user emotional attitudes” (Tian et al. 2017).

For this research, PDAs will be used cautiously. Likes are seen as markers of visibility with Reactions being used to explore the potential evidence of user sentiment. As the principal form of SNS interactions, owing to their ease of use, PDAs form an important first step in exploring user-Page activity. Yet, the innate lightweight aspect of Likes and Reactions places them near the bottom of a hierarchy of online interactions. However, as deciphering users’ PDA intent have shown, while these one-click cues may be the most basic of interactions (Hayes et al. 2016), it should not be assumed that the users leaving them are unengaged.

4.5.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO Likes and Reactions: Totals

The pronounced disparity between the overall number of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts is understandably mirrored in the totals of Likes and Reactions these organisations received (Table 4). The 1,943 posts by the 33 active ClfA RO Pages received 86,693 Likes and Reactions, whereas the 401 posts from the Non-ROs attracted 4,996 (Table 4).

The greater sample size of ClfA ROs and the wildly different volumes of posts account for the gulf in the total number of user interactions between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs. However, the average number of Likes and Reactions for a post vary considerably between the two types of organisation. On average, ClfA ROs attract 44.6 Likes/Reactions per post compared to just 12.6 for Non-ROs (Table 4). Clearly, ClfA ROs are attracting more interaction from their audiences, with content from these Pages over three times more likely to attract a PDA.

However, whether this variance is the result of ClfA ROs producing more engaging content than Non-ROs is questionable and difficult to establish from metrics alone. It seems more probable that the frequency and volume of ClfA RO Facebook content is the primary factor in generating higher rates of user interactions. As discussed above, with ClfA ROs posting more than twice as often as their Non-RO counterparts, this degree of activity generates a larger Page following and a momentum that places their posts in front a bigger audience. It is likely it is this degree of visibility that gives ClfA ROs larger volumes of PDAs.

Facebook Reactions on development-led archaeological Pages not only reveal noteworthy user interactions but seem to diverge from wider trends on the platform. Tian et al. (2017) explored over 57 million one-click Facebook Reactions left on 21,000 posts from some of the most popular media Pages in the UK, the US, France and Germany. This study, with its substantial dataset, revealed that Reactions were popular with users and comprised over 20% of all PDAs (Tian et al. 2017). Equally, the authors concluded that, unlike Likes, Reactions were less ambiguous in their use by audiences and could be used to gain insight into user sentiments (Tian et al. 2017).

Tian et al. (2017) found that Likes still dominated user PDAs as the default interaction, a finding echoed by the data from the development-led archaeological organisations (Table 5). However, Likes among ClfA ROs and Non-ROs were far more prominent than in the wider Facebook data (Table 5). Likes formed 87.9% of PDAs for ClfA ROs, 9% more than the proportion in Tian et al.’s (2017) sample, while 91.9% of Non-RO interactions were Likes, 13% more than the 2017 study (Table 5).

These figures are particularly fascinating as the research by Tian et al. (2017) was completed shortly after the introduction of Reactions when audiences were still likely acclimatising to their use. It would be reasonable to assume that after a further three years, users would have adapted and incorporated these interactions into their digital lexicons, eroding the dominance of Likes and increasing the proportion of Reactions, even if only slightly. However, among both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, Likes not only outweigh







	Total Posts	Total Likes/Reactions	Likes 	Loves 	Haha 	Wow 	Sad 	Angry 
Cifa ROs	1943	86693	76214 (87.9%)	6216 (7.2%)	988 (1.1%)	3220 (3.7%)	51 (0.06%)	4 (0.005%)
Non-ROs	401	4996	4589 (91.9%)	248 (5.0%)	33 (0.7%)	123 (2.5%)	3 (0.06%)	0 (0%)
Tian et al. 2017	21000	57444404	(78.9%)	(5.5%)	(3.7%)	(2.5%)	(4.0%)	(5.4%)
Wakefield 2020	121	73148	67152 (91.8%)	3018 (4.1%)	84 (0.1%)	2858 (3.9%)	34 (0.05%)	2 (0.003%)

Table 5: Totals and breakdown of Likes/Reactions from CIFA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019). The third row is from research by Tian et al. (2017) into wider Facebook Reaction behaviours. The fourth row is data from a development-led archaeological project for comparison (Wakefield 2020)

Reactions but do so far more than the ratio encountered by Tian et al. (2017). Metrics published by Wakefield (2020) for a development-led archaeological project demonstrate a similar weighting between Likes and Reactions. So, why are Likes so dominant among archaeological Pages?

One possibility is the nature of the content shared by development-led companies. If posts are largely non-interactive, it may be the case that when users are choosing to interact that they are doing so using the simplest one-click means available. In this context a Like will be the most basic form of interaction. Indeed, these are responses that reflect the research of Hayes et al. (2016, 183), that some SNS users are using Likes as a “non-conscious”, “almost mindless”, “ritualistic or habitual form of behaviour”. These archaeological posts may be filling a distinct engagement space. Within this space a piece of content is interesting enough to cause a user to pause scrolling through their Newsfeed, perhaps to look at an image of an artefact or a photo of an excavation. Crucially, where users do interact, they are doing so using the lightest-touch method possible, a one-click Like rather than a Reaction.

It is tempting to assume that this discrepancy is a consequence of the archaeological audiences that exist on development-led company Facebook Pages. While it is difficult to determine the composition of Facebook users accessing archaeological content, there are datasets that suggest a markedly different audience from the platform’s global audience (Fernandes 2018; Wakefield 2020). Despite widespread initial hopes that the internet could reach a larger and more diverse audience than ever before (Chapter Two), online archaeological engagement may simply be replicating “offline” audiences in the digital sphere (Bonacchi 2017; Walker 2014a; 2014b). Rather, the proportion of users in the higher age brackets encountered by Wakefield (2020) suggested the older audiences typically associated with archaeology and heritage audiences were being reproduced online.

However, research into older Facebook users aged 65 and above in the US (Yu et al. 2018) found that there was no significant difference between them and younger audiences in the way they engaged in social media behaviours. This suggests that the prevalence of Likes over Reactions is not a result of potential age differences present on archaeological Facebook content. The high ratio of Likes on development-led organisational Pages is, therefore, hard to decipher, an issue made more complex by the intrinsically ambiguous nature of lightweight PDAs. Further qualitative explorations into archaeological audiences’ attitudes towards content and interactions would help the sector understand user

perceptions of interactions and engagements.

Differences in the proportions of Reactions offers several interesting insights into user responses to this archaeological content. ClfA ROs receive a higher percentage of Loves than the averages established by Tian et al. (2017), Wakefield (2020) and among their Non-RO counterparts (Table 5). While the 1.7% difference appears slight, the difference could indicate that ClfA ROs are creating and sharing posts that are resonating with users, causing more to React more strongly than a Like. A similar trend can be seen in the Wows received by ClfA ROs where, despite Non-RO Wows matching broader Tian et al. (2017) data, accredited organisations were generating 1.2% more of these Reactions (Table 5). Tian et al. (2017) found Wows to be the least used Facebook Reaction (excluding Likes), whereas they were the second most common across development-led archaeological Pages. A similar proportion of Wow Reactions has previously been attested in a development-led context (Wakefield 2020), suggesting that this may not be an anomalous occurrence.

If this is not simply a result of behavioural change since Tian et al.'s (2017) research, then this would again suggest that ClfA ROs were more effectively engaging with audiences than Non-ROs. Eliciting Wows suggests that accredited organisations are making use of archaeology's power and ability to amaze within their content. Whether this translates into posts that were recognisably designed or presented with the intent to "Wow" is more challenging and not necessarily born out from the qualitative analysis of content that saw many posts existing to promote events and market organisations (Chapter Five). A further notable difference is the low number of Hahas received by ClfA ROs (1.1%) and Non-ROs (0.7%) compared with the 3.7% encountered by Tian et al. (2017). This discrepancy appears to be a result of the low proportion of humorous content created by companies (see 5.1.8 Humour), despite uses of light-hearted posts and internet "meme culture" proving successful elsewhere (Wood 2020).

Perhaps the biggest significant surprise revealed by studying the PDAs left on archaeological organisations' Page content is that Reactions with negative connotations, Sad and Angry, were exceedingly rare across both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (Table 5). It is important to note that the sentiment behind users deploying Sad and Angry Reactions may not be negative in nature. A Sad Reaction could be left on content marking the end of an excavation or the retirement of a prominent staff member. In these instances user interactions would have a positive connotation, making these PDAs complex to interpret.

Yet, even if all the Sad and Angry Reactions ClfA ROs and Non-ROs received were left with negative intent, these percentages are remarkably small. Tian et al. (2017) found that Angry and Sad Reactions were widespread across Facebook Pages, with Angry (4.5%) being the second and Sad the third (4.0%) most popular Reactions, respectively (Table 5). For both groups of archaeological organisations to receive an almost negligible percentage of negative PDAs is surprising, consider how prevalent these are across the platform. Indeed, this cannot be attributed to shrewd moderation as Facebook prevents Page owners from removing unfavourable Reactions on their posts.

On the surface, this would indicate that the content produced and shared on Facebook by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs is being well-received by users with so few opting to leave negative Reactions. However, the research conducted by Tian et al. (2017) examined general media Pages across Facebook, whose content consisted of news, current affairs, and popular interest posts. Subjects were diverse, covering news and entertainment topics that would polarise user opinion, attract outrage and elicit emotional responses. Therefore, it is perhaps understandable that across Facebook negative Reactions occur prominently. Audiences express anger at reports of crimes, indignation at the behaviour of celebrities and fury at political decisions and, while responses might be fuelled by the coverage of the story, the underlying facts are likely to provoke the Reaction.

The limited quantities of negative Reactions in ClfA RO and Non-RO groups is likely a combination of two primary factors. Firstly, that these archaeological posts are liable to be seen by a self-selecting audience with a prior disciplinary interest, who either already follow these organisational Pages or are members of related groups. Without access to each organisations' Reach metrics (that would provide insight into the total number of unique users seeing content) it is difficult to say for certain, but the total Likes/Reactions (Table 5) suggest that their content is not necessarily penetrating widely on Facebook. If most of the people seeing, and interacting with, ClfA RO and Non-RO posts have a pre-existing interest in archaeology and are seeing archaeological content, then it is reasonable to assume they will be less likely to leave negative Reactions. However, further demographic research into archaeological social media audiences would be essential to further explore the correlation between user backgrounds and forms of interaction.

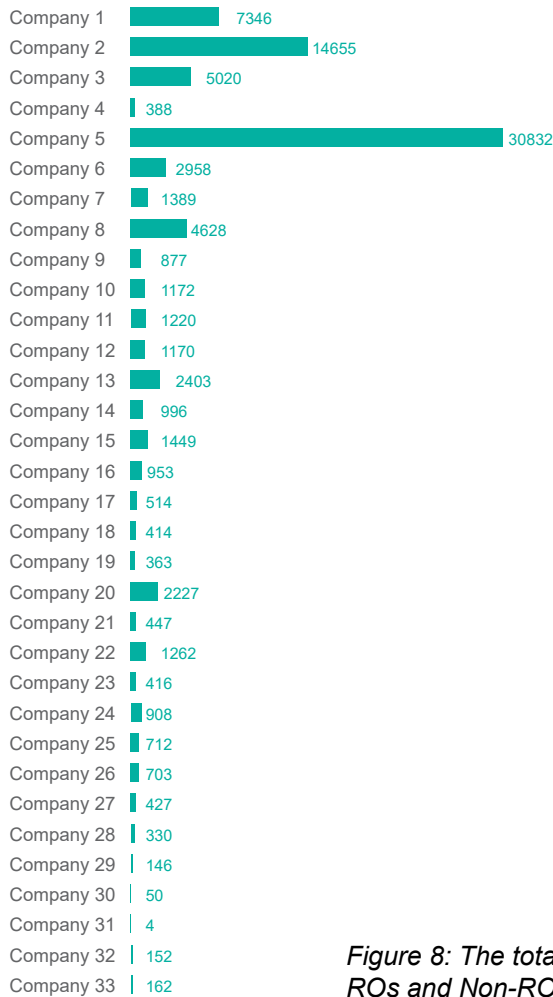
A second possibility for the small number of Angry and Sad Reactions is likely to stem from the nature of the posted content itself. With ClfA ROs and Non-ROs using their Facebook Pages to communicate with the public, it is unlikely they will create and share controversial posts or content that is likely to go down poorly with their audiences. Given the wider cultural awareness of negativity, trolling and harassment it is probable that companies, and the staff behind updates, are acutely aware of the potential for negative backlashes to occur. This culture is likely to encourage archaeological organisations to focus on the positives and share success stories, exciting artefacts, and the content they know will resonate with users. Indeed, this emphasis echoes the wider media tradition of archaeological coverage, reinforcing the excavation, finds and knowledge tropes that underpin the public perception of the discipline. Equally, companies are unlikely to risk reputational damage or jeopardise client relationships over more negative content. Posting more "upbeat" content could help transform a Page into a more positive echo chamber where negative feedback is limited, and Angry and Sad PDAs are kept to a minimum. Ascertaining the positivity and subjects of development-led archaeological Pages is explored further in the next chapter.

4.5.2 ClfA RO and Non-RO Likes and Reactions: Organisational Analysis

The overall ratios of specific Likes and Reactions (Table 5) provide an important insight into wider ClfA RO and Non-RO audience responses, but it is also essential to examine the differences between individual organisations. While there was considerable variation in the numbers and frequency of posts across ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (see 4.0 above), the discrepancies in PDAs are even more pronounced. There was a prominent gulf in the volume of Likes and Reactions across ClfA ROs. Just two of these companies (02 and 05) provided more than half (52.5%) of the total of all PDAs (Figure 8). The dominance of these two organisations shows a clear and conscious investment from them in Facebook updates. ClfA RO Company 05 posted 117 times within the research timeframe and attracted a staggering 30,832 Likes and Reactions (Figure 8), averaging 263.5 PDAs per post (Figure 9). Similarly, ClfA RO Company 2 posted 151 pieces of content, receiving 14,655 PDAs (Figure 8) for an average of 97.1 per post (Figure 9).

Not only were these two companies posting regularly, but this content was clearly resonating with users, enough for them to respond with Likes and Reactions. These two companies dominate the dataset (Figure 8), with no other companies coming close to matching the volume of received PDAs. Indeed, of the 33 ClfA ROs studied only 14, fewer than half, managed to attract more than 1,000 Likes and Reactions over the six-months analysed. Of the 19 companies that received less than 1,000 PDAs, 12 had fewer than 500 Likes and Reactions. The discrepancies between organisations are often startling. Company 31 posted 15 times during the study period and attracted just four Likes and Reactions (Figure 8), an average of 0.27 per post (Figure 9). It is hard to imagine a starker contrast between the upper and lower limits and demonstrates the unevenness, not only in terms of company use,

Cifa ROs Total Likes/Reactions



Non-ROs Total Likes/Reactions



Figure 8: The total Likes/Reactions (PDAs) received by Cifa ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

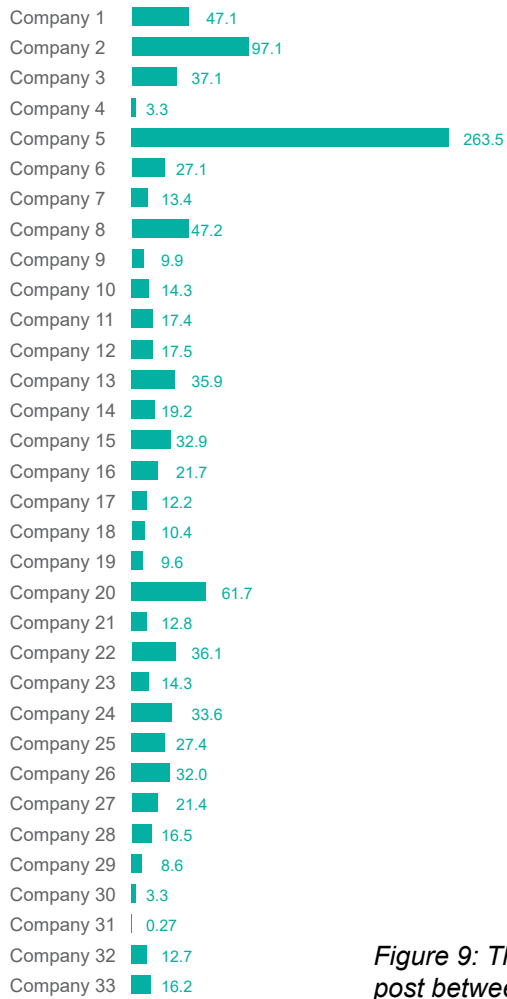
but also audience reception in Facebook use.

With such prominent differences, it is tempting to assume a correlation between the frequency of posts and the quantity of user PDAs a Page receives. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that the more often an organisation posts, the more content is available to users and the greater the chance of it receiving Likes and Reactions. However, this does not appear to be the case.

As Table 6 shows, a Page that posts more is not guaranteed a larger number of Likes and Reactions. Company 04, which posted 119 times, only managed to attract 388 PDAs (Table 6), an average of 3.3 per post (Figure 9). Similarly, Company 01, posted more than any other Cifa RO in the study (Table 6) but attracted just 7,346 Likes and Reactions, half of the next most prolific organisation, Company 02. Despite being the fifth most active Cifa RO, Company 05 still attracted huge quantities of PDAs (Table 6). Indeed, so many that this organisation's Likes and Reactions accounted for more than one third of all the recorded PDAs. Clearly, simply posting content regularly is not enough to resonate with audiences and generate these user interactions.

Total Likes and Reactions provide an overview of the general volume of user interactions a company's content can generate but examining a typical post's performance gives a better

CifA ROs Average Likes/Reactions Per Post



Non-ROs Average Likes/Reactions Per Post



Figure 9: The average Likes and Reactions (PDAs) received per post between CifA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

CifA RO Company Number	Number of Posts	Number of Likes and Reactions
Company 01	156	7346
Company 02	151	14655
Company 03	135	5020
Company 04	119	388
Company 05	117	30832
Company 06	109	2958
Company 07	104	1389

Table 6: Comparison of the seven CifA ROs that posted more than 100 times and the number of Likes and Reactions (PDAs) that they received (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

understanding of a Page's day-to-day reception. Across all 33 organisations, on average a ClfA RO post generates 31.3 Likes and Reactions (Figure 9). However, if the two upper most outliers, with their 52.5% share of all PDAs, are removed this falls to an average post receiving 21.7 Likes and Reactions.

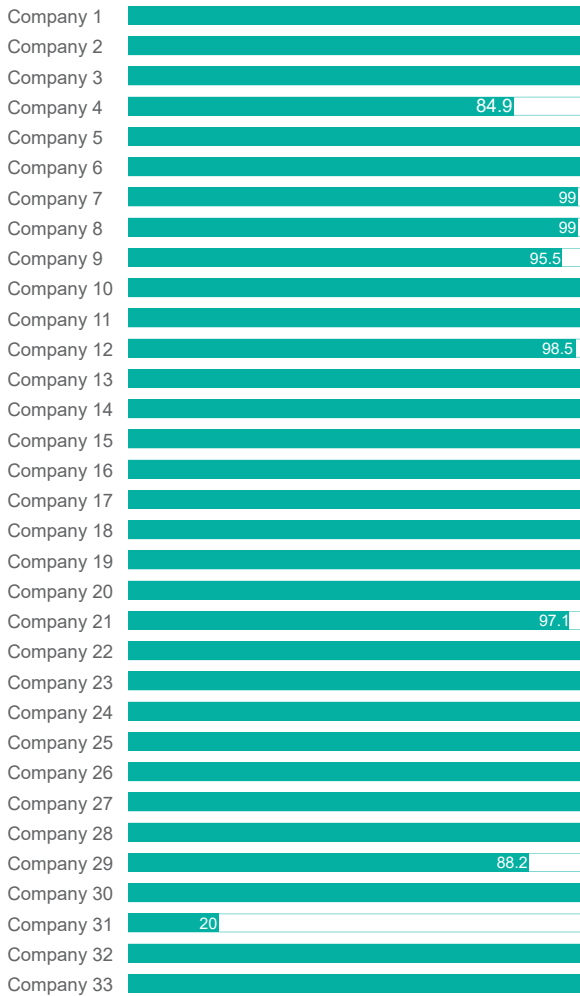
Figure 9 shows how over half of ClfA ROs (18 in all) fail to average 20 Likes and Reactions per post and six of these did not reach 10 PDAs per post. Not only does this highlight the unevenness of Facebook use by these organisations, but it demonstrates that most companies are failing to generate notable numbers of even the most basic, lightweight form of user interaction. As Wakefield (2020) has noted when discussing archaeological content, some posts will be highly "statistically successful" and using the averages of user PDAs effectively nullifies when an individual post performs very well. However, while these posts can generate a one-off burst of Likes and Reactions, it is important that Pages capitalise on this success and focus on producing content that leads to a longer-term enhancement of audience engagement. Therefore, exploring per post averages is a useful means of assessing wider Page performance.

A further valuable measure is to consider what percentage of a Page's post attract at least one of certain key Facebook metrics. Figure 10 shows the percentage of posts on ClfA RO Pages that received at least one Like or Reaction. These organisations had, on average, 96.4% of posts with one or more PDA (Figure 10). Indeed, just three companies had a ratio of less than 95%, though one of these, Company 31, received one or more Likes and Reactions on just 20% of posts (Figure 10). This demonstrates that most ClfA RO content attracts at least some user PDAs and few posts go entirely unacknowledged by Facebook audiences. However, as the average number of Likes and Reactions show, over half of these organisations struggle to generate a consistent, robust level of the simplest interactions. Despite this, a small proportion of ClfA ROs are clearly attracting sizable audiences using a successful strategy of regular posts to maintain momentum and content that resonates with users.

The picture of user interactions among Non-ROs is very different where, again, these companies struggle to match their ClfA counterparts. Figure 8 illustrates the disconnect between the two types of development-led organisations, where Non-RO posts generate small totals of Likes and Reactions. Of the 11 Non-ROs with active Facebook accounts, just one (Company 01) received a significant quantity of PDAs, 2,245 (Figure 8). Non-RO Company 01 would place ninth when directly compared with ClfA RO Likes and Reactions. Nine of the remaining 10 Non-ROs managed to reach 500 PDAs, with five failing to attract 200 user Reactions of any kind. Unsurprisingly, these small totals of Likes and Reactions across Non-ROs result in lower averages within these companies (Figure 9). The average amount of PDAs across the 11 Non-ROs is 12.6 Likes and Reactions per post. This is 9.1 fewer than the ClfA RO average which excludes the two outlier companies. The content and frequency of Non-RO-produced posts is less well received than accredited organisations, resulting in almost half as many Likes and Reactions.

Comparing the percentage of posts that received one or more PDAs between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs again shows a disparity, albeit a less pronounced one, between the archaeological organisations (Figure 10). Across Non-ROs the average percentage of posts with at least one Like or Reaction is 95.1%, which appears to compare favourably to the ClfA RO figure of 96.4%. However, the ClfA RO average percentage is impacted by one organisation's very low proportion of user interactions (ClfA Company 31). Removing this outlier changes the average ClfA RO rate to 98.8%, demonstrating that it is common for most accredited companies to have achieved at least one PDA on every post. Indeed, 25 ClfA ROs, or 75.8%, received one or more Likes and Reactions on every post they created or shared during this studies timeframe. That compares to seven Non-ROs, or 63.6%, achieving the

ClfA ROs Percentage of Posts with Likes/Reactions



Non-ROs Percentage of Posts with Likes/Reactions

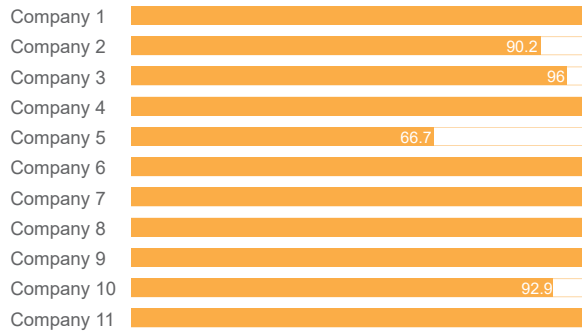


Figure 10: The percentage of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Like or Reaction (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

same degree of PDA reactions. While no Non-RO had such a low rate as ClfA Company 31 (Figure 10), and its 20% rate, it does seem that more non-accredited development-led archaeological Facebook Pages found it harder to encourage audiences to leave the simplest interactions.

4.6 Facebook Shares

Sharing is another user feature that is widely present on SNS and is a key form of Facebook interactions, both on a user-user and user-Page basis. Shares occur when a user chooses to repost content, either from a Page, Group, or fellow user, by using the Share button. The Shared content can then be redistributed in several different ways, depending on the options selected by a user after the Share option is selected. By default, Shares are reposted to a user’s Friends’ News Feeds. However, it is also possible for users to choose to Share them to a specific friend, or friends, a Group in which they are a member, to a Page they own or one that allows visitor posts. Users can also Share posts to their Facebook Stories, an alternate, highly visual News Feed where posts disappear after 24 hours that is closely modelled on Instagram’s Stories.

Users may also add their own text, emojis and feelings/activities alongside tagging friends or locations in the Shared post. This functionality enables users to contextualise a Share by adding their own commentary and opinions to it, potentially affording others a greater degree of insight into the nature of their interaction and the degree of engagement behind it. However, as Wakefield (2020) highlighted, user privacy settings often prevent many Shares from being visible to wider Facebook users which significantly limits the potential qualitative explorations of these interactions.

As Sumner et al. (2020) noted, while Likes were a true “one-click” interaction, Reactions required a user to “hover and select”, an action that arguably required a greater degree of cognition. Default Shares, which post to a user’s News Feed, only require a minimum of two clicks. At this, a Share’s most basic level, they could still be interpreted as the Paralinguistic Digital Affordances (PDAs) discussed by Hayes et al. (2016) and Sumner et al. (2020). These default, “blank” Shares that do not contain any text require a relatively minimal degree of user input and are “ambiguous and ambivalent in nature” (Sumner et al. 2020). Wakefield (2020) acknowledged the difficulty of deciphering these blank Shares while recording that the majority of received user Shares fell into this category. Therefore, unlike Likes and Reactions, it is still difficult to know how to interpret default Shares. Are they positive endorsements from a user that reflect a level of engagement? If so, where do these interactions and engagements sit within their wider respective hierarchies?

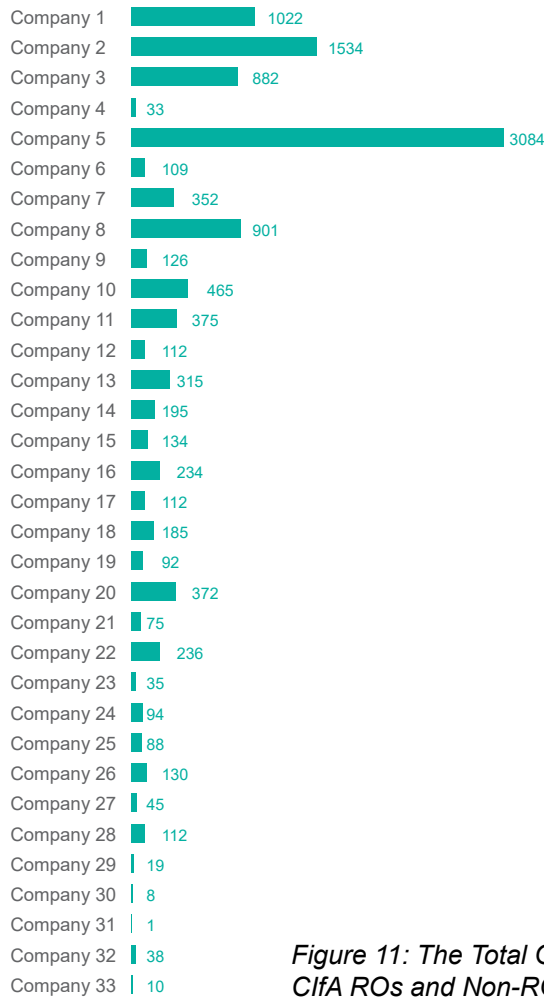
Similarly, it is important to consider the wider suite of Share options available to users which are often more complex. These typically require a user to make three or four decisions including the location of a Share (News Feed, Stories, Page, Group), whether to tag Friends or Locations and whether to add text. Adding text further complicates the process, transitioning from the realm of PDAs into more qualitative interactions that are more comparable with Comments and Posts. Shares are surprisingly complex user responses but form an essential component of a Facebook triumvirate of core interactions, alongside Likes/Reaction and Comments. The following section examines the prominence of Shares among development-led organisations while exploring how audience engagement may be understood from these interactions.

4.6.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO On-Content Shares

As is the case with Likes and Reactions, Shares are clearly recorded and displayed below Facebook posts, making them an easily accessible source of data. Across all ClfA ROs their posts were shared a total of 11,525 times. Once again ClfA RO Companies 02 and 05 accounted for a sizable proportion of the interactions (Figure 11). However, unlike Likes and Reactions, where the two ROs accounted for 52.5% of the total, here they were responsible for 40.1% of Shares. This is interesting, as despite still dominating the dataset, the two Pages attracted a lower proportion of Shares than Likes and Reactions. Does this suggest that users felt the content that ClfA RO Companies 02 and 05 were producing was less “Share-worthy” or more lightweight? Alternatively, are audiences using Shares differently?

Unsurprisingly, given the Likes and Reactions data, Shares were equally, if not more, uneven across accredited companies (Figure 11). Three ClfA ROs generated more than 1,000 Shares over the six-month research period. Most, 23 in all, had Share totals that did not exceed 250 and eight of these ROs failed to reach 50 Shares (Figure 11). Echoing the dearth of interactions seen earlier on some ClfA RO Facebook Pages, two companies attracted very few Shares. ClfA RO Company 31 attracted just one Share in six-months while Company 30 generated eight within the same timeframe. Examining the average Shares per post for accredited organisations highlights the marked difference in the quantities of user interactions when compared to Likes and Reactions. Across the 33 ClfA ROs, an average post would typically receive 4.7 Shares (Figure 12). If the outliers are

CifA ROs Total Shares



Non-ROs Total Shares



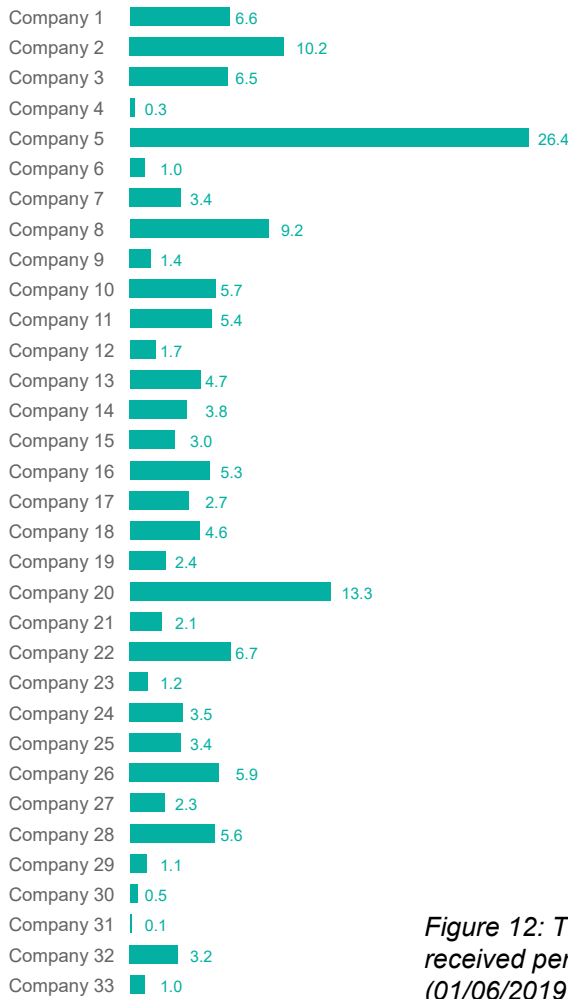
Figure 11: The Total On-Content Shares received by CifA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

removed (CifA ROs 02, 05, 30 and 31), this falls to 4.1 Shares per post. On this basis, an average post on a CifA RO Facebook Page would receive one fifth the number of Likes and Reactions as Shares, a significant drop-off.

Mirroring the findings of the total Likes and Reactions, frequent posting does not automatically generate Shares on Page content. While several of the most active companies attracted notable quantities of Shares (Figure 11), many found it difficult to translate Page activity into user interactions. CifA RO Company 04, which posted 119 times, attracted a total of 33 Shares, averaging just 0.3 per post. Interestingly, three accredited organisations averaged 1 Share per post. While Companies 33 and 29 did this from 10 and 17 posts, respectively, Company 06 achieved its ratio of 1:1 from 109 posts. This neatly demonstrates that quantity does not guarantee user interactions. Clearly, other factors are at work when it comes to attracting user interactions than simply maintaining momentum.

Likes and Reactions were found on a very high proportion of CifA RO content (96.4%), but one or more Shares occurred on only 66% of Page posts. This is a notable difference and across the ROs there is far more variation with Shares (Figure 13). Several companies with some of the highest percentages of posts with Shares were unremarkable in terms of

CIfA ROs Average Shares Per Post



Non-ROs Average Shares Per Post

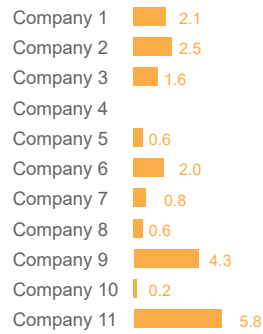


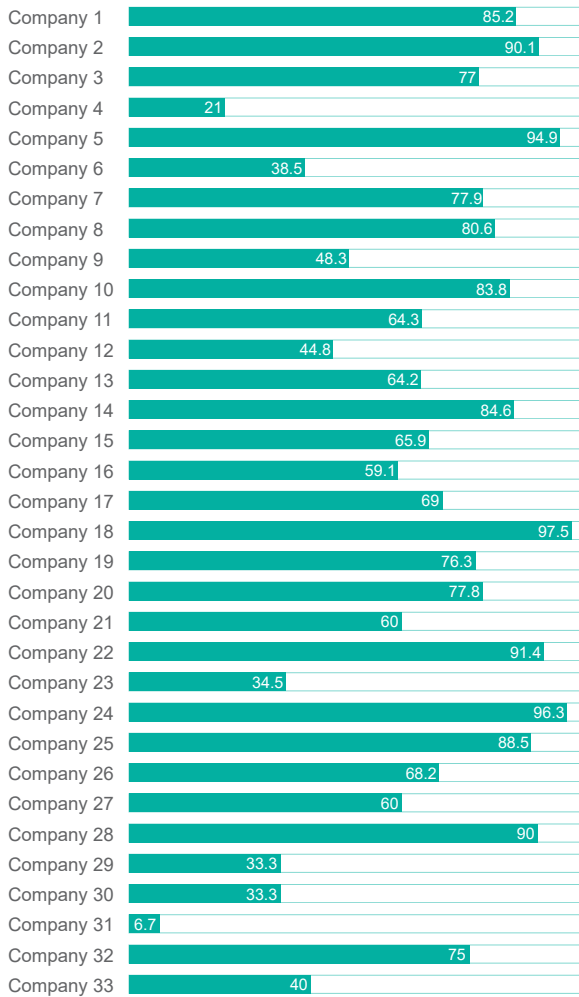
Figure 12: The average number of On-Content Shares received per post between CIfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

the overall volume of Page content. Company 18 had the highest percentage of posts that attracted one or more Shares, yet only posted on average 6.7 times per month, well below the overall average for CIfA ROs of 9.8. Similarly, numerous other organisations (CIfA RO Companies 22, 24 and 28) that had average, or below average, monthly totals of both the number of posts and Likes/Reactions performed well in the percentage of posts with Shares. The fact that numerous companies were consistently attracting Shares, irrespective of the frequency and quantity of content, again suggests that the Pages need to do more than simply post.

Non-RO Facebook Pages were, again, receiving fewer user interactions than CIfA ROs (Figure 11). The 11 Non-ROs in the study attracted a total of 760 Shares on Page content, however 72.8% of these came from three organisations, Non-RO Companies 01, 02 and 06 (Figure 8). Aside from these three Non-ROs, Shares were broadly consistent with six of the companies generating fewer than 50 Shares over the study period. The emerging theme present throughout the data, that the volume of content does not always result in user interactions, is present here. Non-RO Company 04, which posted 22 times, attracted no Shares while Company 11 generated 70 Shares from almost half the number of Posts.

When examining the average Shares per post, Non-ROs are falling some way behind CIfA

CifA ROs Percentage of Posts with Shares



Non-ROs Percentage of Posts with Shares

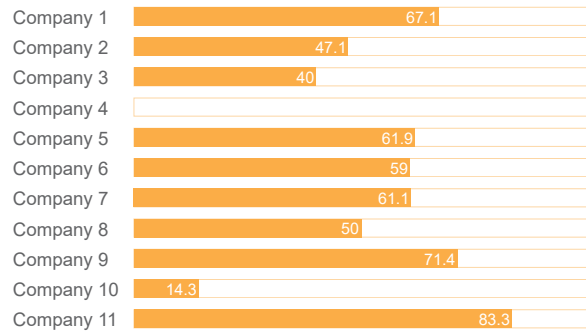


Figure 13: The percentage of CifA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Share (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

ROs (Figure 12). Non-ROs, on average, attracted just 1.9 Shares on a Page post, less than half the CifA RO average. Five Non-ROs did not average one Share per post for the dates studied, which is a particularly low level of this form of user interaction. Surprisingly, the Non-RO which posted the least, Company 11, had the highest average of Shares per post, 5.8 (Figure 12). The unevenness of Non-RO user interactions continues with Shares, with half (50.5%) of all Page posts receiving one or more Shares (Figure 13). Figure 13 shows the variability across the organisations, ranging from 0% (Company 04) through to 83.3% (Company 11). Compared to accredited organisations, Non-ROs are unquestionably seeing a larger fall off in user interactions from Likes/Reactions to Shares.

4.7 Facebook Comments: Context and Visibility

Given digital public archaeology’s early enthusiasm for SNS’ abilities to facilitate dialogue, Comments from users should be a keystone marker for assessing engagement. While the qualitative content of Facebook Comments will be explored subsequently, gauging how widespread user-Page communiques are is essential for evaluating the digital development-led landscape.

Mirroring the visibility issues associated with Shares that contain additional text there are

several factors that can prevent Facebook Comments from being observable, not only to researchers but fellow users. Facebook often employs a form of filtering when displaying Comments for users, selecting what the platform's algorithms consider to be the "Most Relevant". While this study gathered data without this filtering in place, this did not manage to collect every Comment, owing to several factors. Firstly, a Page's moderator may have opted to hide or remove certain user Comments. This step is most likely to have been taken if a Comment was felt to have been broadly negative in nature. However, there could be a myriad of reasons for this negativity to have led to moderation being employed. The comment may have been offensive or breached the terms of use, it may have been irrelevant or spam or, potentially, it could have been overly critical of the organisation, a client, or the archaeological process. Similarly, the Comment may also have been hidden if it has been flagged or reported by other Page users. Secondly, a Comment may be hidden owing to the settings or status of an individual user's Facebook account (for example if it has been temporarily suspended or deactivated).

This "invisibility" of certain Comments is problematic, particularly those that relate to Page moderation. The absence of Comments hidden by the Page or those that have been flagged by fellow users, is likely to skew the results leading to a perception of a more positive online environment. Hiding offensive and irrelevant content makes it challenging to assess the extent these problematic interactions occur. Indeed, despite being negative forms of engagement, they are engagement.

Equally, without being able to see these hidden Comments it is impossible to accurately characterise them. While it is reasonable to assume many will contain legitimately unreasonable content it is possible that other Comments could be negative but not offensive. Users may be expressing opinions that are critical of archaeological organisations, clients and developments. These are precisely the type of Comments the sector fear so deeply and have acted as a major barrier to engagement (Everill 2009; Goskar 2012; Nixon 2018; Orange & Perring 2017; Perring 2015a; Powers 2014; Southport Group 2011; Zorzin 2016). However, seeing if these negative, critical opinions do exist within audiences and, crucially, how widespread they are, is made problematic by the potential for them to vanish from Pages and Posts.

It is also important to note that archaeological companies may be receiving a further variant of "invisible" communications from users. Facebook, like many SNS, gives users the opportunity to privately contact a Page using the platform's own closed Messenger system. Messenger allows users to communicate with fellow users or groups in a space only visible to participants. On Pages Messenger is typically used to receive and respond to direct questions from followers. While Messenger interactions are unquestionably a form of engagement, as they are only visible to Page owners and moderators they have not been included in this research.

Quantitative Comment tallies were manually checked and filtered as Facebook does not separate Page replies from totals. Any form of Page response was removed, to be discussed separately, leaving only Comments from individual Facebook user accounts. However, this method did not entirely remove responses from company employees. Creating and moderating a Facebook Page requires a user to have a personal Facebook account. When Commenting or replying, a Page owner must manually choose which source the Comment or reply comes from: either the Page or their own personal account. During the data collection there were numerous occasions when a Comment or reply came from a personal account, rather than from the Page. Similarly, there were occasions when Comments or replies came from the personal accounts of other company staff members. In these instances, as the responses did not come from the official Page, and it was unclear whether the use of personal accounts was intentional or accidental, they were classed as user

Comments rather than Page Comments or Replies.

4.7.1 ClfA RO and Non-RO Comments

Comments are a highly variable form of user interaction and can include everything from simple text and emoji-based responses to communiques featuring photos, GIFs and memes. Comments are less common than Shares and Likes/Reactions, continuing the trend that the more investment an interaction requires, the less prevalent it is.

ClfA ROs attracted a total of 3835 Comments during the six-month study period, averaging 116.2 per company (Figures 14 and 15). However, once again, there were substantial variations across the different accredited organisations. Two ClfA ROs, 02 and 05, have consistently dominated the dataset of user interactions, a trend that has continued with Comments (Figure 14). ClfA RO Company 02 performed well above average, attracting 569 Comments (14.8% of the ClfA RO total). However, ClfA RO Company 05 attracted a huge volume of Comments overshadowing all other organisations (Figure 14). This single company generated 1,757 Comments, or 45.8% of the ClfA total. This is an impressive feat for one organisation, showing that their content was producing a large volume of user dialogue and discussion.

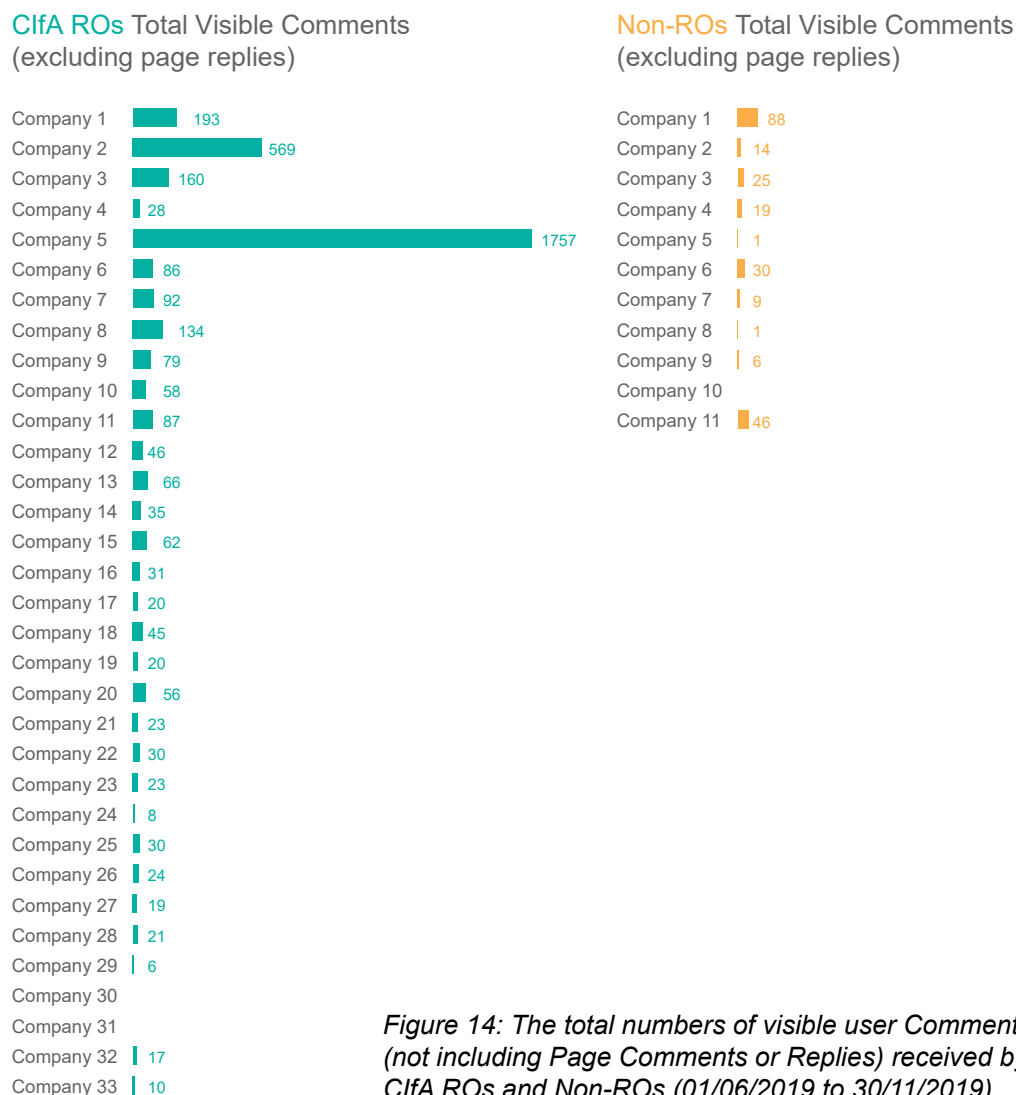


Figure 14: The total numbers of visible user Comments (not including Page Comments or Replies) received by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Reviewing the dataset without these two prominent companies highlighted the difficulties other ClfA ROs had at attracting user Comments (Figure 14). The remaining 31 ClfA ROs averaged 48.7 Comments each over six-months, demonstrating the relative paucity of Comments when compared with other forms of Facebook user interaction. Looking across the ClfA ROs reveals the pronounced gulf between accredited organisations (Figure 14), with just five companies attracting over 100 Comments. Indeed, 20 ClfA ROs (60.6% of companies) did not generate a minimum of 50 Comments and two did not attract a single Comment. This unevenness is understandably reflected in the average number of visible Comments per post (Figure 15), a valuable metric that highlights just how rare these forms of interaction with development-led archaeological really are. Across all 33 ClfA ROs, each post attracts an average of just 1.5 Comments. Excluding the two exceptional ROs (02 and 05), the average drops to 1.0 Comments per post.

ClfA RO Company 05's staggering Comment total translates into a Comments-per-post average of 15, demonstrating an undeniably active relationship with users. Yet only a handful of accredited organisations attract regular Comments (Figure 15). With an average of one Comment per post, the output of these development-led archaeological organisations is hardly delivering upon the active, dialogue-driven discussions sought by public engagement practitioners.

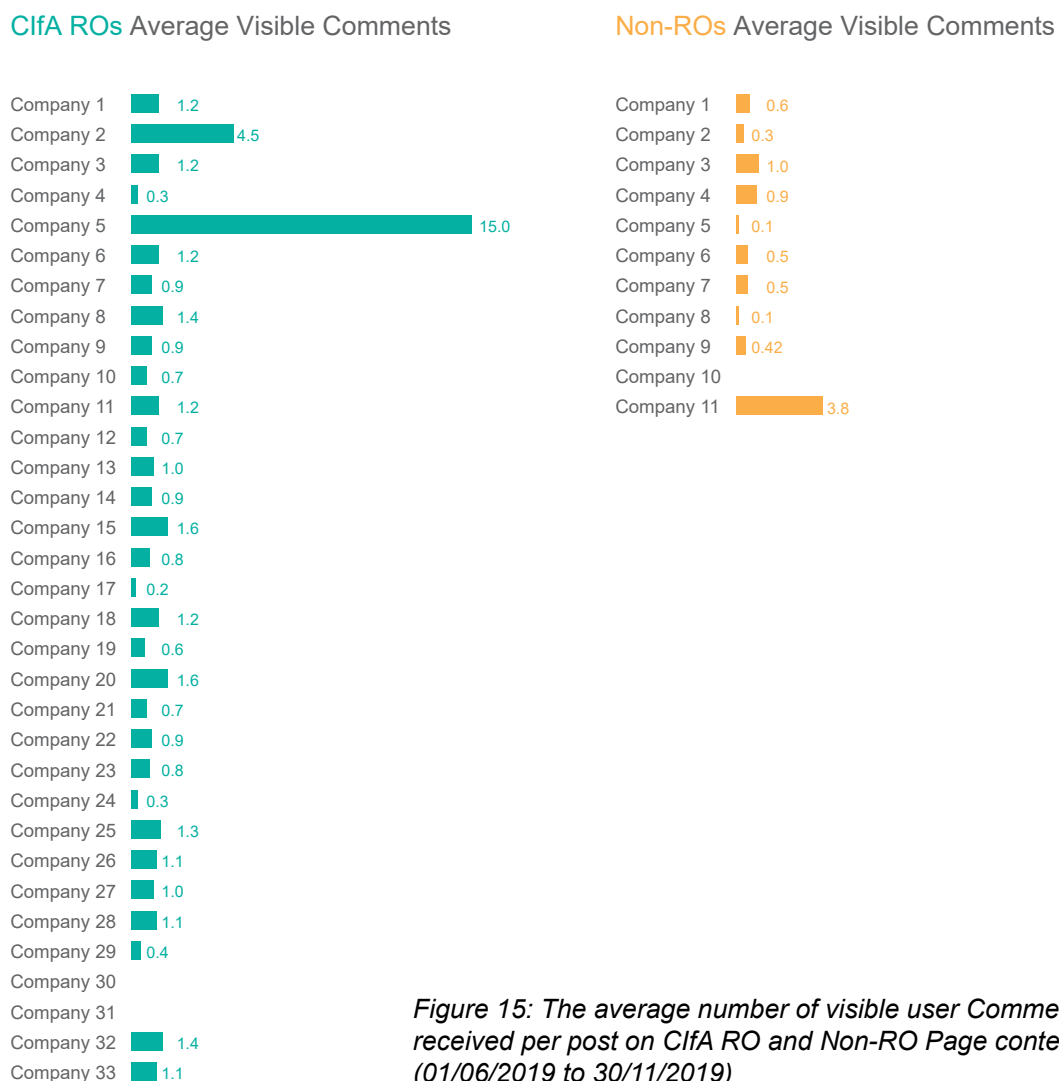
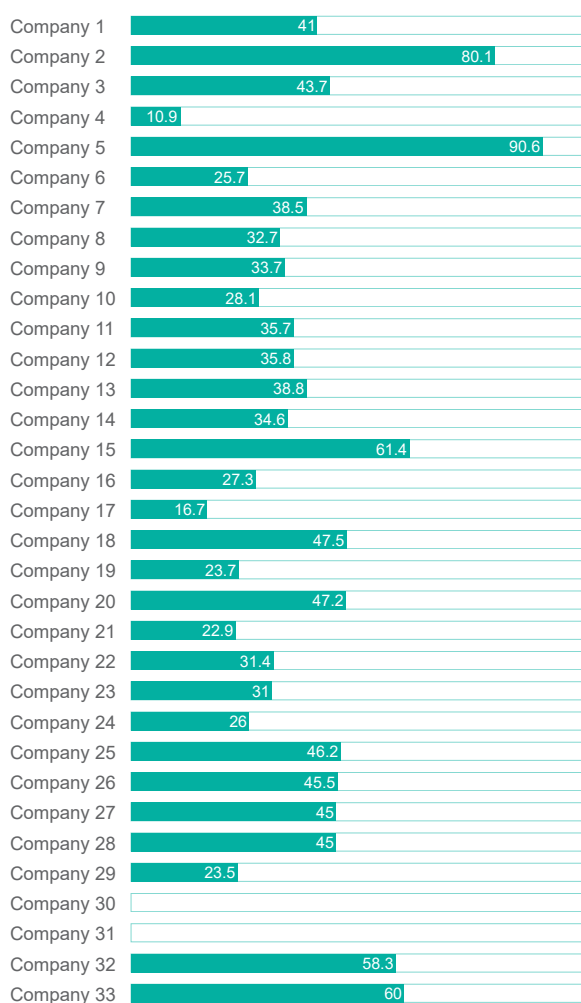


Figure 15: The average number of visible user Comments received per post on ClfA RO and Non-RO Page content (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

With low numbers of Comments being received across virtually all ClfA ROs, it is important to examine how many posts attracted one or more of these user interactions. Across all accredited companies, at least one Comment was left on 37.2% of posts (Figure 16). Echoing the other forms of Facebook interactions there was substantial variability across the ClfA ROs with five companies performing notably above average and attracting one or more Comments on over 50% of their posts (Figure 16). Once again, ClfA RO Companies 02 and 05 performed very well with 80.1% and 90.6% of their content attracting at least one Comment, respectively (Figure 16). These are impressive metrics that, when viewed with the total and average number of Comments, demonstrate that the output from these organisations was not only generating remarks from audiences but doing so consistently.

ClfA ROs Percentage of Posts with Comments



Non-ROs Percentage of Posts with Comments

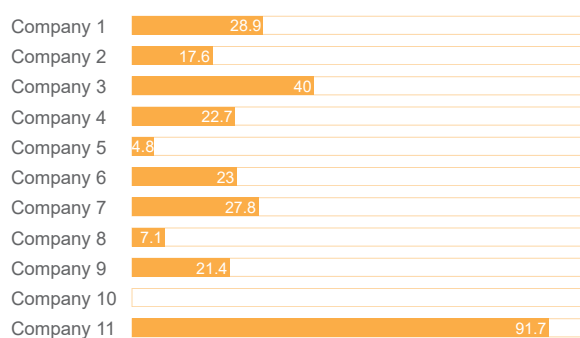


Figure 16: The percentage of ClfA RO and Non-RO posts that received at least one Comment (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Interestingly, while two ClfA RO Companies (30 and 31) attracted no Comments, just one other averaged less than 20% of posts receiving at least one Comment (Figure 16). With most companies receiving one or more Comment on roughly two out of every five posts, this suggests ClfA ROs are generating a degree of momentum. However, when Comments are posted by users on accredited company Pages, they are mostly left in small quantities, challenging the concept that Facebook is acting as an interactive engagement space for dialogue, discussion and interpretation.

Studying the Non-RO Comment dataset once more reveals considerable differences among these non-accredited organisations when compared to CfA ROs. The 11 Non-ROs in the study generated 239 Comments over six-months, compared to the 3,835 from CfA ROs (Figure 14). Just one Non-RO (Company 01) attracted over 50 Comments while five (45.5%) did not manage to reach ten. These are low numbers of overall Comments and the top-ranking Non-RO would only place seventh when compared with accredited organisations (Figure 14). These limited totals heavily impact the average number of Comments per post received by Non-ROs (Figure 15). The average for non-accredited companies is 0.8 Comments per post, with just two organisations managing an average of 1 or more. Three Non-ROs had averages of 0.1 or lower, demonstrating that Comments were a negligible portion of wider user interactions, a disappointing figure for engagement.

Unusually, Non-RO Company 11, managed to attract a sizable number of Comments, particularly in relation to its posting frequency. Despite only posting 12 times during the six-month research period, Non-RO Company 11 content received 46 Comments averaging 3.8 per post (Figures 11 and 12). This is fascinating when compared with Non-RO Company 01, which received 88 Comments but posted over 12 times more often than Company 11. Clearly, Non-RO Company 11's content was resonating with users and prompting them to comment, again demonstrating that quantity does not guarantee audience engagement.

Figure 16 shows the percentage of Non-RO posts that attracted at least one Comment. The average across these organisations was 25.9% or one in every four posts receiving a user Comment. This is a notable difference to CfA ROs, where these companies' average sits 12.4% higher. Indeed, without Non-RO Company 11's monumental 91.7% of posts attracting a Comment, a figure that surpasses even the best CfA RO ratio, the Non-RO average would fall to 19.3%.

Once again, a quantitative exploration of Facebook's quantitative metrics suggests that Non-ROs are investing less in the platform to communicate with their followers and wider audiences. However, even among accredited companies Comments are rarely received. Does this paucity of online conversation reflect endemic Facebook user practices or are other factors at work? Could this lack of user Comments be down to archaeological organisations continuing to reproduce traditional offline outreach "broadcasts", rather than proactively engaging users in dialogues? Exploring the presence and prominence of Page responses is key to understanding if Pages are connecting with users.

4.8 Page Responsiveness: Creating Conversation

Multidirectional dialogues were identified as one of the most promising facets of SNS for archaeological outreach. However, these forms of two-way interaction are thought to be limited in disciplinary online spaces (Chapter Two).

Responding to user Comments on Facebook is straightforward for Pages, simply requiring a Page owner or moderator to select the relevant Comment and "Reply". From this point, subsequent replies are arranged in a thread that is displayed beneath the original Comment creating a living dialogue that other users can also participate in. Anyone leaving a reply can then opt to automatically tag the user to which they are responding, making it simple to keep track of conversations and enabling Pages to field multiple queries at once.

Wakefield (2020) argued for the importance of engagement practitioners to actively respond to users, while acknowledging that not every Comment necessitated a reply. Detailing a development-led project, Wakefield (2020) described how 24% of user Comments received a response which he argued was essential for making contributors not only feel welcome, but that their input was valued. Despite some analyses of archaeological SNS existing that discuss Page-user responsiveness (see Kelpšienė 2019; Wakefield 2020), it is difficult to

determine what constitutes a good, or even acceptable, level of Comment interactivity.

4.8.1 Page Replies

Some Comments are naturally insular statements or explicitly tag non-company user accounts, making it hard to argue that Page's should seek to provide responses. It is important to note there are other ways for Pages to acknowledge User Comments, such as Liking or Reacting to them, a process some interviewed practitioners described using (Appendix D: Victoria 629-630). Replying to users is an important way of personally connecting to individuals and establishing a dialogue, something that Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe 434-436) noted would make it more likely for them to engage again in the future.

Despite the importance of engaging with users and responding to their input, Page Replies and Comments by ClfA ROs are generally limited (Figure 17). Once again, the output of two companies overshadows the other 31 accredited organisations. ClfA RO Company 05 accounted for 61.4% (425 responses) of all Page Replies and Comments and Company 02 followed with 17.1% or 118 responses (Figure 17).

While these two ClfA ROs were making a notable impact at conversing with their audiences, the remainder of the organisations were exceptionally limited at responding to users. These 31 companies averaged just 4.8 Page Replies or Comments over six-months. A staggering 24 ClfA ROs, 72.7% of all organisations, did not even reach double figures of responses. Indeed, 24.2% never left a Page Reply or Comment across all their posts. Most ClfA ROs, 93.9%, were barely engaging with users and were certainly not participating in multidirectional dialogues or facilitating participative audience engagements (Figure 17). Even the two most prominent companies, with their large total number of Page Replies and Comments, were only responding to a limited selection of users. As these organisations received a far greater volume of Comments, generating a positive ratio of replies to users requires larger numbers of responses.

Figure 18 shows the percentage of a Pages' user Comments that received a response. Across all the ClfA ROs the average was 10.5%, or roughly one in every ten Comments getting a Reply or Comment from the Page. A small number of companies managed to maintain relatively high percentages with two ClfA ROs (04 and 14) responding to approximately a third of Comments and four (05, 09, 28 and 32) replying to a quarter (Figure 18). However, aside from ClfA RO Company 05, all these organisations had low overall numbers of Comments, meaning that ultimately only a handful of Replies were left by Pages.

Non-ROs rarely replied to Comments. Only three of these non-accredited organisations left a Reply (Figure 19), with the remaining 8 (72.7%) never interacting with users. Of the three companies which did respond, only one did so consistently with Non-RO Company 01 leaving 14 Replies (Figure 19). Examining the percentages of Comments which received a Reply (Figure 18) highlights that just one Non-RO (Company 07) actively engaged with this form of user interaction. Non-RO Company 07 responded to 55.6% of Comments, the most of any development-led organisation in the study though on closer inspection this responsiveness was leaving five Replies to a total of nine user Comments.

Across both types of archaeological organisation there is a widespread lack of interaction with users, with few companies routinely responding. There may be many underlying factors behind this including time poverty, questions requiring specialist knowledge that is not immediately available to the responder or a lack of motivation or confidence to engage with audiences. Chapter Seven further explores this absence of interaction from institutional and practitioner perspectives. Far from fulfilling the potential for interactive debate, discussion and dissemination it seems that development-led Facebook Pages are sending information out but opting not to connect and correspond with the users that are opting to respond.

CifA ROs Total Visible Comments and Page Replies/Comments



CifA ROs Total Visible Comments and Page Replies/Comments (filtered)

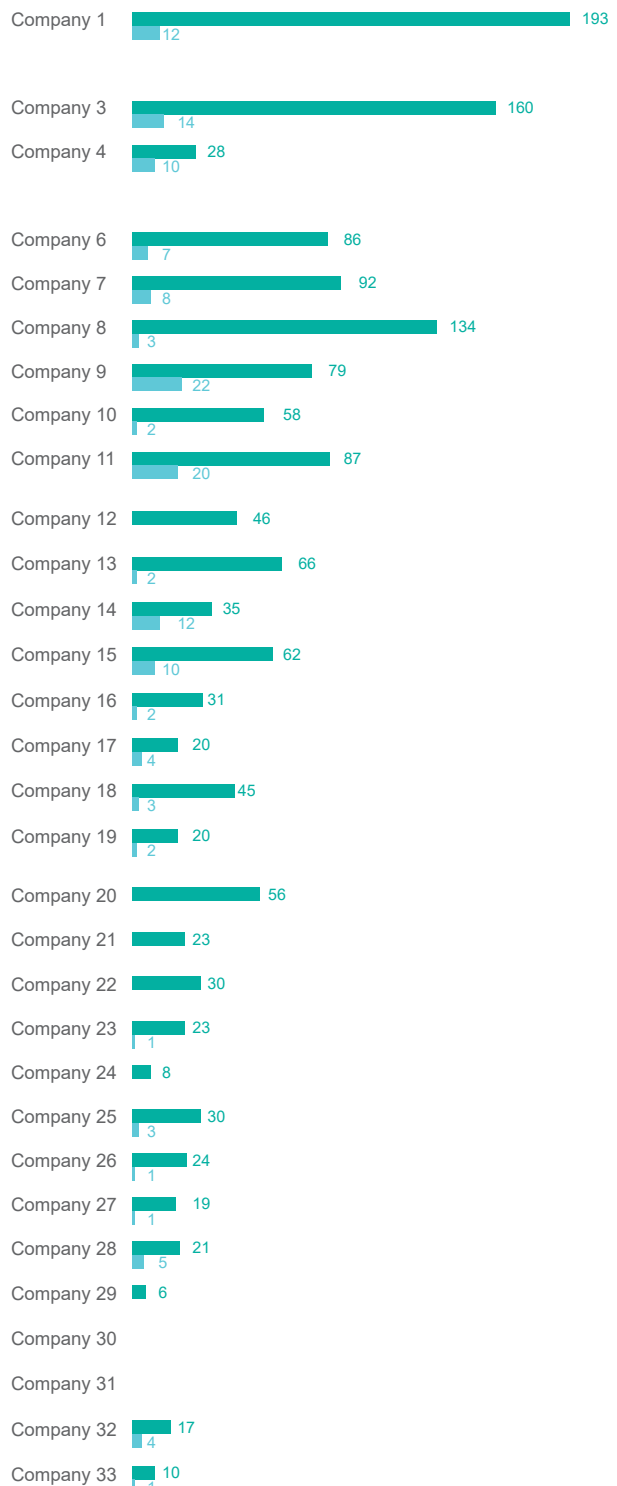
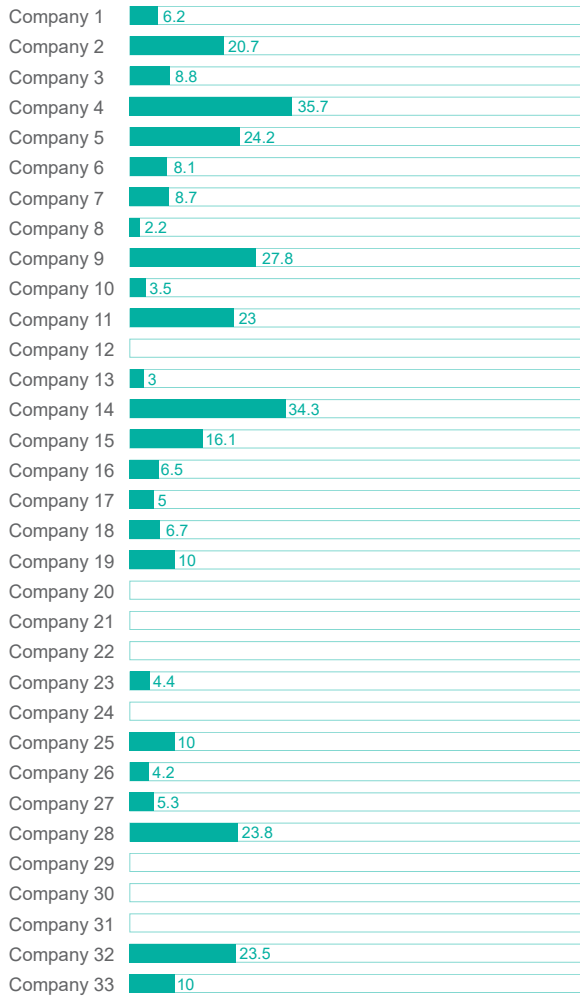


Figure 17: The total number of Page Comments and Replies left by CifA ROs, displayed alongside the total number of User Comments (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019). The second graph removes CifA RO Companies 02 and 05 to make it easier to examine

ClfA ROs Percentage of User Comments with Page Replies/Comments



Non-ROs Percentage of User Comments with Page Replies/Comments

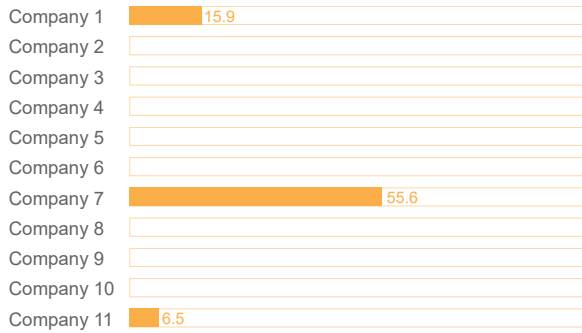


Figure 18: The percentage of user Comments that received a response (either a Comment or a Reply) from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Non-ROs Total Visible User Comments and Page Replies/Comments

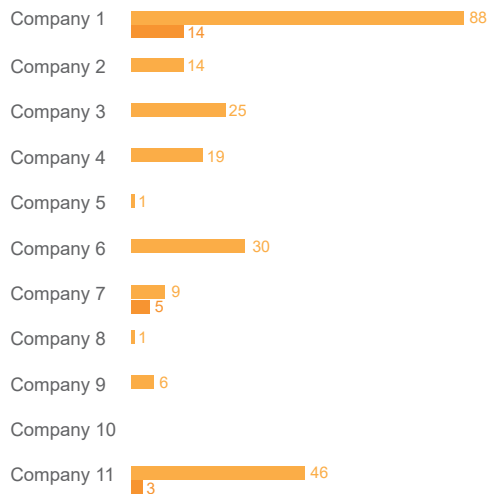


Figure 19: The total number of Page Comments and Replies left by Non-ROs, displayed alongside the total number of User Comments (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019). The scale has been adjusted to allow for comparison with ClfA RO Comments from Figure 17

4.9 Discussion

One of the most striking elements to emerge from the analysis of the quantitative data is how uneven Facebook use was across development-led organisations. The overall numbers of posts, user interactions and Page responses were all highly variable for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs. Only a small proportion of companies were investing in routinely creating and sharing content, with fewer still producing Posts that were reliably generating interactions. A similarly small core of organisations, predominantly Non-ROs, were doing the absolute minimum to maintain activity on their Pages. These companies rarely posted and, when they did, attracted marginal quantities of interactions from users. Indeed, it is unclear why they continue to invest in retaining a Facebook presence when there seems to be little inclination or reward for doing so. These exceptions aside, the remainder of the ClfA ROs and Non-ROs fitted into a broader category of moderate-low Facebook use. These organisations usually posted two or three times during the week and, on average, received a rather muted response from their audiences (Table 7).

	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
Average Posts per Month	9.8	6.1
Average Likes & Reactions Per Post	31.3	12.6
Average Shares Per Post	4.7	1.9
Average Visible User Comments Per Post	1.5	0.8
Average Percentage of Posts that attracted at least one Like/Reaction	96.4%	95%
Average Percentage of Posts that attracted at least one Share	66%	50.5%
Average Percentage of Posts that attracted at least one Visible User Comment	37.2%	25.9%

Table 7: Summary of the average forms of Page-User interaction of both types of development-led organisations (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

The quantitative data from development-led Facebook Pages suggests a landscape where most organisations were using SNS half-heartedly. The comparatively low volume of posts created partially active Pages, with many lacking fresh content for days and sometimes weeks. The absence of consistency prevents momentum from building and undoubtedly is a factor in audience numbers. However, critically, cross-referencing post frequency with user interactions shows that simply posting often is not enough to produce engagement alone. Clearly the qualitative content of organisational posts is a crucial factor in generating engagement with audiences.

There was also a clear divide between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs visible in both post frequencies and user interactions (Table 7). Despite the Non-RO's smaller sample size, caused by a lack of active Facebook accounts from these companies, the averages showed far less investment in content than their accredited counterparts (Table 7). Could this be a direct consequence of Non-ROs not being obligated or encouraged to carry out engagement work, digital or otherwise unlike accredited companies? Or is it that Non-ROs feel there are no financial benefits associated with being active on SNS? The lack of Non-RO content also impacts the volume of user interactions, with fewer posts reducing the opportunity for users to engage with companies.

User interactions among development-led archaeological Facebook Pages were clearly stratified (Table 7), with each category attracting very different numbers. This quantitative

analysis creates a hierarchy of interactions in terms of their volumes. A similar stratification of Likes/Reactions – Shares – Comments has been detailed among archaeological audiences (Wakefield 2020) and elsewhere including followers of CERN's particle physics updates (Kahle et al. 2016) and the output of an American mosquito control campaign (McLeod-Morin et al. 2020). However, the nature of content clearly impacts the order of interactions, with New South Wales Police's meme-centred social media campaign attracting more Shares than Comments (Wood 2020). This is perhaps unsurprising given the inherently sharable nature of memes. Does this suggest that archaeological Page content is more "substantive" and, potentially, more serious?

While archaeology Pages' "hierarchy of interactions" is clear, it is critical to stress that this does not neatly equal a "hierarchy of engagement". When examining the nature of each interaction it is tempting to view the descent from lightweight Likes and Reactions (PDAs) to Shares to Comments as one of diminishing levels of user engagement. Yet, as highlighted earlier, while PDAs may appear simplistic and reflect the most rudimentary level of user engagement this may well not be the case. Ultimately it is impossible to accurately interpret overall audience engagement from Facebook interactions, as extrapolating intent, sentiment, connectedness, or any other element from interactions is deeply problematic. Equally, individual user behaviours are highly variable, and interactions fail to include the role of lurkers who statistically are likely to account for most of a Page's audience.

Even though interactions do not easily translate into a straightforward engagement hierarchy, the falloff in users taking advantage of more involved and participative Facebook interactions highlights the limitations in how ClfA ROs and Non-ROs are using the platform. What is abundantly clear from the data is that these archaeological Pages were far from the dialogue-laden, interactive spaces that they could be. Indeed, across both groups of development-led organisations user interactions of any type were disappointingly low (Table 7). Given the potential for Facebook to transcend geographical boundaries and reach large audiences, the average number of user interactions per-post equated to a small "offline" engagement event.

Facebook's different interactions can be correlated relatively well to elements present in physical outreach activities. If Likes and Reactions broadly parallel attendance at a talk to a local society or a site tour, then would these numbers be considered good? With a 31.3 average for ClfA ROs and 12.6 for Non-ROs (Table 7) these would, at best, reflect the turnout at a small event. Similarly, Comments could be seen to mirror attendee questions. If an archaeologist were to give a talk and receive just one or two questions or comments from an audience (see Table 7 for ClfA RO and Non-RO Comment averages), then they would most likely be disappointed.

A further issue with these limited numbers of interactions is that they may not derive from general Facebook users, whether they have a pre-existing interest in archaeology or otherwise. Both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs are likely to be attracting Likes, Reactions, Shares and Comments from their own staff, friends and families further distorting the dataset. During the data collection phase, the author became aware that interactions of all types were being left on Page content by archaeologists that he knew worked for, or had recently worked for, the studied companies. This practice, which appeared more common in larger organisations with multiple offices, suggests that some user interactions were not coming from general audiences and were being left by members of staff, past or present.

Staff interactions, particularly the lighter-touch PDAs and Shares may well be left out of a sense of obligation and as a form of social grooming, rather than as appreciation or enjoyment of the Posts. As Haynes et al. (2016) and Sumner et al. (2018) have shown, Likes and Reactions are often left to facilitate relationships with friends, family members and colleagues resulting from a desire to cultivate or maintain a relationship with them. This

practice has undoubtedly impacted the data. Colleagues, friends and families of either the staff responsible for Facebook updates or those with a relationship to the company itself have contributed interactions that are likely to contain a performative element for social maintenance. However, ascertaining the extent of this phenomenon is problematic as it would require targeted qualitative research and examining current and former employee staff lists and investigating personal Facebook accounts.

Similarly, occasionally interactions were being made by Pages themselves. A Page Liking or Reacting to its own posts, despite being advocated for by some digital marketing companies, is largely seen as a SNS faux pas. These self-Likes may derive from a Page having multiple moderators where one staff member may have forgotten to select their personal account from which to leave their response and several of these instances were noted during the research. While it is hard to precisely measure these more problematic interactions, their presence indicates that the totals and averages for general Facebook users across both CfA ROs and Non-ROs are likely to be lower still. Despite the myriad of opportunities that Facebook provides for interaction, most companies are only generating low levels of engagement. These low rates of audience interactions for development-led Pages may be a significant factor in their limited outputs.

Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) are measurements used by businesses to assess the performance of aspects of their organisations. The readily accessible surfeit of quantitative data provided by SNS has made them a natural fit for KPIs and marketing companies advocate for routine monitoring to gauge success. Increasingly for businesses metrics such as the Reach of their Facebook Page and the number of monthly Likes they receive dictate whether they perceive their social media presence as effective or not. Therefore, if an archaeological organisation's Facebook Page is not generating a healthy volume of user interactions and meeting the set KPIs, the online output will be more likely to be viewed as unsuccessful and, crucially, an unproductive use of staff time. KPIs are typically used in larger organisations where there are conscious marketing objectives and a longer-term focus on targets, a scenario that does not necessarily apply to many CfA ROs and Non-ROs.

While there is little current evidence on how widespread SNS KPIs are within development-led archaeology, research has shown that users of Facebook view the number of interactions as measures of success (Carr et al. 2018; Zell & Moeller 2018). The impacts of this can be powerful as the better their content performs, "the greater happiness and self-esteem they subsequently reported" (Zell & Moeller 2018, 31). Carr et al. (2018) found that, on average, a post was only deemed to have been successful if it had received at least 37.91 Likes or Reactions. With the low averages of all forms of Facebook interaction present across development-led organisations (Table 7), could most companies be meeting their targets, either via formal KPIs or on the individual psychological threshold suggested by Carr et al. (2018) and Zell and Moeller (2018)?

The quantitative data from both CfA ROs and Non-ROs suggests a Facebook landscape resulting from a self-fulfilling prophecy. The small number of posts per month, shared on an irregular schedule, for most companies has led to restricted Page audiences. This limited body of content generates few audience interactions, suggesting through KPIs and self-assessment by companies, that their Facebook presences are proving unsuccessful. An active, interaction-heavy Facebook Page requires substantial investment of time and resources to create momentum from regular updates, frequent interaction, and a creative approach to content. However, how can practitioners successfully lobby for more support when the limited time they have is not producing results?

Quantitative metrics showed that most development-led archaeological Facebook Pages in 2019 were finding it challenging to attract interactions. Without any other supporting evidence to demonstrate the value of digital outputs, it is hard to see companies investing

further resources on improving SNS content that seemingly yields few rewards. Sadly, greater investment is precisely what is needed to attract users and encourage them to interact and, critically, engage with a Page's content.

For social media, once touted among archaeologists as the new digital tool that would enable greater engagement, to be mostly producing limited levels of user-Page interaction is troubling. Indeed, given the length of time development-led organisations have had to familiarise themselves with SNS, the almost universally low averages across CfA ROs and Non-ROs demonstrates a clear reluctance to seriously adopt these platforms. A handful of organisations, largely accredited companies, are approaching Facebook in a more dedicated manner and are clearly gathering larger audiences and a far greater degree of user interaction. However, without an understanding of these companies' content and how users are responding, it is difficult to ascertain what levels of engagement are taking place. To investigate this qualitative content analysis was undertaken of both Page posts and user Comments.

Chapter 5 Qualitative Content Analysis

This chapter discusses the content that development-led companies create and share on their Facebook Pages.

As qualitative examinations of social media outputs have traditionally been limited within archaeology (Chapter Two), conducting a content analysis of both SNS content and user responses was considered an essential component of this research. Categorising archaeological organisations' Facebook outputs would provide insight into the areas of work presented in their content and how audiences reacted to these Posts. Of particular interest was exploring how Facebook content presented archaeology to online audiences. Were these company channels aimed at attracting clients and presenting organisations as professional businesses touting their services? Or were companies using their digital presences to conduct public engagement by sharing their work?

5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis: Facebook Page Content

To aid with comparative analysis, the same sixth-month period used in the quantitative analysis of development-led archaeological companies was employed for qualitative content coding. This yielded a total of 2,344 Posts, 1,943 from ClfA ROs and 401 from Non-ROs, all of which were coded (Table 8). Analysis initially discusses the combined ClfA and Non-RO dataset before examining the separate organisation types.

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Event Promotion	737	31.4
Company Promotion	335	14.3
Excavation/On-Site Update	298	12.7
Blog Promotion	272	11.6
Finds/Artefacts	256	10.9
Media Coverage	171	7.3
Specialist/Post-Ex	81	3.5
Publications	76	3.2
Other	50	2.1
Humour	35	1.5
Non-Archaeology	33	1.4

Table 8: Content coding results for Posts found on both ClfA RO and Non-RO Facebook Pages, combined

5.1.1 Event Promotion

What is immediately clear from the collated dataset is the dominance of the Event Promotion Category, which accounts for almost a third of all Posts on development-led Facebook Pages (Table 8). This primary coding group covers events companies are involved with such as talks and lectures, site tours, courses, community excavations and projects and attending events and/or running activities (see Appendix A).

As the 2019 data is pre-pandemic, it is unsurprising that only eleven of the 737 events in this category were online only (two livestreams and nine online lectures) with the remainder in-person, “offline” events. The prominence placed on promoting physical events is clear, with this Primary Category having more than twice the number of the next largest coding group (see Figure 20). This prevalence for using Facebook to promote physical engagement events and activities suggests most planned outreach follows well-established modes for dissemination rather than comprising crafted digital content. While the Event Promotion category does include photos of recent events and descriptions of activities, the category is dominated by their advance promotion.

Primary Category Percentage of Posts

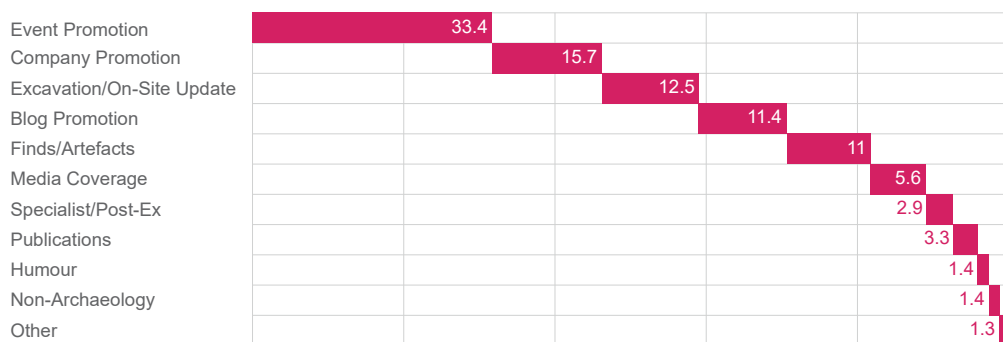


Figure 20: The percentages of Facebook Posts for each Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO data

Within this category it is common to encounter duplicate Posts, featuring the same text and images, advertising the event to be shared multiple times prior to them taking place. The frequency and lack of variety of these Event Promotion Posts appears to inhibit the levels of engagement this content generated among audiences. With the generally low frequency of posting across both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (Chapter Four), this can lead to very repetitive content that receives little interaction from users. ClfA RO Company 10 shared a duplicate Post for one event 11 times. The same organisation had Event Promotion content account for almost 75% of their output during the six-month study period. This tendency to rely on posting similar, if not identical, Event Promotion Posts may be a result of time poverty that prevents staff from varying Posts. Indeed, time poverty was an issue for numerous practitioners (Chapter Seven) so a reliance on repetition may be a necessity to populate Pages with content.

The high frequency of repeatedly shared Event Promotion Posts may also be an attempt by practitioners to ensure content is more likely to be seen by users. While posting content multiple times will theoretically deliver posts into more Newsfeeds, as Cooper (2021) notes, posting is not a guarantee for content to reach users. Instead, what is more important is creating and sharing content that people engage with (Cooper 2021). Facebook’s algorithm uses a complex system of markers, including the format of the content, the popularity of the Post, how recently it was posted and then assesses it using machine learning to determine where or when to place it in a user feed. Therefore, the repetitive posting of identical content is unlikely to be helping organisations, as these duplicate postings are unlikely to generate the volume of engagements (notably Loves and Comments) that would prioritise them for

user feeds within Facebook’s algorithm.

What is clear from the prevalence of Event Promotion content is that almost all development-led organisations are investing in producing physical events. The dominance of real-world activities, talks and tours shows the importance to the discipline of providing people with the opportunity to get “up close and personal” with archaeology, artefacts or, in the case of lectures, the archaeologists themselves (Table 9). With Event Promotion Posts playing such a prominent role within the dataset, it is unsurprising to see all five of its Subcategories represented in the top 10 of this sub-coding group (Table 9). The most prominent Subcategory from the content coding was Attendance/Activities, which constituted over one in ten Posts from the study period (Table 9) and featured both content advertising the forthcoming event and “on-the-day” photos. This division between posts both marketing events and then showing them in action was visible across the other Event Promotion Subcategories, highlighted in Table 9.

Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Attendance/Activities	278	11.9
Blog Post	231	9.9
Staff/Working	227	9.7
Artefact Description	220	9.4
Community Excavation	159	6.8
Talk/Lecture	130	5.6
Details/News/Information	119	5.1
Site Tour	102	4.4
Collaboration/Partnership	88	3.8
Course	68	2.9

Table 9: The 10 largest Secondary Category coding groups. Those highlighted belong to the Event Promotion Primary Category

Facebook provides the opportunity to create bespoke “Events”. Facebook Events are a calendar-based function that act as a “subpage” dedicated to a time-limited event or activity, connected to existing user or Page profiles (Facebook 2023e). Events provide Pages with several useful abilities for promotion, including the options to invite followers and users, send reminders to attendees, gauge turnouts with RSVP functionality and choose between free or paid access (Facebook 2023e). Despite Event Promotion comprising 31.4% of all Posts on development-led Facebook Pages, only 4.1% of these were for Facebook Events. This shows that companies were overwhelmingly opting not to use Facebook’s dedicated Event tools. Furthermore, of the 4.1% of Event Promotion Posts that were Facebook Events, 91.7% of them were events hosted by the relevant company. Hardly any Facebook Events posted or shared by development-led organisations were those run by external companies, such as clients or partners. The relative paucity of Facebook Events within a dedicated coding group focused on events and activities is particularly curious. As recently as 2015, Historic England (2015b) were still advising companies to create individual Facebook Events from which to post the results and findings of funded and part-funded projects, rather than integrate engagement into existing organisational Pages.

An emergent theme prevalent in the research is time poverty among engagement staff for creating content. While Facebook Events have the potential power to boost attendance figures and, potentially, event engagement, they require time to create, populate with the relevant details and monitor for user questions and messages. If staff with an engagement role are already struggling to create content for the main Page, it is unsurprising to see that practitioners are not generating extra work for themselves via Facebook Events. Indeed, as Events are inherently temporary investing time in a sub-Page that will soon become obsolete is clearly an unattractive prospect. This is particularly true with the volume of different events many development-led companies run, each requiring a fresh Event Page for promotion.

5.1.2 Company Promotion

The second most prominent primary coding category is Company Promotion (Figure 20) with 335 Posts comprising 14.3% of the data (Table 8). This intentionally broader category, encompassing numerous Subcategories, concerns the broader publicisation of organisations and the marketing of their services. Given the fundamental business-orientated nature of the development-led archaeological sector, it is unsurprising to find promotional Posts comprise a notable proportion of SNS content. In a competitive market, ensuring that a company's services are prominently featured is an ingrained facet of contemporary business practice. Most of the 119 Posts in the Details/News/Information Subcategory (the seventh most frequent Subcategory in the dataset, see Table 9) reflected the general maintenance associated with any social media business account. These included updating addresses, telephone numbers, profile or cover photos or announcing the opening of new offices.

The second most prevalent Company Promotion content were Posts concerning collaborations and partnerships with other organisations (Table 9). The Collaboration/Partnership Subcategory consisted of 88 Posts (3.8% of all Posts), though these came from 21 organisations: 19 ClfA ROs and just two Non-ROs. Collaborations are common within contemporary development-led archaeology and can include heritage bodies such as Historic England, interest groups, charitable organisations and local communities. While client commissioned work is also a form of partnership, unless the Facebook content emphasised the collaborative nature of the work, simple social tagging and references to the funder were not considered applicable to this category. Relatively few Posts directly promoted partnerships and while this content did appear on Pages, these focused Posts were typically press releases and official statements announcing the beginning or culmination of projects. Collaborations often require all public facing content to be signed off by every party involved, including managers and communications teams. Could this requirement to run everything through committee, a time-consuming process that can include lengthy back-and-forth changes, be a barrier for practitioners?

Job Adverts comprised 2% of all company content (45 Posts and the 14th most popular Subcategory). Despite Facebook not being typically associated with employment prospects, unlike LinkedIn, it is interesting that organisations consider it worthwhile to advertise roles on this platform, something echoed in practitioner interviews (see 7.2.4 Recruitment). Similarly, Staff/Appointment Posts, which discussed the work of members of staff, new appointments and retiring employees comprised 37 Posts (1.6% of all coded content).

The Awards Subcategory, detailing any nominations or award wins an organisation had received, accounted for a very small proportion of the dataset with just 8 Awards Posts (0.3% of all Posts) coded for the research period. Company Promotion Posts that primarily advertised Products/Services were also comparatively rare, with just 16 ClfA ROs creating a total of 38 of these posts (1.6% of the total dataset). Only one of these accredited organisations, ClfA RO Company 5, created multiple Product/Service posts. Given the competitive push for contracts driving development-led archaeology, overtly advertising

services on Facebook is clearly not a significant factor in generating revenue for most organisations. However, are organisations using a less explicit form of marketing and using their overall Facebook outputs to promote their businesses? Are artefact and on-site posts fulfilling a subtle role of selling company services to potential clients and to what degree is digital content being consciously created as marketing rather than the dissemination of information?

5.1.3 Excavation/On-Site Updates and Finds/Artefacts

Both the Excavation/On-Site Update and Finds/Artefacts Primary Categories reflect the content that is synonymous with archaeology. Images of people digging, muddy finds being proffered to the camera and crisp cleaned artefact shots are the foundation of media depictions of the profession. With the dominance of excavation and artefacts in most mainstream coverage of archaeology, it would not be unreasonable to expect these combined categories would make up the bulk of organisational outputs. Yet, this is far from the case with Excavation/On-Site Updates forming just 12.7% of all Posts and Finds/Artefacts only 10.9% (Table 8). Both these Primary Categories combined, make up less than a quarter (just 23.6%) of the total dataset.

However, two Subcategories, one from Excavation/On-Site Updates and one from Finds/Artefacts, are the third and fourth most popular, respectively. Staff/Working shots from sites accounted for almost 10% (9.7%) of all Posts and made up 76% of content from the Excavation/On-Site Updates Primary Category. Equally, Artefact Descriptions comprised 9.4% of the whole dataset, forming 85.9% of the Finds/Artefacts Primary Category. Other Excavation/On-Site Updates and Finds/Artefacts Subcategories all contained small numbers of Posts. Archaeological Features were the most prominent of these, with 45 Posts focusing on specific in-situ features such as ditch slots or pit sections. Content discussing challenging weather, a common occurrence in UK archaeology, accounted for 1.1% of Posts. These 26 Posts came from 12 companies, demonstrating that there was limited interest in depicting the on-site working conditions facing field staff. This reticence is understandable, as showing the adverse environments staff must routinely experience may not reflect well on organisations. Illustrating the common difficulties facing archaeologists could give non-specialist audiences a greater understanding of the day-to-day conditions and the expertise and professionalism required to work in them.

The Finds/Artefacts Category was dominated by images of individual artefacts. Perhaps predictably, other facets of the finds process, such as the off-site cleaning or processing of artefacts were seldom depicted as just 19 Posts (0.8%) reflected this activity. Artefacts are highly visual and an excellent entry point for discussions of archaeology and are mainstays in wider media depictions of the profession. Why don't they form a larger component of organisations' Facebook outputs?

The comparative rarity of both excavation and artefact-based content may well be derived from broader institutional communication plans and external pressures. As discussed in Chapter Two's review of digital engagement literature, UK-based archaeological organisations are often beholden to client confidentiality (see ClfA 2020c; Goskar 2012; Perring 2015a; Powers 2014; Orange 2013). There is an increasing recognition of client confidentiality impacting social media use by archaeologists (ClfA 2021a; 2021b) and Chapter Seven's discussions with practitioners has revealed a wide-ranging series of barriers to sharing on-site and artefact-based content. These inhibitors and challenges can be directly seen in the quantities of this form of field and finds-based content appearing on organisations' Facebook Pages.

5.1.4 Blog Promotion

Blogs are webpages, which can be standalone or form part of a website, that are written in a more conversational style and typically include the options for users to add comments to the content (Highfield 2017; Notre Dame of Maryland University 2018). Blogs first originated in the mid-90s before reaching the height of their popularity in the early-to-mid 2000s (Highfield 2017; Notre Dame of Maryland University 2018) paving the way for the growth of SNS. Most of the primary elements of the blog have made their way into contemporary SNS, particularly microblogging and vlogging. Owing to many social networks being built on a cannibalised reassembly of blog features and the dominance of these platforms, there is a common assumption that “blogging is dead” (Dietz 2021) and of limited relevance in today’s digital society.

Given the impression that blogging is an archaic holdover it is perhaps surprising to see that development-led archaeological companies are still relatively reliant on blogs as a core component of their SNS outputs (Figure 20). Of the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO data, Blog Promotion Posts account for 11.6% of all content, with a total of 272 Posts (Table 9). This is the fourth most popular Primary Category with just 1% fewer Posts than Excavation/ On-Site Updates (Table 9). Interestingly, Blog Posts are the second most prolific Secondary Category, accounting for 9.9%, or 231, of all content. Links to individual blogs, Blog Posts, formed most Blog Promotion content (84.9%). Vlogs, or video blogs, formed 1.5% of the total dataset though few of this video content was embedded as playable videos on Facebook. Instead, most were linked to offsite hosting platforms, typically YouTube. Blog Archive Posts, links to collections of multiple blogs, were rare and occurred just five times.

While blogging is largely considered to have been superseded, as Dietz (2021) notes, it is far from dead and remains an important format for relaying information to audiences, especially among businesses. Blogging has evolved into a more strategic mechanism for outputting information and contemporary blogs more closely resemble articles and are often favoured by search engines (Dietz 2011). The enduring popularity of blogs among development-led companies may derive from their ease of creation rather than their success at engaging users. Blogs are straightforward content to produce, requiring only text, though most contain embedded images. Blogging’s historical prevalence also means the simplest website templates contain blog functionality. Indeed, that blogs have been common for the best part of 20 years may also account for their popularity among archaeologists as they are a familiar format with a low barrier for entry, unlike vlogs.

While vlogs have been used in archaeology for some time (Hanson & Rahtz 1988; Morgan 2014; Tong et al. 2015) the paucity of vlogs in the dataset, just 13.2% of the Blog Promotion Primary Category, suggests that few companies have the combination of time, skills and resources necessary to create vlogs, a medium that is notoriously time intensive. Creating vlogs using the most basic set-ups, such as camera phones and free software, require skills and training and more polished video content demands a far higher skill ceiling, better equipment, and lengthier turnarounds. Companies could hire videographers for specific projects, though how many companies routinely have the budgets to produce this media is unclear, especially given the pressures of the development-led sectors tender-based contracts driving budgets downwards.

Of the 36 vlogs encountered during this research, most were short guerrilla-style, field productions with limited editing, if any, that focused on pieces to camera. Almost all were shot on site and appeared to have been shot using smartphones. Interestingly, all posted vlogs suggested attempts to emulate the familiar archaeological formats encountered in the wider media, particularly TV series such as Time Team and Digging for Britain. Less than half of the vlogs (14 of the 36, or 36%) were uploaded directly to Facebook where they

would autoplay on user Newsfeeds. Given the highly uneven use of YouTube by both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (see Chapter Four), it is surprising to see just 36% of vlogs hosted on Facebook.

Facebook has been attempting to drive users towards its own video services since at least 2017 (Herrmann 2017; Koetsier 2017). By preventing autoplating of YouTube links and providing substantial engagement boosts to native video, potentially resulting in Facebook videos generating 10 times more Shares and eight times more Comments (Herrmann 2017; Koetsier 2017), Facebook has been gradually attempting to reduce links to competitors such as YouTube, DailyMotion and Vimeo. The continued use of YouTube as the go to source for hosting, despite archaeological companies seldom using it, suggests a lack of access to social media training where platform priorities and methods for boosting engagement can be taught.

5.1.5 Media Coverage

Given archaeology's relationship with the media (see Ascherson 2004; Brittain & Clack 2007; Pitts 2013) it is unsurprising to see this media content being shared via SNS. Media Coverage accounted for 7.3% of the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset, totalling 171 Posts (Table 8) and was the sixth most popular Primary Category. Media reports on archaeology, whether in print, online, radio or TV, typically come presented as a narrative, neatly packaged in a simple, easy-to-digest "story" suitable for general audiences. There appears to be a recognition of the importance of the traditional media among many in archaeological management (Appendix D: Mark 416-421; Victoria 662-671). Typical archaeological press releases will have been approved by clients and stakeholders making media coverage a preapproved, prepacked narrative. With this investment and "safety" in the stories, seeing companies sharing, or resharing, media coverage on their channels is unsurprising.

Of the 171 Media Coverage Posts, 127 (74.3%) contained an external link and 27 (15.8%) were Shares from a non-company Page. Both these forms of Post required less investment from the archaeological practitioner as the bulk of the content was created by another party. In the case of external links, these were always a direct link to the media source. The only additional content provided by the archaeological Page might be a short contextual sentence (for example, "The Guardian covered our recent work in this article, read it here"). Shares provided a similarly low level of investment, with practitioners simply resharing the content from another Facebook location. Like external links, Pages could opt to add additional information by Sharing with text though, again, this would require less time as the bulk of the Posts content was already in place. Just 17 Media Coverage Posts (9.9%) relied on or drew from prior web or Facebook content. These Posts were almost exclusively advertisements for forthcoming TV or radio appearances, with audiences being told the times and where to watch or listen to coverage.

Media Coverage Posts appear to be attractive to some practitioners, potentially owing to speed of creation and that the content has been largely already created by third parties. Table 10 highlights that there was a surprisingly even spread of media coverage at Local, National, and International levels. The lower level of Posts dealing with global archaeology or coverage from international media sources (1.9%) is understandable given the focus of this research on companies operating within the UK's development-led sector. Equally, the stronger emphasis on Local Coverage (2.8%) is likely to relate to the regional nature of many UK archaeological organisations, as even the largest companies have regional offices.

The main sources for shared Media Coverage on company Facebook Pages are Newspaper/Magazine websites or dedicated online-only news sites (Table 10). This trend

Subcategory 1	Number of Posts / Percentage of All Posts	Subcategory 2	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts Involving Company
Local Coverage	66 (2.8%)	Newspaper/Magazine	34	72.7%
		Online	20	
		TV	6	
		Radio	6	
National Coverage	60 (2.6%)	Newspaper/Magazine	16	66.7%
		Online	16	
		TV	23	
		Radio	5	
International Coverage	45 (1.9%)	Newspaper/Magazine	18	15.6%
		Online	24	
		TV	3	
		Radio	0	

Table 10: Breakdown of different media formats for each Media Coverage Subcategory. The table also includes the percentage of company Posts where the content Shared does involve the relevant company

is likely to reflect the general frequency of each respective media type, as there is a greater selection of newspaper, magazine and online news sources and a much smaller pool of TV and radio avenues for coverage. However, it may also be a result of newspaper, magazine and online news coverage being easier to link to and connect with via SNS posts. Online TV and radio coverage is often time-limited and region-locked such as BBC iPlayer, with a 30-day availability and no access outside of the UK without a VPN service (BBC 2021a; 2021b).

However, as Table 10 shows, a significant proportion of these Posts do not even involve the company that is posting about them. Indeed, across the combined dataset 27.3% of Local Coverage, 33.3% of National Coverage, and a substantial 84.4% of International Coverage is about archaeological subjects that the Page sharing it has no connection with (Table 10). This practice of sharing unrelated media coverage is encountered across both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, though some organisations rely more heavily on this form of content than others. Non-RO Company 06 posted 61 times during the six-month research period, with 47 of these belonging to the Media Coverage Primary Category (77% of the organisation's Facebook output) but just one of these Posts involved the company. Indeed, Non-RO Company 06 was so prolific in their sharing of media-related content that this one organisation accounted for 27.5% of the entire Media Coverage coding group. Indeed, there was such a focus on unrelated international archaeological news articles in this company's output that over half the study's International Coverage Posts were from Non-RO Company 06 (25 of 45, 55.6%).

A user responded negatively to one of Non-RO Company 06's numerous non-company Media Coverage Posts. The user took issue with the organisation having posted a long run of international news stories, prompting them to publicly express their dissatisfaction. They described how the Posts were irrelevant to the archaeology of the local area and how it would be far more appropriate for the organisation to share news of their own work. The user received no response from the company and there was no change in the Page's reliance on non-company media content. Similar proportions of unrelated media stories were present in some accredited organisations, such as ClfA RO Company 31, whose Facebook content was made up of 73.3% of Media Coverage Posts. While this company had a much lower

frequency of posting (15 Posts within six-months), unlike Non-RO Company 06, none of the 11 Media Coverage Posts concerned the company's work.

While these two companies had the greatest proportion of non-company Media Coverage Posts, this was clearly a theme across the wider dataset. In total, 12 of the 44 development-led organisations with active Facebook Pages (27.2%) shared at least one Media Coverage Post that did not relate to the company or its work. None of the 76 non-company Media Coverage Posts credited the actual companies responsible for the work, nor did they describe why an unrelated organisation was sharing this content. Most Posts of this type consisted of external links with no additional text (71 of the 76), while five were Shares which came from a media source's Facebook Page. However, nowhere within these Shares was it made clear who had carried out the work.

The lack of clear accreditation is problematic as, at first glance, linking to or reposting other organisations' work implies that the sharer is responsible for, or at the very least, involved in the content. Indeed, this is a problem compounded by the nature of sharing on SNS which makes it hard to manage how a user views a Post and in what context this occurs. It is easy to imagine an individual seeing a news story shared by a company appear in their Newsfeed and the user assuming that company was involved in some capacity. Assumptions of this nature may be mitigated by users going on to read the full story, wherein it would be clear the posting company was not involved in the work. However, click-through rates for SNS (the ratio of users clicking on links in a Post compared to the total views the same post received) are estimated to be just over 1% (Statista 2021). This would suggest that only a tiny proportion of users would potentially realise who was actually responsible.

The practice of sharing unrelated archaeological content could easily be interpreted as being intentionally duplicitous. Indeed, in numerous instances organisations shared the work of direct regional competitors, with no mention of the companies involved. In one instance of sharing non-company Media Coverage, ClfA RO Company 22 attracted a negative Comment from a user unhappy with the unrelated project. Here, rather than benefiting from this, ClfA RO Company 22 faced a frustrated user, whose negative Comment went unanswered. While it would be easy to read posting unaccredited, non-company content as a misleading strategy to benefit from a rival's archaeological work, in practice this does not seem to be the case. The prevalence of non-company related Posts is more probably the result of practitioners needing to find any content to populate their Pages, irrespective of whether it involved them or not. Given that one of the consistent themes emerging from this research is the lack of time practitioners have, to create and Share content, this reliance on general archaeological news stories becomes clearer.

Equally, the lack of a clear social media strategy described by several practitioners (7.3.1 Uncertainty) may explain the abundance of generalised, often non-UK, archaeological news among certain companies that are unclear what function their Facebook Page serves. Interestingly, the more prolific companies in the study, those which posted frequently and displayed evidence of a clear SNS strategy, seldom used non-company Media content. This category accounted for just 0.7% of ClfA Company 02's output (1 of 151 Posts) and 2.6% of ClfA Company 05's content (3 of 117 Posts). However, companies that appeared to lack a coherent social media strategy, notably Non-RO Company 06 and ClfA RO Company 31, heavily relied on sharing stories they were not involved with.

5.1.6 Specialist/Post-Ex

The Specialist/Post-Ex Category accounted for 3.5% of all Posts across the combined dataset (Table 11) and its two most prominent Subcategories were both centred around heavily visual specialisations: Illustration/Reconstructions and 3D models. Given the

importance of strong images for SNS Posts, it is easy to see why these two facets of the discipline are appealing to content creators.

Primary Category	Number of Posts / Percentage of All Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts / Percentage of All Posts
Specialist/Post-Ex	81 (3.5%)	3D Models	26 (1.1%)
		Analysis/Science/Post-Ex	18 (0.8%)
		Illustration/Reconstruction	37 (1.6%)

Table 11: A summary of the key data associated with the Specialist/Post Ex Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset

Illustrations are the most prominent Specialist/Post-Ex subcategory, though there is a clear bias towards artefact illustrations as only two of the 37 Illustration/Reconstructions were of landscape or site reconstructions. Reconstructions are rarely produced as part of the development-led archaeological process, as most illustration outputs are focused on site reports or specialist publications where technical artefact drawings, designed for specialist scrutiny, are a principle output. 3D Models of sites, archaeological features and individual artefacts are a common product of photogrammetry, a technique that is becoming increasingly prevalent in development-led archaeology (for example Cambridge Archaeological Unit 2021; Must Farm 2016; 2019). Indeed, specialist 3D model sites with SNS functionality, such as Sketchfab, are used to share these visualisations with project archaeologists (Must Farm 2019). Many development-led organisations in the UK have in-house graphics and geomatics departments which produce these visualisations as part of their workflow. 3D models are, arguably, more prevalent than ever and come in formats ideal for sharing via organisations' SNS.

The Analysis/Science/Post-Ex Subcategory is a more diverse coding group that captures a wider range of archaeological work and involved Posts from 10 different companies (nine ClfA ROs and one Non-RO). Content included discussions of soil micromorphology, pollen sampling, archaeological dating techniques, aerial photography and analysis of flint artefacts.

The post-excavation process is critical to the creation of archaeological knowledge and brings together dozens of different strands of analysis upon which interpretations are built. Given the importance of this work it is curious to see it so underrepresented in content generated by archaeological companies. During the author's time working in the sector, clients regularly expressed shock at the range of specialist work required for archaeological projects and, particularly, the costs involved. Showing more of a poorly understood component of archaeological investigation, its necessity, and the value of undertaking scientific analyses may help clients not only understand more about this process but make them baulk less at their obligation to fund this work.

The author initially suspected the absence of post-excavation from archaeological Facebook content was a result of practitioners wanting to replicate traditional media coverage, which largely focuses exclusively on excavation. However, discussions with practitioners suggested that specialists were often reluctant to provide information for social media or too busy (Appendix D: Alice, 126-128; Ellen, 195-201; Mark, 64-71 & 306-313; Victoria, 405-415). This difficulty, discussed further in Chapter Seven, may explain the limited degree of content featuring post-excavation work.

5.1.7 Publications

Publications are a universal feature of the UK’s development-led landscape as they are a mandatory requirement of the archaeological process and though dominated by grey reports can also include books, monographs and journal articles. Despite the prevalence of publications within the sector, just 3.2% (76) of all Posts from the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset fell into this category (Table 12).

Primary Category	Number of Posts / Percentage of All Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts / Percentage of All Posts
Publications	76 (3.2%)	Book/Chapter/Monograph	31 (1.3%)
		Report	25 (1.1%)
		Resource	20 (0.9%)

Table 12: A summary of the principal data associated with the Publications Primary Category for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset

The Publications Subcategory displayed an unusually tight spread, with only 11 Posts separating the most from the least common subcategories (Table 12). While the discrepancy between content discussing Reports and Book/Chapter/Monographs is slight (only a six Post difference or 0.2%), there is a far greater difference between the volumes of these publications produced by companies. As previously discussed, the production of a post-excavation technical report is a required output of any development-led archaeological work (Chapter Two) whereas the production of books, monographs or journal articles is less common. Clearly, despite producing reports regularly many organisations are not sharing details of them on Facebook with any regularity, while less frequent formal publications are more likely to receive coverage.

This may be a result of grey report content being less suitable for creating engaging SNS content, as documents focused on small-scale evaluations/watching briefs where little, or no, archaeology is encountered are unlikely to prove attractive. Similarly, there appears to be an awareness that reports may not be the most accessible social media content for non-archaeologists (Appendix D: Chloe 605-624) and their reputation for being overly technical and jargon-laden is undoubtedly a component of this. However, writing a decade ago, Goskar (2012) stressed the surprising popularity of Wessex Archaeology’s own digital archive of grey literature. The paucity of content focused on reports would suggest that either this interest has diminished or, more probably, that practitioners are not favouring its use in Page posts.

That companies were opting to create content based on their publication of books, chapters and monographs is unsurprising owing to the disciplinary prestige associated with these formats and the greater investment of time required to produce them. However, the peer-reviewed, academic nature of these publications could create problems when promoting them on Facebook owing to many being locked behind paywalls or having a prohibitively expensive price tag. ClfA RO Company 26 received a negative comment from a user complaining that they were advertising a publication that was too expensive and therefore inaccessible.

With more formal publications, chiefly print books and monographs, typically requiring a

purchase, there is the potential for companies promoting these works on social media to be conducting marketing, hoping to boost sales. Yet, given the niche audiences for most of these weighty volumes and that most will end up on institutional bookshelves or on the desks of specialists, it seems unlikely for this to be the case. The focused and interdisciplinary character of archaeological publications suggests that most of these posts are designed for fellow archaeologists and professionals and not a non-specialist audience. The comparatively small percentage (3.2%) of publication content indicates that practitioners are aware that their output needs to be suitable for a more general audience (see Appendix D: Chloe 605-624).

The smallest Publications Secondary Category, Resources, presents an interesting contrast to the more formal reports encountered in archaeology. Though there are only 20 examples of Resources, accounting for just 0.9% of the combined dataset (Table 12), these display some interesting, more public-facing means of engagement. While five of the Resources Posts were links to company hosted collections of archived reports, some numbering in the thousands, most were more diverse and accessible archaeological assets. Six were links to downloadable guides for heritage walks. Two linked to a dedicated project-specific webpage that integrated 3D models with playable media and text, providing users with a varied and highly accessible presentation of an archaeological project. The remainder were largely links to project webpages that were collations of mixed media, such as videos, blogs and descriptions of work and stakeholders. The paucity of Resource Posts, despite their engaging nature and suitability for a non-specialised audience, is likely a result of the rarity of this content being produced within development-led workflows. Aside from the collections of reports, none of the other forms of Resource (heritage walks or sleek, mixed-format webpages) were a common output of commercial work. Indeed, the complexity and time involved to create some of these resources are rare with the sector and would often require a dedicated project budget or special requirement within a project design to be produced.

5.1.8 Humour

Humour posts were seldom encountered in the dataset, with only 35 Posts across CifA ROs and Non-ROs that accounted for just 1.5% of the dataset. It was clear that Humour content was only used by a small proportion of companies, as just eight organisations (six CifA ROs and two Non-ROs) used this type of Post, less than a fifth of those in the study (18.2%). Of these, only four (three CifA ROs and one Non-RO) created or Shared Humour content on more than two occasions. Content which did include humour was varied in nature, often using jokes or wordplay to create a less formal Post. However, there were some common themes including eight Posts that were seasonal tie-ins related to Christmas or Halloween, five Posts relating to very poor working conditions and four Posts that related to the unexpected presence of wildlife or pets on sites.

Just two of the 35 Humour Posts were Shares from non-company Pages, both by one company. One of these light-hearted Posts, a Share of a product with a connection to archaeology, prompted the highest number of negative user Comments on a single piece of content, with eight individuals expressing distaste at the nature of the item. The sharing of the post was clearly done with humour and most commentators agreed, with the 44 other top-level commentators all reacting positively. However, it is curious that the most divisive Post encountered among the 2,344 from the dataset, was one designed to be inoffensively humorous which highlights the challenges associated with digital communications.

The widespread absence of humour among archaeological content is interesting, considering the potential for less serious posts to resonate with audiences. Research has shown that Facebook users routinely employ performative humour when using the platform to mediate relationships with audiences, often using relatively sophisticated linguistic

methods (Lewin-Jones 2015). Equally, the most SNS synonymous form of humour, memes, can reach significant levels of virality on Facebook (Taecharungroj & Nueangjamnong 2015).

Within the light-hearted content encountered on the development-led Facebook Pages, several Posts adopted the most successful form of humour, self-deprecation (Lewin-Jones 2015; Taecharungroj & Nueangjamnong 2015). The five Posts which depicted archaeologists working in adverse working conditions, typically extremely muddy features, all clearly demonstrated a self-deprecating tone about the nature of the profession and the challenging situations professionals frequently find themselves in. As both Lewin-Jones (2015) and Taecharungroj and Nueangjamnong (2015) observe, the practice of self-deprecation resonates with audiences psychologically, as they empathise with the content emotionally. Indeed, Taecharungroj and Nueangjamnong (2015, 299) note that while self-deprecating humour may not be the most common form of humour on Facebook, it typically generates the most Likes and Shares.

Elsewhere within the digital heritage sphere, humour has been proven to connect with online audiences as demonstrated by the use of Twitter by The Museum of English Rural Life (MERL). Eschewing the more conventional, professional approach to microblogging in favour of a meme-based slang, the museum famously went viral with a Tweet of a stocky sheep (The Museum of English Rural Life 2018). This heavily informal tone clicked with users, racking up an incredible 1.5 million Twitter engagements (The Museum of English Rural Life 2018). The viral sensation propelled the MERL into a series of high-profile exchanges with Tesla founder Elon Musk (Gerken 2019), that eventually secured the original Tweet's author, MERL programme manager Adam Koszary, a new role with Musk's organisation (Rushe 2019). While it remains unclear precisely how the virality of the initial Tweet influenced physical MERL visits, the digital engagement has clearly not only raised the profile of the museum with the public but also seen sector-wide recognition of its unconventional approach to online outreach.

Within the research into Facebook use by development-led organisations, this informal approach was largely non-existent. Even among the eight development-led organisations that did employ Humour content, it made up a small proportion of their output with no company sharing more than eight of these Posts. Humour is highly subjective and, as the Post described above demonstrates, it is easy to polarise users. With practitioners having limited time to prepare and deliver Facebook content, creating and then moderating Humour-based Posts is likely to be more involved and potentially lead to greater difficulties than more serious, "professional" content.

There are also likely to be concerns over the less-formal portrayal of development-led archaeological organisations, where the perception of an expert, specialist company is an important aspect for attracting clients and ensuring a positive working relationship. While a professional external appearance is also likely to be important for museums and the heritage sector, their principal function to attract visitors contrasts with the wider archaeological sector. For most development-led companies securing contracts and completing business-driven projects are the primary focus rather than engaging the public, objectives that will likely place professionalism ahead of humour.

Similarly, practitioners are unlikely to have access to more light-hearted content as staff would be unwilling to share content that may depict them acting less formally on-site, something that would undoubtedly create issues with both company management and clients. Equally, development-led organisations would be averse to sharing some of the comically ridiculous, though deeply problematic working conditions field teams are expected to work in. Publicly sharing circumstances where staff are knee-deep in freezing water for hours at a time, with limited facilities, would not reflect well on organisations, despite many archaeologists having to routinely experience them.

There appears to be a range of reasons underpinning the rarity of light-hearted content among development-led archaeological Facebook Pages, with many appearing to stem from the importance of appearance to the sector.

5.1.9 Non-Archaeology

Non-Archaeology content was the least common coding group within the dataset, with just 1.4% of Posts being unrelated to the discipline (Table 8). This was a coding group with diverse content that ranged from discussions of recycling and nature to cuddly toys and art. Despite the notable variability of topics featured within the Non-Archaeology Primary Category, there were several clusters of similarly themed content. The largest of these groups were 11 Posts (33.3% of Non-Archaeology content) which discussed non-archaeological local businesses, suggesting the existence of local ties and the cross-promotion of companies in their immediate area.

A further two Non-Archaeology Posts discussed charitable work that employees had completed and three more involved Remembrance Day, where companies expressly honoured military personnel who had lost their lives. Unusually, one ClfA RO created four employee-related Posts that involved coverage of a sporting tournament workers were engaged in. These four Posts constituted 6% of this organisation's output, which is curious as it bore little relation to the company's work. This sporting content raises questions about the formality of company Pages and the rationale behind these Posts. Were they created principally with internal communication in mind to inform staff of their colleagues activity or potentially to help make staff appear more accessible by sharing a common non-work interest? The general absence of non-archaeological content present in the data indicates a conformity throughout the profession to keep their digital content "on-topic" and focused on their work.

5.1.10 Other

It was necessary to include a miscellaneous coding group that was able to contain the content that did not correspond to any other Primary Category, which resulted in 50 Posts from the dataset, or 2.1%. Further examination of this "Other" group, revealed some commonalities which are briefly discussed.

The largest area of overlap between these miscellaneous posts were organisation Pages sharing archaeology encountered in practitioners' personal holidays, where 16 Posts from three different Non-RO organisations (Non-RO Companies 03, 04 and 07). That three companies were sharing what can only be described as holiday snaps, indicates the far less formal character of these Facebook Pages, with all originating from smaller, non-accredited organisations with few staff members. While these more personal posts made up a small proportion of Non-RO Company 03 and 04 content (4% and 9% respectively), Non-RO Company 07 depended on the use of informal holiday pictures, as 72.2% of all Posts were of heritage encountered while overseas. This latter's abundance of casual, tangentially related content suggests an ad hoc, uncoordinated use of the platform.

A second grouping of Posts within the Other Primary Category involved content focused on animals, typically their presence on excavations. While four Posts involving animals were previously encountered in the research, these were all clearly comedic pieces of content and were coded within the Humour category. A further nine Posts that featured animals, ranging from the domestic (cats, pigs) to the wild (robins, deer, frogs) were encountered and coded as Other, as they contained no other clear markers for any other Primary Categories. These Posts featuring animals were difficult to decipher but most demonstrated a clear degree of practitioner excitement at the presence of the creatures. As Wood (2020) notes, animals

are popular with Facebook users and can help boost a Post’s metrics. Indeed, many of this content that featured animals possessed a definite “Aww” factor that proved successful, such as a Post by an accredited ClfA RO that featured a cat which generated over 700 Likes and Reactions and 37 top-level Comments.

Aside from these two small groupings of similar content, the remainder of the Other Primary Category was hard to coalesce into further comparable themes. Two Posts attempting to solicit donations were encountered, one for a local community archaeological project and the other for the company itself. The latter, from a ClfA RO, managed to raise just £65 of a target of £7,000 from two donors. This failure of the funding campaign was undoubtedly down to a lack of understanding of the complexities and difficulties of running a charitable campaign on a SNS. After just one dedicated fundraising Post on the company’s Facebook Page, the organisation stopped promoting the campaign.

The remaining 23 Posts covered a range of diverse topics including a discussion of climate change, thoughts on new heritage crime legislation, videos of experimental archaeological activity and reminiscences about the “good old days” of archaeology.

5.2 ClfA ROs and Non-ROs: Content Differences

While the prior discussion has focused on the collated dataset of both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, there are some notable differences visible in the prevalence of Primary Categories between accredited and non-accredited organisations (Table 13). The combined and ClfA RO datasets were remarkably similar with the top six Primary Categories falling into the same ranking (Table 13). The remaining five coding groups displayed some variation in their order of popularity, though all were below 3.5% and made up just over 10% of the total dataset (11.7% for the combined dataset and 10.3% for the ClfA ROs).

Primary Category	Combined Number of Posts	Combined Percentage of Posts	ClfA RO Number of Posts	ClfA RO Percentage of Posts	Non-RO Number of Posts	Non-RO Percentage of Posts
Event Promotion	737	31.4%	649	33.4%	88	21.9%
Company Promotion	335	14.3%	306	15.7%	29	7.2%
Excavation/On-Site Update	298	12.7%	243	12.5%	55	13.7%
Blog Promotion	272	11.6%	221	11.4%	51	12.7%
Finds/Artefacts	256	10.9%	214	11%	42	10.5%
Media Coverage	171	7.3%	108	5.6%	63	15.7%
Specialist/Post-Ex	81	3.5%	56	2.9%	25	6.2%
Publications	76	3.2%	65	3.3%	11	2.7%
Other	50	2.1%	25	1.3%	25	6.2%
Humour	35	1.5%	28	1.4%	7	1.8%
Non-Archaeology	33	1.4%	28	1.4%	5	1.3%

Table 13: Comparison of the Combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO Primary Categories. The top three Primary Categories for each group of data are highlighted

The Non-RO data deviated from the combined and ClfA RO datasets in an interesting manner. The Media Coverage Primary Category was the third most prominent among non-accredited organisations, despite ranking sixth for ClfA ROs and the combined dataset (Table 13). Indeed, Media Coverage for Non-ROs accounted for 15.7% of all content (Table 13), almost three times more than ClfA ROs (5.6%). This is interesting as the 63 Media Coverage Posts among Non-ROs rank so highly owing to the 47 pieces of content posted by Non-RO Company 06, 46 of which did not even concern this organisation (see above). The prevalence of content unrelated to the posting company is explored in greater depth below, but the impact of a single organisation on the Primary Categories distorts these Non-RO rankings.

A curious aspect of the Non-RO Primary Categories, particularly when compared with ClfA ROs, is the relative scarcity of Company Promotion. Company Promotion is the second most prominent ClfA RO Primary Category, accounting for 15.7% of all Posts (Table 13). However, for Non-ROs it is only the sixth most common accounting for 7.2%, less than half of accredited organisations (Table 13). This discrepancy implies that Non-ROs are less concerned with directly promoting their businesses than their ClfA RO counterparts. While their Facebook outputs are similarly focused on the promotion of Events, site-based updates, artefacts and blogs (Table 13), what could account for the disparity in approaches to marketing their services and credentials?

The more uneven use of Facebook, and other SNS (see Chapter 4), by Non-ROs suggests less awareness among these companies about the potential value of these digital platforms. The small proportion of content focused primarily on the professional, commercial expertise offered by these companies could reflect this attitude. The differences visible between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs within the Primary Categories were also reflected within the dataset's subcategories (Table 14). Again, Non-ROs appeared to prioritise different content when compared with accredited organisations, particularly within the 10 most common Secondary Categories (Table 14). Non-ROs favoured posting site-based Staff/Working shots, where they ranked as the most popular Secondary Category for non-accredited companies (Table 14).

Among the Non-RO data there are no clear trends within the Secondary Categories where particular subcategories are highly favoured. Indeed, the smaller dataset makes identifying recognisable intent among the content creation problematic. However, observing the variations in Secondary Category percentages (Table 14) combined with the preference for some companies to favour specific content types (for example Non-RO Company 06's dependence on non-organisational Media Coverage) suggests a similarly inconsistent approach to SNS use among non-accredited organisations to that visible in the quantitative data.

5.3 Facebook Post Characteristics

This section explores the various features present within the content posted to development-led Facebook Pages, such as the frequency of images, video, external links and hashtags.

5.3.1 Content Directly Relating to Companies

Within the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO datasets a total of 167 pieces of content, or 7.1%, did not relate to the company posting it. As previously discussed within the Media Coverage analysis there may be a range of reasons behind the posting of unrelated content, ranging from uncertainty of the purpose of the organisation's use of Facebook to a reliance on any archaeological content to populate Pages.

Secondary Category	Combined Number of Posts	Combined Percentage of Posts	ClfA RO Number of Posts	ClfA RO Percentage of Posts	Non-RO Number of Posts	Non-RO Percentage of Posts
Attendance/Activities	278	11.9	255	13.1	23	5.7
Blog Post	231	9.9	191	9.8	40	10
Staff/Working	227	9.7	180	9.3	47	11.7
Artefact Description	220	9.4	184	9.5	36	9
Community Excavation	159	6.8	119	6.1	40	10
Talk/Lecture	130	5.6	112	5.8	18	4.5
Details/News/Information	119	5.1	105	5.4	14	3.5
Site Tour	102	4.4	95	4.9	7	1.8
Collaboration/Partnership	88	3.8	82	4.2	6	1.5
Course	68	2.9	68	3.5	0	0
Local Coverage	66	2.8	49	2.5	17	4.2
National Coverage	60	2.6	40	2.1	20	5
OTHER	50	2.1	25	1.3	25	6.2
Job Advert	45	2	41	2.1	4	1
Archaeological Feature	45	1.9	38	2	7	1.8
International Coverage	45	1.9	19	1	26	6.5
Product/Service	38	1.6	38	2	0	0
Staff/Appointment	37	1.6	33	1.7	4	1
Illustration/Reconstructions	37	1.6	15	0.8	22	5.5
HUMOUR	35	1.5	28	1.4	7	1.8
Vlog	36	1.5	26	1.3	10	2.5
NON-ARCHAEOLOGY	33	1.4	28	1.4	5	1.3
Book/Monograph/Chapter	31	1.3	22	1.1	9	2.2
3D Models	26	1.1	25	1.3	1	0.3
Weather/Conditions	26	1.1	25	1.3	1	0.3
Reports	25	1.1	23	1.2	2	0.5
Resources	20	0.9	20	1	0	0
Staff/Processing	19	0.8	17	0.9	2	0.5
Analysis/Science/Post-Ex	18	0.8	16	0.8	2	0.5
Guess/ID Find	17	0.7	13	0.7	4	1
Awards	8	0.3	7	0.4	1	0.3
Blog Archive	5	0.2	4	0.2	1	0.3

Table 14: Comparison of the Combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO Secondary Categories. The top ten Secondary Categories for each group of data are highlighted. Where Primary Categories had no Secondary Category, they are listed in capitals, for example OTHER, HUMOUR etc.

Alongside Media Coverage, other Primary Categories also featured significant numbers of unrelated content, notably Other, Non-Archaeology, Blog Promotion and Event Promotion (Table 15). Typically, this non-company content had a geographical component, such as promoting the work of a local business or organisation. Similarly, the Event and Blog Promotion Primary Categories, which accounted for 9% and 10.8% of unrelated content respectively (Table 15) were often Shares or Posts featuring partners or organisations with which archaeological companies had prior relationships with.

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of the 167 Non-Company Posts
Event Promotion	15	9%
Company Promotion	5	3%
Excavation/On-Site Update	3	1.8%
Blog Promotion	18	10.8%
Finds/Artefacts	3	1.8%
Media Coverage	76	45.5%
Specialist/Post-Ext	1	0.6%
Publications	5	3%
Other	24	14.4%
Humour	2	1.2%
Non-Archaeology	15	9%

Table 15: A summary of Posts that did not involve or relate to the companies that created or shared them. Data includes both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs

Despite the prominence of some organisations, both accredited and non-accredited, relying heavily on content that did not involve them (see ClfA RO Company 31 and Non-RO Company 06's heavy dependence on Media Coverage), overall development-led companies focused on their own work. This is aptly demonstrated by Figures 21 and 22, which show the percentages of content that involved the posting organisations among both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs. Of the 33 ClfA ROs, one third (11 in total, or 33.3%) posted exclusively about their own work within the six-month research period (Figure 21). A further 13 ClfA ROs created or Shared over 95% of Posts directly relating to their companies (Figure 21). Only four ClfA ROs (12.1%) posted less than 75% of content that was tied to their organisations, with just one below 50% (Figure 21). Among Non-ROs, a greater proportion of companies posted solely concerning their organisation, with five of the 11 (45.5%) never creating or sharing unrelated content (Figure 22). However, four Non-ROs had fewer than 75% of posts relating to their own work, with three of these failing to exceed 50% (Figure 22).

5.3.2 Facebook Posts with Images and Video

For over a decade, marketers have been aware of the power of visuals for generating audience interaction and engagement on Facebook (Brown 2009; Smith 2010). Posts containing imagery have been historically known to produce higher engagement rates than simple, text-based updates for some time (Brown 2009; Smith 2010). However, the growth in the prevalence of video on SNS during the 2010s, driven by increased smartphone ownership and faster broadband and mobile data connections, has prompted advertisers to

CIfA ROs Percentage of Posts Relating to Company

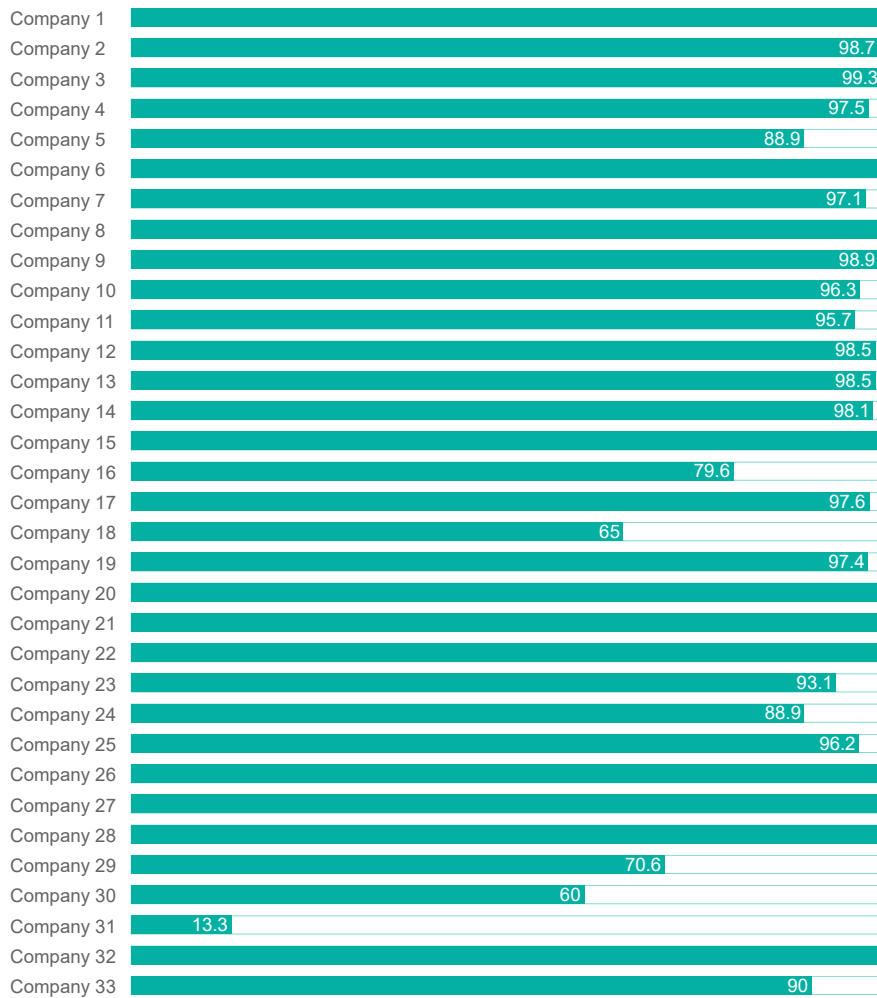


Figure 21: The percentages of content that directly related to the CIfA ROs that posted it on active Facebook Pages (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Non-ROs Percentage of Posts Relating to Company

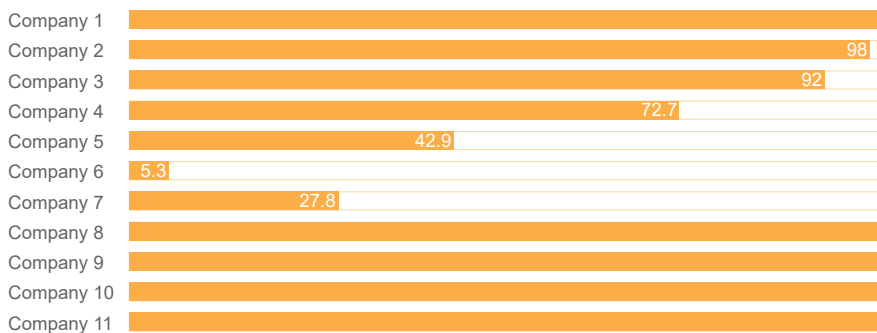


Figure 22: The percentages of content that directly related to the Non-ROs that posted it on active Facebook Pages (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

continually evaluate what media are the most potent tools for boosting user interactions (see Biteable 2020; Dasic 2021; Dopson 2021; Weiss 2021).

While video is thought to generate more engagement on Facebook content (Biteable 2020; Dasic 2021; Weiss 2021), there is a surprisingly even split of the use of images and videos within the advertising sector (Dopson 2021). While there have been academic discussions of images enhancing engagement rates (Abu-Ghazaleh et al. 2018; Kwok & Yu 2013; Rus & Cameron 2016) most work in this area is carried out by marketing and advertising companies to help promote their services and their understanding of the sector. Indeed, according to research by marketing company Databox (Dopson 2021), 52% of their sample of marketers focused more on creating video content with the remaining 48% opting more for images. However, the Facebook Pages of the UK's development-led archaeological sector feature a very different split.

Across both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs only 6.9% of content (162 Posts) did not contain any form of visual element, either an image or video. This data is likely to have been impacted by changes made to how Facebook retrieves and displays images generated automatically from external links. When content is posted to Facebook that contains an external link, the platform will attempt to automatically retrieve and display an image from the source. However, changes to Facebook's internal workings and individual websites' coding can cause Posts that previously may have contained an image, to no longer display it. As this research's data collection happened after Posts were made, it may be the case that auto-generated external link images had subsequently disappeared. Assuming that this was the case, 133 Posts with no visual component contained external links and may have subsequently lost a visual component. This left a total of 107 Posts that only contained text, 4.6% of the dataset. The low proportion of Posts that did not contain images or video suggests that there is an understanding among practitioners of the importance of a visual component for generating engagement from audiences.

Despite the contemporary digital marketing world being divided on images vs video for generating engagement (Dopson 2021), the UK's development-led archaeological Facebook Pages overwhelmingly favour images. Within the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset 89.8% of Posts contain an image while just 3.3% of all content contains an embedded video. This is a dramatic gulf, particularly given the marketing sector's increasing advocacy for video content as performing better and yielding a much higher return on investment, or ROI (Biteable 2020; Dasic 2021; Dopson 2021; Weiss 2021). Indeed, many marketing organisations encourage video-based content as a medium that is better suited to conveying complex messages (Weiss 2021).

Owing to Facebook only autoplaying natively embedded videos, content hosted on external platforms (for example YouTube), generate a preview image with an external link and were thus recorded as containing an image rather than a video. This external hosting of video suggests practitioners may not be aware of the importance of uploading video directly to each platform, even though it may require reformatting or splitting. Given that Facebook prioritises video on its own platform (see above), clickthrough rates average c.1% on Facebook Page content (Statista 2021) and as view counts on external archaeological channels are low (see Chapter Four), it seems unlikely that Posts linking to non-Facebook hosted videos are receiving many additional views as a result.

Video use across the active development-led Facebook Pages was uneven (Figures 23 and 24), with 20 ClfA ROs (60.6%) and six Non-ROs posting at least one piece of content containing an embedded video. Just four organisations, two ClfA ROs and two Non-ROs, had more than 10% of their content made up of Posts with playable video (Figures 23 and 24). As Table 16 highlights, only a small proportion of development-led archaeological companies used video content more than a handful of times. Almost two-thirds, or 63.6%, of

organisations had posts with playable video make up less than 5% of their outputs. Closer scrutiny of these four organisations revealed that just one, Non-RO Company 01, was a very active Facebook Page with 149 Posts within the six-month research window. The others, Non-RO Company 5 and ClfA RO Companies 19 and 24, all had more limited outputs where the smaller number of videos contributed to a greater proportion of content.

Percentages of Video Content	Number ClfA ROs	Number of Non-ROs
0% (no video content)	13	5
<5%	10	0
5% - 10%	8	4
>10%	2	2
Total	33	11

Table 16: Summary of the percentages of video content posted to ClfA RO and Non-RO Facebook Pages (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

With video’s documented ability to generate greater levels of engagement on SNS (Biteable 2020; Dasic 2021; Dopson 2021), including the potential to produce 480% more clicks than images (Weiss 2021), why is this format so seldom used within development-led archaeology? Strikingly, one interviewed practitioner (Appendix D: Victoria 617-623) described how video produced low levels of engagement on her organisation’s Facebook, despite “reading everywhere, ‘Video is massive’, ‘Everyone’s into video’, ‘Get more video content’”. The limited quantities of video among development-led Facebook content may be because it fails to resonate as strongly with archaeological audiences.

Video is a more time intensive medium (see discussion of Vlogs above) and the smaller figures could equally result from time poverty among practitioners to create and distribute this form of content. For video to resonate with audiences, users expect good quality sound and visuals (Weiss 2021), both of which can be problematic when filming outdoors in all weathers. Interestingly, Patel (2016) describes how 85% of Facebook video content is watched without sound, potentially negating the need for professional quality audio. Yet, with just one of the archaeological Vlogs encountered having manually entered subtitles, there are still clearly barriers present that prevent organisations routinely deploying video in their feeds.

Practitioners need training to upskill them in producing video or a budget to pay for professional services, both of which are significant expenses for a development-led archaeological organisation. Though as Dawn (Appendix D: 222-223) notes, her organisation recently sent staff on specific video training, so some companies are clearly willing to invest in giving their employees the relevant knowledge. Professional marketers estimate that one hour of time is needed to create an image-based Facebook Post, but between two to six hours is required to create a piece of video content (Dopson 2021), it is easy to see why archaeological Pages seldom produce their own video. Images are simply quicker and easier means of adding a visual component to a Post and one which may well result in better engagement metrics (Appendix D: Victoria 617-623).

CifA ROs Percentage of Posts Containing Videos and Images

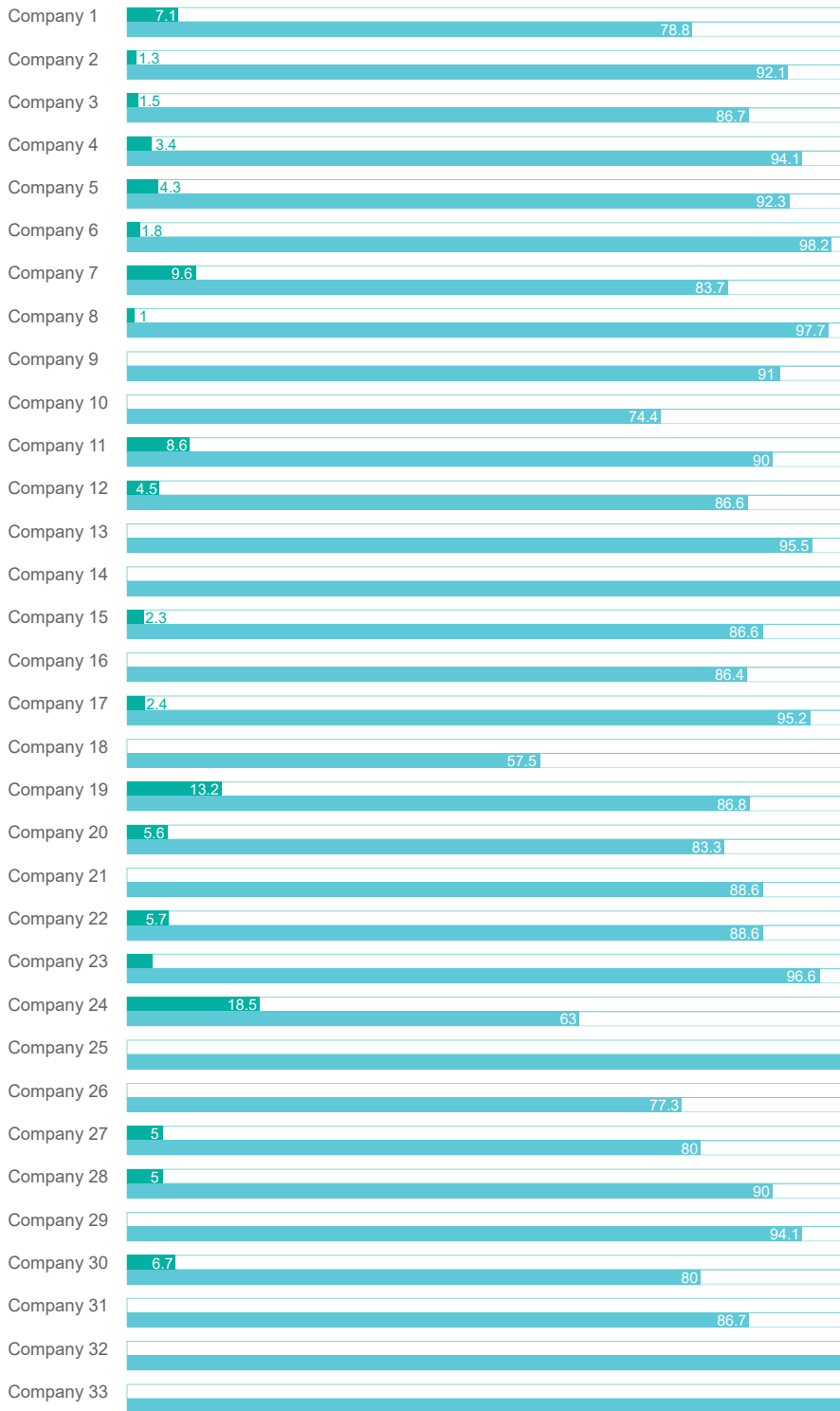


Figure 23: The percentages of CifA RO Posts that contain either images or embedded, playable video

Non-ROs Percentage of Posts Containing Videos and Images

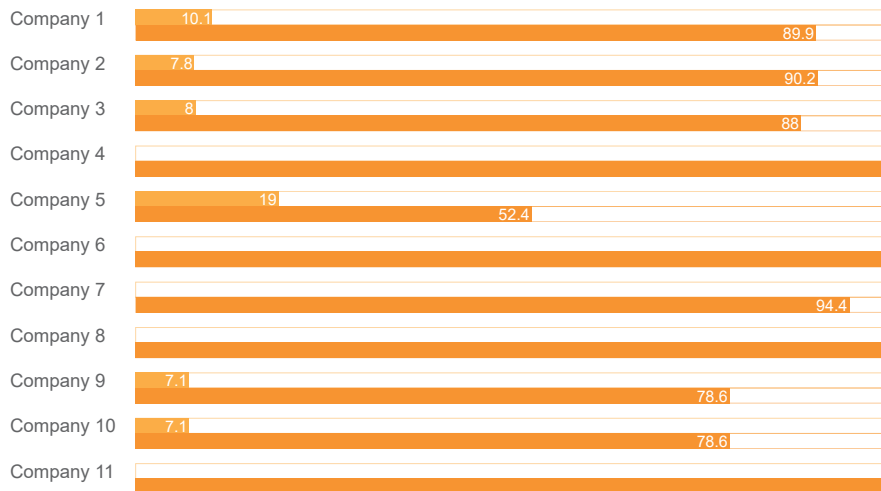


Figure 24: The percentages of Non-RO Posts that contain either images or embedded, playable video

5.3.3 Facebook Posts containing External Links

A common characteristic in development-led organisations' Facebook Posts is the presence of external links, which may be the primary content or simply feature as a hyperlink included within the text of the Post. Across the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset, 39.6% of Posts contained an external link, 56.6% of which directed users to content hosted on the organisation's own webpage or pages. However, there is considerable variation across both accredited and non-accredited companies in how common external links are (see Table 17) and in whether these links connect with non-organisational sources. Within the combined dataset, just two organisations never posted an external link in their Facebook outputs, one ClfA RO (ClfA RO Company 32) and one Non-RO (Non-RO Company 04). The latter was the only archaeological organisation with an active Facebook Page in the research with no corresponding company webpage.

Percentage of Posts with at least one External Link	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
None	1	1
0.1 - 24.9%	7	5
25 - 49.9%	13	1
50 - 74.9%	7	4
75 - 100%	5	0

Table 17: The percentages of Posts containing at least one External Link for both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (01/06/2019 to 30/11/2019)

Interestingly, among the 32 ClfA ROs which did Post at least one external link, seven (21.9%) of these accredited organisations never linked to their own webpage. Of the three accredited companies that relied most heavily on external links (see Figure 25), two (ClfA Companies 31 and 18) were particularly dependent on non-company webpages. ClfA Company 31 had external links in 93.3% of its Posts, just 7.1% of which were to its own website and external links were present in 80% of ClfA Company 18's content, none of which were to its own webpages (Figure 25).

The situation with Non-ROs displays a more pronounced dependence on non-organisational webpages (Figure 26). Six of the ten Non-ROs that included at least one external link in their Posts, never linked to their own websites, demonstrating an increased reliance on non-institutionally hosted content. As Table 17 shows there is considerable variability in the percentages of Posts containing links, with most archaeological organisations averaging somewhere between 25% and 75%. Among ClfA ROs there is a slightly higher proportion of Posts containing External Links as 57.6% of accredited organisations had content with links forming one third or more of their output (compared with 45.5% of Non-ROs).

While there is unevenness in External Link use by development-led companies, the presence of links in just under 40% of content from the combined dataset demonstrates the prevalence of Posts directing users away from their own Facebook Page. These links may well be to their own website or to an external story that features the company. However, there is a tendency among some organisations to link to entirely unrelated content, though these are in the minority as from the combined dataset 89.8% of Posts containing External Links did involve the respective company.

How successful are these links are at getting users to follow them? Without access to internal company data, it is not possible to gauge the clickthrough rate (CTR) for either individual organisations or for the complete dataset. However, with Statista (2021) estimating that SNS CTRs are around 1%, potentially as high as 1.3%, how likely is it that users are following any of these links? There is the possibility that the audiences accessing archaeological content may be more engaged and CTR could well be higher for development-led Pages. However, the quantitative data (Chapter Four) suggests that interactivity and engagement among users is unlikely to significantly exceed Facebook-wide averages. Therefore, average SNS CTR (Statista 2021) would suggest that most users, potentially as many as 99%, do not follow links.

Many posts with external links are simply the external link alone, though one that may be automatically formatted by Facebook to include an autogenerated title and image, though practitioners may include a précised paragraph to summarise the off-site content. Simply sharing a link is a quick and easy way of creating a Facebook Post. However, spending extra time creating a text summary to contextualise the post is a critical means of generating on-site engagement, as few users are likely to view the linked content directly. Practitioners may also opt to create multiple Posts from the content of a single external link, for example highlighting numerous artefacts mentioned in one blog, increasing the likelihood audiences will interact with the content.

CifA ROs Percentage of Posts Containing External Links and Links to Own Website/SNS

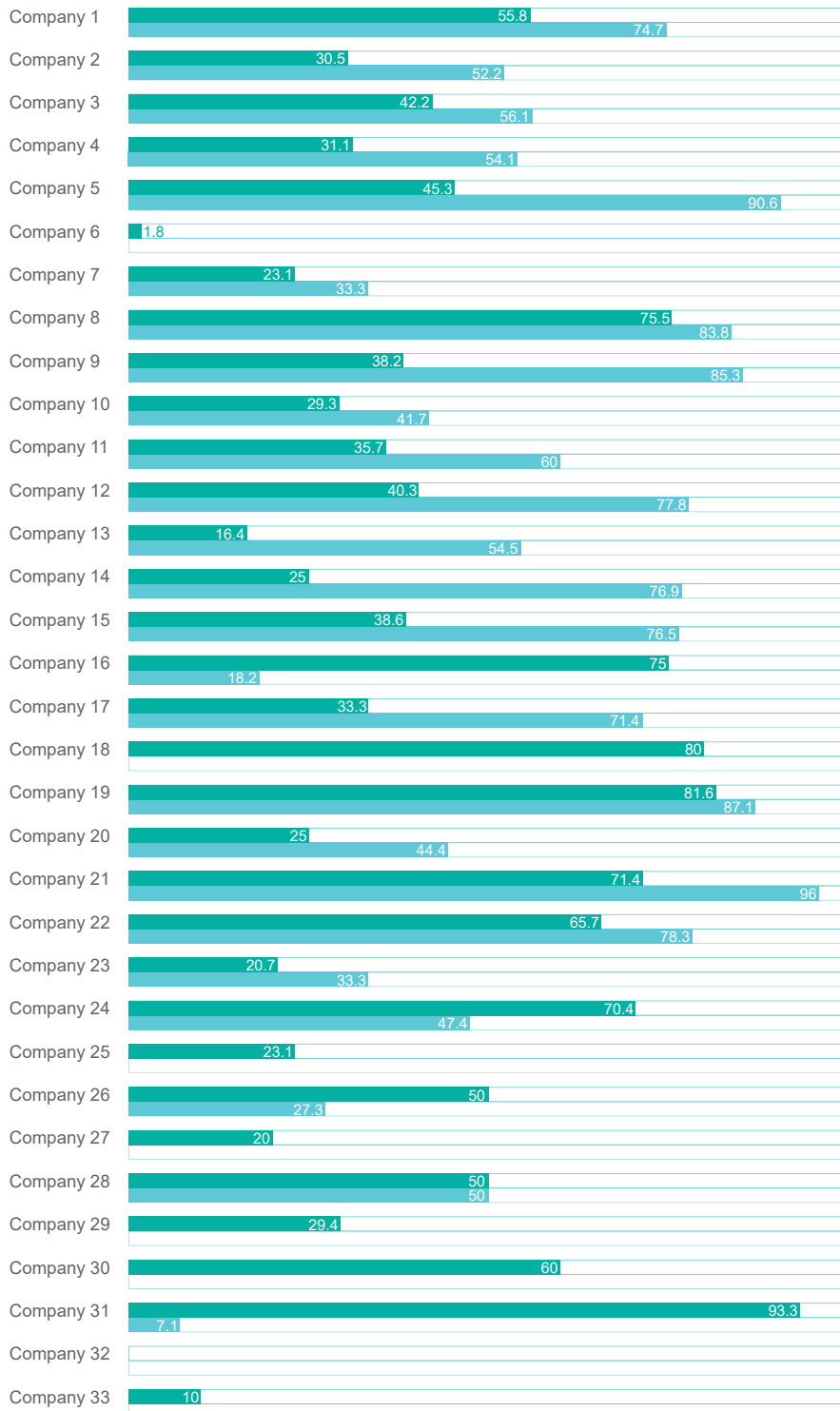


Figure 25: The percentage of CifA RO Posts that contain External Links and the percentage of those links that direct users to the respective company's own website

Non-ROs Percentage of Posts Containing External Links and Links to Own Website/SNS

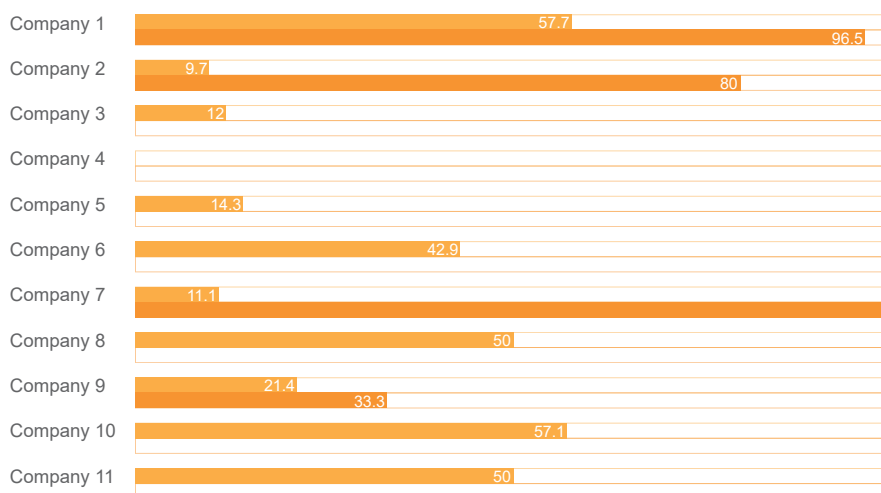


Figure 26: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that contain External Links and the percentage of those links that direct users to the respective company's own website

5.3.4 Shared Facebook Posts

Facebook Pages may also opt to Share Posts to their followers, a common practice where posters can also add their own text and links to the content. Shares may come from other Facebook Pages, or they may be reshared content that was previously posted on the company's own account. Among development-led archaeological organisations Shares make up a limited proportion of Page content, 11.5% of all Posts within the collated dataset.

With just over one in ten Posts being Shared, this suggests that archaeological companies are largely creating new content and not relying on redistributing material from their own or others' Newsfeeds.

There are several differences visible between accredited and non-accredited archaeological organisations (Figures 27 and 28). While ClfA RO Shared Posts averaged 10.9% of their overall output, Non-ROs were more reliant on this form of content, averaging 14.5%. Examining this data more closely shows that similar numbers of ClfA ROs and Non-ROs opted to never Share Posts. Seven accredited (21.2%) and three non-accredited (27.3%) companies did not Share a single Post over the six-month research period. For ClfA ROs, just seven companies (21.2%) relied heavily on Shared content where more than 20% of their output consisting of Shares (Figure 27) whereas Non-ROs were more dependent, with four companies having Shares comprise more than 20% of their Posts (Figure 28).

Most of the Shared content across both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs comes from other Facebook sources. For accredited companies, 14 of the 26 ClfA ROs that Posted at least one piece of Shared content (53.8%) only shared content from other Pages while among Non-ROs the figure was 87.5%, or seven of the eight organisations. The paucity of Sharing and Resharing pre-existing Page content is curious, particularly given archaeological companies' penchant for the use of duplicate Posts usually when promoting Events (see ClfA RO Company 10 Posting the same content 11 separate times).

Significantly, there was a marked difference in the organisational relevance of Shared

CifA ROs Percentage of Posts with Own Page Shares and Non-Page Shares

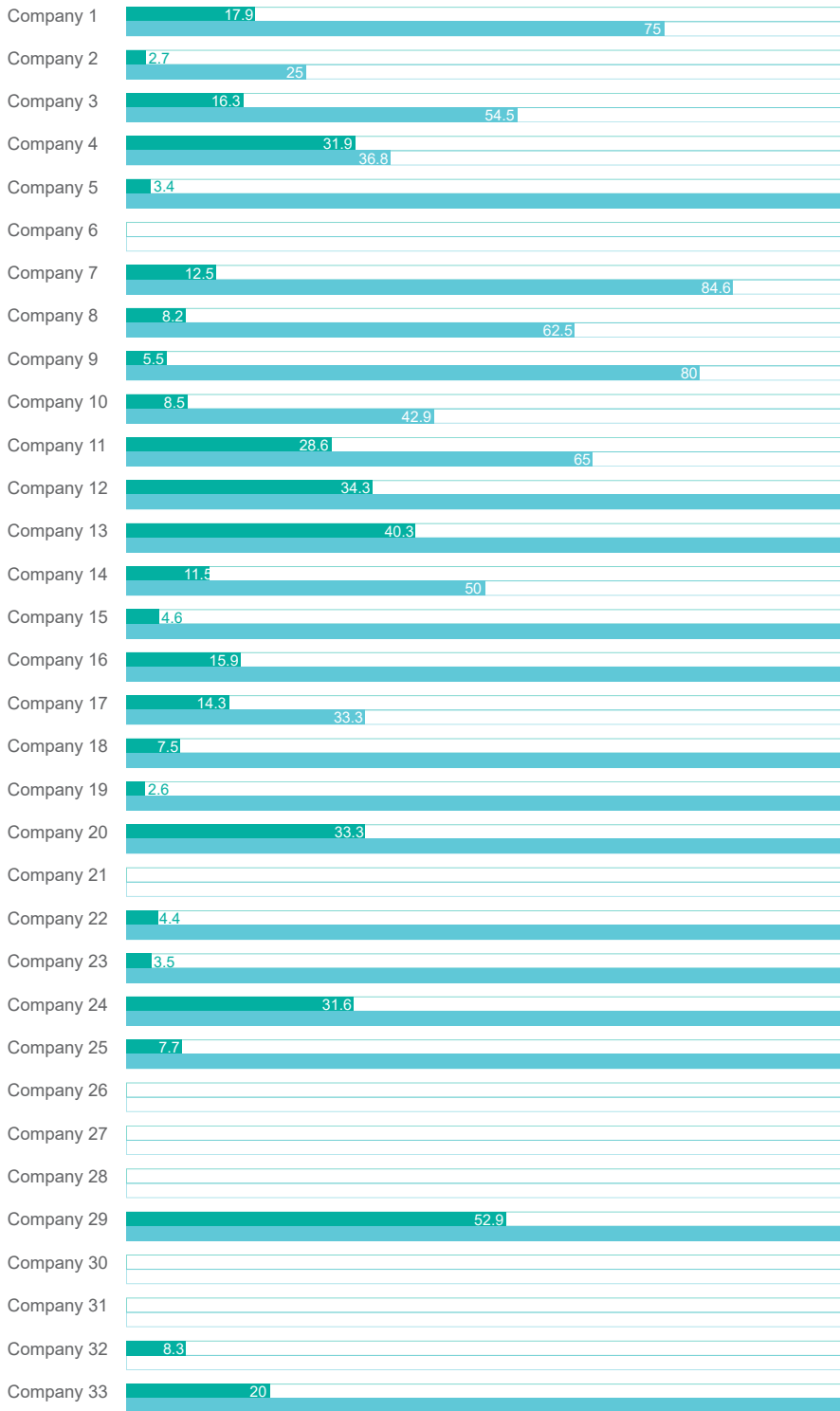


Figure 27: The percentage of CifA RO Posts that were Shared and the percentage of those Shares that came from other organisations

Non-ROs Percentage of Posts with Own Page Shares and Non-Page Shares

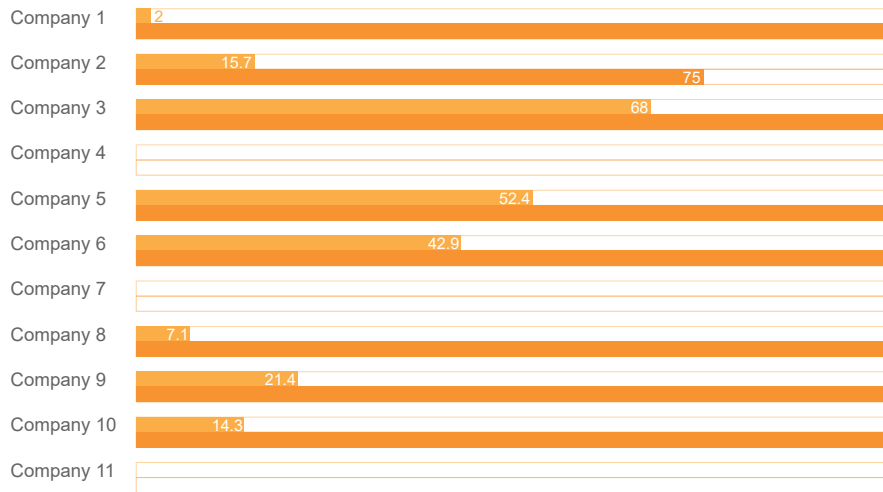


Figure 28: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that were Shared and the percentage of those Shares that came from other organisations

Posts between accredited and non-accredited companies. Among ClfA RO Shared Posts 91% related to the posting organisation, whereas the figure was just 51.7% on Non-RO content. This discrepancy clearly demonstrates that when ClfA ROs opt to Share content, it is typically related to their work, whereas almost half of Non-RO Shares are unrelated to company projects. The large amount of unrelated Shared content for non-accredited archaeological entities is likely echoing the trends visible for these organisations within the media coverage coding groups. Non-ROs appear to use more generalised archaeological content, that does not involve their companies to populate their Pages and the ease of Facebook Sharing facilitates this process.

Typically, where Shared content involving the development-led organisation does come from other Facebook sources, it is likely to relate to stakeholder collaborations, for example 29.9% of ClfA RO Company 13's Facebook output was Shared Posts from community groups that the company was working with. Alongside this, a further 23.9% of their output was non-Shared posts describing the same work. Other similar Shared Posts reflected the collaborative work present in the development-led sector, including work with community/voluntary groups, charities, government bodies, heritage organisations and youth initiatives. One of the innate functions of Facebook, and SNS more widely, is to enable users to maintain and cultivate social ties with others (see Haynes et al. 2016 and Sumner et al. 2018's discussions of paralinguistic digital affordances). The Sharing of stakeholder content in which a company is involved, via an organisation's Facebook Page, can be seen as a means of social grooming. The very act of Sharing a Post places it among a company's content and is a prominent, public endorsement of that relationship.

As stakeholders are often the funders for archaeological work, chiefly clients or heritage bodies, it is easy to see why development-led companies would be promoting these projects. However, how much of this Sharing is simply companies being eager to publicly exhibit these collaborations rather than an obligation to do so because of funding stipulations is hard to ascertain. It is easy to regard the act of Sharing content between archaeological companies and their stakeholder partners' Facebook presences as an act of mutual social support and an effective means of fostering societal ties. However, echoing the recurring

themes of online outreach practitioners having difficulty acquiring and creating content, the fact that one in ten posts within the dataset are Shared may be a reflection of necessity.

5.3.5 Facebook Events

As discussed above (see 5.0.1 Event Promotion), dedicated Facebook Events are seldom created or used by either ClfA ROs or Non-ROs. Figures 29 and 30 show the scarcity of Events, with just 4.1% of Posts in the collated dataset taking this form. Given the abundance of Facebook content dealing with events, almost a third of all archaeological company Posts, it is interesting to see this bespoke tool being underutilised, particularly when numerous SNS marketing firms advocate the use of Events (Adobe Spark 2021; Jackson 2020).

As with Shares, there is a noticeable discrepancy in Facebook Event use by ClfA ROs and Non-ROs with 4.7% of accredited organisations employing them compared with just 1.2% of non-accredited firms. Where Events are used, they overwhelmingly involve the companies posting them. Only one of the 96 documented Events from the research period did not involve the posting organisation. Fewer development-led organisations experimented with Events, with 17 ClfA ROs (51.5%) and nine Non-ROs (81.8%) never using one throughout the six-months of observed Posts.

The company that most utilised Facebook Events, ClfA RO 17, had them constitute 19.1% of their output. The more prominent use of Events by this ClfA RO seems to have been driven by a profit motive as each Event was for a paid course run by the company, which appears to have motivated the organisation to invest further time in its promotion to drive attendance. Setting up a Facebook Event, generating interest and attracting audiences requires time (Adobe Spark 2021; Jackson 2020). The lack of Event use by practitioners from development-led archaeological organisations, indicates that the investment in these sub-Pages is not considered worthwhile with the time and resources that are available.

5.4 Facebook Post Features: Hashtags, Tags and Emojis

SNS have a suite of “features” that can be added to Posts to enhance searchability (hashtags), connect with other accounts (tagging) and enliven otherwise plain text content (emojis). While these are a small selection of the range of additional content features available, they are arguably the most recognisable. Hashtags, tags and emojis can be powerful tools for boosting user engagement and improving visibility of content, with marketing firms advocating the use of these features (Aboulhosn 2020; Ayres 2019; Barnhart 2020; O’Hara 2020; TrackMaven 2021; Yaary 2020).

5.4.1 Hashtags

Hashtags, the use of the # symbol followed by a word or phrase, allows users to identify online content that covers specific themes or topics (Scott 2015). Created and driven by users on Twitter (Messina 2007; Scott 2015), hashtags are most heavily associated with that platform but are widely used across different SNS. Despite being synonymous with Twitter hashtags are still important on Facebook (Barnhart 2020; O’Hara 2020). While there is some disagreement over the exact effectiveness of Facebook hashtags, there is evidence that their use on the platform appears to be growing as a possible result of increased Facebook-Instagram interconnectivity (O’Hara 2020). The primary function of hashtags is to help make content searchable (O’Hara 2020; Scott 2015), allowing users to find Posts they want to see.

Figures 31 to 34 highlight the uneven use of hashtags among companies where there is considerable variation in both the percentage of posts that contain them and the average number per post. While Table 18 suggests that the overall percentages of Posts containing

CifA ROs Percentage of Posts with Company Events and Non-Company Events

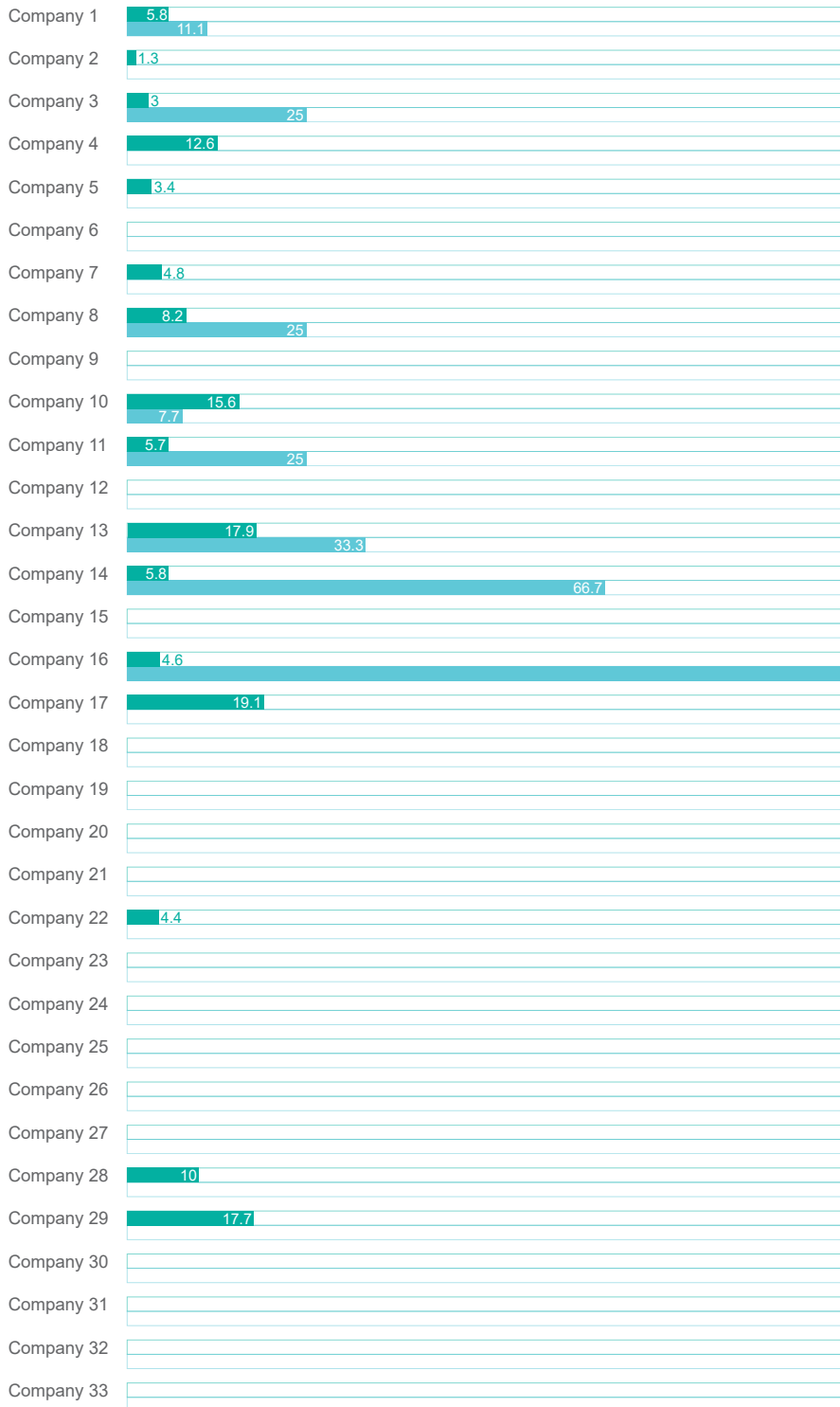


Figure 29: The percentage of CifA RO Posts that were Events and the percentage of those Events that were created by other Facebook Pages/organisations

ClfA ROs Percentage of Posts with Company Events and Non-Company Events

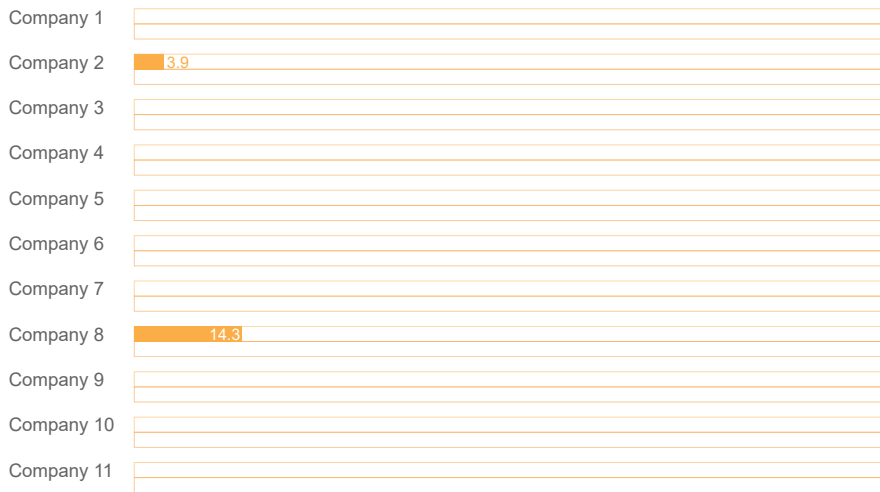


Figure 30: The percentage of Non-RO Posts that were Events and the percentage of those Events that were created by other Facebook Pages/organisations

at least one hashtag is comparable for ClfA ROs (40.7%) and Non-ROs (45.1%), there are sizeable differences among specific companies. Among ClfA ROs, 30.3% never used a single hashtag in any of their Posts whereas for Non-ROs this figure was 72.7%, highlighting how few made use of them.

ClfA ROs generally displayed a greater degree of familiarity with hashtags (Figure 31 to 34; Table 18). One company, ClfA RO 02, seemed especially aware of the power of hashtags and made heavy use of them in all their Page’s content. An astonishing 98% of ClfA RO 02’s 151 Posts contained one or more hashtag, suggesting that this organisation was including this Post feature as part of a distinct Facebook strategy to boost visibility and interactions (Figure 31). Despite many Non-ROs never using hashtags in content, two of the three organisations that did use them, really used them. Non-RO 2 used hashtags in 78.4% of Posts but Non-RO 1 deployed them in 94% of their 149 pieces of content. Despite this frequency, these two companies appeared not to entirely understand their best use.

Typically, adding one or two hashtags to a social media Post provide a sufficient boost to engagement and visibility, a practice encouraged by SNS marketing firms (Barnhart 2020; O’Hara 2020; TrackMaven 2021). Research by marketing analytics firm TrackMaven (2021) of 65,000 SNS Posts showed that on Facebook that one hashtag was optimum for generating the most engagements. However, with each additional hashtag added, engagement decreases (O’Hara 2020; TrackMaven 2021) with significant drops in interactions occurring after three and six hashtags respectively. By the time 10 hashtags have been exceeded, interactivity has dropped to negligible levels (TrackMaven 2021). The decrease in the effectiveness of hashtags may partially derive from posts dominated by excessive hashtag use are unattractive and irritating to read. On Facebook at least, for users hashtags are a case of less being more.

However, among some practitioners there was clearly a perception that more is more. Non-RO 02 averaged 7.8 hashtags per Post but Non-RO 01 used a staggering 1,898 hashtags in only 149 Posts. For Non-RO 1 content that contained hashtags would average 13.6 per Post (Figure 33 & 34) with 69.8% of their Posts featuring 10 or more hashtags.

CiFA ROs Percentage of Posts with Hashtags, Tags and Emojis

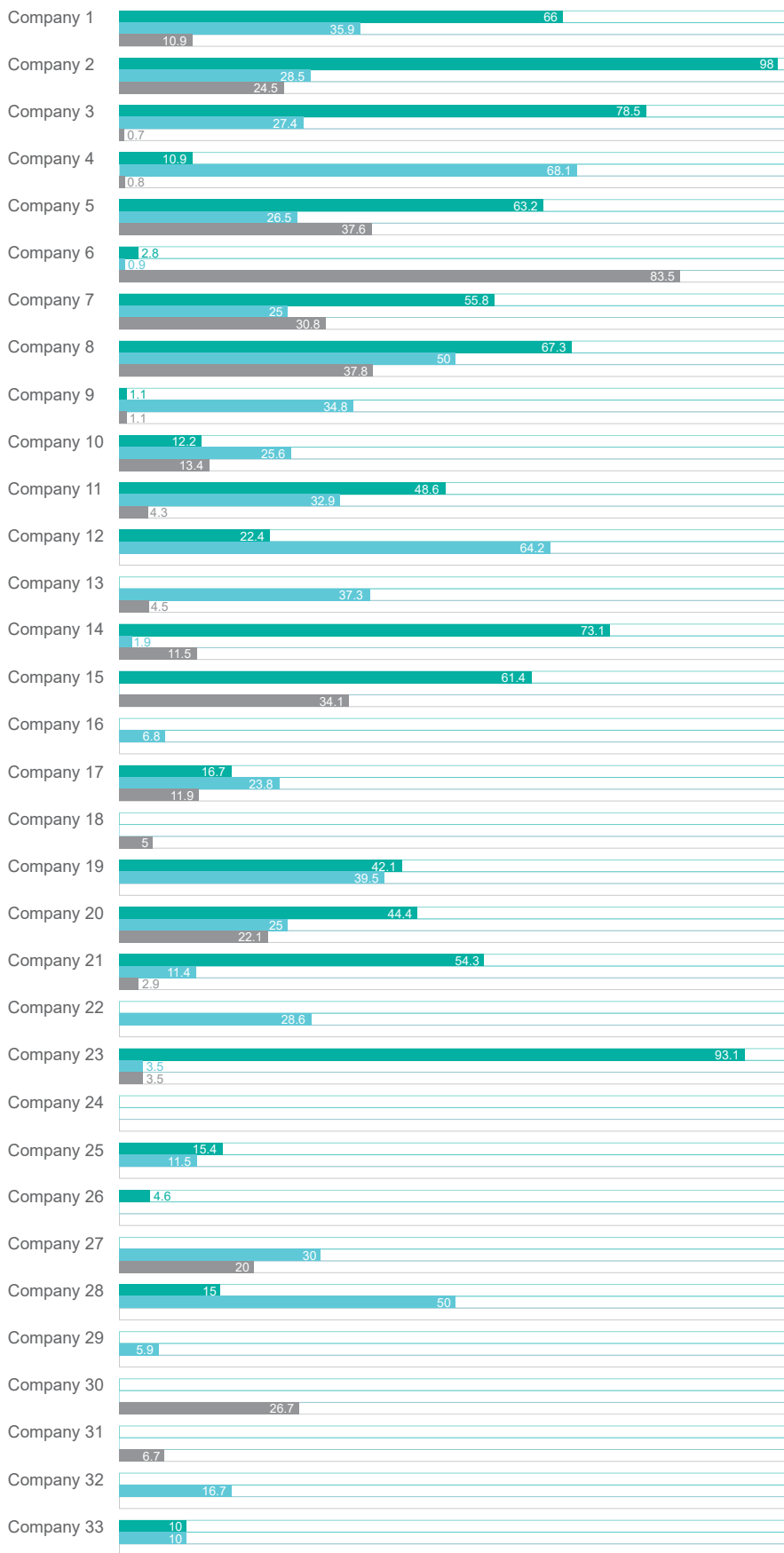


Figure 31: Comparison of the percentages of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in CiFA RO Posts

CifA ROs Average Number of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis in Posts Containing Them

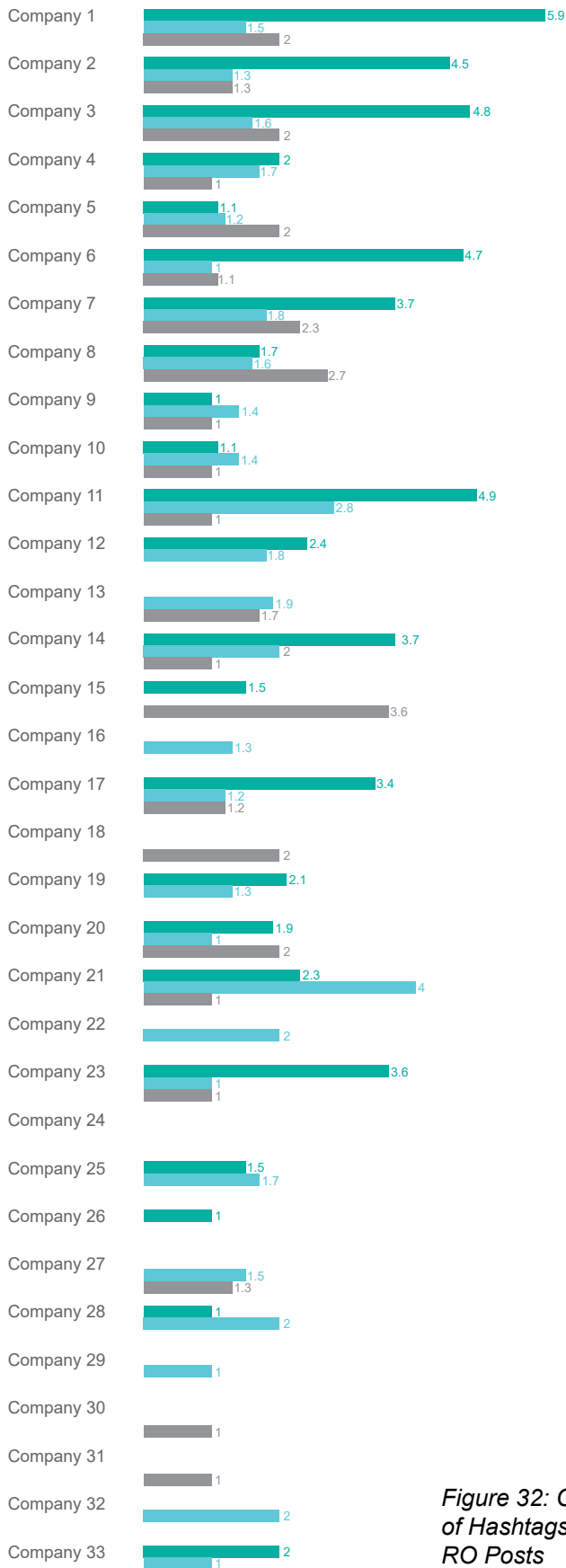


Figure 32: Comparison of the average number of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in CifA RO Posts

Non-ROs Percentage of Posts with Hashtags, Tags and Emojis

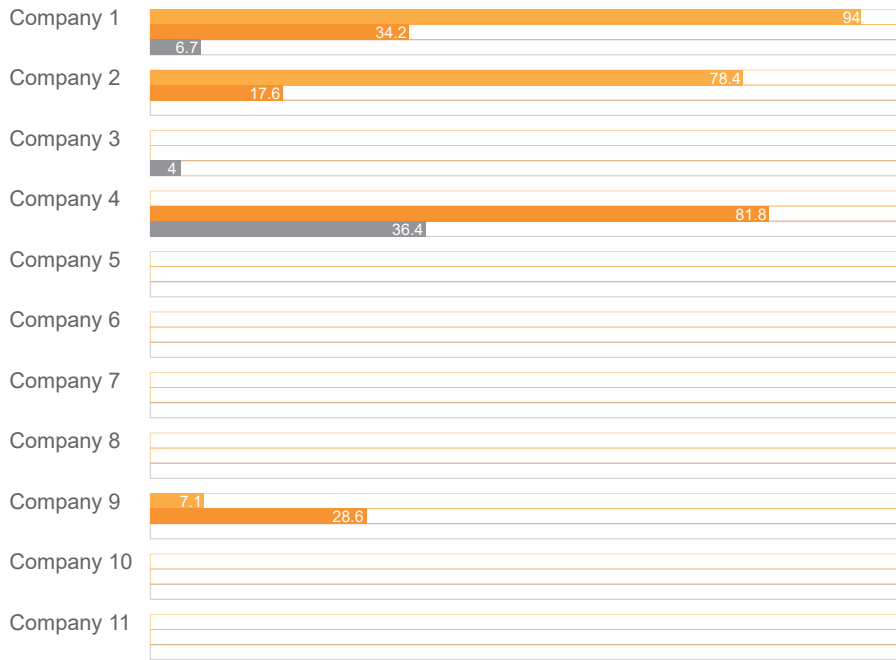


Figure 33: Comparison of the percentages of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in Non-RO Posts

Non-ROs Average Number of Posts with Hashtags, Tags and Emojis

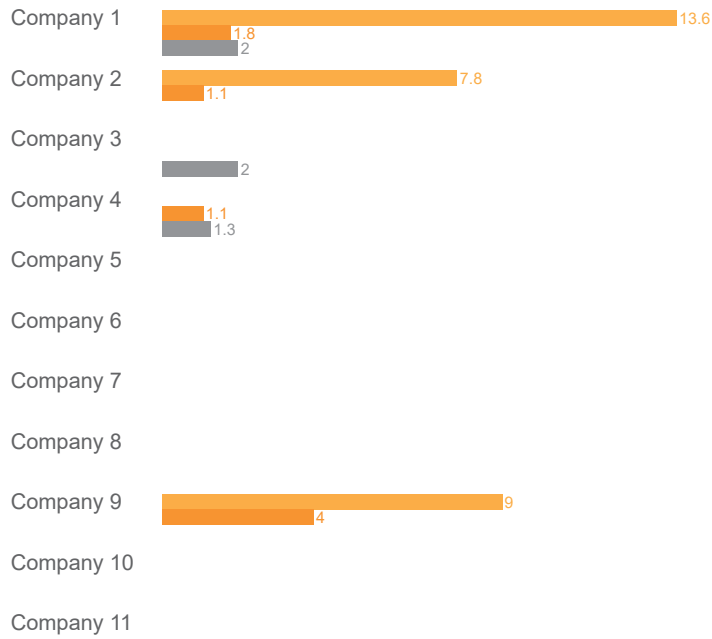


Figure 34: Comparison of the average number of Hashtags, Tags and Emojis present in Non-RO Posts

Post Feature	Combined Dataset	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
% of Posts with at least one Hashtag	41.4%	40.7%	45.1%
Average Number of Hashtags per post containing them	5.2	3.6	12.2
% of Companies with at least one Post containing hashtag(s)		69.7%	27.3%
% of Posts with at least one Facebook Tag	26.7%	27.9%	20.5%
Average Number of Facebook Tags per post containing them	1.6	1.6	1.5
% of Companies with at least one Post containing Tag(s)		81.8%	36.4%
% of Posts with at least one Emoji	14.7%	16.7%	4.7%
Average Number of Emojis per post containing them	1.7	1.8	1.7
% of Companies with at least one Post containing Emoji(s)		66.7%	27.3%

Table 18: Comparison of Post Features (Hashtags, Facebook Tags and Emojis) present within development-led archaeological Facebook content

One Non-RO 1 Post had a bewildering 30 hashtags, plus one that had failed owing to a space after the #. Consisting of just 80 words, 31 of which were hashtags, this content was an unappealing and chaotic blend of massed blue hyperlinks that was difficult to read.

Not only did these two Non-ROs post large number of hashtags, they often failed to conform to enhancing the searchability of content (Barnhart 2020; O’Hara 2020). Hashtags should tie into pre-existing Facebook hashtag trends (#MondayMotivation, #SelfieSunday, #Streetstyle) or temporary trends identified by “social listening” (Barnhart 2020). Many of Non RO 1’s hashtags chose to select random words in a Post’s text (“#electric”, “#cleaning”) or used ones from other platforms (“#catsoftwitter”) despite this content not being cross-posted Twitter content. Similarly, many of the company’s hashtags, typically half of those present, were variants of the company’s name. While megabrands often create specific hashtags which they then promote (Barnhart 2020), this practice is unlikely to work for a niche development-led archaeology business.

Non-ROs 1 and 2 demonstrate more extreme examples of hashtag use, but the phenomenon of loading content with them is also present among ClfA ROs. For ClfA ROs the average number of hashtags per post, where posts contain them, is lower than Non-ROs with 3.6 per post vs 12.2 (see Figure 32, 34 and Table 18). Nine ClfA ROs exceed the average of three hashtags per post, beyond which a drop in interaction has been documented (TrackMaven 2021). There was less tendency to overload content with hashtags and only 20 Posts contained more than 10 among accredited companies.

Only one organisation, ClfA RO 2, appeared to be deploying hashtags as part of a social media strategy which, as Barnhart (2020) notes, would also require regular evaluation to gauge effectiveness. A scattergun approach to hashtags is unlikely to generate more engagement and from the dataset it appears that targeted social media training for practitioners could help staff better understand their potential.

5.4.2 Facebook Tagging

Tagging on Facebook occurs when a user or Page “tags” another account, generating a hyperlink to that profile visible within the created content. Tags are common across SNS and may involve locational tagging where GPS/Location Services can be used to link to a town, visitor attraction, landscape feature and so on. Facebook Tagging provides practitioners with another means of improving Post visibility and generating audience engagement.

Tags were a less common Post Feature than hashtags across development-led archaeological companies' content, appearing in 26.7% of Posts compared to 41.4% (see Table 18 alongside Figures 31 and 33). This is understandable given that the use of Tags is dependent on the content featuring a suitable collaborative element, individual or location and that this element has a Facebook Page to Tag. Echoing the hashtag data, ClfA RO Posts included Tags more often than their Non-RO counterparts (Figures 31 and 33). Posts containing at least one Facebook Tag made up 27.9% of the ClfA RO dataset compared with 20.5% among Non-ROs. Table 18 demonstrates that Tagging was the Post Feature used by the most organisations, both accredited and non-accredited as 81.8% of ClfA ROs and 36.5% of Non-ROs used Tags in at least one Post during the research period.

There is notable variation in the percentages of Posts containing Tags (Figures 31 and 33), but their prominence suggests practitioners are both aware and comfortable using these features. Potentially, this prevalence for Tags may be a result of stakeholder obligations, as it is an efficient way of both acknowledging and promoting collaborations between development-led archaeological organisations and their partners. A Facebook Tag will also notify the tagged organisation, keeping them informed of progress and enabling them to check the created content conforms to their expectations. Qualitative content analysis (see above) revealed that content primarily dedicated to Collaboration/Partnerships was just 3.8% of the collated dataset, but Tagging stakeholders within the text or at the end of other Posts was more common.

Four accredited organisations (ClfA ROs 4, 12, 8 and 28) had high percentages of Posts containing Facebook Tags, all exceeding 50% (Figure 31). Given that most of these Tagged Posts were referencing stakeholders, it is tempting to conclude that these organisations were involved with more collaborative projects. However, closer examination of these companies and their work suggested that they were more likely to Post content to Facebook when their work involved a partner or a funding body. Despite being a small proportion of the dataset, this apparent tendency among some organisations to post more about collaborations could indicate a pressure or obligation to promote these partnerships. This "duty" to reference some stakeholders is interesting, particularly in relation to practitioner discussions of client attitudes towards sharing information on social media (Chapter Seven).

Facebook Tags differed from Hashtags not only in the percentages of Posts that contained them, but in their average numbers contained within content. Only two companies (ClfA ROs 21 and 11) averaged more than two Tags in Posts that contained them, with all others that made use of Facebook Tagging averaging between one and two (Figure 31 and 33). Unlike Hashtags, where it is easy to include a range of different terms, Tags are typically dependant on the number of relevant partners or locations that can be included and it is rare for collaborative work to contain large numbers of partners.

The most prolific Tagging company, ClfA RO 11, was engaged in projects with large numbers of stakeholders. Just under one third (32.9%) of this accredited organisation's Posts contained Tags, and when they did, they were present in large numbers. One such project featured in a series of Posts had more than 10 stakeholders and funders leading to a post with 10 Tags to different organisations, with many more listed that did not have a Facebook presence. The formality of the Tagging in this ClfA RO 11 content appeared to reflect a requirement to clearly acknowledge their partners.

Fewer Non-ROs employed Facebook Tags in their outputs (Figure 33) though Non-RO 4 was the company with the highest proportion of Posts containing Tags across all development-led organisations, with 81.8% of content including them. Every Tag used by Non-RO 4 was locational, rather than another Facebook Page. This was curious, given how archaeological organisations and clients will often avoid geolocating a site (see Chapter Seven), typically over security concerns. Some of the locational Tags used by Non-RO 4 referred to large,

non-defined areas such as a city and its environs, but others were small towns and villages where it would be comparatively straightforward for a user to track down the excavation. It may have been the case that despite the text implying these were contemporary projects they were in fact completed and there was no longer a risk to revealing this information. Alternatively, the sites may have had sufficient security to mitigate this risk.

One potential reason for the inclusion of geographical Tags in Non-RO 4's Facebook output could be that the Post's author was creating content from site using a mobile device with GPS/Location Services turned on with their integration into Facebook's App enabled. If this were the case, then it may not have been a conscious decision to include Tags in content as, with these settings, all Posts would display a location Tag wherever possible. The contents' author would clearly be able to see the location Tag in the finished Posts, so presumably this was a conscious decision to locate the excavation. Non-RO 4's use of locational Tagging does raise interesting questions on the potential ease with which sites can be located through social media. That most development-led organisations choose not to share this information appears to confirm practitioner discussions (Chapter Seven) of the importance of concealing excavation locations.

5.4.3 Emojis

Emojis are graphic symbols (Figure 35) that act as representations of facial expressions, people and animals, physical things or more nebulous concepts such as emotions, celebrations and feelings (Kralj Novak et al. 2015). Evolving from short sequences of punctuation termed "emoticons", graphical emojis were first implemented in the late 20th Century by Japanese companies to streamline digital communication (Aboulhosn 2020; Buchholz 2020; Kralj Novak et al. 2015). However, it was Apple's inclusion of emojis for the iPhone that saw them become widespread in the early 2010s (Aboulhosn 2020; Kralj Novak et al. 2015).

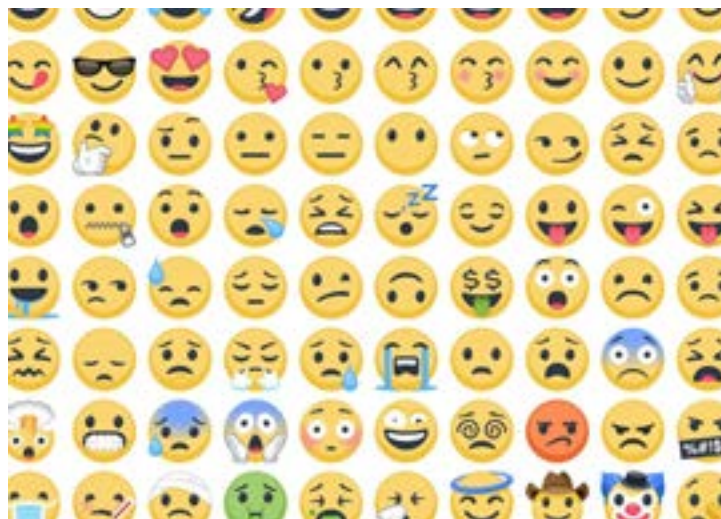


Figure 35: A selection of Facebook Emojis (Burge 2018)

Emojis have become a key part of the internet's paralanguage and in 2020 it was estimated that five billion were used each day in 2020 (Buchholz 2020). The ubiquity of emojis, particularly on SNS, have seen marketing firms experiment with their use (Ayres 2019) and advocate the benefits of these colourful ideograms for businesses (Aboulhosn 2020; Ayres 2019; Yaary 2020). The use of emojis in Facebook content can increase a Post's

interactions, engagements and clicks (Aboulhosn 2020; Ayres 2019), potentially providing a significant boost with the use of just one (Ayres 2019). Indeed, using emojis can help to humanise otherwise corporate-seeming content (Aboulhosn 2020) something that may be of particular use to development-led archaeological organisations as 14.3% of their content was categorised as Company Promotion (Table 13). Emojis are inherently visual and are a useful feature that can improve the appearance of Facebook content, highlight key sections of text or external links, and help Posts stand out in crowded Newsfeeds where stopping users scrolling is key. Similarly, the ability of emojis to communicate emotions can enable content creators to better convey meaning, particularly humour and sarcasm, reducing the likelihood of Posts being misunderstood (Aboulhosn 2020; Yaary 2020).

Despite marketing firms recommending companies take advantage of these paralinguistic forms of communication, emojis are the least employed Post Feature among the development-led archaeological dataset with just 14.7% of Posts including them (Table 18). Emojis were especially uncommon among Non-ROs, where they present in just 4.7% of Posts and used by only three organisations (Figure 32). In-line with marketing recommendations (Ayres 2019; Yaary 2020) they were used sparingly, averaging between one and two per piece of content which contained them (Figure 33).

The percentage of Posts containing emojis was higher for accredited organisations than for Non-ROs (Table 18, Figure 31). Yet, fewer ClfA ROs used emojis than employed Hashtags or Tags, with 11 never using an emoji in their content. When archaeological companies did add emojis to their Posts, there was more restraint, particularly when compared with Hashtags (Figure 32). Even content containing large numbers, such as ClfA RO 15's use of 19 emojis in a single Post, conformed to good emoji practice. This Post was a promotion of different publications that ClfA RO 15 had been involved in and the emojis were used to break up lengthier passages of text, highlight new sections and emphasise specific links, creating an attractive and engaging piece of content.

One accredited organisation, ClfA RO 6, was a prolific user of emojis in content with an impressive 83.5% of Posts containing at least one (Figure 31). Despite making limited use of Hashtags and Tags (Figure 31), ClfA RO 6 ensured most of their content contained an emoji, averaging just one per Post containing them (Figure 32). ClfA RO 6 aside, most other archaeological organisations appeared less enamoured with emojis (Table 18), though the reasons for this are unclear. When discussing social media with fellow archaeologists, particularly management, the author has frequently encountered opinions that emojis are unprofessional, irritating and childish.

However, the decision making surrounding the crafting of Posts lies with the practitioner and if these staff members are consciously opting not to include emojis it may relate to their audiences. Archaeology and heritage audiences are associated with older audiences, a trend that has been identified among disciplinary Facebook Pages (Fernandes 2018; Wakefield 2020). As Aboulhosn (2020) notes, it is essential to know your Page's audiences to determine whether emojis are a suitable inclusion for content. If development-led archaeological Pages are primarily attracting more senior demographics, emoji-laden Posts are less likely to be well-received or seen as suitably appropriate. This analysis assumes that the limited quantities of emojis present in the dataset is a result of a deliberate strategy and not simply a consequence of time poverty in crafting content. There may also be a lack of awareness of the potential benefits these simple tools can bring to increasing interactivity among audiences. Given the themes of limited training and support practitioners have on social media use (Chapter Seven) it seems that this latter option may be a factor influencing emoji use.

5.5 Discussion

From the qualitative content analysis of development-led archaeological Facebook Posts and a study of the media and features present in this content, there is surprisingly little variation between accredited and non-accredited organisations (Section 5.2). However, echoing the trends present in the quantitative dataset (Chapter Four), there is a significant degree of variability from organisation to organisation. The promotion of physical events was clearly a driving force behind archaeological Facebook presences, combined with the general promotion of companies (see 5.1.1 & 5.1.2 above). The comparatively low proportion of artefact and excavation-based content in the combined dataset was particularly surprising, given that these are arguably the best entry-point for non-specialists and for hooking users.

Two categories that could offer untapped potential for development-led companies on social media are Publications and Humour. With Publications being produced as a natural part of the sector's workflow, these could prove to be a source of content that could be quickly repurposed to produce Facebook-based micro-updates in a more accessible format than a typical report (see Chapter Two's discussions). Equally, very few Facebook Posts were deliberately humorous, instead opting for a formal style and professional tone. Testing out lighter-hearted content, interspersed among traditional Posts may help organisations appear approachable and encourage users to interact and engage more.

Examining the content on archaeological Facebook Pages revealed that only a small number of companies seemed to be employing a consistent social media strategy. Most looked to be using social media in an ad hoc, reactive manner principally designed to promote events and advertise their organisation with content focused on their excavations, finds and work forming a smaller proportion of outputs.

With many Posts channelling audiences elsewhere, to physical events and external webpages, companies appear to be predominantly using Facebook for visibility and marketing, directing users to other content for engagement. While some Posts are clearly being crafted as engagement offerings rich in archaeological information and images, this bespoke Facebook-focused content is in the minority among organisations, save for a handful of companies using the platform in a more strategic manner. Discussions with practitioners (Chapter Seven) have highlighted many of the problems these professionals face when trying to source, create and share content, all of which unquestionably inhibit the creation and implementation of a regular social media schedule.

Chapter 6 Qualitative Comment Analysis

This chapter examines the Comments users leave on development-led archaeological Facebook page content and briefly explores the potential composition of these digital audiences.

Archaeological literature has highlighted the lack of qualitative analysis within disciplinary digital engagement (Chapter Two), particularly audience responses. Chapter Four's quantitative analysis includes lighter-touch user responses such as paralinguistic digital affordances (Likes, Reactions, Shares) and collated Comment totals incorporating thread responses. However, a more detailed qualitative examination of manually filtered "top-level" Comments was conducted to provide more insight into the types of these user responses. Top-level Comments are independent, individual Comments left by users and do not include attached responses that form associated threads. Thread responses are effectively sub-comments and, owing to the scope of the research, are only explored quantitatively in relation to their "parent" Comments. Top-level Comments allow researchers to explore the character of a user's response and reaction from a publicly visible source of data.

As Chapter Three's Methodology details, owing to the amorphous nature of many SNS user Comments (see Wakefield 2020), it was necessary to include a wider coding group which encompassed vaguer responses, here termed "Discussion". Doing so prevented the creation of dozens of minor comment Categories whose study would not have been practical. The qualitative coding of user Comments experiences the same challenges of social media analysis discussed in Chapter Three's methodology. The amount of content produced by Facebook Pages and the size of their followings varies substantially, both of which are undoubtedly factors that impact on the volume of Comments received. For example, ClfA RO 05's content generated 1,440 top-level Comments, or 43.2% of the collated dataset, resulting in this one company making a significant impact on the study. Despite this imbalance, examining user Comments left on archaeological content is nonetheless important to characterise how users are responding to Posts. Do these Comments reflect engaged archaeological audiences and what formats are these responses taking?

6.1 Qualitative Comment Analysis: Facebook Comments

The qualitative coding of User Comments left on development-led archaeological Facebook Pages resulted in a combined dataset of 3,332 Comments with 3,135 coming from ClfA ROs and 197 from Non-ROs. Table 19 compares the 12 Primary Categories established through content coding for the combined, ClfA RO and Non-RO datasets.

The Discussion category, the amalgamation of hundreds of amorphous user Comments that were difficult to characterise owing to either very high degrees of situational specificity or vagueness, understandably dominated the dataset as it was effectively a repository for content that was unable to be coded into the 11 Primary Category themes. Ideally, all Comments would have received a relevant Primary Category rather than being consolidated into a more mixed coding group. However, the variability among user Comments coupled with the scope of the research meant this was not achievable. Within the 11 Primary Categories there are clear trends in the types of Comments users are leaving on development-led Facebook Page content.

Table 20 compares the Primary Comment and Primary Content Categories, highlighting that Finds/Artefacts, Excavation/On-Site Updates and Event Promotion are the Posts most likely to attract responses from users with 1,071, 578 and 512 Comments received, respectively. That Finds/Artefacts Content is only the fifth most common type of Post (Chapter Five), despite it attracting 493 more Comments than the next closest category,

Primary Category	Combined Number of Comments	Combined Percentage of Comments	ClfA RO Number of Comments	ClfA RO Percentage of Comments	Non-RO Number of Comments	Non-RO Percentage of Comments
Discussion	595	17.9	554	17.7	41	20.8
Tagging	583	17.5	556	17.7	27	13.7
Praise	494	14.8	454	14.5	40	20.3
Interpretation	353	10.6	341	10.9	12	6.1
Humour	337	10.1	313	10	24	12.2
Excitement/Awe	282	8.5	276	8.8	6	3
Questions	275	8.3	250	8	25	12.7
Thanks	131	3.9	125	4	6	3
Negative Comments	94	2.8	85	2.7	9	4.6
Support	94	2.8	93	3	1	0.5
Other	69	2.1	63	2	6	3
Foreign Language	25	0.8	25	0.8	0	0

Table 19: Table comparing the Primary Categories of coded Facebook Comments left on development-led archaeological company content. The amorphous Discussion Category is highlighted in grey with the three largest Primary Categories for each dataset also highlighted (Combined = Pink, ClfA ROs = Green & Non-RO = Orange)

suggests that companies would do well to create more of these material-based outputs. Indeed, Finds/Artefacts Posts were the most successful formats for generating Interpretation (318 Comments) and Questions (86 Comments) from users, arguably the most valuable demonstrable evidence of digital engagement among audiences (Table 20). Similarly, this category was also excellent for attracting Praise, Excitement/Awe and very few Negative Comments (Table 20). Excavation/On-Site Updates also resonated with users attracting notable positive and engaged Comments (Table 20), particularly Praise, Excitement/Awe and Questions. Clearly, the most familiar archaeological outputs proved popular, echoing the expectations of audiences.

The third most popular category for attracting User Comments were Event Promotion Posts, the most prevalent coding group in the dataset (Table 20). Understandably Event Promotion content generated Questions, with potential attendees asking for further details, alongside Tagging where users would make friends and family aware of events they thought would be of interest. Humour Posts, unsurprisingly, were good for attracting Humour Comments (Table 20), and as discussed in Chapter Five, are a potentially underutilised means of generating positive audience engagement for development-led organisations.

By contrast, Non-Archaeology, Publications and Media Coverage Content were all much less effective at generating Comments (Table 20). Given that many Publication posts were often links to books, monographs or reports, this demonstrates that while the content of these outputs is of potential interest to audiences, practitioners will have to repurpose it and extract images and snippets to make it more appealing to Newsfeed scrollers. Similarly, despite Media Coverage being a favoured source for Posts (Chapter Five), this content proved to be relatively poor for prompting visible user discussion (Table 20), suggesting practitioners are better creating their own content featuring the stories rather than resharing links to media outlets.

Primary Category	Discussion	Tagging	Praise	Interpretation	Humour	Excitement/Awe	Questions	Thanks	Negative Comments	Support	Other	Foreign Language	TOTAL
Event Promotion	93	136	60	4	18	37	57	49	24	9	20	5	512
Company Promotion	67	57	77	1	14	30	24	16	8	23	6	0	323
Excavation/On-Site Update	124	76	99	15	45	64	58	18	15	45	11	8	578
Blog Promotion	53	70	32	6	16	22	18	18	7	2	7	1	252
Findings/Artefacts	116	107	162	318	120	104	86	18	10	7	15	8	1071
Media Coverage	24	33	11	1	8	7	7	1	14	2	6	2	116
Specialist/Post-Ex	11	21	28	4	5	6	6	4	3	2	0	0	90
Publications	16	12	7	1	1	8	5	5	1	0	2	0	58
Other	32	16	1	1	33	2	8	0	2	0	1	0	96
Humour	54	52	12	2	76	2	6	1	10	3	1	0	219
Non-Archaeology	5	3	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	17

Table 20: The number of Top-Level Comments for each Primary Comment Coding Category encountered for each Primary Content Coding Group for the combined dataset of both Cifa ROs and Non-ROs

Three groupings of User Comments are discussed in further detail below: Facebook Tagging, Negative Comments and Interpretation and Questions.

6.1.1 Facebook Tagging

Chapter Four discussed the presence of tagging within Page's Facebook content. Yet, tagging is also an abundant practice among Facebook users who may employ it to notify their SNS friends of Posts they feel are relevant to the tagged individual(s), Events they are interested in attending or to initiate discussions. As Table 19 and Figures 36 and 37 demonstrate, Tagging is the second largest group in the combined dataset, comprising 17.5% of user Comments. User Tags are particularly prominent among ClfA ROs, where they were the largest Primary Category with 556 Tagging Comments, or 17.7% of the data within the research window (Table 19; Figure 38). However, Tagging was less prevalent for Non-ROs, comprising 13.7% of their dataset and constituting the third most common Category, excluding Discussion (Table 19; Figure 39).

Of the forms of SNS interactions, Comments arguably provide the most potential evidence for understanding user engagement, especially when compared with lighter-touch metrics including Post Clicks and PDAs such as Likes, Reactions and Shares (Chapter Four). It is tempting to characterise Comments as either reflective of the sought-after dialogue between specialists and non-specialists or as a more scrutable interaction from which greater insight into user engagements can be discerned. Yet, Tagging Comments may simply be a variant manifestation of a more simplistic paralinguistic digital affordance.

Tagging is broken down into three Secondary Categories: Individual Tagging, Multiple Tagging and Tagging with Discussion (see Appendix A). Individual and Multiple Tagging Comments only contained the hyperlinked Tag(s) to another Facebook user's account, whereas Tagging with Discussion Comments could contain additional content. These additions could cover a range of different reasons including text highlighting why the user had been tagged ("thought you might be interested in this TAG", "TAG this looks good"), questions ("is this what you found TAG?", "TAG want to come with me?") or even a simple emoji ("TAG [Smiley]). Most Tagging Comments simply contained the user account tag and nothing else (Table 21; Figure 37). Individual Tags were the most common, with 322 Comments making them the second most popular Secondary Category in the combined dataset, constituting 9.7% of all Comments (Table 21). Comments consisting only of a hyperlinked tag are difficult to separate from simple Shares, at least in terms of the discernible levels of engagement behind their use.

As discussed in Chapter Four, Facebook Shares have evolved from simple "one-click" interactions that repost content directly to a user's Page to include more complex options. This increased complexity is present if a user should want to Share a specific Page's Post to a friend, a process that now requires navigating multiple windows and selecting from a range of options. Conversely, tagging another user's account in the comments of the Post is a far simpler method of making a friend aware of the relevant Facebook content. All a user is required to do is to Tag the target account using an @ prefix below the Post and press enter. Therefore, it seems that Individual Tagging Comments represent an alternative, simpler form of Sharing content. Such forms of interaction appear to fit with Adaptive Structuration Theory's (AST) assertions that users may "ironically" use a technological feature in a manner differing from its original design (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2020). Here, Individual Tagging in Comments is functioning as a Share and not delivering any identifiable opinion or reaction to the content.

The process of a user deliberately Tagging another Facebook account demonstrates engagement is taking place. Though, as with much engagement on social platforms,

Combined Dataset - Primary Category Percentage of Posts

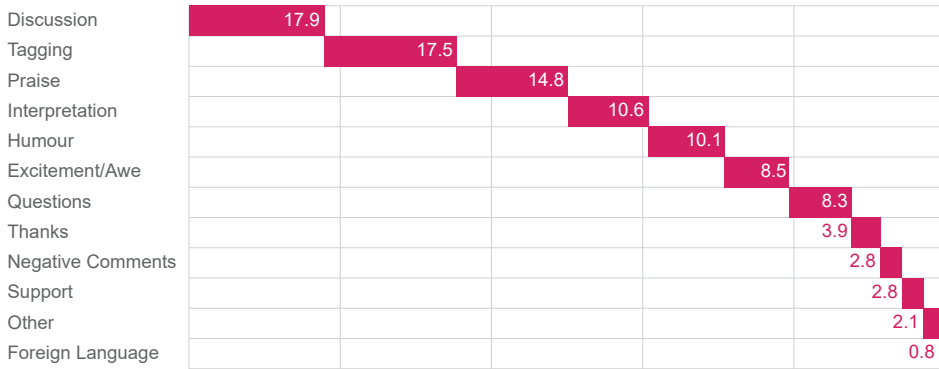


Figure 36: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 3,332 Comments present in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset

Combined Dataset - Secondary Category Percentage of Posts

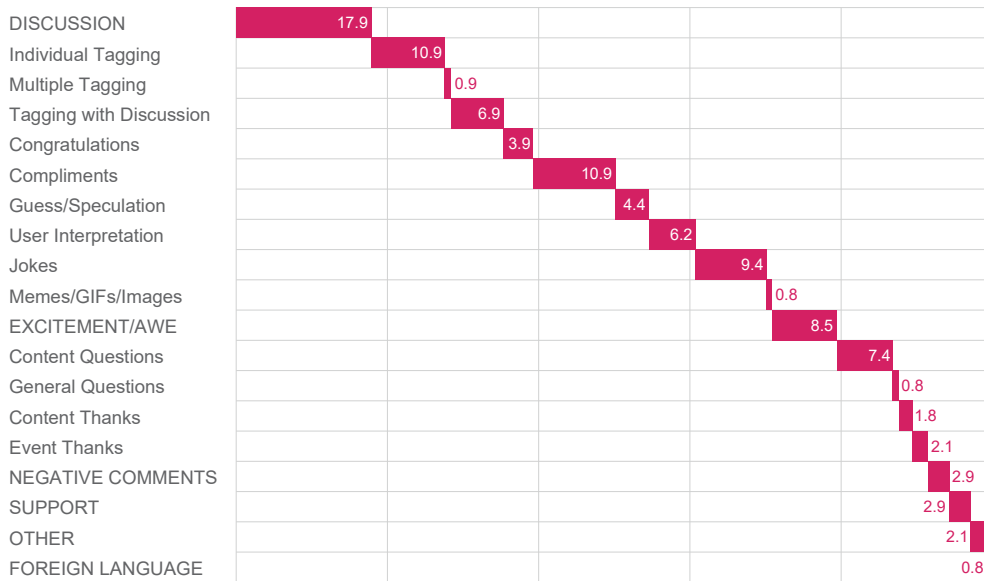


Figure 37: The percentages of Secondary Categories of the 3,332 Comments present in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset. Capitalised Categories highlighted in grey are Primary Categories with no Secondary Categories, included to complete the dataset and for comparative purposes

deciphering what this is, the intent behind it and whether this does include the Tagged individual is problematic. This is especially true for Individual Tags where no other information exists, other than the potential for the Tagged user to Like/React to the Comment. On the surface Individual Tags appear to constitute a relatively minimal degree of engagement, more comparable with PDAs than Comments, and only more targeted qualitative analysis among users could reveal the intent behind their use.

CifA ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts

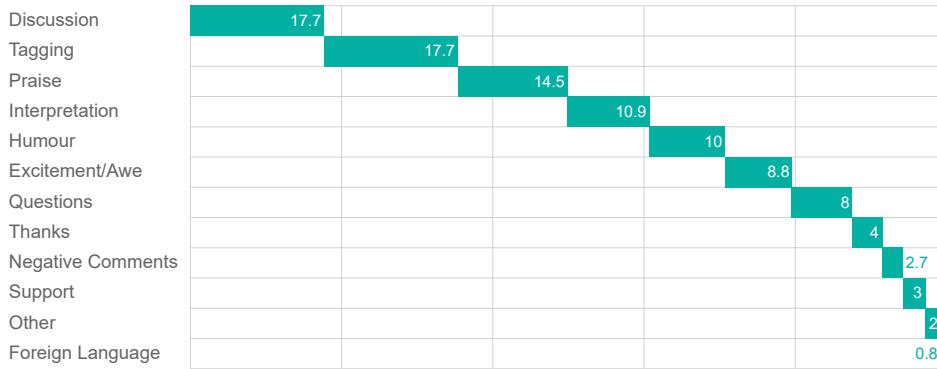


Figure 38: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 3,135 Comments present in the CifA RO dataset

Non-ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts

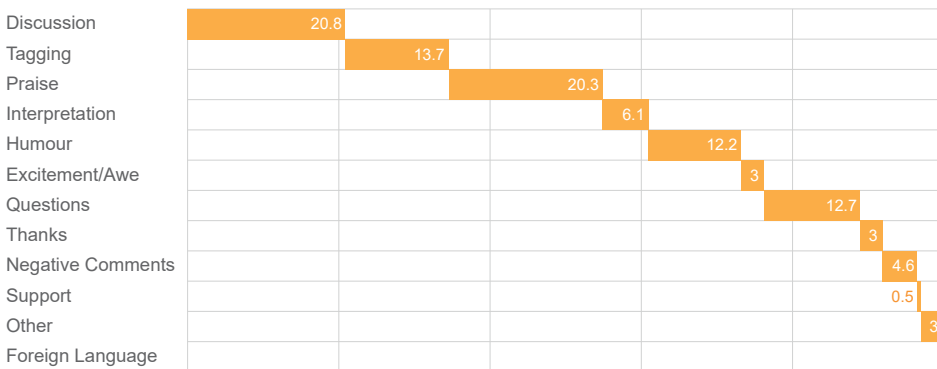


Figure 39: The percentages of Primary Categories of the 197 Comments present in the Non-RO dataset

What is striking about the Individual Tagged Comments is how rarely they generate discussion. Of the 322 Individual Tagging Comments present in the combined dataset just 42, or 13%, received a reply and initiated a thread (Table 21). Instead, it is far more common for the Individually Tagged Comment to receive a Like or Reaction, from the tagged Facebook user. This conforms to AST’s documentation that SNS users unfaithfully use Likes and Reactions to acknowledge that the relevant content has been seen (Hayes et al. 2016; Sumner et al. 2018). Indeed, of the 13% of this form of Comment that did begin a thread, on average they receive just 1.7 replies and typically only involve one other participant (Table 22), making conversation stemming from these user responses rare.

Closer examination revealed that threads typically followed a formula. The Individual Tagging Comment tags a second user who, on the rare occasions that they do opt to reply, typically thanks the original commentator, or makes a short response (“cool”, “wow”). Less frequently, the original user may respond with a further acknowledgement (“no problem”, “thought you’d like it!). These short, simple threads, involving just two users reflect a straightforward Share

Secondary Category	Combined Number of Comments	Combined Percentage of Comments	CIfA RO Number of Comments	CIfA RO Percentage of Comments	Non-RO Number of Comments	Non-RO Percentage of Comments
DISCUSSION	595	17.9	554	17.7	41	20.8
Compliments	364	10.9	328	10.5	36	18.3
Individual Tagging	322	9.7	308	9.8	14	7.1
Jokes	312	9.4	288	9.2	24	12.2
EXCITEMENT/AWE	282	8.5	276	8.8	6	3
Content Questions	247	7.4	224	7.1	23	11.7
Tagging with Discussion	231	6.9	222	7.1	9	4.6
User Interpretation	207	6.2	200	6.4	7	3.6
Guess/Speculation	146	4.4	141	4.5	5	2.5
Congratulations	130	3.9	126	4	4	2
NEGATIVE COMMENTS	94	2.8	85	2.7	9	4.6
SUPPORT	94	2.8	93	3	1	0.5
Event Thanks	70	2.1	68	2.2	2	1
OTHER	69	2.1	63	2	6	3
Content Thanks	61	1.8	57	1.8	4	2
Multiple Tagging	30	0.9	26	0.8	4	2
General Questions	28	0.8	26	0.8	2	1
Memes/GIFS/Images	25	0.8	25	0.8	0	0
FOREIGN LANGUAGE	25	0.8	25	0.8	0	0

Table 21: Table comparing the Secondary Categories of coded Facebook Comments left on development-led archaeological company Posts. The amorphous Discussion Category is highlighted in grey with the five largest Primary Categories for each dataset also highlighted (Combined = Pink, CIfA ROs = Green & Non-RO = Orange). Primary Categories with no Secondary Category are capitalised and included to complete the coding and for comparative purposes

Tagging Type	Percentage of the Tagging Category	Total number of Posts	Number of Threads Started	Percentage of Threads Started	Avg. Number of Comments in Thread	Avg. Number of Participants in Thread
Individual Tagging	55.2%	322	42	13%	1.7	1.1
Multiple Tagging	5%	30	10	33.3%	1.5	1.2
Tagging with Discussion	39.6%	231	89	38.5%	1.7	1.2

Table 22: Comparison of the Tagging Secondary Categories for the combined CIfA RO and Non-RO dataset

and response interaction, clearly visible in the average number of Comments in a thread in the Individual Tagging Category (Table 22).

Multiple Tagging Comments, where the commentator tags two or more users and does not include any text, images or emojis, are rarer forming just 5% of Comments containing Tags (Table 22). While Multiple Tagging Comments are more likely than Individual ones to start a thread, 33.3% compared to 13% (Table 22), this is likely to be a result of the larger number of tagged users increasing the chance for one to respond. Despite Multiple Tags resulting in more threads, the small size of the Secondary Category shows that “Sharing” content with multiple users is an infrequent occurrence. Multiple Tag Comments follow a similar pattern to Individual Tags, with few responses to threads and low numbers of participants, despite a larger number of users being tagged in the initial Comment.

The final Tagging Subcategory, Tagging with Discussion, where the initial Comment contains additional text, images or emojis, was the sixth most prevalent Secondary Comment Category within the combined dataset, excluding Discussion (Table 22; Figure 37). Forming 39.6% of Tagged Comments (Table 22), this Secondary Category had the highest percentage of threads resulting from the initial user Comment. With 38.5% of Tagging with Discussion Comments receiving at least one reply (Table 22), Tags that also contained additional content were far more likely to instigate a conversation. However, despite this increased likelihood to begin dialogues among Tagging with Discussion Comments, any threads that did start contained similar average replies and participant numbers as the other two Tagging Categories (Table 22). Comments containing Tagging comprise a sizable portion of responses to archaeological Page content in the combined dataset. While the Non-RO data shows Tagging accounted for less than among the ClfA RO data, the category is still one of the most significant for non-accredited organisations (Table 19).

Scrutinising the category demonstrates that across all three sub-types of Tagging Comments, most simply do not receive replies or begin discussion. Most Tagging Comments where no conversation takes place appear comparable with Shares and with 75.8% of Tagging Comments never receiving a reply, relying on native SNS metrics to provide data for engagement is problematic. Tags, particularly Individual Tags, are a good source of evidence that a Facebook Comment does not necessarily constitute what many would perceive it to be: a written user’s opinion, reaction or thoughts in response to the original content.

Even when Tagging Comments do receive replies and prompt the creation of a thread, these conversations are far from the multidirectional dialogues that define engagement (NCCPE 2023a). Threads are predominantly duologues with only 18 of the 141 threads begun from Tagging Comments (12.8%) featuring more than one participant other than the instigating user. Of this small number of multi-user threads, just three featured more than two users and none exceeded three participants.

Not only are these threads insular they are also brief. Of the 141 Comment Tagging threads, only 34.8% featured more than one reply and just 17% had more than two responses. Even more striking is the lack of interaction from Pages on this form of user Comment as there were just 11 responses to users’ Tagging Comments from companies. While this is understandable, given the prohibitive character of Tags which effectively act as an inter-user conversation, this highlights that the intrinsic character of many social comments act as a barrier to delivering the multidirectional, Page-to-user dialogues required to deliver more concerted forms of engagement. With most of these threads proving to be short, self-constrained duologues, combined with the dominance of unreciprocated Tagged Comments, comments do not necessarily constitute conversation.

6.1.2 Negative Comments

Negative Comments on development-led archaeological content are clearly rare, though non-accredited organisations have a slightly higher ratio of them (4.6%) compared to ClfA ROs (2.7%). However, their importance in identifying sources of discontent among audiences was considered valuable and they were examined more closely. When Negative Comments were encountered during coding, additional information was recorded to see if common themes were present among them.

It is important to note that negative user interactions on development-led archaeological Pages are far lower than other reported Facebook content such as “Angry” Reactions (Tian et al. 2017) or Comments (MacKay et al. 2022). Across the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset, Negative Comments comprise just 2.8% of all user Comments (Table 19), a stark contrast to the figures identified using automated sentiment analysis on news (34.39% to 37.63%) and public health (29.73% to 37.43%) Facebook Pages (MacKay et al. 2022). Table 23 shows the nine common themes present in the 94 Negative Comments present in the combined accredited and non-accredited organisation dataset. Of these 42 were highly specific and could not be adequately grouped and covered subjects as diverse as dog fouling, the structures of archaeological television programmes and inter-staff complaints about the borrowing of tools without permission.

Emergent Group	Number of Negative Comments	Percentage of Negative Comments
Access to Sites/Information	10	10.6%
Inadequate Information	8	8.5%
Environment/Climate Issue	7	7.5%
Grammar/Spelling Critique	7	7.5%
Inappropriate Comments	6	6.4%
Archaeology as Destruction	5	5.3%
Burials/Death	4	4.3%
Technique/Interpretation Critique	3	3.2%
Technical Issue	2	2.1%
Other	42	44.7%

Table 23: The emergent Negative Comment coding groups and their proportions in the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO dataset

The most frequently encountered Negative Comments were users unhappy about the lack of access to sites (Table 23). These responses included complaints that excavations had no public access/open days or, alternately, that available tours had sold out. This ties directly into the concerns engagement practitioners have expressed over clients on development-led work actively limiting access to archaeological work (Chapter Two) or company reticence to allow access over how problematic open days can be (Chapter Seven). What is clear from the 10 Negative Comments on this topic is there is an appetite among audiences to see archaeology taking place and the dissatisfaction people have when faced with inaccessibility.

Similarly, the second most prevalent Negative Comment type were users frustrated at the lack of information contained within Posts. Eight commented that they felt content was

lacking when describing artefacts or features (Table 23), usually noting on an absence of a location, contextual details, dating information or that too few images were included. Some of the missing detail may have resulted from the content creator forgetting to add it or not considering it necessary, though it is equally possible the information was necessarily withheld at the direction of the client or as a security precaution (see Chapter Seven). Other “missing” information, for example specific dating of features and artefacts would likely not be available if the post was contemporary, with such details usually derived from specialist analysis during lengthy post-excavation phases. This highlights a potential disconnect between public perceptions of archaeology and the reality of the discipline.

A more striking disconnect is aptly illustrated by Negative Comments expressing shock that archaeologists are destroying history, with five users falling into this category (Table 23). Among some audience members there appears to be a perception that excavations exist to simply uncover archaeology and leave it exposed in situ, an attitude the author has frequently encountered during public events. One such Negative Comment from the research involved a user expressing shock that the archaeology would not be left uncovered indefinitely and a permanent museum built above the features. Leaving archaeology unexcavated in situ is the preferred strategy for most UK heritage bodies though the development-led sector largely exists to record and remove it when construction occurs. While a comparatively small percentage of the dataset, these comments demonstrate that the perception that the discipline exists to carefully preserve all archaeology exists among non-specialists.

Given that audiences for development-led Facebook Pages are likely to contain notable proportions of archaeological and heritage professionals (see below), with most content being disseminated within a sector “bubble”, coupled with the low proportion of Comments received makes it hard to gauge how widespread this perception of archaeology is. Correcting these perceptions is also problematic. If companies were to explain that they were only excavating approximately 10% of the archaeology on behalf of a client, prior to a sign-off for their employer to have freedom to do whatever they chose with the remainder, then undoubtedly difficult questions would arise. Clearly, this is a disconnect development-led archaeology is reluctant to address over fear of mobilising audiences against their clients and biting the hand that feeds.

Yet, negative engagement is taking place that directly results from a detachment between audience expectations of what they believe archaeology to be and what the reality of the profession is. While it is difficult to assess how widespread this view may be, the presence of a divergent undercurrent in expectation versus reality is likely to create future problems of the profession.

An area of concern for archaeologists working with, and on, social media is the presence of digital abuse and related dangers (Kidd 2019; Perry 2014; Perry et al. 2015; Richardson 2017; 2018). Within the Negative Comments, six were identified as inappropriate (Table 23). Five of these were users commenting on the attractiveness or physical appearance of organisational employees depicted in the content. Four such responses were male commentators referring to a female and one was a female commentator discussing a male featured in a Post. Some of these user Comments were accompanied by emojis, suggesting the users felt that they were being humorous. However, these five Comments were clearly objectifying the featured individuals and appeared to be the sole reason for commenting.

The sixth inappropriate Comment came from a male user specifically asking for more photos of a female employee that had previously featured in company content. While the wording of the Comment was more ambiguous than the instances previously described, it may simply have been a result of the commentator having enjoyed the subject of prior posts, this demonstrates the importance of digital safeguarding and security within online public

engagement. In this instance the employee featured in the original post was only given a first name but how difficult would it be for a potential harasser to find and target an online profile of an archaeological employee? Equally, would the participant have been aware of potential digital dangers when being photographed at work?

No organisation displayed a social media user policy within the original research data collection period, suggesting that online protection was an area many companies were unaware of. However, MOLA (2021) became the first UK development-led organisation to launch a digital code of conduct in September 2021. This is an important area of concern, particularly given company obligations to protect their employees, and hopefully more organisations will follow suit and publish similar guidelines.

Four Negative Comments were focused on the presence of burials or human remains in Facebook Page content (Table 23). The most significant Comment, left on Non-RO 06, was highly critical of the use of photographs of inhumations in a Post with the user commenting it was deeply inappropriate, particularly given the level of preservation of the remains. The photographs in question had subsequently been removed from the Post, leaving only general working shots of an excavation in a cemetery. The user's Comment received no response from the company, either in apology or to acknowledge that the images had been taken down.

A second Negative Comment relating to burials came from a user who felt that no human remains should be excavated, feeling that the dead should remain undisturbed. This Comment was left on a Post from ClfA RO 05, which did not involve the company and instead shared an unconnected international news story. This demonstrates that sharing content centred on unrelated organisations and projects risks attracting negative feedback on work that the posting company was never involved with.

Other thematic Negative Comments included critiques over environmental and climate concerns, grammar and spelling corrections, complaints over technical issues with links and a small number of queries relating to whether archaeology or analysis had been carried out correctly (Table 23). Despite the presence of these 94 Negative Comments within the dataset, these represent a small proportion, just 2.8% (Table 19). It is important to note that more negative content may be actively hidden via moderation, rendering it invisible while conducting manual data collection.

Of the 94 visible Negative Comments from the combined dataset 26, or 27.7%, attracted further Comments and began threads. Company responses accounted for 14 of these replies, with the Pages seeking to engage with the users and publicly address the criticisms or dissatisfaction expressed in their Comments. These figures demonstrate that in most cases on development-led archaeological Pages (72.3%), visible Negative Comments do not receive responses. Social media marketers often recommend organisations engage with negativity (see Baker 2022; Cha 2022), using the rationale that tackling these issues head-on reflects more favourably on your brand.

6.1.3 Interpretation and Questions

Interpretation and Question Comments may be able to provide evidence of the multidirectional, mutually beneficial engagement advocated by the NCCPE (2023a). Users offering their own analysis or identification of finds and features (Interpretation) helps erode expert barriers and disciplinary gatekeeping that have been linked to the heritage sector (Smith 2006). Equally, being able to ask questions of organisations reflects a connection between users and professionals and audiences can go beyond simply being recipients of "broadcasts" and being conversations. However, crucially, while this engagement can be generated two-way interaction is contingent on archaeologists responding.

Surprisingly, Interpretation Comments were the fourth most common coding group in the combined dataset, with 353 Comments accounting for 10.6% of the responses (Table 19). Within this category user interpretations included guessing the function of unidentified finds, deciphering designs on artefacts, attempting to translate weathered graffiti, offering thoughts on the purpose of archaeological features and many other diverse readings of featured content. Interpretation Comments were predominantly present on Finds/Artefacts Posts, with 318 of the 353 coded (90.1%) falling into this content category (Table 20). This sizable proportion resulted from a series of Posts created by ClfA RO 05 in which images of artefacts were shared and users challenged to identify them or interpret specific elements. This was clearly a highly effective format for generating both User Interpretation and Guess/Speculation responses with 229 (64.9%) of all the Interpretation Comments stemming from just five of these Posts on a single ClfA RO. Users tended to respond to this Page content with either confident, affirmative statements or more tentative suggestions typically prefixed with their degrees of uncertainty. The mixture of definitive, though sometimes incorrect, interpretations and more cautious guesses suggested different degrees of familiarity with archaeology.

The Guess/ID Find content category was one of the most effective Post formats for generating Comments, particularly interpretative responses. The top three Posts for attracting Comments were all ClfA RO 05 Guess/ID Finds with 256 Comments on them. Despite the effectiveness of this format, only 17 Posts of this type were present across the entire dataset (0.7%), coming from seven different companies. Archaeological organisations could benefit from creating more of this content to improve interactivity and generate effective engagement.

The comparatively high proportion of Interpretation Comments (10.6%) in the combined dataset obscures the discrepancy between organisation types as they account for 6.1% of Non-RO Comments compared with 10.9% for accredited companies. Some ClfA ROs appear to be more adept at creating content that encourages audiences to contribute their own insight and analysis than their unaccredited counterparts. When Posts are explicitly asking for audience opinions, theories, and interpretations these are demonstrably producing engaged and interactive responses, though if these stem from users with existing archaeological backgrounds is unclear. However, content that does not actively seek interpretation from audiences rarely generates it, as demonstrated by the scarcity of these Comments on other Post types (Table 20). Only the Excavation/On-Site Update category generated more than a handful of interpretative responses from users (Table 20). For audiences to offer Interpretation, archaeological companies must actively encourage and support them to do so.

Questions are another potentially valuable indicator of engagement, owing to users directly seeking a response to a query typically resulting from the source content. It would be tempting to assume Questions would form one of the largest Comment categories but they account for 8.3% of Top Level Comments, the seventh most prevalent coding group (Table 19). Unlike Interpretation Comments, which were almost exclusively focused on a single Post category, user Questions were more evenly distributed across different content types (Table 20). The Finds/Artefacts, Excavation/On-Site Updates and Event Promotion categories generated the most Questions from users with most other coding groups attracting far fewer (Table 20).

Among Non-RO content, Questions were more common than on ClfA RO Facebook Pages (12.7% versus 8%), comprising the third most Common Comment category for non-accredited organisations (Table 19). However, closer examination of Non-RO received Question Comments revealed many were users asking for more information on the featured content suggesting these companies may be omitting the details most commonly sought by

audiences.

Of all Comment Categories, Interpretation and Questions resulted in the most Threads being created (Table 24), surpassing both the homogenous Discussion and “light-touch” Tagging Categories. Content that generated Questions and Interpretations appears to be one of the most successful ways to build visible discursive audience engagement. Within these Categories, many Threads were created by Pages replying to user enquiries or thoughts. However, they were also responsible for the creation of inter-user discussion as Questions led to 33 Threads with no Page involvement and 18 similar conversations stemmed from Interpretation Comments. These user-to-user Threads effectively constitute conversations prompted by the original Post content and reflect a positive multi-user form of identifiable engagement among Page audiences.

Primary Category	Combined	CifA ROs	Non-ROs
Discussion	135	124	11
Tagging	141	136	5
Praise	55	49	6
Interpretation	163	161	2
Humour	71	64	7
Excitement/Awe	31	30	1
Questions	155	147	8
Thanks	36	34	2
Negative Comments	26	25	1
Support	15	15	0
Other	14	13	1
Foreign Language	7	7	0
TOTAL	849	805	44

Table 24: The number of Top Level Comments which began Threads for each of the Primary Content Categories

Crucially, engagement relating to audience Interpretation and Questions requires an examination of how responsive organisations are to their audiences. It has been argued that replies are an essential means of demonstrating to users that their thoughts and queries are welcome, appreciated and valued and evidence that Pages are transcending unidirectional broadcasts Wakefield (2020). Page Replies to Interpretations and Questions are the two largest response categories present in the combined dataset (Table 25). Of the 580 total replies by Pages, 145 were left on user Interpretation Comments and 122 on Questions (Table 25). These are surprising figures, given the highly variable, ad hoc approach to SNS many of the archaeological organisations in the research appear to be adopting in terms of post frequency and content creation. However, echoing the research’s quantitative analysis of Page Replies (Chapter Four), two organisations (CifA ROs Company 02 and 05) were responsible for most responses.

Primary Category	Combined	CifA ROs	Non-ROs
Discussion	101	95	6
Tagging	11	11	0
Praise	46	43	3
Interpretation	145	145	0
Humour	57	55	2
Excitement/Awe	24	24	0
Questions	122	120	2
Thanks	29	28	1
Negative Comments	14	13	1
Support	13	13	0
Other	15	13	2
Foreign Language	3	3	0
TOTAL	580	563	17

Table 25: The Number of Responses by Pages to Top-Level Comments per Content Coding Category for the Combined, CifA RO and Non-RO datasets

It is heartening to see that within the collated dataset that 44.4% of user Questions and 41.1% of Interpretation Comments received replies from the relevant Page. Yet, this figure was buoyed by a minority of highly responsive organisations. While these few companies were clearly committed to answering their audiences, elsewhere almost a quarter of CifA ROs (24.2%) failed to reply once to any type of Comment over six months. The paucity of responsiveness among many organisations is aptly demonstrated by Non-ROs, where just two Questions, 8% of those received, were answered. No Non-accredited companies received any Interpretation Comments.

Companies that do proactively encourage interpretative responses and queries from users, and visibly respond to them, benefit from doing so, as the strategy goes on to generate more of these Comments. Marketers (see Gil 2022; VirTasktic 2022) advocate for companies to be as responsive as possible, particularly with questions, as replying helps build a Page's community and demonstrates a commitment to communicating with users.

6.2 Facebook Audiences

Understanding who engages with archaeological outreach initiatives and information has been a persistent problem for practitioners across the discipline. This is an issue compounded by a lack of evaluation (Bollwerk 2015) and when audience analysis does occur, it is often focused on basic demographic information (Wilkins 2019). Development-led companies often lack specially trained staff to conduct evaluative work and the rarity of dedicated outreach personnel can result in public events generating no information on their attendees (Single & Davies 2020). More recently, attempts have been made to explore archaeology's audiences in a more systematic and detailed manner with the creation of the Archaeology Audience Network (AAN; MOLA 2022). The project, though still at an early stage, seeks to improve the understanding of audiences engaging with public archaeology and involves five CifA ROs placing development-led initiatives at its centre (MOLA 2022).

Within the digital sphere, particularly Facebook, archaeological audiences are still poorly understood (see Chapter Two) and there have been long-held perceptions that online platforms are simply replicating traditional offline archaeological audiences in virtual spaces (Bonacchi 2017; Gruber 2017; Walker 2014a; 2014b). Prior work on Facebook (Fernandes 2018; Wakefield 2020) has suggested markedly different audience demographics on archaeological Pages from those present across the wider platform, though these are based on the Facebook’s internal Insights which provide limited analysis.

6.2.1 Archaeological Users

Understanding audiences is an essential component for delivering successful public engagement (Bollwerk 2015). Investigating how many users interacting with content have a preexisting connection to archaeology is important when assessing whether digital content is reaching beyond an established disciplinary bubble. To explore audience composition a sample of one form of Facebook engagement, Comments, were examined for evidence of users’ prior connection to archaeology to gauge what degree company Pages are generating interactions from outside the field. Using the methodology described in Chapter Three, designed to preserve the anonymity of Facebook users and not directly access personal Pages, publicly visible account preview information (profile pictures, job titles and educational qualifications) was examined for evidence of archaeology or heritage indicators.

As discussed in the research’s methodology (see Chapter Three) this analysis is unlikely to be representative of all Facebook audiences, as only a comparatively small proportion of users Comment on content and, potentially, those with an archaeological background may be more likely to comment than non-specialist users. Yet, assessing the proportion of Comments, the most visibly demonstrable form of Facebook user engagement, to see how many may originate from those connected with the discipline is important at gauging how much discussion involves non-specialists.

The first 25 top-level Comments from Page Posts for both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs were examined, and the data described above gathered from their user accounts, if publicly accessible. This resulted in 777 Comments, 136 of which were from duplicate users, five of which appeared on both ClfA RO and Non-RO Pages (Table 26). This left a total of 641 unique users, with 208 (32.5%) having markers indicating a connection with archaeology. There is little difference among the proportion of archaeological users between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs with these organisations having 32.7% and 32.4% of sample Comments coming from archaeological users, respectively.

	Number of Sampled Unique User Comments	Number of Commentators with Archaeological Link	Percentage
ClfA ROs	538	176	32.7
Non-ROs	108	35	32.4

Table 26: Unique Users identified by Comment Sampling and those with publicly visible connections to archaeology for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs

As Table 27 shows, Comments left by archaeological users closely mirror those from the full Comment dataset. However, users with an archaeological background are more likely to leave Questions but less likely to offer Interpretation (Table 27). The increased likelihood of archaeological users asking questions is understandable, given that their disciplinary

knowledge will enable a greater degree of scrutiny of content than lay audience members. Equally, their experience in the subject may give them more confidence to ask for further information and professional motivations may underpin these requests, such as individuals working on similar archaeology or artefacts.

Primary Category	Combined Number of Comments (All Users, Full Dataset)	Combined Percentage of Comments (All Users, Full Dataset)	Number of Comments (Archaeological Users, Sample Dataset)	Percentage of Comments (Archaeological Users, Sample Dataset)
Discussion	595	17.9%	47	17.6%
Tagging	583	17.5%	44	16.5%
Praise	494	14.8%	40	15%
Interpretation	353	10.6%	14	5.2%
Humour	337	10.1%	28	10.5%
Excitement/Awe	282	8.5%	24	9%
Questions	275	8.3%	31	11.6%
Thanks	131	3.9%	14	5.2%
Negative Comments	94	2.8%	7	2.6%
Support	94	2.8%	10	3.7%
Other	69	2.1%	4	1.5%
Foreign Language	25	0.8%	4	1.5%

Table 27: Comparison of the categories of Comments left by archaeological users compared with the full Comment dataset left by all users

Users with a connection to archaeology are less likely to offer interpretation, doing so less than half as often as commentators without a clear link to the discipline (Table 27). This discrepancy may be a result of most User interpretation Comments asking audiences to guess find IDs or decipher decoration (see above discussion) and professionals not commenting to avoid spoiling the surprise for other users. Equally, professional courtesy between archaeologists may have impacted this form of Comment as the unprompted interpretation of a fellow company's work or discoveries is unlikely to engender positivity and collegiality.

While this is a small, targeted exploration of the presence of prior archaeological connections among development-led Page users, it seems that many Comments stem from individuals within the discipline or, at the very least, have a strong relationship with it. Indeed, at least 32.5% of commentators displayed that link and, as described above, that number is likely to be far higher. The amorphous character of social media platforms makes it easy to assume Posts will attract interactions from a range of different users. However, this analysis is another reminder that Facebook Page audiences are unlikely to be representative of not only the wider platform, but certainly wider society. Uncritically using SNS metrics as evidence of engagement, even focusing on more interactive formats such as Comments, is clearly problematic as sizable proportions of Post audiences are already connected with archaeology.

Without more detailed digital ethnographic work into the users that engage with content, it is hard to gauge just how many interactions on archaeological and heritage content will come from pre-existing audiences. Indeed, it is possible that the similarities in Table 27's Comment Category comparison could result from most commentators being archaeological users. With content typically entering Newsfeeds via subscribing to Pages or being Shared by friends, often with similar interests, how many non-archaeologists are seeing these Posts? Development-led Pages may simply be contributing content to an archaeological echo chamber that generates engagement from the "converted". Furthermore, audiences with an indirect connection to archaeology, such as staff friends and family, may be generating statistical engagement that is derived from the use of Facebook as a performative tool fulfilling perceived social obligations rather than meaningful interaction with the content. With such complexities at play, this examination highlights the challenges of relying on quantitative metrics to provide evidence of engagement and, potentially, impact.

6.3 Discussion

The above small-scale examination of commentators demonstrates that a sizable proportion belong to established archaeological audiences, echoing the fears that digital heritage content is replicating existing userbases in online spheres. However, this analysis was carried out on just one form of interaction: Comments. While these are arguably the form of interaction that most readily connects to definitions of active engagement, it is important to understand the audiences connected with alternate and complementary behaviours. Examining the users that leave Likes, Reactions and Shares alongside those who opt not to visibly interact with content would be a valuable and important area for further research to better understand digital heritage audiences. Indeed, a combined big data and "small data" (Richardson 2019) approach coupled with more detailed digital ethnographic methods is still sorely needed for archaeological practitioners to work toward an improved and critically engaged understanding of their "public". With the creation of the AAN, UK archaeologists appear more conscious of this import and hopefully future studies will investigate both offline and online heritage audiences.

Chapter 7 Practitioner Interviews

To understand the role digital engagement plays in development-led archaeological organisations it was essential to speak to working practitioners. As described in Chapter Three, semi-structured interviews were conducted online with ten employees of organisations involved in development-led archaeological work. Interview questions were developed from existing literature themes alongside those emerging from the research’s social media data, though participants were free to discuss other areas they felt were important and related to digital engagement. Anonymised transcripts were created for nine participants, while the tenth, DigVentures’ founder and Co-CEO Dr Brendon Wilkins, kindly agreed to be identified owing to the unique nature of the organisation. Thematic analysis was then conducted on the transcripts to identify commonalities between participant responses with full transcripts included in Appendix D. The results of this thematic analysis, grouped by principal themes, are presented in this chapter.

7.1 Participant Roles

What is striking about the participants with either sole or shared responsibility for content creation on the social channels of development-led archaeological organisations is the variability in their defined roles and seniority (Table 28).

Name	Organisation	Main Role	Shared Social Media Role
Chloe	CifA RO	Heritage Management Archaeologist	Sole Responsibility
Alice	CifA RO	Marketing and Communications	Communications Team
Keiran	CifA RO	Project Manager	Shared Role
Ellen	CifA RO	Community Archaeologist	Shared Role
Dawn	CifA RO	Community Archaeologist	Shared Role
Louise	Non-RO	Admin Assistant	Sole Responsibility
Samantha	CifA RO	Marketing and Communications	Communications Team
Mark	CifA RO	Communications (Senior)	Communications Team
Brendon	CifA RO	Co-CEO, Project Director	Communications Team
Victoria	CifA RO	Communications (Senior)	Sole Responsibility

Table 28: Summary of interviewees including their main job role and whether their involvement with company social networking channels is their sole responsibility, one shared with other archaeological employees or as part of a formalised communications team

The most common role digital content creators inhabited were marketing and communications positions where posts were a core aspect of their responsibilities. Four participants fell into this category (Table 28), two of which were senior positions while two were assistant-level. Two interviewees were community archaeologists (Table 28), with the creation of online content forming a smaller component of their main role. This situation was echoed by another participant whose main role dealt with Heritage Management with social media an addition to this. A director level position also involved oversight of the company’s digital output and communications staff, while another company’s Project Manager created content on a more ad hoc basis alongside fellow senior staff members (Table 28).

Finally, one interviewee, an admin assistant, was required to produce the entirety of their organisation's social network output in addition to their daily logistics and administrative duties.

The variability of the roles responsible for social media content is mirrored in whether these duties involve colleagues or fall solely to an individual (see Table 28). There is a surprisingly even division of sharing options within these roles. Four participants work as part of a dedicated communications team, three where content creation and moderation are a shared responsibility among archaeological colleagues and three where the social media output rests on a single person (Table 28).

This variability in role and shared duties among practitioners aptly illustrates differing institutional perspectives on the importance of digital communication. Five ClfA ROs clearly value social networking sites as external-facing sources for representing both them and their work by investing in communications teams or a senior communications employee (Table 28). Indeed, these companies' teams and approaches fit with wider professional marketing strategies, typified by Mark's description.

The comms team covers more broadcast forms of engagement... We manage social media channels. All content that goes on [Organisation's] social media flows through us to get there... It is my responsibility to manage social media, more my team's responsibility. It's within our job description. (Appendix D: Mark, 6-18)

Here social media forms part of a wider communication strategy where employees work specifically to create content with the aim of achieving organisational objectives. The existence of these roles demonstrates that some companies consider digital communication to be a valuable asset.

Other organisations ascribe some importance to maintaining a social networking presence but divide the responsibility for running it between numerous existing employees. This "shared role" approach requires staff to fit in content creation around their other duties, which can lead to difficulties. As Dawn describes, "We have a mix of people... and I think there's always a slight struggle for capacity given we've got other day jobs..." (Appendix D: Dawn, 35-37). With these practitioners already undertaking a primary role, there can be tensions when faced with requests for social media content as Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 24-26) describes, "it's trying to make clear to my colleagues that if we want to expand other aspects of our external communications that has to fall under somebody else's remit, because I've already got enough on my plate".

The extension of this organisational attitude toward social media content is visible where companies feel obligated to post but want to invest less by sharing the role between multiple existing staff members. Chloe and Louise (Table 28) have different jobs for their respective organisations but are expected to solely manage social channels on top of their primary responsibilities. Both inherited their add-on roles, where social media outputs were given to them.

I am an admin assistant. My role is everything office based. Booking plant, accommodation... getting the sites set up. Social media came into my role a little bit by mistake when the person who did it resigned. Then it was like, "Who's got time? Who is in the office?". [I] took over... It's just me. (Appendix D: Louise, 6-15)

When I joined where I work now, they were looking for somebody to help with regular posting of social media... I took on that role along with two other members of staff... One of those members of staff has now left. The other member of staff doesn't feel so comfortable with the use of social media. (Appendix D: Chloe, 8-42)

This range of roles and responsibilities suggests a divided approach toward digital outputs. While half of practitioner organisations have adopted dedicated communications staff, the remainder display a less coherent strategy. Adding social media duties on top of existing job roles appears common, placing additional pressures on staff and suggesting external online communication is a secondary priority. Such practices may be a necessity owing to organisation size, with “add-on” social media responsibilities being adopted by smaller companies with more limited staff capacities and budgets. However, in practice this did not always appear true with two of the five practitioners interviewed working as part of communication teams in small to mid-sized organisations. Similarly, of the five participating companies that did not have dedicated communication roles two were larger multi-office firms. Therefore, this small sample of practitioners suggests that company attitudes towards social media, and communication more broadly, is more important than organisation size in determining investment into staff roles.

7.2 Social Media Objectives

When discussing the aims for their organisations’ social media interviewees described differing priorities, reflecting a diverse and often broad suite of objectives.

7.2.1 Uncertainty

Several participants described a lack of strategy and defined objectives within their companies’ approaches to social media. Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 297-301) did not regard social media content as a priority and did not consider themselves to have a specific plan, stating “...the day-to-day [Social Media] stuff, it doesn’t really matter. That sounds bad... no one’s chasing me to do it”.

For some organisations approaches to certain social networking sites were more about sharing any content than developing a specific strategy. As Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 125-130) described, “Instagram is more just about having a presence and being there and sharing some nice images of our landscapes and of our finds... It’s almost like a placeholder really... we don’t use it much wider than that”, a decision resulting from the fact that the platform “just takes up so much time”. The lack of objectives for her company’s use of social media were a source of frustration for Dawn.

We need to really develop what it is we want to achieve out of [Social Media]. Without actually having a clear idea of who it is we’re trying to reach, what difference is that supposed to make? How does it work with other activities that we’re doing? (Appendix D: Dawn, 93-96)

There hasn’t been a clearer idea about what we’re trying to achieve. (Appendix D: Dawn, 368-369)

That three interviewees described uncertainty or indifference from their organisations over social media aims suggests that within some quarters, simply having a digital presence is considered to be sufficient.

While there appears to be an awareness that social media is now a standard component of any business, there seems to be a lack of understanding about what its function should be. One practitioner was tasked with defining their company’s social media aims, owing to a lack of knowledge among management.

It’s been what I’ve told them it’s going to be. Because they’ve said they don’t know what it [Social Media] is. And I’ve said, “Well, what do you want from it?”. And they said, “Well, you’re going to need to tell us, because we don’t know how it works”.

Which has been at times freeing but also a bit intimidating. (Appendix D: Victoria, 84-87)

Despite multiple organisations seemingly struggling to define their use of social media, numerous interviewees discussed formalised social media strategies (Appendix D: Alice, 100-101; Samantha, 116-119) though Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 21-23) noted the difficulties of creating such a document, “I did try and introduce an [Organisation]-wide social media policy where we did similar work across there but it’s just a matter of capacity and time”. In a sector where communication is seldom seen as a priority, it is unsurprising to see only a handful of interviewees describe formal social media strategies. Indeed, less formal arrangements exist as described by Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 257-259), “Every one of us that posts, there’s been a sit-down discussion with all of us of what the purpose of posting is for and what we can and should post. It’s ad hoc to an extent”.

That some companies are expecting staff to produce posts with little to no direction, no matter how informal, is unexpected. Even if these responsibilities are “bolted on” to their existing role, it seems a curious investment of time for something with no coherent result in mind. The presence of somewhat “directionless” institutional use appears to reflect that companies realise they ought to have social media. With social content a ubiquitous facet of contemporary business practice, organisations are perceiving these platforms have value, but some appear uncertain how to utilise them. With just under a third of interviewed content creators expressing uncertainty on their aims, it raises questions on both the effectiveness of Posts and what organisations are hoping to achieve through digital communication. Simply tasking staff with an “any post will do” attitude places significant pressure on individuals, which is likely to impact their own perceptions of creating content.

Despite the presence of some companies demonstrating a lack of clear social strategies, many participants described pursuing a variety of different objectives for their channels.

7.2.2 Engagement and Education

The most common objective for development-led archaeological company social media content was to engage and educate users. Every interviewee mentioned using their channels to share the results of their work with audiences to varying extents.

This included formal objectives as Alice (Appendix D: Alice, 84-87) described her organisation’s social content aims as, “Entertainment, inform, inspire, educate... then within that you’re trying to get a good coverage for all the different departments”. Alternately, several interviewees described using social media to engage audiences as a reflection of their personal beliefs. Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 117-118) highlighted how she felt social networking sites were the most effective means of meeting one of her organisation’s key objectives, “Part of our mission statement is to make sure that archaeology is available for everyone. Of course, social media is the best way to do that”. Similarly, Dawn regarded social media’s ability to facilitate conversations with non-specialists was its most valuable asset.

For me, social media is a tool for public engagement, I need a dialogue. Whether that is co-producing content with the public, or whether that is really ensuring that there is that dialogue and conversation with the public online. (Appendix D: Dawn, 43-45)

Two participants also noted the value of social media for delivering engagement by highlighting seldom-seen aspects of archaeology and challenge the digging-focused, single-narrative depiction typical to traditional media.

Part of our work in comms is showcasing the process of archaeology to the public... the public and the media work very much in black and white. It’s this or it’s this.

Actually, that's not really how archaeology works. It's often there's an ongoing interpretation that evolves over time. Recently on our [Project], part of that work specifically was to showcase the process of understanding the past, rather than the conclusion that we reach at the end of that process. (Appendix D: Mark, 75-81)

Interestingly, despite her organisation's lack of guidance for social media Louise felt that social media content should reflect the wider range of processes within archaeology.

I see it more as a tool to explain what we do... I see it from the point of view that it's good to explain to other people what you do... I don't know how people see archaeology, really. Just digging a hole but they don't see the whole process behind it and the interesting parts. (Appendix D: Louise, 60-64)

Within some organisations social media content targeting user engagement or education was a direct result of broader institutional commitments or requirements, to provide public outreach and education (Appendix D: Chloe, 117-118; Ellen, 14-15). Others noted that sharing information on archaeological projects was increasingly a stipulation of clients or local government developmental control.

Pretty much every project that we do has a social media aspect to it. It's the "bread and butter", the base of most communications proposals is that we'll do social media. Clients expect social media content nowadays. (Appendix D: Mark, 131-133)

...this [Outreach] was all dictated by a WSI [Written Scheme of Investigation] or specification from the county archaeologist... That tends to drive what we do. Some of that has been then written into social media, so [On One Project] we gave regular updates on Facebook. Now, none of that was specified in the specification as to how frequently or what we were putting up. (Appendix D: Keiran, 26-31)

Such requirements were not always seen positively with companies, with some noting that there appeared to be little financial return from creating public-facing content.

We're not keen to put out a wonderful post about something in outreach because, to be honest, we're not a huge company and the benefit for us as an organisation with budgets as tight as they are... it's not going to bring us in any more work... (Appendix D: Keiran, 65-71)

Keiran's comment highlights a key tension that underpins public engagement within development-led archaeology. The sector is overwhelmingly commercially focused and work revolves around delivering archaeology on time and on budget. Under this model, conducting effective public engagement, online or otherwise, is unlikely to be considered a driving force in client decisions to allocate work or provide a notable financial return for companies (though see below for discussions of alternate client perspectives and practitioner strategies). Keiran succinctly summarised his thoughts on social media and engagement for his organisation:

Our main clients are house builders and there are varying sizes... And we win and lose jobs entirely on cost and availability... I don't think our social media has any part to play in who they use... I don't think it has a huge part to play in driving business our way (Appendix D: Keiran, 409-431)

While most development-led UK archaeological organisations are focused on delivering the local authority mandated services and outputs necessary to discharge planning conditions for clients, alternate business models do exist. DigVentures, a social enterprise, uses a strategy that places audience engagement as a core tenet of their company. As Co-CEO Dr Brendon Wilkins describes, accessible information sharing and audience dialogue on social media is a key driver for their business.

We have an entirely different business model to any other organisation within the sector. We have a crowd-based business model, we derive a proportion of our income from the crowd. We work with partners and tender for work because of our crowd. Our approach to social media isn't as a "bolt on" to our communications strategy... it's an absolutely integral part of what we do... we think about ourselves as a social enterprise... our impact isn't something additional to our business model... It's tied to our core revenue generating activities...

The more people who hear about the work that we do, and the more people want to get involved with the work that we do, the more income gets generated into the work that we do, the more work we can do, the more people we can tell about the work we do, and so on. And we grow our crowd accordingly. (Appendix D: Brendon, 19-39)

DigVentures clearly incorporate social media communication and audience engagement as one of the primary components of their business ethos.

All ten interviewed practitioners described their desire for posts to engage and educate users, either as a company-led strategy (Appendix D: Alice, 84-87; Brendon, 59; Victoria, 87-90) or stemming from a personal belief in the importance of communicating with non-specialists (Appendix D: Chloe, 117-118; Dawn, 43; Louise, 60). However, it is difficult to determine if this is always the primary objective for social media content. When being interviewed for research focused on digital engagement within the sector, participants would have been predisposed and keen to discuss the outreach facets of their online outputs. Equally, assessing the effectiveness of these engagement and educational aims is problematic, as many interviewees described rarely studying platform metrics and lacking the necessary training to explore analytics (see below).

Yet, the fact every participant described how they hoped to connect with audiences via informative and educational posts demonstrates that there is a desire among practitioners to use social media for engagement within the archaeological sector. This desire appears to be a mixture of top-down organisational aims and personal perspectives from the individuals creating the content.

7.2.3 Event Advertisement

The prominence of Event Advertisement posts encountered within the Facebook dataset (Chapter Five), was reflected by six interviewees commenting that they used social media to increase attendance and awareness of their in-person offerings. Practitioners noted that this was a typical approach to promoting activities, as summarised by Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 242-243), "We haven't held a physical event in a while. But when we did, we did advertise it on there [Social Media]". With just under one third of the 2,344 studied Facebook posts being categorised as promoting almost exclusively in-person events, the effectiveness of social media for raising awareness was evidently worthwhile for practitioners. As Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 61-62) noted, "Facebook, I find particularly effective for that [Advertising Events]. It is, I suppose, the local notice board of the digital age".

For Alice, event posts were distinct in that they were created with the sole purpose of driving attendance.

[When Posting] sometimes it will just be pushing out an event which is giving an abstract of the event, but going to the event itself will give you the full experience. And that's the aim of that post is to point you towards a different experience, rather than the social media post in itself. (Appendix D: Alice, 240-244)

Chloe described how promoting her organisation's outreach activities on social media attracted further enquiries and resulted in extra events being organised with users.

“It was an in-person outreach activity that was posted on social media that will now led to other in-person outreach activities. If I hadn’t shared that on social media we may not have had those extra outreach in-person activities” (Appendix D, Chloe, 495-497).

That archaeological companies were operating within a commercial environment was also visible within the promotion of events. Samantha’s company were willing to pay to promote Facebook posts for a paid in-person engagement event as there was a clear correlation between financing the marketing and the revenue generated by individuals signing up to the activity.

We have done some Facebook paid promotions for our [Paid Physical Engagement Activity] in particular. Because I think we can more easily see the link between those paid posts and the actual income that we get from it, rather than if a particular construction company sees us and then therefore finds us. (Appendix D: Samantha, 448-451)

The presence of a notable proportion of content existing to promote traditional engagement events reflects both the importance of social media in advertising today and the continued dominance of in-person activities as the principal method for communicating archaeology.

7.2.4 Recruitment

The UK’s development-led archaeological sector is currently experiencing a significant skills and staff shortage (Milmo 2021). Despite anticipatory warnings that the industry needed to address a plethora of issues ranging from poor pay, limited job security and staff retention to Brexit restrictions, University department closures and falling student numbers (Hook et al. 2016; Milmo 2021; Shepperson 2017), there is still a paucity of trained archaeologists.

Against this backdrop advertising vacancies via social media was a key objective for some organisations, as Kerian (Appendix D: Keiran, 57) noted “We almost use it [Social Media] as a recruitment tool”. Recruitment through social media was not limited to employees and also included volunteers. “With Facebook we strategize that’s more about recruitment of volunteers and about recruiting of followers and getting people to our events” (Appendix D: Ellen, 139-140). For Keiran’s organisation that felt there was little benefit to engaging general audiences with social media, unless explicitly obligated to (see 7.3.2 above), using these digital platforms to attract new staff was more attractive as it produced a direct economic benefit to the company. Indeed, the organisation felt it was worth paying to promote adverts:

We know our audience are mostly commercial archaeologists. So that is almost what it’s targeted to... we have used [Social Media] when we’ve been recruiting. We’ve paid for targeted adverts on Facebook, and we found the reach of that is very far ranging. But again, they’re a means to an end for us. We’re looking to reach as many archaeologists as we can to look at the advert (Appendix D: Keiran, 73-78)

The success of paid adverts proved successful, “We probably had more outreach [Visibility] for a job on that, than we have for anything else we’d put out in the past few years. Certainly, since I’ve been doing recruitment” (Appendix D: Keiran, 83-86). Yet, the strategy created additional work, “But then you also brought in a lot of applications from people who weren’t necessarily qualified for the position. There’s a bit more to filter through” (Appendix D: Keiran, 99-102).

Not all Keiran’s organisation’s posts intended to attract new staff were so explicit.

If we’re looking to recruit [Specialists], we might put up a nice post saying we’re recruiting [Specialists] but we might also put up a couple of posts around that time

saying, “Oh, look, we found some nice [Archaeology Relevant to Specialists]”... or “This is a correlation between what we’ve dug and some [Specialist Work] that we’ve done previously”. In an attempt to sell ourselves a little bit (Appendix D: Keiran, 166-171)

That Keiran’s company were creating Posts that could easily be read by audiences as a general archaeological engagement post but were primarily intended to appeal to specialists they sought to hire highlights more subtle strategies underpinning content creation. While it is natural that social media content can be read in different ways and, if well-designed, achieve a range of objectives it is interesting that the intention behind this content was a subtle form of marketing the organisation, specifically to target recruitment. Qualitative examinations of Facebook data (see Chapter Five) revealed that only 2% of all content from development-led archaeological organisations were direct job adverts. How much digital content may have been created with an underlying business objective acting as a driver?

Multiple practitioners described how recruitment on social media was typically centred on LinkedIn, a platform focused on employment services and hiring (LinkedIn 2020a). “We do use LinkedIn which has been good for recruitment. We’ve done recruitment through there” (Appendix D: Ellen, 174-175) and “LinkedIn is pretty much professional engagement” (Appendix D: Samantha, 129-130). Two interviewees were both surprised by the level of engagement their non-job-related content attracted on LinkedIn.

LinkedIn’s interesting. People just use it as a job platform mainly. But we get really good engagement on... all of our research side of things... I think it’s quite a good distraction for people on LinkedIn from just the endless job posts. (Appendix D: Mark, 215-221)

LinkedIn gets a lot of engagement which is a bit of a shocker. Maybe it’s a bit of light relief to see some archaeology... the whole sector needs to recruit archaeologists. If people are enjoying what we’re putting out hopefully they want to come work for us. (Appendix D: Victoria, 125-129)

As both Mark and Victoria note, the popularity of LinkedIn’s less-employment focused archaeological posts may well stem from content acting as a palette cleanser that stands out amidst a plethora of advertisements. Yet, it also appears that interspersing overt recruitment posts with more general archaeological updates is a more subtle form of organisational marketing, echoing Keiran’s company’s specialist recruitment strategy.

7.2.5 Sector Marketing & Company Promotion

Marketing of organisations and their services was also noted as being an aim of organisations’ social media content. Some interviewees described a tension between their company’s public-facing posts, which were consistently well-received by users, and the corporate marketing of their services.

As a development-led archaeological unit it’s not always going to be the feel-good stuff which tends to be our most popular posts. Everybody likes to see what’s going on with [Company Engagement Project]... but needing to advertise our special services and our archaeological services is an interesting tension that we’re trying to work out. (Appendix D: Samantha, 14-18)

Samantha also described how there was internal anxiety that promotion of their services may get buried by their regular archaeological content, “We also want to advertise our services on the [Main Social Media] feed and [Don’t Want] that to get lost in the whole shuffle” (Appendix D: Samantha, 123-124).

Alongside the overt marketing of services, companies were using their social networking presences to connect with stakeholders and heritage organisations, as Alice (Appendix D: Alice, 228-229) noted, "...places like Twitter and LinkedIn are pretty invaluable for our sector collaborations and building networks". In addition to services, development-led archaeological companies also advertised specific products.

We did some [Publications]. So around that time, it was more stressful 'cause there was more to do. We had to think of more to post, 'cause it was sort of advertising... Whereas the day-to-day stuff, it doesn't really matter. (Appendix D: Louise, 297-301)

Louise's comments demonstrate that her organisation prioritised marketing their publications over the everyday content being created and posted. This appears to fit with an emerging theme that for many archaeological organisations, senior staff value social media content that has a visible economic benefit attached.

Despite a preference among some organisations' management for direct advertising, qualitative analysis of Facebook content (Chapter Five) demonstrated that posts explicitly marketing services and products accounted for just 1.6% of the 2,344 examined. This low number may be a result of practitioners disliking such transparent hard-sell tactics, which are unlikely to fulfil educational or engagement objectives.

Dawn disliked this managerial attitude toward social media which she felt reflected an internal desire to highlight the company's work and news.

I think it's seen as self-promotion rather than actually an engagement tool. I get requests when there are achievements or news to just shout out... I think there is an emphasis on promotion to the archaeological sector and particularly to emphasise the academic research output. (Appendix D: Dawn, 108-109 & 135-137)

She felt that producing informative and engagement content was a better way of gathering support and awareness of the organisation's work.

For us it is just trying to move away from that self-publicity, which there is a place for that. And realising that in some ways the best publicity we can have are having advocates for [Company Name] and for archaeology as a whole. (Appendix D: Dawn, 124-127)

Victoria was clear in her dislike of direct marketing posts and tried to avoid self-promotion as much as possible, "That's why none of it is marketing. It's not, 'Oh, aren't we great, because we've been here doing this'. Very little of it is" (Appendix D: Victoria, 93-94).

DigVentures' alternative business model selectively integrates marketing content into its main community-orientated engagement output, using engaging Posts to create connections with users before asking for support, as Brendon describes.

This is about creating a conversation with a community and building a community. Rather than saying, "Please give me some money", "Give me this. Give me that"... It's like four gives and then an ask. And by the time the ask comes around people don't feel sold at. You're not cashing in on a relationship. But there's a very transparent and clear understanding that this is work that we're producing as creative producers, and you can come along with us and help us and be part of that whole creative act of knowledge production. So, creating the culture around how you're trying to communicate through those channels, it's really clear... and having a reason for doing it in the first place. (Appendix D: Brendon, 59-68)

Marketing is clearly of importance to development-led archaeological organisations, as the

second most popular coding category were Company Promotion posts, comprising 14.3% (Chapter Five). That there is an internal pressure to promote archaeological companies is reflected in these interviews (see Dawn and Louise above).

Social media content raises other questions around the function of non-specialist engagement within a marketized archaeological sector. Chiefly is digital engagement being conducted to inform and involve audiences, act as promotion for companies or a combination of both. Producing high-quality, informative, educational, and entertaining engagement content will act as positive marketing. Rich and varied social media channels can help represent organisations favourably to public audiences who are there to follow archaeological discoveries and news, building a sense of community feeling and demonstrating a company's willingness to communicate. Equally, active social accounts can show clients and stakeholders that a company can comfortably and effectively use archaeology to positively reflect the construction industry and present developers in a favourable light.

However, this largely unspoken marketing benefit of utilising content to benefit companies brings into question the motivations of archaeological organisations when communicating externally. Some companies are surprisingly honest in describing how most of their engagement work is only carried out when it is mandated by local developmental control. As Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 37-38) describes, "the bulk of what we do in terms of community outreach is when it's specified in a planning consent. And then we adhere to it...". Such perspectives demonstrate that engaging audiences and sharing information are not necessarily the altruistic products of archaeologists eager to share their work in public. With a sector-wide backdrop of competitive tendering and financial motivation the relationship between engagement and marketing is complex.

7.2.6 Staff Morale

Two practitioners described how one of their objectives for social media was to improve staff morale and provide a sense of cohesion for their organisations. Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 59-60) mentioned that one of his company's social channels was used with the intention of boosting staff spirits: "...the Instagram that we've set up in the last few months, the idea of that is purely as a morale thing for our own staff. 'cause they are the ones who mostly look at it". Within the organisation there was an awareness that some site staff backchanneled via messaging apps and using Instagram to share site work more widely was felt to provide a positive boost throughout the company, as Keiran outlined:

I'm sure a lot of pictures go back and forth on little WhatsApp groups and things like that. But I'm also sure that there are people that aren't privy to all of those groups, certainly outside field teams and people who work in our office... It's small social groups within our overall company. And I think the ability for everyone to look at these posts it's quite nice. And I think it probably does help morale or it certainly keeps interest levels high. (Appendix D: Keiran, 126-132)

Given the staffing pressures facing the development-led sector (Hook et al. 2016; Milmo 2021; Shepperson 2017), retaining archaeologists and making them feel valued is an important concern for companies. Therefore, it is of interest to see an organisation actively using a public communication channel to intentionally communicate internally.

Elsewhere, Victoria also noted the internal value of social media content for motivating staff and sharing the wider work taking place within an organisation.

People saying [Internally] that they loved seeing... what went out... I always try to [Do] that more, because with the increase in staff numbers and the way that it's

difficult to contact the field team I want people to see what we're all doing within the organisation. It's nice for them. It's motivating for them. It also means they send in more content, which means I get to share more stories. But to see that everyone's doing great work in your company is motivating. (Appendix D: Victoria, 193-200)

Victoria also highlighted that creating motivating content that included field teams had the added benefit of making it more likely that staff would send her content in the future, thus making her role easier. Given that content creation was highlighted as a challenging area for engagement practitioners (see below), any outputs that aided the collection of suitable content would be notably beneficial.

7.3 Planning and Scheduling

With social media use becoming more coordinated for businesses, numerous participants mentioned scheduling social media posts and planning content using software to save time. Specific social management platforms used included Hootsuite (Appendix D: Alice, 172; Louise, 130-133), Buffer (Appendix D: Ellen, 83-87), TweetDeck (Appendix D: Dawn, 463) and other time management tools (Appendix D: Victoria, 209).

Chloe described the difficulties of finding the time to plan her organisation's social media output, with much having to be done on a more ad hoc basis.

I'm hoping to... come up with an actual plan. I did start with a social media calendar... What I'm finding at the moment is it's quite difficult to create that content and get a backlog of things to post ready for that week or that day. It is my plan for the next couple of months now to work on that calendar, to work on stock information, photos and things that I'll be able to post, or anybody else can post then at regular intervals. (Appendix D: Chloe, 68-76)

However, after learning of social content scheduling Chloe was planning to use this to give her more time with this add-on role.

I am going to look into doing things like the pre-posting. I think there's Hootsuite and there's loads of others, isn't there? I'm hoping in a couple of months' time to maybe do that, so it takes a little bit of pressure off. (Appendix D: Chloe, 662-664)

Not all practitioners were fond of scheduling, with Dawn feeling that it was used at her organisation to share content at times when no staff were available to monitor a post's impact and reply to users.

I have used some scheduling, I've used TweetDeck particularly to do things but it's not something I routinely use and I don't think other colleagues do either... I haven't really engaged with that because I think if you're putting out all this content over a time when there aren't any staff working... then there isn't anybody actually necessarily online responding to comments or reacting. (Appendix D: Dawn, 463-469)

This perspective perhaps reflects a slight misconception on the function of social media management services, that they are used to distribute content out-of-hours, and highlights the value of training for practitioners working with digital platforms.

7.4 Social Media Content & Barriers

Every participant discussed creating social media content and the barriers and limitations they routinely faced in their roles. Indeed, Victoria's (Appendix D: Victoria, 225-226) summation that "There are a lot of challenges and a lot of barriers. It's been a long struggle

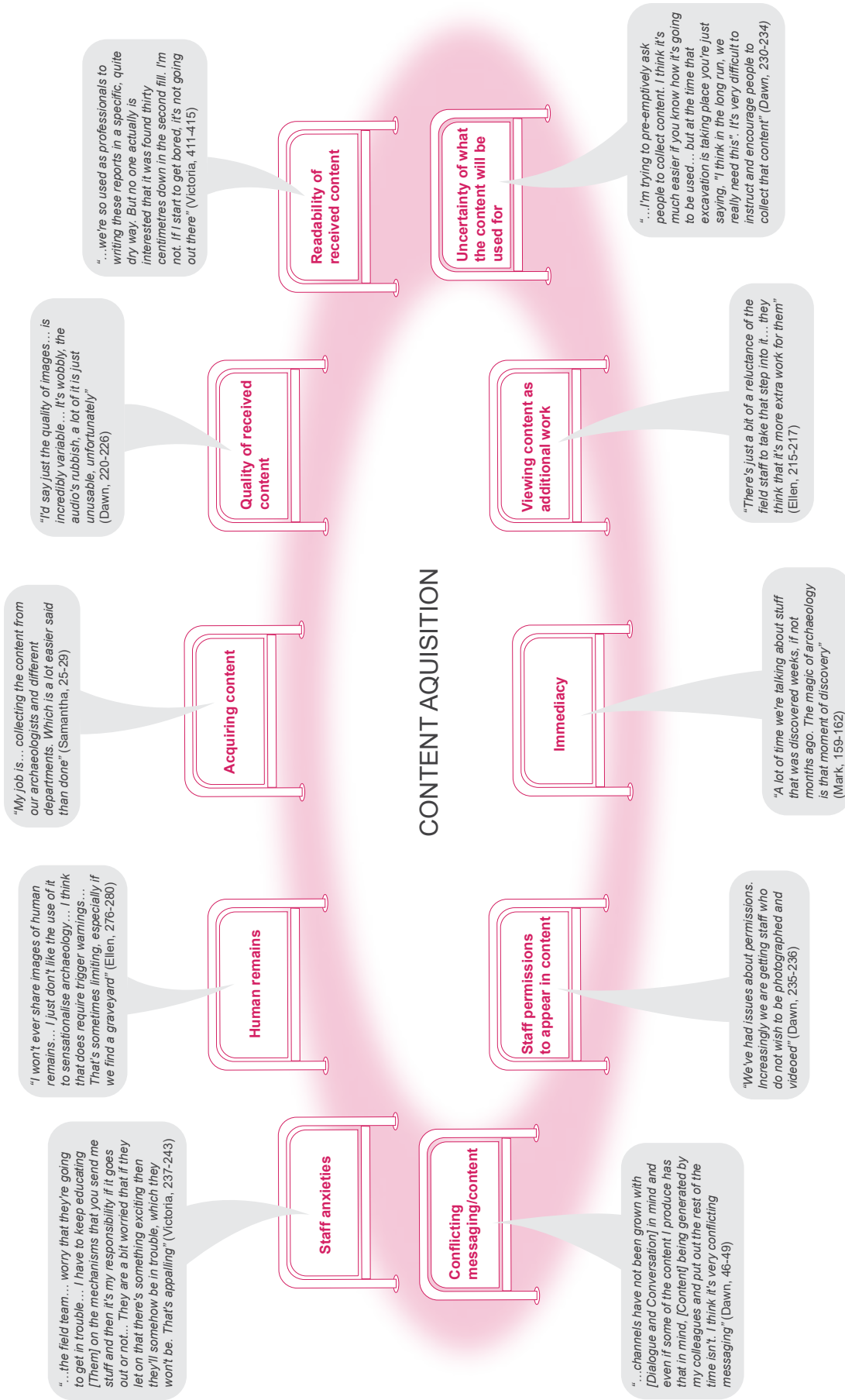


Figure 40: Content Acquisition barriers to conducting digital engagement mentioned by practitioners. For all quotes see named transcripts in Appendix D

to get where we are now”, neatly highlights the wealth of impediments practitioners face in their attempts to share archaeological information.

Across the ten interviews, a staggering 27 distinct obstacles were described as inhibiting the process of sharing information (Figures 40-42), often being cited by multiple practitioners. From these 27 barriers, three emergent overarching areas appeared to be responsible: Content Acquisition, Client Confidentiality, and Internal Attitudes (Figures 40-42). These are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

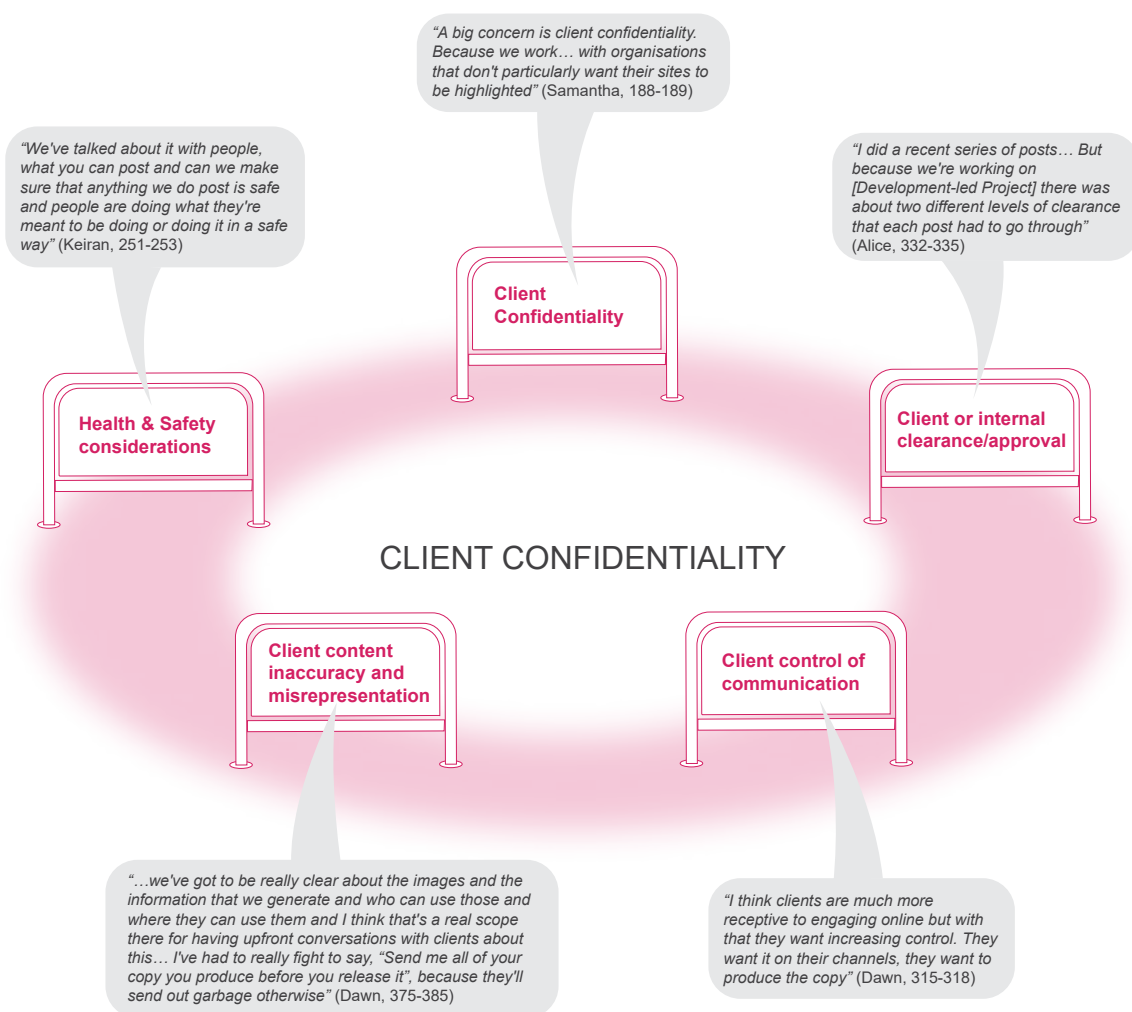


Figure 41: Barriers associated with Client Confidentiality encountered by the interviewed practitioners. For all quotes see named transcripts in Appendix D

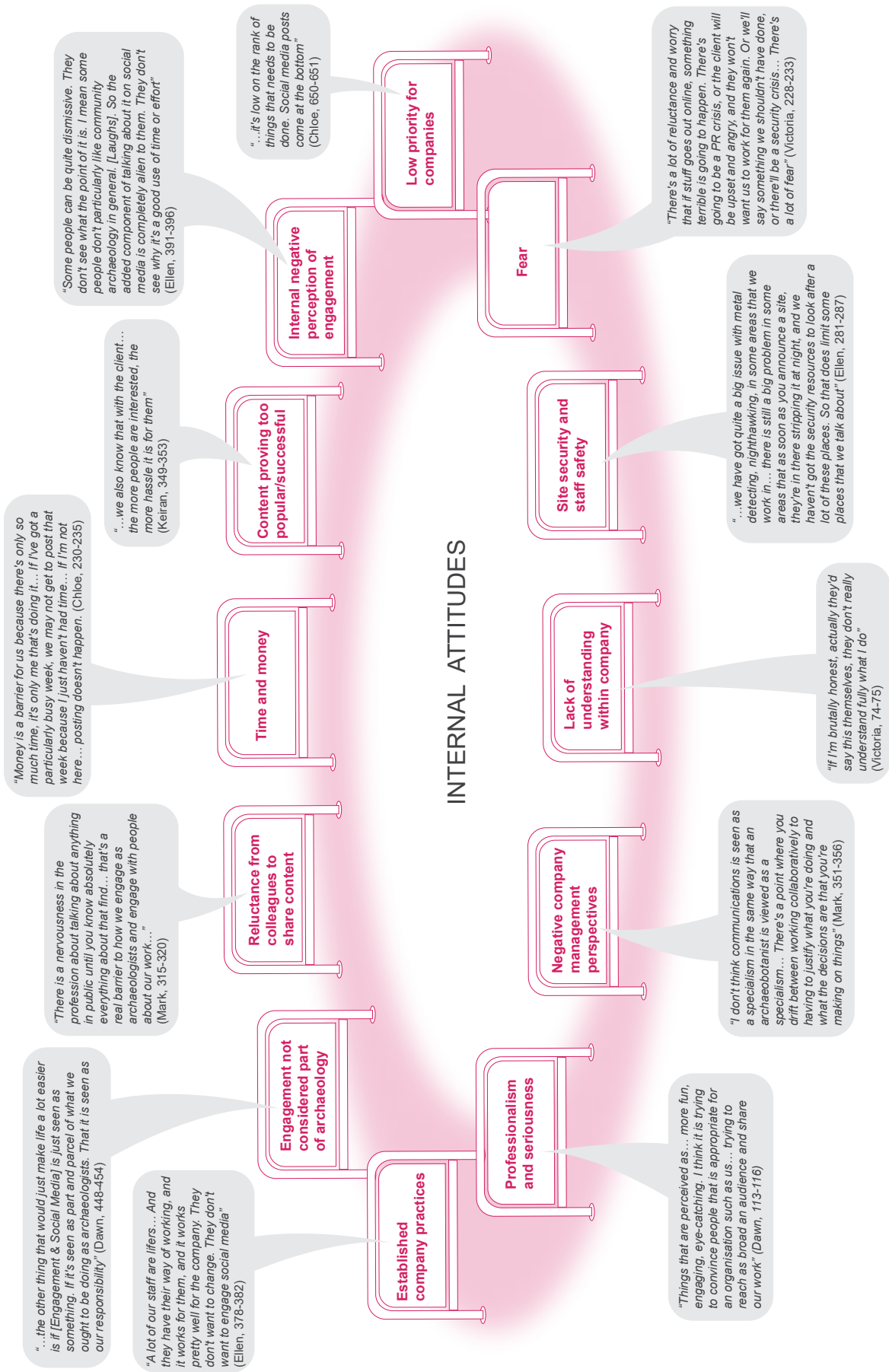


Figure 42: Barriers tied to the Internal Attitudes of archaeologists described by practitioners. For all quotes see named transcripts in Appendix D

7.4.1 Barriers to Acquiring Content

One of the most cited barriers to delivering digital engagement was the difficulty of getting colleagues to provide content and media that could be used to create Posts, with seven participants describing this as a barrier to their work (Appendix D: Alice, 295-299; Chloe 238-240; Dawn, 206-213; Ellen, 190-192; Louise 277-279; Samantha 25-29; Victoria, 212-214). Every interviewed practitioner was primarily based in their development-led organisation's office (Table 29) with few individuals having the opportunity to routinely go to sites to gather suitable media and information for content creation.

Name	Organisation	Location of Role	Notes
Chloe	CifA RO	Office-based	
Alice	CifA RO	Office-based	
Keiran	CifA RO	Office-based	Different member of field team updates Instagram
Ellen	CifA RO	Office-based	
Dawn	CifA RO	Office-based	
Louise	Non-RO	Office-based	
Samantha	CifA RO	Office-based	Occasional visits to site
Mark	CifA RO	Office-based	
Brendon	CifA RO	Office-based	
Victoria	CifA RO	Office-based	Occasional visits to site

Table 29: Primary locations from which interviewed digital engagement practitioners worked at their organisation. Only a small number described being able to regularly visit excavations or having a dedicated member of the field team running an account

Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 190-192) described the difficulties of visiting excavations, which restricted her access to the necessary material, “We can’t get out and take photos and speak to people on site. There’s a really limited capacity for getting information”. These visit limitations stemmed from time pressures, sharing engagement work with other primary responsibilities and excavations taking place significant distances away, particularly for multi-office companies.

The difficulty for engagement staff to visit sites resulted in the responsibility of media capture and archaeological descriptions falling to field archaeologists and site supervisors. This scenario, where practitioners were reliant on colleagues was routinely discussed and epitomised by comments from Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 42-45), “A lot of the time it’s me chasing whoever’s on site, to be like, ‘Have you found anything interesting?’” and Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 238-240), “I do rely on other members of staff to send me things and if I do nag them and they just don’t get back to me then that site may not get posted about”.

This dependence on field archaeologists and supervisors, to capture media and communicate on-site information to digital content creators, is a far from ideal process that many interviewees noted placed further pressure on staff already pushed by the challenging workloads and conditions of the development-led sector.

It's very challenging, always. Because even when we're working on really interesting stuff the staff are just so pushed, capacity wise, that there's not much time to dedicate to sit down and to send us information. And we've got limited capacity to go out to visit site. (Appendix D: Ellen, 184-187)

...fieldwork staff, because they're in a different place every week and they're not on their phones in the day... It's not their priority. (Appendix D: Alice, 295-299)

Sometimes it's more difficult because if there are time constraints on a site or whatever. They don't actually have the time and I'm aware of that when I'm asking them to do something. (Appendix D: Louise, 52-55)

[Creating Content] It's very challenging. The pressures on site are often such that people are, understandably, focused on delivering the job at hand. So, my piping up saying, "Working shots. Video. Please make sure that you've got that", it's just another thing they've got to add to their already lengthy to-do list. I'm constantly trying to emphasise the importance of images, whether that's still or video. Because it's incredibly frustrating, coming to a project, after excavation to find that there is just nothing visually engaging to work with. I think it's a constant battle. (Appendix D: Dawn, 206-213)

Despite this reliance on information and visuals creating additional work for field staff, there seemed to be few other options for sourcing material for content available to practitioners. Indeed, field staff having to provide material to engagement staff was seen as extra work and could create limited buy-in among employees, "There's just a bit of a reluctance of the field staff to take that step into it... they think that it's more extra work for them" (Appendix D: Ellen, 215-217).

Samantha's comments suggest that there may be more behind staff reluctance to assist with sharing information than it simply being perceived as additional work. Noting that archaeologists already produce the required outputs as part of their work, Samantha (Appendix D: Samantha, 161-163) felt she had to "help them realise that it's not that much different from what they're doing themselves". Echoing other practitioners' awareness of field staff using WhatsApp to backchannel photos and discoveries (Appendix D: Keiran, 126-132), Samantha felt that these closed communiques were already perfectly suited to her needs but could not get colleagues to give her access to these conversations.

I know that [The Field Team] take personal photos. They take images and bits here and there to send around between each other. And a lot of times that's the stuff that's really exciting and really personal and very helpful and helps to humanise archaeology and archaeologists in a way that more formal content doesn't always do... it's implied that they have WhatsApp groups on particular projects and things like that so they can send to each other things of what's going on. I have asked to be added to those groups and no one has [Added Me] yet. (Appendix D: Samantha, 163-179)

This reticence seems likely to stem from staff being unwilling to open personal and private chats to an office-based "outsider", potentially echoing fears of increasing client and managerial eavesdropping (Zorzin 2016). Indeed, Victoria was surprised by the degree field staff worried about sending content from site owing to fears of getting into trouble with management.

...the field team... worry that they're going to get in trouble... I have to keep educating [Them] on the mechanisms that you send me stuff and then it's my responsibility if it goes out or not... They are a bit worried that if they let on that there's something exciting then they'll somehow be in trouble, which they won't be.

That's appalling. (Appendix D: Victoria, 237-243)

The difficulties of sourcing information and media were not restricted to field teams, with some practitioners describing a similar reluctance from office-based staff, as Dawn described.

Getting people in the office to think about... taking photographs themselves. Within our finds department it can be very tricky trying to say, "Please look out for finds as they get processed through and make sure to take some nice shots of them". (Appendix D: Dawn, 246-251)

With digital engagement practitioners so heavily reliant on staff for their outputs, individuals are typically dependant on building and maintaining positive relationships with their colleagues to be able to produce content. This emphasis on ensuring good relationships was expressed by several interviewees including Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 323-324), "...a lot of your job in comms is about winning hearts and minds internally in archaeology" and Victoria (Appendix D: Victoria, 212-214), "I rely on networking internally, goodwill, people being excited about something, people just sending me a picture and saying, 'I found this nice [Artefact]', and me being like, 'Great! What else have you got?'".

That so many practitioners are office-based yet depend heavily on on-site content appears to reflect a lack of awareness from development-led companies' management structures on how these roles function. The seemingly common solution practitioners have to employ, to task low-paid, highly pressured field archaeologists working in difficult conditions, to provide the materials they need, suggests online engagement is not perceived as an important consideration for many companies' management teams. Placing the responsibility of forging relationships with numerous individuals, often in addition to a practitioner's other duties, adds a further layer of complexity and time to a role that is already fraught with obstacles.

The frustration at being dependent on received material and a lack of ability to gather it in-person was expressed by multiple interviewees, and Louise succinctly captured the weariness of this process.

I find myself asking the same people. I sent an email, the other day to two people on different sites and I was like, there is other people I could ask but they never reply. So, there's not even any point. (Appendix D: Louise, 277-279)

7.4.2 Barriers to Creating Content

Not only do engagement practitioners have difficulties in acquiring the information and media used for posts, blogs and videos but creating this content has a range of obstacles associated with it. Receiving content from field teams can be problematic but as Dawn discusses, when media is sent through, this can vary in quality and often be unsuitable for use.

I'd say just the quality of images, even when people are taking them is incredibly variable. And I still get a lot where little thought's gone into composing images... on the majority of sites if I'm asking, "Can you just take some video?" It's wobbly, the audio's rubbish, a lot of it is just unusable, unfortunately. (Appendix D: Dawn, 220-226)

Dawn also described the challenge of having to ask people to take photographs and video for use in future engagement material and projects without having any clear idea of precisely how it will be used. Without a clear plan on where content will be shared and what audiences it is for, material may be unusable or must be adjusted to create appropriate material.

A lot of the time I'm trying to pre-emptively ask people to collect content. I think it's much easier if you know how it's going to be used... but at the time that excavation is taking place you're just saying, "I think in the long run, we really need this". It's very difficult to instruct and encourage people to collect that content. (Appendix D: Dawn, 230-234)

Another difficulty mentioned by four interviewees was that information provided by colleagues could be laden with highly specialist language impenetrable to those outside of the discipline (Appendix D: Alice, 88-92; Chloe, 543-545; Samantha, 42-48; Victoria, 411-415). Archaeology's technical nature can make creating content time-consuming, as Alice described.

There's also some highly technical departments which I find are harder to convey on social media to more public facing audiences. [Geomatics/Survey] and there's a lot of technical language which you end up having to explain... if the content isn't innately visual and maybe... It's about trying to find hooks to get people engaged in that. (Appendix D: Alice, 88-92)

Victoria also felt that the rigid formats of development-led archaeological publication would sometimes result in colleagues sending uninspiring content for her to use.

The main challenge is getting people to look at the human story because we're so used as professionals to writing these reports in a specific, quite dry way. But no one actually is interested that it was found thirty centimetres down in the second fill. I'm not. If I start to get bored, it's not going out there. It's getting people to look at the human aspects of the story that we can then tell. That's the important bit. (Appendix D: Victoria, 411-415)

Further problematising archaeological content creation were situations in which digital responsibilities were shared between multiple staff members. Differences in opinions on post subjects, formats and objectives could lead to conflicting messaging and inconsistent coverage of company work.

...channels have not been grown with [Dialogue and Conversation] in mind and even if some of the content I produce has that in mind, [Content] being generated by my colleagues and put out the rest of the time isn't. I think it's very conflicting messaging and not really nurturing those channels. (Appendix D: Dawn, 46-49)

A notable benefit attached to digital archaeological dissemination is social media's ability to instantly share information either directly from "the trowel's edge" or preliminary post-excavation findings. Practically, this immediacy is uncommon and interviewees described the length of time it can take to share findings.

Often, we might find something lovely and perhaps when it's washed and processed and photographed for a report, a year, two years, down the line when we've got that photo. If it's available we might pop it up then, "And this is something we found in [Region], two years ago". (Appendix D: Keiran, 195-199, 299-301)

A lot of time we're talking about stuff that was discovered weeks, if not months ago. The magic of archaeology is that moment of discovery... The length of time between a site being discovered and a post going out is an issue. (Appendix D: Mark, 159-162)

What practitioners were able to share was also a notable concern for staff, with a range of different factors impacting public dissemination. Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 235-236) noted that archaeologists were becoming less keen to appear in material, "We've had issues about permissions. Increasingly we are getting staff who do not wish to be photographed and

videoed". This reluctance meant on-site media capture had to only include willing members of the field team, adding an additional complication to content creation.

Multiple practitioners explicitly described avoiding creating content featuring images of human remains, particularly on social media (Appendix D: Chloe, 228-229; Ellen, 276-280; Keiran 212-216), though some felt sharing information and media online was possible if suitable trigger warnings could be implemented (Appendix D: Brendon, 345-348). While some engagement staff avoided sharing human remains over concerns of the negativity it could attract (Appendix D: Chloe, 228-229), others noted the sector's ethical considerations of displaying human remains online, following guidance from the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (2019a; 2019b). Indeed, Ellen noted that if her organisation was working on a cemetery site it restricted her options for sharable content.

I won't ever share images of human remains... I just don't like the use of it to sensationalise archaeology... I think that does require trigger warnings... That's sometimes limiting, especially if we find a graveyard. (Appendix D: Ellen, 276-280)

Keiran felt strongly that social media were not suited to the sharing of images of human remains, feeling that the use of them to generate metrics was an ethically questionable practice.

And I think ethically I'd raise a lot of questions about people putting up pictures of skeletons they've excavated. Showing them off. I think that's quite questionable... You've got to ask yourself, "Why are you putting up pictures of human remains?". And is it because lots of people will like it on Facebook? That's not a good enough reason. (Appendix D: Keiran, 212-216)

While practitioners highlighted these inhibiting factors to the acquisition and creation of content, the overarching barrier to sharing information with audiences mentioned were clients.

7.4.3 Client Confidentiality and Control

Every interviewee discussed the impact of client confidentiality on digital engagement within the sector, echoing the archaeological literature's emphasis on communication restrictions acting as a substantial barrier to information sharing (Chapter Two). Of the ten organisations represented in the research one, DigVentures, felt strongly that withholding information from release at the instruction of a client was incompatible with their company's mission statement.

That's part of our ethics and mission and values that [Confidentiality] can't be part of our work. If that is a part of our work, you tend to walk away or that's not a client that we would be happy to engage with. (Appendix D: Brendon, 71-74)

We don't work with people who don't align with those values and we're very lucky to be able to do that. (Appendix D: Brendon, 286-290)

Indeed, Brendon felt that confidentiality restrictions were a notable ethical concern within the sector and that his organisation's business approach focused only on work where clients were keen to share information.

I mean confidentiality is just a blight on our work as archaeologists. And I think it should be a question of ethics. Signing up to confidentiality around a project, it makes a mockery of the whole endeavour... We have a business model that doesn't see [Archaeology] as a hindrance or as a barrier... (Appendix D: Brendon, 329-339).

Among the nine other engagement practitioners, all discussed client confidentiality or having to negotiate content approval with clients prior to any information being released. The degree to which client oversight/control acted as a barrier was noted to be variable with some opting to shut down as much information as possible, whereas others proved to be persuadable after initial reluctance.

The traditional development-led perception of clients automatically opting to implement confidentiality measures on archaeologists was undoubtedly still prevalent across the sector, typified by Victoria's summary "We've got clients who just say, 'No. This is already tricky enough. There's loads of hassle at planning. I don't want to say we found any archaeology'" (Appendix D: Victoria, 252-253). Indeed, while clients from a range of construction industries could apply confidentiality clauses some practitioners noted that certain sectors felt more likely to do so than others. While Samantha (Appendix D: Samantha, 206-208) would not directly name them, she noted "There's certain [Client Sectors] that just don't want anything posted about it. They don't want their name associated with a lot of these things". Both Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 95-99) and Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 233-240) highlighted house builders as clients that typically opted to restrict the sharing of information.

Keiran felt some sympathy for developers, understanding their rationale behind controlling the public discussion of archaeology.

We've also got clients that, particularly with developments that struggle with local interest in terms of it's an unpopular development. Nobody wants people building or developing in their locale... Why make a rod for your own back? (Appendix D: Keiran, 191-194)

However, among both practitioners and field archaeologists, client-enforced silence was seen as a notable source of frustration. Dawn described a project where a site team, keen to share their work prepared digital content on their own initiative, but owing to client stipulations none of the produced material could be used.

One project where the staff on site, I think out of frustration really, started producing [Social Media] content themselves, rather than being asked to do it. And there weren't the arrangements in place to unfortunately share what they were doing, (Appendix D: Dawn, 309-311)

Such a scenario, where an eager team of archaeologists find themselves silenced by the working arrangements of the sector, is not only discouraging for the excavators but also engagement practitioners. Staff in engagement roles find themselves stuck between their *raison d'être* to share archaeology with audiences and clients actively trying to stop this occurring. Samantha discusses the frustration that even when attempts are made to appease clients by anonymising sites and/or delaying sharing information until post-excavation, some are simply unwilling to allow anything to be released.

A lot of times, I am not allowed to know about some of these sites. Our project managers will quite often tell me that I can't say anything on this. Or that we have a really cool thing that's happening, but we can't post about it yet... I totally get it. But it's also slightly frustrating. Because we can just say, "Here's the thing that we found". We don't have to specify the client. We don't have to specify the place. We don't even have to post it immediately. We can wait a month or two until that project has wrapped up and then post about it. That has been quite a big frustration... Sometimes by anonymising the location, it has helped a lot. But there's still some clients that just say no. It doesn't matter what we change things to. It doesn't matter if we delay it. They just don't want any of that being put out... they still don't want to do it. (Appendix D: Samantha, 192-224)

Practitioners mentioned that they felt many clients' predisposition towards confidentiality stemmed from outdated, historical fears (Appendix D: Dawn, 238-245; Ellen, 233-240). Tied to this was a further issue of their own organisations making it difficult to speak directly to client marketing departments or PR firms. Instead, interviewees described having to go through project managers whose priorities were focused on the delivery of the contracted archaeological work.

I honestly do think it would be more helpful if I could speak directly to [A Client's] communications team. Rather than going through our project managers, which then have to go to their project managers who then have to go through a third party to all the way go around. I do think that sometimes where I could just go to the comms team and be like, "Here's what we're planning. Do you like this?", "Do we need to change some things?", "How can we make this happen?". I think that would be much more beneficial... (Appendix D: Samantha, 231-237)

There's always concerns from the client's perspective. But I think a lot of that is still fear that is outdated. Or it's not talking to the right people. Our clients do have communications and marketing teams and I'm always requesting can I directly contact them and talk to them. When it's one project manager talking to another about the delivery of the archaeological mitigation works and a lot of concerns around health and safety and the like it's very different. And you have a very different conversation if you're working directly with their comms and marketing teams. (Appendix D: Dawn, 238-245)

Dawn noted that there could be an unpredictability among clients, where even agreeable organisations could suddenly change their mind.

I've tried working with the clients to get permission and I've got a staff member who is generating content, working really hard on it. But I have been ghosted by the client a bit on this and I'm trying really hard to understand why. They gave the initial go ahead but then haven't worked with us to launch it... (Appendix D: Dawn, 437-441)

Despite practitioners discussing a general reluctance to share information, Mark felt that changes in the communication landscape meant that there was an increasing willingness amongst clients to engage audiences.

I think, for the most part clients are now more willing to [Share Information]... the impression I get is that clients are more used to social media. So even the old, more traditional clients, they have social media channels now. They're not surprised when we talk about doing social media work. That makes it easier. Secondly clients are recognising the value of good social media content in terms of PR opportunities for them. If they have a post about archaeology that reaches 200,000 people, that's a big PR opportunity for them for very little cost. (Appendix D: Mark, 261-268)

Mark described how gaining client confidence was key to onboarding developers and how his organisation employing dedicated communication staff made it more likely for information to be shared.

I think having a dedicated communications team gives clients more confidence. It's not Jill and Bob on the site that are Tweeting about it if they find stuff. This is a professional team that are trained and media experienced... that has partly helped our cause in terms of smoothing over, or easing client concerns is we have a team that take care of this for you and that are used to talking about all these subjects. (Appendix D: Mark, 291-297)

Similarly, Mark discussed how clients appeared more aware of the potential for archaeology

to ameliorate concerns over unpopular developments rather than shut down all communication lest it be used as a rallying point for unhappy local communities.

I think [Clients] also recognise the value of good social media content in terms of smoothing over potentially controversial or difficult subjects or issues they're having in other aspects of their development. So they may be having local opposition. A good example, we recently did a bit of work in a [Public Space] in [Location]. Obviously, it's a public space, people could have been really annoyed that public space is being taken up by machinery and stuff, but we did a whole social media and blog outreach for it and we got local stakeholders really interested in it. People were going up to the site and talking to the archaeologists saying, "We saw this blog about it", "We were online and we were talking about it"... That's a good example of where social media has been used to mitigate against some of the more disruptive elements of development-led archaeology. (Appendix D: Mark, 266-279)

When engagement practitioners are able share information, clients can want to check and approve content before it is released. This oversight can increase the time taken to create and disseminate posts as Alice and Louise described.

Some [Posts] are really easy to put out and I can just do it by myself and then others it has to go through multiple levels of clearance which adds on massive amounts of time. (Appendix D: Alice, 37-44)

Some of them [Posts] I do have to send to the project manager and then they check it. Sometimes they do forward it onto the client and then they do read it... we did have one that... they actually wanted to read and monitor what we were saying... It delays it all as well. Because by the time I've sent it to them to edit, they've obviously got other things to do, it's not a priority for them. And it gets sent back to me, sometimes that can take a few days. (Appendix D: Louise, 103-113)

Clients could hold different opinions on specific social media platforms, giving archaeological companies freedom on one but insisting on reading posts shared on another.

Usually, it's left up to us to [Create Social Media Content] but they always insist on a proof read generally and a read through of what images we share... Sometimes they'll micromanage it, 'cause they want to OK what images we're using, they want to make sure you link to the right accounts. But most of them it's the longer [Content]. Facebook posts usually everyone wants to have a look at, 'cause that can be a bit longer. But Tweets though generally we do it as long as they're tagged in. (Appendix D: Ellen, 254-262)

Mark noted that the practice of clients signing off content was now an entrenched facet of project communication, done out of habit rather than because content had the potential to cause controversy.

There's complicated sign off procedures that we have to follow through [On] different projects, particularly on the larger scale infrastructure projects... Often, these are unnecessary. The stuff that we're having to get signed off, particularly on social media, it's not going to cause any controversy and it's not going to be an issue. It's just embedded in practice that we do sign offs... we're trying to push back on a bit with our clients, do you need sign off on all these? If we don't have sign off, we can do this quicker and it'll be more effective. (Appendix D: Mark, 164-171)

Echoing Mark's earlier comments on clients slowly becoming more receptive to information sharing, Dawn felt that organisations were more open. Yet, with that increased willingness came a desire for even further control, a problematic situation that saw archaeological

expertise side-lined and client-created content inaccurate.

I think clients are much more receptive to engaging online, but with that they want increasing control. They want it on their channels, they want to produce the copy. On the one hand you want to embrace those opportunities and work closely with the clients who want to do that. But on the other hand, it's extremely difficult because they misrepresent and they haven't got the facts right and it's incredibly difficult to then rectify that after the time... I found we're not seen as the experts on how to engage the public with archaeology. They don't actually draw on the expertise that we have out of doing this a lot. (Appendix D: Dawn, 315-329)

Indeed, Dawn's experiences of clients writing content was negative, "I've had to really fight to say, 'Send me all of your copy you produce before you release it', because they'll send out garbage otherwise" (Appendix D: Dawn, 375-385).

A further consideration for development-led archaeological companies relating to their clients is the image of their organisation presented in the posts they share. Alongside client clearance, internal approval may also be necessary (see Appendix D: Louise, 103-113) to ensure no material could jeopardise a business relationship. Ensuring that the professional nature of company work was represented to audiences could be an important consideration, particularly in relation to health and safety as Keiran discussed.

...sometimes those pictures of people covered in mud, enjoying themselves doing their job, they're interesting pictures. But others... can land you in more trouble with clients... One hundred percent there are times that pictures look misleading and big deep holes that the shoring is not shown in the picture, because it looks unsightly but it's there. But if you can't see it and you're a Health and Safety Executive, it can land you in real trouble. Or clients will go "We're not using them again. Look at these dangerous pictures". (Appendix D: Keiran, 235-244)

While the interviewed practitioners confirmed that client predisposition toward confidentiality was still widespread within the construction industry, there was also a sense that this attitude was softening. An increased understanding of the positive PR benefits archaeology could provide marked some clients as a more positive, tech-savvy group that were aware of the business importance of a changed communication landscape.

Despite what appears to be a slow shift toward more communicative developers, clients still want control of content and appear unwilling to trust the expertise and experience of archaeological organisations. This attitude appears to be prevalent, irrespective of whether engagement roles are formal communications teams or highly pressured, ad hoc individual arrangements. Echoing the variability visible in many aspects of this research, client attitudes could be both unpredictable and changeable. Yet, even with several practitioners noting a warming of attitudes, clients and confidentiality were nonetheless one of the largest obstacles to conducting engagement.

7.4.4 Internal & Archaeological Attitudes

One of the most surprising, and seldom discussed, barriers to engagement that practitioners described were internal archaeologists' attitudes towards communication. Given archaeologists having compared public communication to a cancer infecting the discipline (Depaepe 2016), these negative internal perceptions are an essential reminder that there are enduring segments of the discipline that do not value sharing beyond their peers.

Even though the responsibility for the profession to proactively share their work is well-established, multiple practitioners discussed their experiences of colleagues regarding engagement as unnecessary or unimportant.

We've got [Managers] who just hate social media. The old school, "We don't want to share anything. What's the point? We made a monograph that no one will read. So, that counts doesn't it?" You might read it, I suppose, if you're doing research. Lucky you. (Appendix D: Victoria, 246-249)

Some people can be quite dismissive. They don't see what the point of it is. I mean some people don't particularly like community archaeology in general... the added component of talking about it on social media is completely alien to them. They don't see why it's a good use of time or effort. (Appendix D: Ellen, 391-396)

I think it's [Engagement] seen as something that's not really important. Different managers have different ideas around it. One of my managers is quite into it... whereas some people are just like, "Oh, yeah. I don't have time for that". (Appendix D: Louise, 146-150)

Practitioners felt that some archaeologists did not regard communication to be part of their role, an opinion that led to engagement being perceived as unwarranted.

If public engagement was seen as an integral part of their roles as archaeologists, an important skill to be developed and that the content that is produced for wider engagement is seen on a par with the grey lit, monographs, then actually I think archaeologists would obviously perceive what their role on site or in the office is actually what they're there to do. (Appendix D: Dawn, 289-293)

There is still a reluctance to see [Engagement] as part of archaeology for some people. (Appendix D: Ellen, 403-404)

Dawn felt that the perception of engagement not being a core archaeological responsibility was a result of it originating in management and trickling down to other staff members, even clients.

If it's [Engagement] seen as part and parcel of what we ought to be doing as archaeologists. That it is seen as our responsibility. Project managers who themselves don't see it as something that we ought to be doing and therefore their reluctance comes across to clients... and that filtering through to the staff working on sites and then the office. (Appendix D: Dawn, 448-454)

Mark expressed similar thoughts, feeling that his role was not regarded with the same respect when compared to more typical archaeological specialisms.

I don't think communications is seen as a specialism in the same way that an archaeobotanist is viewed as a specialism... There's a point where you drift between working collaboratively to having to justify what you're doing... I don't think there's necessarily the same level of respect shown to communications versus other specialisms. (Appendix D: Mark, 351-362)

The sense of frustration at having to internally justify or negotiate sharing archaeological work online was palpable, as Mark neatly summarised.

A lot of your job in comms is about winning hearts and minds internally in archaeology. And I think that's not something that you would have to do in another comms setting. If you work for Nike, you wouldn't have to convince anyone about whether you should talk about your shoes on social media. (Appendix D: Mark, 323-326)

Given the financial focus for development-led archaeological organisations, digital engagement was not considered important; "It's quite far down the list of priorities for most

people” (Appendix D: Victoria, 210-211) and “...it’s low on the rank of things that needs to be done. Social media posts come at the bottom” (Appendix D: Chloe, 650-651). The business tension underlying the sector places engagement in a position where it offers little financial benefit to an archaeological organisation, as Victoria and Dawn cogently describe.

There’s a bit of lying to ourselves in commercial archaeology, pretending that it’s being done benevolently for the betterment of heritage. But they’re businesses, whether or not they’re charitable organisations. They are businesses. [Pause]. I’m not making anyone any money. (Appendix D: Victoria, 438-442)

I think without ourselves and the sector at large really increasing the relative importance of that [Social Media & Engagement] content, people aren’t going to see that as part of their day job and make time for it. Within the archaeological sector it’s been an incredibly busy, pressured few years. There aren’t sufficient archaeologists to do the work that needs to be done... if something’s got to give then I suppose it’s seen as an easy target to not prioritise. (Appendix D: Dawn, 294-299)

Alongside working with some colleagues that failed to see the value of engagement, practitioners also described co-workers that simply did not understand digital technologies, as Victoria (Appendix D: Victoria, 74-75) described “If I’m brutally honest, actually they’d say this themselves, [Management] don’t really understand fully what I do”.

With most archaeological managers and senior staff falling into older age brackets, five practitioners felt that age was a significant factor in their colleagues failing to understand digital engagement (Appendix D: Chloe, 429-430; Dawn, 117-121; Ellen, 378-382; Samantha, 351-359; Mark, 416-421). Dawn recalled a company meeting to discuss social media content where just two participants, including herself, were on SNS.

I do recall being in a meeting... where there was talk about our digital output and I asked around the table, “Who here is on any social media?”. And it was myself and one other. And you’re never going to get that engagement with something that they don’t see the personal value in. (Appendix D: Dawn, 304-308)

Practitioners described colleagues believing social media to be simple and transitory, including Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 429-430) “I think some members of staff, typically of an older generation just think it’s a five-minute job and it is done” and Victoria (Appendix D: Victoria, 666-668) “I think there’s a feeling like social media is, not trash, but disposable. It’s here and then it’s gone”.

Similarly, staff would complain to practitioners about the content being shared (Appendix D: Chloe, 641-644) or that their organisations weren’t using platforms or features that they had heard or read about, such as Tik Tok (Appendix D: Mark, 533-537; Victoria, 113-115) or Reels (Appendix D: Mark, 549-552), irrespective of the increased work or how this would benefit their company communication objectives.

Dawn felt that educating her colleagues on social media and digital engagement would be valuable and provide them with a better understanding of their use when making requests.

I do get frequently sent things by colleagues saying, “Can you put this on social media?” without really knowing what channel does this go on, who’s it aimed at. And sometimes I think, “I don’t think this is going to be very interesting” or “Where are the photos?”. I think there does need to be a lot of education internally about what we’re trying to do there. (Appendix D: Dawn, 98-102)

A further significant internal archaeological barrier to digital engagement is a pervading fear that discussing information with audiences will lead to serious, negative repercussions for development-led organisations.

There's a lot of reluctance and worry that if stuff goes out online, something terrible is going to happen. There's going to be a PR crisis, or the client will be upset and angry, and they won't want us to work for them again. Or we'll say something we shouldn't have done, or there'll be a security crisis, or someone will go and find out where the site is, even though we haven't even given a county, and they will go and nighthawk. There's a lot of fear. (Appendix D: Victoria, 228-233)

Indeed, the fear of jeopardising client-company relationships lead to some organisations opting to steer clear of anything that could be controversial or upset people that paid the bills, as Keiran described.

Ultimately the clients pay our bill... they're clients that often we want repeat business with... and if that relationship fell apart based on something like that [Social Media Controversy]. That'd have huge ramifications for us for something that we don't put a lot of effort into. (Appendix D: Keiran, 355-360)

At Victoria's organisation this fear was even expressed when she had secured legal permission to share information, with managers still reluctant to run any risk of upsetting clients.

We have a policy in our contract that it states that we have the right to anonymously release content. It's taken a long time for me to get it in there, but it is in there. And I am still having strongly worded conversations with people, I'm a [Management Level Communications Role] they are my fellow managers, about the fact that we don't legally have to have their permission because they signed the T's and C's. They gave us their legal permission. Anonymously, not identifying their sites. You could say that they are okay with it because they've signed it. (Appendix D: Victoria, 270-276)

A further internal obstacle can be colleague reluctance to provide information that can be posted online. Both Mark and Ellen described how getting staff, particularly specialists, to share their work was challenging.

We don't get to see [Specialist Department] face-to-face very much, it's quite hard to get stuff from them content wise because they think what they do is boring... They just don't think it's very interesting. (Appendix D: Ellen, 195-201)

Archaeologists tend to be very nervous about saying anything early-on in processes because they're worried about someone else in the sector saying that they're wrong. People are very worried about making interpretations... particularly more junior people and site teams are very nervous about making an interpretation of an artefact without a specialist looking at it. (Appendix D: Mark, 64-71)

People just don't think about [Sharing Their Work]. I think there's a lot of people in archaeology [Who] tend to be very focused on their discipline and what they're working on. And then the idea I should be sharing this with someone doesn't necessarily come to them. (Appendix D: Mark, 52-55)

Hesitancy among archaeologists towards engagement content could also be a source of tension between companies and those commissioning the work. As Mark noted, staff dragging their feet could hold up engagement on projects where clients were keen to share information, an issue that was a source of exasperation.

A lot of the issues... we have to talk through more are actually internally with archaeologists and with our specialists... we've had a lot of clients who are really keen to talk about the work and really eager to get stuff out there and a lot of the holdups and barriers have been nervousness internally about saying different things. Which can be quite frustrating because you're in a position where you've got a client

who's really eager to talk about the work. You've got all the content there and yet you're having to have endless discussions about minutiae which is not relevant to the general public. (Appendix D: Mark, 306-313)

Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 366-267) felt that staff unwillingness to provide material led to a scenario where specialists' work was not represented in digital content, making them even less inclined to get involved: "I feel if we had better buy in, because it's difficult to get stuff from a lot of people, then they're not represented".

Reluctance to take part in engagement was not always felt to result from an unwillingness to share information with wider audiences. As discussed above, the commercial aspects of development-led archaeology meant that staff simply had to concentrate on their primary roles, roles that paid the bills.

I'd say definitely the limiting factor is just time and pressures on the staff who have other tasks to do. It's not that they're necessarily reluctant, it's just that they've got too much else going on... it is a top-down thing, that the messaging they get from their managers is that other things take priority and need to be done first. (Appendix D: Dawn, 287-289)

The inescapable financial tensions at the heart of the UK's archaeological sector unquestionably acted as a barrier for practitioners attempting to engage non-specialists. This was especially true for those interviewees for whom digital engagement was not their primary role such as Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 54-55), "We don't have the time or energy to put big essays up on Facebook or nice finds that we pull out" and Chloe:

Money is a barrier for us because there's only so much time, it's only me that's doing it. And I've got another larger part of my job to do. If I've got a particularly busy week, we may not get to post that week because I just haven't had time. (Appendix D: Chloe, 230-235)

As Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 144-146) described, what information is shared on company accounts is the archaeology that they are being paid to discuss, "The stuff the public see on social media isn't necessarily the most interesting stuff that's being discovered. It's the stuff that is being funded by clients to talk about". The proportion of UK client-funded work which includes a specified engagement budget is unclear. Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 155-161) estimated that approximately a quarter of her organisation's projects included an outreach component, though the degree of financial provisioning to support this was not discussed.

Speaking candidly, Keiran noted that typically clients would not pay for social media post, giving them no incentive for them to carry out digital engagement.

[Posting About Client's Archaeology on Social Media] that's quite good publicity for them, we might suggest it to them. But then the time and effort for us to do that financially, you're effectively doing them a favour. Because they've not paid for you to share and take the time to take the pictures, crop them, size them, put them up. We probably wouldn't, even if the option was there, but it would depend on the client. (Appendix D: Keiran, 283-287)

For Keiran's organisation digital engagement was regarded as troublesome on occasions when it performed too well.

We had another project in [Location] and we found a store of [Artefacts in a Feature]... and we took a picture of that, put it up on our Facebook page and it went mad across the world. It was shared across news networks and... I think it was in the millions of views on it for what we thought was... just a nice picture of some [Artefacts]. But people went bananas for it, and we had people contact us

from America and Europe and Australia wanting to see if they could get [One of the Artefacts] or wanting more information. [Pause]. That's great that we can be able to share something interesting that is clearly of interest to people in Australia or America...

But the actual benefit for us was fairly low as a company in a strictly mercenary, business sense. The benefit for us was none, and the detriment was that the project manager ended up getting 100 emails about some [Artefacts in a Feature] and having to do a few news interviews, which I don't think brought us more work. I don't think clients were suddenly like, "Oh, they're the [Artefact Type] guys, we must get them in to do our archaeology". And that is our driving force as a commercial entity, is bringing new work in. (Appendix D: Keiran, 381-399)

Rather than benefitting the company by receiving worldwide attention, digital engagement was seen to have directly distracted the relevant project manager from focusing on the site. Similarly, Keiran considered the viral visibility was unlikely to have a positive impact on attracting new work from prospective clients. Speaking about a project open day where social media resulted in larger numbers of attendees than anticipated, Keiran considered that engagement caused more problems for developers than benefits.

[For a Project] we had to share [An Open Day] on social media, which we did. That gained a lot of interest locally, we got radio interviews, things like that. For the client it gave them a lot of headaches. Once it got shared on social media, it made it into the papers and the local radio. We had over 100 people turn up ... and it was a site with no parking. Access was difficult and we turned away ... 50 to 100 people, for a three-hour open day on a Saturday morning. And it caused a lot of disruption... And for the client that's stress and bother for them.

When they have their planning interest meetings, people are asking them more questions about archaeology. They're not going, "We're really glad you did the archaeology. Now build some houses". They're like, "Why didn't you do more archaeology and why isn't this being saved"... it's not helped them in terms of their development. It's hindered them. And that interest isn't positive for them. (Appendix D: Keiran, 291-317)

The concern that successful engagement could endanger client-company relationships was another inhibiting factor to practitioners. That engagement going well, attracting visitors to sites and sharing discoveries with millions online, could be regarded as a negative occurrence for an organisation or, at best an inconvenience, is a testament to the conflict between engagement and financial performance that exists in a market-driven archaeological economy.

Finally, a further internal consideration that can restrict the sharing of information is the security of sites and safety of staff. Not publicising excavation locations to protect locations from the threat of illegal metal detecting was mentioned by multiple practitioners and is a known practice within the wider development-led sector.

As a rule, we try not to post things that show where we're digging at present. Partly for client confidentiality, partly to stop metal detectorists or interested people wandering over of an evening. (Appendix D: Keiran, 202-204)

When we were digging a site in [Region] and we wanted to keep that safe but also that we have got quite a big issue with metal detecting, nighthawking, in some areas that we work in... there is still a big problem in some areas that as soon as you announce a site, they're in there stripping it at night, and we haven't got the security resources to look after a lot of these places. (Appendix D: Ellen, 281-287)

We work in areas that are sometimes subject to looting or threat of damage by malicious parties. So that might be a case where we would anonymise or redact georeferenced data around social updates or our reports (Appendix D: Brendon, 349-255).

Alongside protecting the archaeology, staff safety was also a concern for organisations as Ellen noted.

Another [Limitation] is local backlash. A lot of the [Infrastructure] sites that we work on, we'll talk about them quite generally, or we'll talk about them a while afterwards. But we won't publicise it while we're on site because there is the risk unfortunately of sometimes of people coming up and causing trouble... we recognise there is that element that it could be dangerous for our staff. (Appendix D: Ellen, 288-294)

This suite of internal barriers, many centred on collegial and institutional attitudes, were a further layer of obstacles facing practitioners seeking to create and disseminate digital content.

7.5 Analytics and Evaluation

Evaluation is essential for understanding the effectiveness of engagement and its potential for generating impact. For digital content social media metrics have been seen as potential measures for gauging communication efforts and audience responses. Of the ten participants involved in digital engagement roles, four (Appendix D: Dawn, 405-409; Ellen, 298-301; Mark, 372-375; Victoria, 460-463) explicitly described creating formal internal reports that detailed their social media statistics. Chloe described creating a company report it only incorporated account follower numbers.

All [That] is mentioned in our quarterly reports is how many followers we have on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. It's not necessarily how many hits we're getting or how many views. Because it's not part of my [Role] reporting, I don't spend too much time looking at it. (Appendix D: Chloe, 255-259).

Alice (Appendix D: Alice, 172-173) described a formal review of their analytics and Brendon (Appendix D: Brendon, 200-203) noted that they use metrics to assess individual posts, "We track as well, in terms of the metrics, how active those followers are. We follow conversations and we monitor through the internal analytics how posts are performing".

Both Mark and Victoria described how they used social media metrics to foster relationships with colleagues by sharing stats from posts to show the value of their contributions.

What we'll also do more informally is if a specialist has supported us in doing a Tweet and that Tweet has done particularly well, then we'll share with them the results of how many people they've reached... People tend to like that. (Appendix D: Mark, 376-380)

Definitely people saying [Internally] that they loved seeing the stats of what we achieved and what went out... I always try to [Do] that more, because with the increase in staff numbers and the way that it's difficult to contact the field team I want people to see what we're all doing within the organisation. It's nice for them. It's motivating for them. It also means they send in more content, which means I get to share more stories. (Appendix D: Victoria, 193-199)

Given the difficulties of getting archaeologists to provide engagement staff with material described above, using analytics to help convince colleagues to help appears to be an effective strategy.

More formal examinations of metrics were used to market digital engagement to potential and current clients at both Mark and Victoria's companies. Victoria's organisation primarily used their account's metrics to propose a potential service to clients, though she was now intending to follow this up with post-project reporting.

We use it for tenders, "If you would like a project like this, you'll see that you'll reach this number of people and get this sort of positive response". So, they can see what they might want to buy into. I've not yet used it at the end, "Oh, by the way, you've reached this many people". That's a really cool idea, actually... I will be doing that going forward. (Appendix D: Victoria, 466-470)

Mark considered social media metrics to be important for demonstrating value to clients, providing them with a concise report, a format with which most were familiar, to highlight what they received for their investment. This practice, Mark felt, was an effective means of convincing clients of the benefit of digital engagement and could encourage them to commission comparable work in future.

We'll often produce reports for clients specifically on their posts about their sites... Some clients will be really keen to see all our stats and want to read an in-depth report. A lot of clients wouldn't even ask for a comms evaluation report. We provide them anyway, because I think part of convincing clients to do more of this work is to demonstrate value. (Appendix D: Mark, 376-391)

Two practitioners described an ad hoc approach to metric evaluations where analytics were occasionally checked but not formally reported (Appendix D: Louise, 188-191; Samantha, 294-298). Similarly, Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 269-271) discussed seldom having time to check post data but would try and replicate successful formulae in the future.

When we were on an excavation last year for six weeks, and it was constant posting every day. I did look every day then to see where people were coming from and where they were viewing and I thought that was really interesting. But it's never made it into our reports or anything like that... I do try and subconsciously go, "Ooh, that did really well. I'll try and emulate that again". (Appendix D: Chloe, 266-287)

Tellingly, despite Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 449-451) describing his organisation's general disinterest in analytics, when there had been a financial investment on social media, such as using paid Facebook promotion to advertise jobs, metrics were checked.

The recruitment side when we have put targeted posts up, we have been [Looking At Metrics]. One, we target them, so we know who we should be reaching and two, we know how many we've reached because there's a financial [Incentive]... you set your budget on how many people and you find out how many clicks you got for your money. So, we check that correlation. (Appendix D: Keiran, 454-458)

That some companies were only concerned with analytics when they clearly correlated to a financial investment is a reminder of development-led archaeology's business-orientated approach to heritage.

Dawn described how her organisation did not examine their analytics, instead relying on instincts to guide content creation.

We don't do enough to routinely analyse the data... we have lacked the expertise and capacity to really deep dive into the data and to have really evidence-based decision making on how to use social media. I think we have made the mistake of relying too much on personal hunches. (Appendix D: Dawn, 142-146)

Ellen's experiences were similar and despite her company having a social media strategy,

there was insufficient time to use analytics to tailor and adjust their plan to better meet the needs of their audiences.

It is quite difficult to then act upon [Metrics] effectively really. Because we have got a social media strategy that my assistant went on some courses a few years ago and that built up a strategy to look at improving audience sectors. But we don't really have the time resources to then look at it in enough good detail, to redraft that strategy to assess what the gaps are and what we're not hitting. (Appendix D: Ellen, 305-309)

When metrics are not being used to scrutinise digital engagement and its success, there is the risk that analytics simply become numbers that can be uncritically used to provide evidence of engagement. Dawn noted that both clients and her colleagues are typically more interested in figures than whether they represent a form of meaningful, personal impact.

It's not what I think marketing people think about. Because I think some of their criteria for success are about numbers, about reach, rather than necessarily the impact on a much more personal level. There's me trying to think in terms of outcomes and impacts and they're thinking in terms of very much a numbers-based game. And that is very true internally as well. I think, for a long time it's outreach. It's you go out and you preach to the masses and if you've got loads of people attending your event then that's what makes it successful, rather than necessarily thinking about the difference that that is making. (Appendix D: Dawn, 350-357)

Discussing the development-led sector, Brendon echoed concerns of development-led organisations using social media uncritically, to provide evidence of social impact.

...in the same way that you can have green washing for environmental organisations trying to clothe themselves in green credentials but actually not changing fundamentally what they do. Well, I think you can have the same thing here [In Archaeology]. Social media... if that's what we're saying deals with our social impact and we're not fundamentally changing what it is that we do then we're just impact washing. (Appendix D: Brendon, 470-476)

Brendon (461-462) felt that problems with impact are "structural rather than personal or operational, it's baked into marketized archaeology". He noted that with DigVentures, "we think about ourselves as a social enterprise... our impact isn't something additional to our business model. It's absolutely integral..." (Appendix D: Brendon, 31-33).

Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 142-146) detailed her company lacked staff with the expertise necessary to scrutinise social media analytics, highlighting another area discussed by practitioners: training.

7.6 Training

As Section 7.1's discussion of Practitioner Roles highlights, most individuals were working in positions where creating social media content was a formalised component of their responsibilities. However, three practitioners had clearly inherited social media-based engagement in addition to their primary roles, Chloe, Louise and Keiran (see Section 7.1) while Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 35-37) noted that content competed with her other responsibilities. Of these three, where online content creation was carried out on top of their main roles, Chloe, Louise and Keiran had received either little or no training in digital engagement (Appendix D: Chloe, 513-514; Keiran, 651-653; Louise, 284-287). Three others with more formal social media aspects to their jobs (Appendix D: Brendon, 408-409; Samantha, 423-428; Victoria, 699-701) discussed having limited, if any, training

opportunities.

Contrastingly, both Alice and Mark described that training was available to them, though how often they had used these opportunities and the precise nature of the courses were not detailed (Appendix D: Alice, 273-274; Mark, 538-539). Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 564-569) discussed her organisation sending a staff member on a training course tackling social media, though this was a funded opportunity provided by local government. Whether the organisation would still have opted to do the training had it not been prepaid was not clear, though Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 564-569) did feel her company's director was supportive of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) opportunities. Additionally, Ellen felt that finding training for digital communication was challenging (Appendix D: Ellen, 565-566). Brendon (Appendix D: Brendon, 408-409) echoed this, feeling that there weren't currently suitable training opportunities for newer methods of online engagement.

Among practitioners, there was a clear appetite for training with many describing how they had to learn through trial and error and experience (Appendix D: Chloe, 513-514; Samantha, 423-428; Victoria, 699-701). Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 628-629) felt that training would help her identify areas she was unaware of, such as accessibility; "I'd like some training... because obviously I don't know it all. I'd like to know if there's things that I'm missing. Things like inclusivity...".

Many of the interviews felt that training was an area where they were under supported, partly owing to a lack of heritage-specific opportunities. More specific digital training for archaeologists is gradually emerging, including initiatives stemming from the Archaeology Audience Network (MOLA 2022) such as DigVentures and Oxford Archaeology's Audience Development for Archaeologists course (DigVentures 2023).

7.7 Audiences

Understanding who is accessing and interacting with digital content is essential for evaluation and practitioners described variable degrees of audience awareness and analysis. Owing to interview length, it was not possible to discuss in-depth how companies were scrutinising their demographic data. Some practitioners described formal audience examinations, including Alice (Appendix D: Alice, 182-184), "...we have audience segmentation and stakeholder mapping that we're working on... And the audience mapping is fed into our social media strategy". Elsewhere characterising users was a current priority to better target future content, as Samantha (Appendix D: Samantha, 116-119) discussed, "We are in the middle of formalising a strategy document to figure out what our primary audiences for each platform are and therefore what our primary strategy for the actual content that we put out there will be". Other organisations had limited understanding of who their digital engagement strategies were reaching: "...there isn't really an in-depth understanding of the audiences" (Appendix D: Dawn, 41-42).

Reflecting the discipline's concerns over digital archaeological content struggling to break out of traditional heritage audiences (Chapter Two), Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 557-560) described his organisation's difficulties at reaching more diverse users: "We have a really great following of people that are really engaged and like our stuff and comment... But very rarely are we able to break out of that circle and influence more mainstream audiences". Mark discussed how Facebook was one of his company's most popular platforms, which he felt was a result of its core audience mirroring archaeology's typical demographics.

Often Facebook is talked about in social media circles as the dying platform because the younger demographics are not going onto Facebook... But for archaeology audiences Facebook is the place to be. Because our core audience could be broadly defined as a 55-year-old plus white person. Middle class. Highly educated... that

audience is the most active pretty much on Facebook now. So that's where we resonate quite strongly. (Appendix D: Mark, 199-206)

This experience was reflected among other practitioners, such as Ellen, who noted that while there were also some younger Facebook users they tended to be students with a pre-existing interest contemplating archaeology as a career choice.

On Facebook it tends to be a lot of retired age, white people... Which we know is our audience everywhere really. That's our main core audience, which I've really pushed to try and widen that out. But we do also get a little bit of a flurry of slightly younger people, school age leavers as well who might be thinking about archaeology at university or a career choice. (Appendix D: Ellen, 316-320)

In addition to archaeological channels attracting traditional offline audiences, many users appeared to be “fans” that would regularly comment and interact on content, sometimes on every post as Alice (Appendix D: Alice, 188-189) discussed, “...we definitely have super fans who are on every single post [Laughs], on Twitter and on Facebook”. Chloe’s experiences with regular users were similar, particularly on Facebook and Instagram.

I notice [Repeat Commentators] more on Facebook. Because on Facebook as well you do get the Top Fan badge... And I've got one or two people on Instagram that do the same that I notice that they're regularly commenting. And Twitter, not so much. But we do get one or two, I would say. (Appendix D: Chloe, 309-313)

Among the notable number of users with an interest in the discipline were professional and amateur archaeologists. Four practitioners described their content being seen or engaged with by archaeologists (Appendix D: Ellen, 348-351; Keiran, 55-57; Louise, 182; Samantha, 327-330) including their own staff, volunteers or ex-employees, echoing Chapter Six’s sampling that found notable proportions of comments were from those connected to the sector. That numerous practitioners described their users as including notable numbers of archaeologists is further evidence that online engagement may not be significantly reaching beyond established heritage audiences.

Despite the sector’s expressed desire to communicate beyond the archaeological bubble, practically many organisations are eager to reach these existing audiences. As Victoria notes, if she is tasked with advertising an event she will intentionally target people with this prior disciplinary interest to boost attendance; “When I put out a promoted post to maybe share [An Archaeological Event] I’m going to go for people who have an interest in archaeology” (Appendix D: Victoria, 170-172).

To reach new audiences requires change in how archaeologists communicate, as Mark saliently highlighted.

The people that tend to manage social media in archaeology tend to be white, middle-class, highly educated. We tend to write stuff that appeals to that same audience. If we went to break out of that, then we need to look at how to diversify communications in archaeology generally. (Appendix D: Mark, 564-568)

This is a perpetual challenge for a profession with a workforce estimated to be 97% white (Aitchison 2021). Considering who creates content and accesses it are essential facets of public-facing digital archaeology that need further exploration.

7.8 Responsiveness

Among many of the interviewed archaeological engagement practitioners there was a strong sense of the necessity to reply to users that left comments or messages or, at the very least,

acknowledge them (Appendix D: Alice, 209-211; Brendon, 184-193; Chloe, 82-84; Ellen, 420-424; Samantha, 491-500; Victoria, 629-631).

Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 434-439) described the value of replying to comments and questions and how that creates a connection to users, encouraging them to do so again in the future; "...even if it's just someone commenting I think it's important to [Reply], so that they feel seen. And then they're more likely to comment again or ask questions". This was echoed in Victoria's (Appendix D: Victoria, 629-631) discussion of responsiveness where she spoke passionately about ensuring that every comment her organisation their social accounts received got a response, "I respond to everything. I take it really seriously".

Hearing such animated accounts from individuals seeking to deliver the responsive, two-way discussion identified in archaeological literature as a powerful facet of disciplinary digital engagement is heartening. Though as the quantitative analysis of Facebook content demonstrated (Chapter Four), while some organisations were able to deliver high levels of responsiveness, the wider sector struggles to do so. Factors that inhibit responsiveness are the time allocated to engagement and access to information, particularly in the case of queries. As Louise noted, finding answers to user questions can be a lengthy process.

I normally send a message being like, "Oh, yeah, I don't know the answer to that, but let me talk to one of our archaeologists and I'll get back to you". Then I have to message whoever I think would know the answer. And then get back to them after that. It could take quite a while. (Appendix D: Louise, 203-206)

Chloe described finding it hard to respond to users when she first began using social media, having limited experience or training to help her deal with enquiries.

I used to find it quite difficult to reply when I first started doing the social media as I didn't have enough confidence. I felt like, "Oh, am I saying the right thing?" or "Is this going to send me down a rabbit hole?". (Appendix D: Chloe, 333-335)

Quick responses to user comments and messages did not always stem from a desire for dialogue. As Ellen discussed, monitoring social media accounts for negative comments was an important concern to mitigate the potential for reputational damage.

We have to keep an eye on comments... Especially because we do get sometimes get spam in there, or we get people with some negativity... We have to be quite careful to make sure that we're responding relatively quickly to things like that. (Appendix D: Ellen, 431-436)

Responsiveness is an essential part of generating engagement, which requires multidirectional communication between creators and audiences (NCCPE 2023a). Discussions with practitioners revealed that most were aware of the importance of replying to validate user contributions and encourage further engagement. However, pressure on practitioners appears to create a disconnect between the desire for dialogue and its delivery.

7.9 Wellbeing

Following discussions of digital wellbeing within archaeology (Kidd 2019; Perry 2014; Perry et al. 2015; Richardson 2017; 2018), several of which raised significant concerns, practitioners were asked about the personal impacts of digital interactions and the support mechanisms their companies had in place. Throughout this research, the variability between companies has been striking, and approaches towards safeguarding employees in virtual spaces is similarly uneven. Ellen was the sole participant to describe her organisation having a dedicated social media policy that included support for people using online spaces.

It's written into our social media policy that if messages are received, who do you report it to? What's the time scale? What the flow chart of what happens is quite strong in there. I redrafted all of our safeguarding policies and online was just one of them. Just to make sure that everybody who used any of our online spaces, including staff and volunteers, knows exactly what will happen and that they can feel quite secure in that response. (Appendix D: Ellen, 666-671)

Describing how individuals had sought to directly contact staff's personal social accounts and the ability for archaeological controversy to rapidly proliferate online, Ellen noted the importance of providing staff with support.

...we're not even that big an organisation, but people will still try and contact myself, my colleagues' personal accounts because they know that we're linked to it. (Appendix D: Ellen, 637-640)

We're just very wary of the situations that have happened in the past around archaeology and heritage on things like Twitter. Where things can really snowball quite quickly... If anything does happen [We Make Sure] that the staff are supported and the support network's in place... We don't want any staff to be negatively impacted by stuff that happened on social media. (Appendix D: Ellen, 448-455)

Alongside this codified digital safeguarding, several practitioners described less formal support networks where management or colleagues could assist if things became difficult.

I have from the director of archaeology down to my manager saying, "Let us know what you need. If there's something that you can't deal with just send it on to us". If there's a particular comment on there that I don't know how to respond to, I can just send it to them, and they will happily either craft a response for me to post or respond themselves. (Appendix D: Samantha, 471-475)

There's far more people say very nice and constructive and collaborative things on social media to us than say mean, undermining and negative things. However, those voices are often much louder and sit with you longer. And learning how to tune those out or being unrepentant about blocking people like that or removing yourself from those conversations is a really key thing. But dispersed across the team it becomes much easier... We back channel as well... we have active WhatsApp groups within the organisation. If something happens there's about four or five people ready to spring into action rather than it just being on one person's shoulders and then them having to take that home with them. We mitigate around that. (Appendix D: Brendon, 374-383)

However, there was evidence that Ellen's (Appendix D: Ellen, 646-649) perception of the sector, "...a lot of organisations don't have adequate safety in place... They just think, 'Oh it's online, it doesn't mean anything' without a bigger understanding of how it can impact a lot of your life", was reflected by some companies that were interviewed. Chloe expressed concerns over what would happen if she were to receive negative or abusive comments, and the potential impact that could have on her, as there was no social media policy or guidance available to her from her organisation.

We haven't got any policies on [Digital Wellbeing]... when someone's main job is social media, the mental health and the policy should go with it... if you get rude comments or abuse through social media, there should be something written somewhere that gives you that... I haven't experienced that. But I can honestly say I don't know what I would do if I did, because I haven't got any [Training]... I haven't had any training on what to do with that thing. I think it would just be down to me to deal with that issue. (Appendix D: Chloe, 689-698)

Equally worrying with the use of social media for engagement is that the “always on” nature of these digital platforms make it easy for work to bleed into practitioner’s personal lives. Both Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 100) and Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 35) described posting content and monitoring their respective organisations’ channels from their personal phones. For Louise, this led to her dealing with work, out-of-hours.

To start with there was another [Employee] that used to do it with me... we monitored the messages, and it was down to us to reply to them. Which obviously you don't have to do it during home time, but you do because it pops up on your phone. (Appendix D: Louise, 23-26)

Indeed, some practitioners were resolute in keeping social media monitoring strictly to their working hours (see Appendix D: Dawn, 485-487), something that Chloe had to do after finding social media responsibilities impacting her weekends.

We're quite passionate about not working on the weekend. I know some people do. They get it posted for them on Hootsuite... But we chose not to do that because I get all the notifications and I get all the questions. And I'd be sitting there going, "Oh, I need to answer that question" and I'd end up working when I wasn't getting paid to do it. (Appendix D: Chloe, 25-29)

However, others described that while there was no formal expectation from their employers to work in their evenings and on weekends, social media would still necessitate them doing so (Appendix D: Alice, 49-55; Ellen, 91-96; Samantha, 83-86; Victoria, 535-540). Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 491-493) mentioned concerns over out-of-hours work involving social media among her colleagues, “I know that our Instagram account was really grown by a staff member in their own time in the evenings. Which I think we do need to have a think about whether that’s appropriate or not”. Similarly, it did not always appear clear to staff if social media was a recognised aspect of their job role, as Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 143-145) discussed an employee working on Instagram content in his evenings but declining to be paid for doing so; “...he’ll schedule them of an evening, but he doesn’t timesheet anything onto it at the moment. We gave the opportunity for him, but I think he enjoys doing it...”.

Importantly, many practitioners described troubling personal impacts caused by their routine use of social media. The drive to create engaging content and continually build metrics was highlighted by Mark as a continual pressure within his role.

There is a temptation to check things and to see how things are performing and I think there's a pressure in terms of vanity metrics on social media for people that manage them. You're constantly chasing more. You're constantly chasing more impressions, more engagement, more followers. That's quite exhausting after a while to be doing that. (Appendix D: Mark, 515-519)

Twitter was singled out as a platform that could be isolating for practitioners, where competing companies did little to support other development-led archaeological organisations and individual organisation’s successes could leave others feeling disheartened and overwhelmed.

Archaeology Twitter has its own subcommunity and it isn't a particularly joyful place. [Laughs]. I don't think we're very nice to each other. We're not very collegiate or supportive of each other's successes. And stone cold silent often when things aren't going great. (Appendix D: Brendon, 410-413).

Twitter on the one hand I find it incredibly useful to see what's going on... in the archaeological sector... I know it always leaves me feeling like, "Oh, I'm not doing enough and everybody else is doing so much more than I am", and it can leave me

feeling really sad and down about that. I know that that's not a very good thing really. (Appendix D: Dawn, 502-507)

The impact of working on social media had a profound impact on most practitioner's personal use of these platforms, with seven describing that they either now barely used them or had made significant changes to what and where they posted Appendix D: Alice, 76-78; Chloe, 103-104; Dawn, 500-501; Ellen, 99-104; Louise, 30-31; Mark, 506-509; Victoria, 526-530).

Across several interviews, there was a sense of weariness among practitioners that their enthusiasm for social media was waning. Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 71-72) attributed this ennui to her isolation in the role, "I've lost a bit of enthusiasm because it's only me", Dawn (Appendix D: Dawn, 190-191) to the feeling that posting content was like "shouting into the void on social media", and Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 105-108) to the constant bombardment of notifications, "We tend to get people who will... respond to a chunk of it at once. There'd be dozens of notifications coming through... you get [Sighs] a bit frazzled with social media".

Chloe appeared to summarise many of the difficulties and frustrations of using social media for digital archaeological engagement, emphasising the sense of isolation, pressure and dependency.

I don't feel like I can [Cut Myself Off From Social Media], as I do it for work. I feel okay about it, don't get me wrong and if I did feel like it stresses me out too much, I would go to a manager... But sometimes I want to throw my phone at the wall. And I can't because I'm the only one that does it. (Appendix D: Chloe, 685-688)

That several practitioners described having limited digital support mechanisms in place from their companies demonstrates the slowness with which archaeological institutions are adapting to the now well-established online communication landscape. Coupled with the pressures to continually monitor accounts and respond to notifications as they are received, and the clear impact this is having on personal social media use, there is clearly further work needing to be done by companies to support staff with their digital wellbeing. Despite earlier calls for greater online guidance and care (Perry 2014; Perry et al. 2015), archaeology seems not to be implementing formal support mechanisms across the sector. Given the notable potential for harm associated with digital environments and the vulnerability of practitioners working on the frontline of online organisational presences, more needs to be done to safeguard staff.

7.10 Discussion

These ten interviews with digital engagement practitioners have provided an important insight into the real-world use of social media by development-led archaeological organisations. From the conversations, it was clear that there are considerably different approaches across the sector, from pre-planned engagement-driven campaigns integrated into the outputs of organisations both large and small to erratic, ad hoc posting designed more to market services to clients and jobs to prospective archaeologists. Yet, practically, it appears that all company content is a complex mixture of information sharing, engagement and marketing.

The marketized archaeology sector creates an inescapable pressure to maintain and develop client relationships, recruit new staff and promote the work and professionalism of heritage companies. Against this backdrop, organisations and practitioners can seek to subvert the more explicit marketing components of social media by focusing on information sharing and building communities with their audiences. Thus, framing the business and promotional aspects as a secondary, inseparable component subservient to engagement.

Conversely, there does appear to be a less altruistic element to some companies' social media strategy, where on a more mercenary level archaeological social media content serves to promote services, work and relationships. Here there is a sense the heritage content is being used as a covert form of marketing.

With client confidentiality looming heavily in the background for many of the interviewees, there is the perennial tension of practitioners being caught between disparate competing objectives: to fulfil their role to communicate while not biting the hand that feeds, an impossible proposition. Added to this challenging backdrop is the reliance practitioners have on their colleagues for content, support, and answers. With the sector perennially facing staff shortages and both field teams and specialists stretched to deliver work on time and underbudget in difficult conditions, adding engagement into packed workloads adds further pressure on practitioners and their associates. Further problematising archaeological communication is the enduring attitude among senior management, that engagement is either an unnecessary expense that is the first target to help reduce costs or an output that provides no financial benefit, is still present within the sector, though perhaps not as prevalent as it once was.

However, despite the pressures and the problems that practitioners routinely face within their roles, what is clear is that most are passionate, dedicated and determined. That enthusiasm, coupled with strong interpersonal skills helps forge and maintain the relationships they need with clients, colleagues and audiences to craft content that connected with online users. This personal skillset and the creativity, drive and passion is an important and largely unrecognised asset to the discipline and unquestionably helps connect individuals to the past.

Chapter 8 The Global Covid-19 Pandemic and Digital Archaeological Engagement

Following the first detected cases of the SARS-CoV-2 virus in December 2019, the subsequent Covid-19 global pandemic (World Health Organisation 2023) has had an unparalleled impact on societies on a global scale. With widespread restrictions on national and international movement, internet use and uptake increased and individuals became more reliant on online communication. The United Nation's International Telecommunication Union (2021a; 2021b) reported a large growth in worldwide internet use and users during the first year of the pandemic, a trend that was particularly visible in the UK (BBC News 2020a; Ofcom 2020; 2021) where internet use doubled in 2020 (BBC News 2020b).

This research's dataset was largely gathered prior to the pandemic and a detailed exploration of the potential changes to development-led archaeological organisations' social media outputs was beyond the scope of this project. However, a targeted sample of post-pandemic content was examined to see if notable differences could be observed and for comparisons with the interviewed practitioners' perceptions of the pandemic's effect on their work.

8.1 Practitioner Discussions of the Pandemic

During the interviews with practitioners from ClfA ROs and Non-ROs (see Chapter 7), participants were asked how they felt the pandemic had impacted the use of social media within their roles. While all ten answered with varying perspectives, one organisation opted to redact their interviewee's discussion of the pandemic, resulting in the responses detailed below.

Opinions on the impact the pandemic had on social media practices varied significantly between practitioners and organisations (Figure 43). Three individuals, Chloe, Ellen and Samantha strongly felt that the pandemic had altered their practices or led to change in different areas. As regular engagement activities were stopped for Chloe's company, she redirected her resources to social media and transferred her organisation's outreach online (Figure 43). Similarly, for Ellen the pandemic gave her time to re-evaluate her digital content and consider how to make it more communicative and engaging for users (Figure 43). Lastly, Samantha considered that her role was created because of her company realising the importance of online avenues of information sharing and engagement owing to them having no created content during the pandemic (Figure 43). The placing of increased value on social media was also discussed as occurring within other organisations (Appendix D: Chloe, 16-19; Samantha, 400-402).

However, contrasting opinions came from both Keiran and Dawn (Figure 43) who considered the pandemic to have little to no impact on their social media use. Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 497-501) described how during the UK Covid-19 lockdowns, the obligation to share their work effectively disappeared as site visits were no longer possible and development control archaeologists did not require engagement to be shifted online.

This contrast in perspectives, where the pandemic is both seen as an event that required development-led archaeological organisations to reassess their digital outputs and one that did not register on the creation of social media content, is indicative of the variability of communications within the sector. Despite these differences, several themes emerged from practitioners discussing the pandemic. For Chloe and Louise, posting social content was considered an essential task to demonstrate they were still active, both externally and internally.

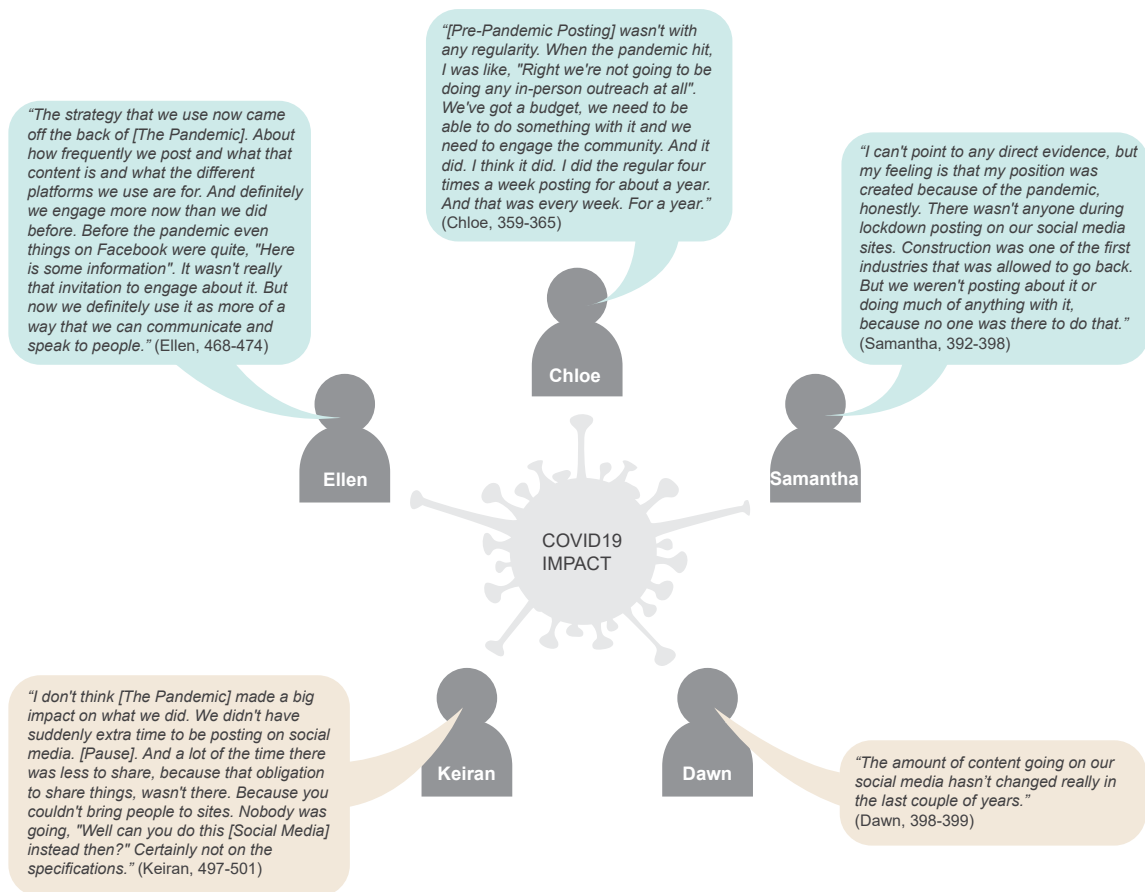


Figure 43: Contrasting perspectives from practitioners on how their use of social media was affected by the pandemic. For all quotes see named transcripts in Appendix D

I think it did make a difference because it meant that people did know that we were still around, and we were still working. I think it was important that we still had a presence for people to get in touch with us if they wanted to. Rather than just assuming we'd fallen off the edge of the earth. (Appendix D: Chloe, 368-374).

Our roles and jobs didn't really pause during the pandemic, whereas some peoples did. It was good to show that... It was quite difficult to get things to post, but at the same time it was important and it was good for the staff to see that we were still being active. (Appendix D: Louise, 170-175)

Echoing concerns that traditional media depictions of archaeology focus predominantly on excavation, lockdowns gave Chloe the opportunity to present a more rounded depiction of the work that is undertaken on projects, including specialist analysis and post-excavation.

People hear "archaeology" and people just think you dig and that's it. The pandemic was a good excuse to let people know about the other type of work that we did, rather than just excavations and outreach activities. (Appendix D: Chloe, 375-378)

Unsurprisingly given the surge in internet use (BBC News 2020a; Ofcom 2020; 2021), practitioners reported huge spikes in their online metrics including Ellen (Appendix D: Ellen, 460-467), "The numbers definitely went massively up, especially in the first lockdown... We saw a lot more traffic coming in during that time. Captive audience, I suppose" and Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 439-440), "At the start of the pandemic, there was a massive increase in

digital engagement. Everyone went digital and it really spiked and then it literally just fell off a cliff”.

Brendon, discussing DigVentures sizable increase in engagement with their online outputs felt that their company’s pre-existing investment in digital content and courses meant that when the pandemic hit, they were well positioned to shift their focus and generate engagement from internet audiences. As an organisation they were able to benefit without the need for a sudden scramble for online mechanisms.

...Covid had a major impact on what we were doing. Over say the 2020 year our physical participation fell by some 75% but our digital participation grew by some 3,100%... We’ve had this huge shift towards digital as a result of the pandemic, as many of us have... Why that happened is we didn’t have a quick pivot to digital and have to build something from the ground up when the pandemic hit. We’re already flying in that respect. (Appendix D: Brendon, 107-116).

A further common theme was that when lockdowns eased there was a significant decrease in audiences, as Victoria highlighted.

Something that I did notice was there was a massive drop in interactions whenever people started being able to go out, properly “out-out”, again. And whilst I was like, “That’s a bit difficult for me”, I was very pleased because I was like, “Yeah, I think we’re all a bit sick of staring at screens, and we just need to get outside again”. (Appendix D: Victoria, 591-595)

Indeed, two practitioners felt that there was a clear preference from audiences for physical engagement and interaction over digital. Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 401-403) noted that when physical events became an option again, audiences focused on these, “I think it benefited us at the time. And then I think more people are like, ‘Oh, they’re out again, I’ll just go and visit them’”. This appetite for in-person engagement has resulted in a shift of her organisation’s focus for non-specialist communication, “I think now that we can do in-person outreach again I think that’s going to take a higher priority” (Appendix D: Chloe, 473-474).

Mark’s experiences were similar, with metrics dropping drastically when lockdowns were eased and people were keen to step away from digital experience and return to in-person activities and events.

All our metrics that we report on social media... now that we compare them, they’re all compared to a year ago, I have to put asterisks in and say that is the point when people became sick of digital engagement and were craving real-world experiences... It is starting to revert back now people are adapting back to the normal way of things which is a maybe a way of balancing their physical life and virtual life... there’s a lingering desire to be more engaged in physical space, rather than digital space when it comes to events. (Appendix D: Mark, 441-451)

The most fascinating account of the pandemic’s impact on both a development-led archaeological organisation and an individual practitioner was Victoria’s vivid account of both the reception of her regular pandemic content and the pressures connected with creating and sharing it.

It was really stressful because I didn’t have much content. A lot of people got furloughed, especially in the [Specialist] team. But I was kept on, partly because I was still doing the social media and they said it’s important this keeps going...

And then I suddenly discovered that I was putting this stuff out and every day I’d be getting messages saying, “I really look forward to your post every day”, “Every day I want to see what [Content Is Posted]”, “Oh, you’ve really kept me going”, “I’m

reading this with my coffee and in my pyjamas and thanks so much, it gets me out of bed every day". And I was like "Oh. My. God. I have got all the pressure of these hundreds and thousands of people waiting for [Content] every day". [Laughs]. There was a lot of pressure. It was a lot of stress realising that all these people were stuck in their homes... and I was one of the things that was getting them through the day. And I was going through the archive, thinking, "What archaeology have we got? Who's still working that I can ask questions of to get information to put something out"?

When do you wind that down? Because the pandemic didn't really end it. It hasn't ended as such. It's quite strange. There was no cut off of "Right. That's it. We're all free again now". I mean there kind of was, but there kind of wasn't. So, I was like, "Do we want to-?" It was complicated and a lot of stress and pressure that I didn't expect to be supporting people's mental health through stuff in the ground. (Appendix D: Victoria, 556-576)

That so many users contacted Victoria to tell her that they eagerly anticipated her archaeological posts and that they were able to support people's wellbeing during a stressful and difficult time, is a testament both to her abilities as a communicator but also the value of archaeology and heritage as a support mechanism for individuals in digital formats. However, content being "one of the things that was getting them through the day" (Appendix D: Victoria, 569), clearly placed significant pressure on Victoria. This is an apt demonstration of the potential weight that can be placed on practitioners working in an always-on communication landscape. The ability for online heritage content to act in such a positive manner is a reminder of the potential for this medium, but the need to support staff, especially in emergent specialisms, is an area that organisation's need to engage with.

8.2 Post-pandemic Data

As discussed in Chapter Three, a post-pandemic sample of nine ClfA ROs and five Non-ROs from a between 1st June 2022 and 31st August 2022. During this three-month period, these companies created or shared 252 Facebook posts, a sample size that was 10.8% of the original dataset's 2,344 combined posts. The sample produced 197 ClfA RO posts (10.1% of 2019's 1,943 posts) and 55 Non-RO posts (13.7% of 2019's 401 posts).

8.2.1 Post-pandemic Sample – Quantitative Information

Comparing the combined dataset from 2019 with the 2022 post-pandemic sample shows that, on average, both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs post less than they did before Covid-19 (Figure 44). The average number of posts for a ClfA accredited organisation fell from 9.8 per month in 2019 to 7.3 in 2022, while for non-accredited companies it decreased from 6.1 to 3.7 (Figure 44).

While a combined average fails to consider the variability of individual organisations, examination of both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs revealed that most were, on average, posting less frequently than in 2019. Of the 14 companies examined in this post-pandemic sample, nine posted less often per month than they did in 2019 (Figures 45). Among ClfA ROs, six of these accredited organisations posted less frequently in 2022 than they did three years earlier (Figure 45). Indeed, one (ClfA Company 17) never posted at all within the three-month post-pandemic sample period and only seven times in the entirety of 2022. Three accredited organisations, ClfA ROs 14, 15 and 33, saw increases to their average posts per month, with ClfA RO 14 showing a sizable increase, almost doubling from 8.7 to 15.3 (Figure 45).

Comparison of ClfA ROs and Non-ROs Avg. Posts per Month, 2019 and 2022

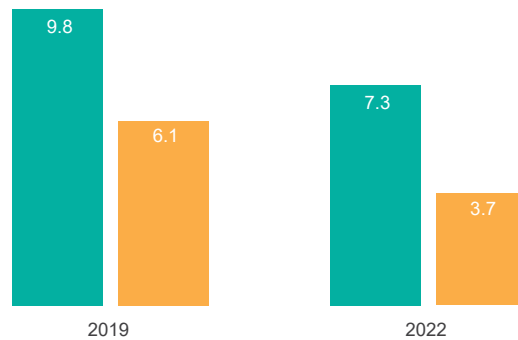
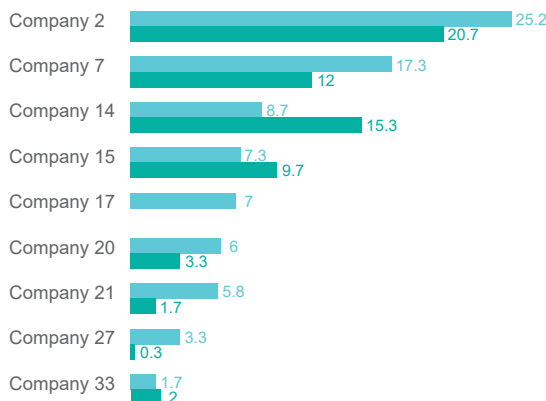


Figure 44: Comparison of the average posts per month for the combined sample dataset for ClfA ROs and Non-ROs between the 2019 dataset and the 2022 post-pandemic sample

ClfA ROs Post Pandemic: Average Posts per Month 2019 and 2022



Non-ROs Post Pandemic: Average Posts per Month 2019 and 2022

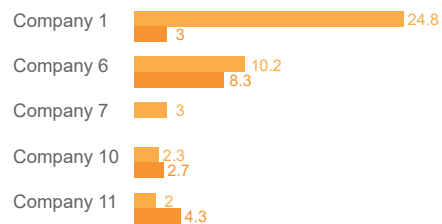


Figure 45: Comparison of pre- and post-pandemic ClfA RO and Non-RO average posts per month

The post-pandemic sample revealed a similar picture among non-accredited companies, with three Non-ROs posting less frequently on average per month than in 2019 (Figure 45). Echoing the ClfA RO dataset, one organisation, Non-RO 7, did not post during the sample collection period, only posting a single time throughout 2022 (Figure 45). Non-RO 1 saw the most dramatic change between data collection periods, falling from a prolific monthly average of 24.8 posts to just three (Figure 45). This decrease clearly reflected a dramatic change in institutional attitudes and policy towards their social media output.

That there appears to be less regular social media posting on Facebook across both types of development-led archaeological organisation when comparing 2019 to 2022 data is an interesting trend. The reduction in average post frequency, particularly by companies that

were prominent SNS users in 2019 (Non-RO 1), and those that were no longer routinely posting at all (ClfA RO 17, Non-RO 7), suggests the presence of mutually-shared factors impacting practitioner posting. A discussion of these potential influences can be found below.

As discussed above (section 1.2), the consistently changing character of social media users and their interactions makes identifying and understanding comparative datasets challenging. However, despite the overall trend towards a decrease in the average posts for both ClfA ROs and Non-ROs, the combined averages show that all Facebook user interactions with content have increased or remained the same (Table 30).

Interactions	Combined ClfA RO Average 2019	Combined ClfA RO Average 2022	Combined Non-RO Average 2019	Combined Non-RO Average 2022
Avg. Likes/Reactions per Post	31.3	31.9	12.6	14.6
Avg. Shares per Post	4.1	4.6	1.9	2.2
Avg. Visible Comments per Post	1.5	1.5	0.8	1.3

Table 30: Comparisons of combined ClfA RO and Non-RO averages for different user interactions between the 2019 and 2022 datasets. Increases are colour coded and no changes are in grey

These increases to the overall average user interactions for a post made by a development-led archaeological organisation are all small, with the largest increase being an additional two Likes/Reactions to a typical Non-RO post (Table 30). Indeed, this combined category suggests that despite organisations mostly posting less frequently, that average user interactions have slowly grown from 2019 to 2022. This pattern is likely to stem from the gradual overall growth of individual Facebook Page audiences over time, where users opt to Like or follow Pages and steadily buoy respective SNS followings.

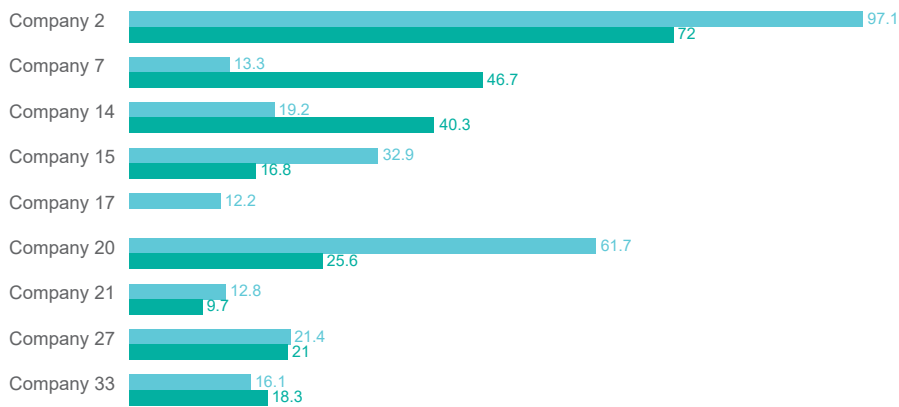
Figures 46-47 and Table 31 highlight the variation in organisations, both accredited and unaccredited, in their average received user interactions per post. While most Non-ROs in the 2022 sample saw increases in average Likes/Reactions and Shares per post (Figure 47, 31), increases among ClfA ROs were more limited with many organisations experiencing lower averages than encountered in the 2019 dataset. Arguably the most significant digital engagement indicator, Visible Comments, were noticeably reduced in the 2019 sample with nine of the 14 development-led archaeological companies receiving fewer user comments per post than they did three years prior (Figures 46-47, Table 31).

However, despite a general downward trend across the average number of Visible Comments per post in the dataset it was clear that numerous organisations countered this pattern and had substantially increased the number of comments users left on their content. In 2022 the average number of Visible Comments per post for Non-RO 6 was six times higher than in 2019, for ClfA RO 6 it was four times greater and for ClfA 27 it had more than doubled (Figures 46-47).

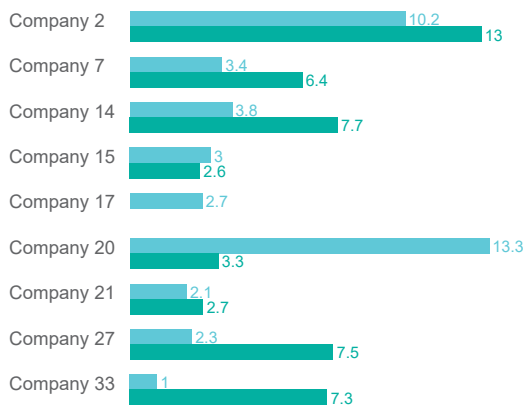
Indeed, these three companies posted less frequently in 2022 than they did three years earlier, highlighting that it is hard to correlate fewer posts with lower user interaction

averages. Echoing Chapter Four’s findings that more posts do not necessarily result in increased user interactions, clearly there are more complex factors that influence audience engagement including combinations of a post’s visual appearance, timing, personal user behaviours and decisions and the qualitative subject of the content.

CifA ROs Post Pandemic: Average Likes/Reactions per Post, 2019 and 2022



CifA ROs Post Pandemic: Average Shares per Post, 2019 and 2022



CifA ROs Post Pandemic: Average Comments per Post, 2019 and 2022

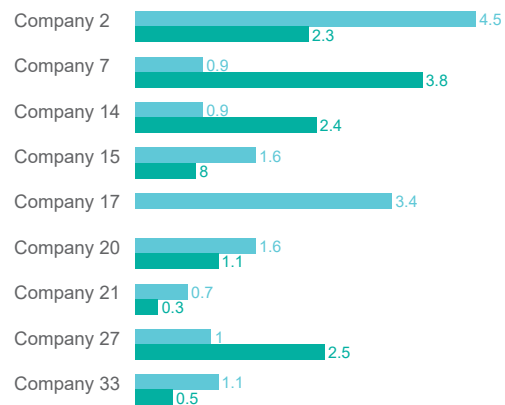
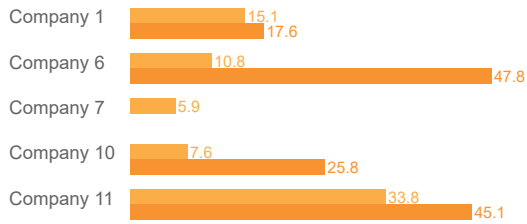
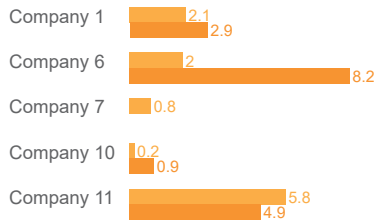


Figure 46: CifA RO User-Page Interactions comparing the 2019 and 2022 datasets. Interactions include Like/Reactions, Shares and Comments

Non-ROs Post Pandemic: Average Likes/Reactions per Post, 2019 and 2022



Non-ROs Post Pandemic: Average Shares per Post, 2019 and 2022



Non-ROs Post Pandemic: Average Comments per Post, 2019 and 2022

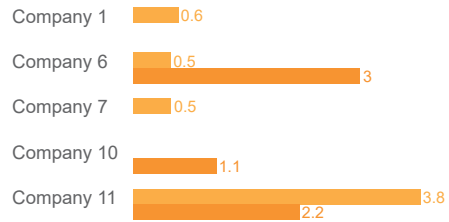


Figure 47: Non-RO User-Page Interactions comparing the 2019 and 2022 datasets. Interactions include Like/Reactions, Shares and Comments

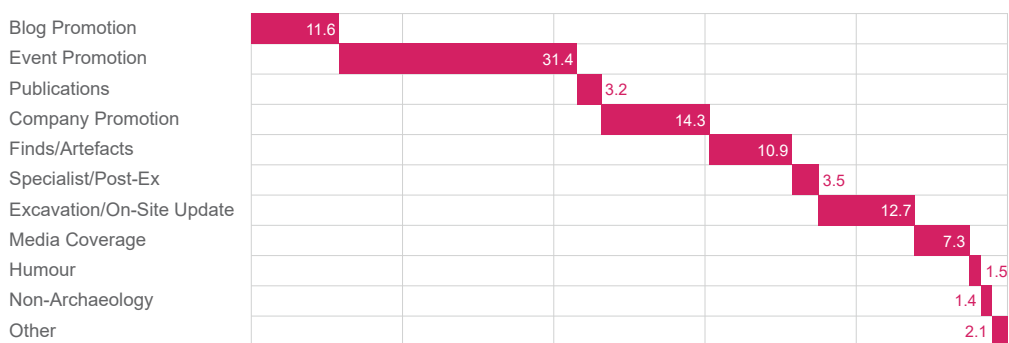
Interactions	Number of ClfA RO Increases	Number of ClfA RO Decreases	Number of Non-RO Increases	Number of Non-RO Decreases
Avg. Likes/Reactions per Post	3	6	4	1
Avg. Shares per Post	6	3	3	2
Avg. Visible Comments per Post	3	6	2	3

Table 31: Examination of individual ClfA RO and Non-RO increases and decreases in average user interactions per post from the 2022 post-pandemic sample

8.2.2 Post-pandemic Sample – Qualitative Content

Comparing the totals of content coded posts from the 2019 dataset with the 2022 sample for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO outputs of both organisations, revealed a somewhat surprising degree of continuity for most categories (Figure 48). Of the 11 identified qualitative coding categories, seven (Blog Promotion, Publications, Company Promotion, Specialist/Post-Ex, Humour, Non-Archaeology and other) displayed a 2% or less variation from 2019 to 2022 (Figure 48). A further three categories also experienced comparatively minor changes in three years including Finds/Artefacts (-3.0%), Event Promotion (-3.6%) and Media Coverage (-3.7%) all dropping by less than 4% (Figure 48).

Combined Dataset - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2019 Dataset



Combined Dataset - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2022 Sample

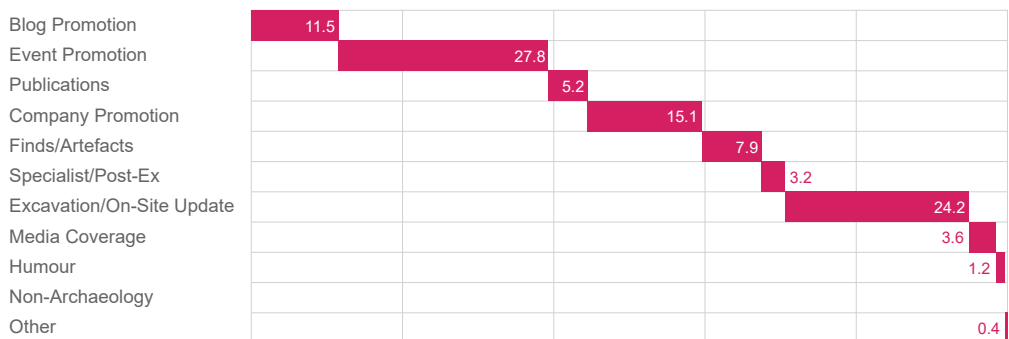


Figure 48: Comparison of the coded content categories for the combined ClfA RO and Non-RO posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample

Indeed, the one category that saw significant change was that of Excavation/On-Site Update which almost doubled between 2019 and 2022, from 12.7% to 24.2% (Figure 48). Indeed, this large increase moved Excavation/On-Site Updates to just below Event Promotion posts as the most prevalent content type for development-led archaeological companies, closing the sizable gulf that separated the latter from all other coding categories in the 2019 dataset (Figure 48).

The continuity evident in the 2022 sample suggests that the pandemic and time have had little impact on the types of post being created by organisations, even if both have affected the quantity and frequency of posts (see 1.3 above).

8.3 Discussion

Both the interviews with practitioners and the post-pandemic sample data demonstrate a sector where Covid has had a variable impact on the creation and distribution of digital content via Facebook.

While opinions were divided as to the pandemic's effect on development-led organisation's social media outputs (see 8.1 above), the quantitative sample suggests that post frequency has generally fallen. Yet, despite what seems to be a reduced level of content being created across the whole sector, audience interaction and engagement appears to have remained consistent. This suggests that there is a reliable appetite for archaeological content among Facebook's users, irrespective of the frequency with which it is crafted and shared.

Echoing the consistency of audience interaction, the content of Posts also displays a somewhat surprising degree of constancy. While eight categories saw decreases and two slight increases (Figure 48), the notable change in posts focusing on excavations and site working shots may be a potential consequence of the pandemic impacting content creation practices.

The analysis of the 2019 qualitative dataset revealed the prominence of Event Promotion posts among both CfA ROs and Non-ROs. Covid-19 restrictions inhibited the ability to host typical archaeological events, such as site tours, volunteering and in-person activities. It is possible that to make up for this shortfall in their typical outputs, practitioners recognised the value of posts featuring excavations and progress updates.

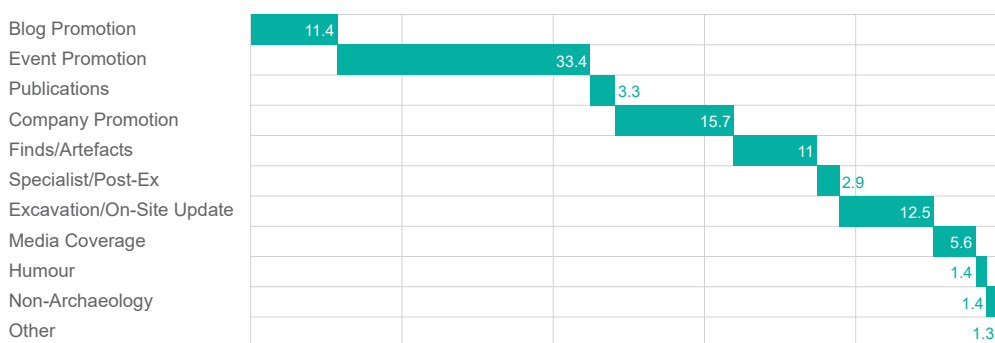
Indeed, archaeology as part of the construction sector largely continued to work during lockdowns, as mentioned by both Louise (Appendix D: Louise, 170-171) and Samantha (Appendix D: Samantha, 392-398), providing a potential source of content well-suited to replace largely event-focused Facebook Posts. As the pandemic and physical restrictions lifted, these on-site posts may have been continued as a good source of content that resonated with the public and provided good engagement, something Chloe (Appendix D: Chloe, 230) acknowledged was always popular, "What I think goes down well is excavations".

While the CfA RO dataset was largely a reflection of the combined dataset (Figure 49), there were fewer Event Promotion posts, with a reduction of 7.5% over the three years between data collection periods. However, among Non-ROs there were more pronounced changes (Figure 50). Non-ROs saw the same increase to Excavation/On-Site Updates, rising from 13.7% in 2019 to 23.6% in 2022. Yet, the largest increase to content visible for Non-ROs was the growth of Event Promotion posts from 21.9% to 34.5% in three years, directly contrasting the trend present in CfA ROs. This post-pandemic increase reflected a notable growth of Non-RO physical events (particularly site tours).

It is unclear what prompted non-accredited organisations to increase their in-person engagement offerings. There is a possibility these have derived from an increase in local authorities mandating an engagement component to be included in development-led archaeological investigations in order to receive the requisite sign-offs. While the author has experienced this requirement becoming increasingly common, he is unaware of any research investigating this phenomenon. The increase in Non-RO events may also have been influenced by a post-pandemic desire amongst non-archaeologists to attend in-person activities, something Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 441-451) had noted among audiences that, in a world with fewer Covid-19 restrictions, "were craving real-world experiences".

Finally, the other prominent difference among the Non-RO 2022 sample was the large reduction in Media Coverage content, a category that dominated the 2019 dataset for non-

CifA ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2019 Dataset



CifA ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2022 Sample

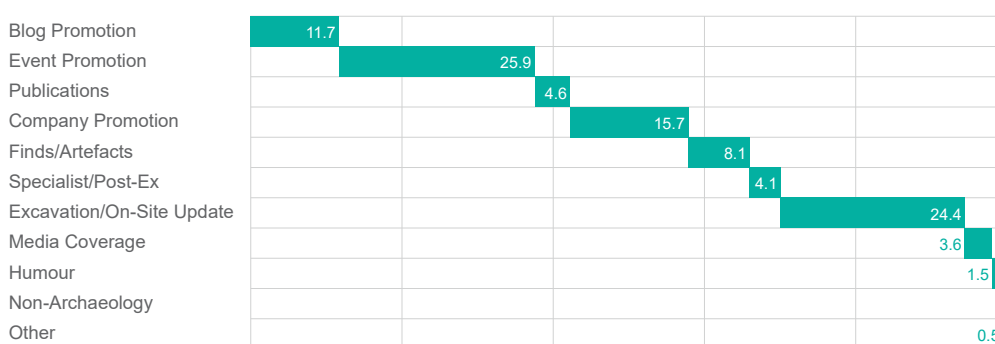


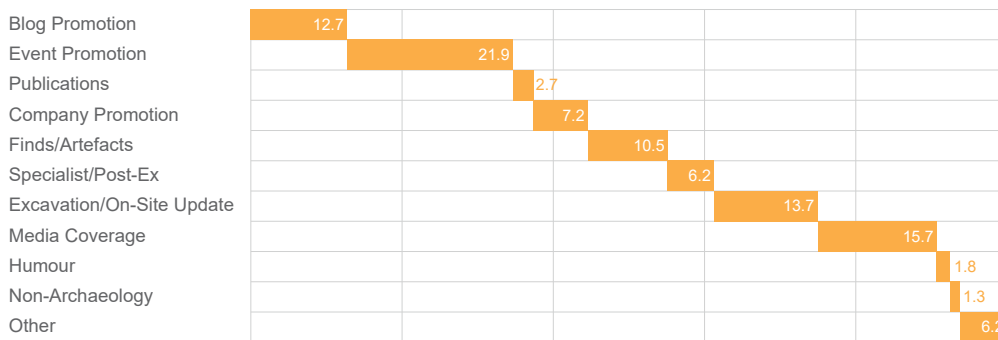
Figure 49: Comparison of the coded content categories for CifA ROs posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample

accredited organisations (Figure 50). This could largely be attributed to the change among Non-RO 6 that had previously heavily relied upon the sharing of unrelated archaeological news stories, with Media Coverage for this company dropping from a staggering 77% of all posts in 2019 to just 4% of its 2022 content. This reduction among non-accredited organisations, not just Non-RO 6, saw the category fall from representing 15.7% of all in the Non-RO dataset to just 3.6% in the 2022 sample (Figure 50). This decrease was also reflected with CifA ROs (Figure 49) with these organisations seeing a 2% decrease between 2019 and 2022. The decrease suggests that both types of development-led archaeological organisations were opting to share less media coverage content, though it is unclear what may be causing this.

It seems unlikely that archaeological work is receiving less media attention than three years ago, though this could be the case. Alternately, what appears to be a recent shift towards less favourable coverage of archaeological work, particularly by local news sources, where an unfamiliarity with the planning process results in an emphasis on delays and cost (Ellis 2023; Grimmer 2023; Lawson-Tancred 2023; Lennon 2023), could have provided practitioners with less positive stories that would not be conducive to sharing.

Whatever the cause, the shift away from media content, created by journalists that typically have limited archaeological knowledge, is populating development-led company Facebook Pages with more self-created content. This increased independence should, in theory, allows organisations more freedom to be creative with their posts. Though as the practitioner discussions of the barriers to unbridled digital liberty have shown, this decreased reliance on

Non-ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2019 Dataset



Non-ROs - Primary Category Percentage of Posts 2022 Sample

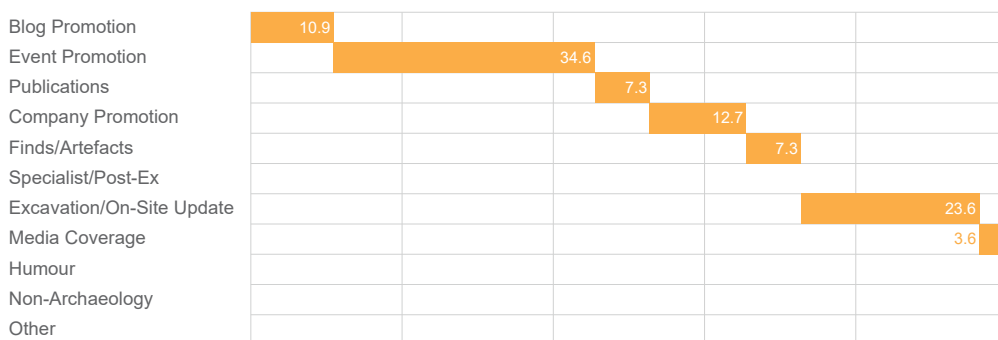


Figure 50: Comparison of the coded content categories for Non-RO posts encountered in the 2019 dataset and 2022 post-pandemic sample

external media coverage is only a small concession towards the freedom to openly discuss any aspect of the archaeological process.

With Covid-19 having an unparalleled global impact on society, encompassing everything from working practices to home life, it is something of a surprise that the 2022 sample suggests that digital engagement among the development-led sector is very reflective of the pre-pandemic landscape from 2019. Despite many practitioners being forced to pivot to digital technologies, notably social media, to share their work with wider audiences, aside from an increased focus on excavation and on-site updates and imagery, there appears to be little notable differences with Page outputs from three years previously. This general constancy visible across the sector does not adequately capture the fluctuating, individual variability encountered by each company. Understandably both internal and external factors, such as work schedules, budgets, staff responsibilities and so on, are critical factors in determining the changeability of post frequency and character.

What is clear from this research, ranging from pre-pandemic to post-pandemic datasets, is that for almost all development-led organisations their digital outputs are subject to an ebbing and flowing of content dictated by the complex pressures exerted on archaeological companies. It appears that the pandemic was simply another of these factors practitioners had to face. Indeed, as with many aspects of the sector, company approaches and attitudes appear to have been variable, with some derived from a concerted, institutional policy and others reliant on an individual's drive and enthusiasm.

Chapter 9 Development-led Archaeology and Digital Engagement: A Discussion

This research has sought to use development-led archaeological Facebook Pages as a lens to better understand how engagement is perceived and practiced in the UK's market-driven construction sector. Examining Facebook posts, their reception by users and, crucially, speaking to the digital content creators responsible for populating Pages with posts has highlighted numerous important themes relating to online archaeological engagement. Many of these motifs are familiar from the body of literature, including client confidentiality, evaluation, and the composition of online audiences. However, the datasets have also highlighted emergent themes that are key components of the digital development-led engagement landscape, particularly the composition of user responses, the qualitative character of many companies' created content and the roles and responsibilities of practitioners.

In this summative discussion the research's themes are highlighted and examined, characterising UK organisation outputs and critically assessing the sector's principal limitations and barriers to engagement. The chapter includes practical proposals to increase investment in practitioners, upskill archaeologists in digital communication and mitigate the negative impact of financially focused management structures on online engagement initiatives.

9.1 Engagement in Market-driven Archaeology: Uneven, Unequal and Uncoordinated?

At the core of this research is the inescapable shadow of the market-driven nature of the UK's archaeological sector. For virtually every development-led organisation their existence is predicated on the need to win tenders, deliver fieldwork and post-excavation reports on time, on budget and, crucially, to keep their clients happy. Archaeological companies are reliant on a construction industry that primarily regards them as an unnecessary expense and barrier to progress, resulting in a perpetual struggle to stay afloat in an environment vulnerable to fluctuating economic conditions.

With financial considerations dominating decision making but a growing sense of the responsibility of the discipline to better communicate its work, development-led archaeological companies face an unequal struggle of economics versus engagement. This environment, where delivering results is arguably seen as being more important than sharing them, places outreach practitioners in an untenable position caught between being employed to engage audiences and finding themselves prevented from doing so owing to client confidentiality, ingrained institutional attitudes and inadequate access to information.

Equally, development-led organisations operate in a highly reactive landscape, where internal company priorities and perspectives can shift on a project-to-project basis, determined by current client relationships, excavation schedules and stakeholder collaborations. Projects can shift from "closed" infrastructure schemes where communication is heavily restricted to more "open" participative work involving clients keen to engage local communities and widen participation.

This research's uneven quantitative Facebook dataset (Chapter Four), reflecting part of the sector's digital engagement outputs, seems to reflect this variable development-led landscape, filled with fluctuating and often competing objectives. Examining the frequency and character of archaeological organisations' Facebook content highlighted the extreme degree of variability across the sector, a finding reinforced by a more recent post-pandemic sample (Chapter Eight). Indeed, despite a wider societal perception of the increased

importance of online communication post-lockdown, the sample of archaeological Facebook content suggests there has been very little change to how organisations are employing social media platforms.

At one end of the spectrum are a small core of coordinated companies employing social media content as a central component to their wider communication and engagement strategy. These organisations, such as Chapter Four's ClfA ROs 02 and 05, were posting regularly, crafting archaeological content that was resonating with users and generating discussion and, crucially, the companies were responding to audiences. By contrast, some companies' digital engagement outputs were infrequent, unfocused and, based on the dearth of user interaction, mostly unacknowledged by users. Here, content was rare, typically created with minimum effort and shared with a clear "fire and forget" mentality that resulted in Pages struggling to attract audiences and rarely creating any opportunities for discernible engagement.

Between these two polarised digital groupings was the bulk of the development-led sector's offerings, where content was sporadic but well-intentioned, strongly visual but lacking in audience interaction and rich in information but often overly dense. With such an uneven framework across organisations, with wildly divergent post frequency, content coverage, audience interactions and levels of user discussion, the sector is clearly divided over online communication.

This division is partly a consequence of the fragmented professional structure of UK archaeological service providers and the differing scale of development-led heritage contracts. There are notable differences between professionally accredited ClfA ROs and unaccredited Non-ROs, with the latter investing far less in creating and sharing content on Facebook and rarely responding to their digital audiences. Such a divide may, in part, be attributed to the size of companies and the projects they undertake. ClfA ROs are generally larger entities that are more likely to undertake schemes of a greater magnitude which may have more involved engagement requirements from both clients and local authorities. While some UK Non-ROs operate on a similar scale, there is a greater probability that most non-accredited companies will work on smaller projects where wider communication may not be necessary or, if it is mandated, can target more limited audiences.

Companies opting for professional ClfA accreditation are also required to disseminate the results of their projects, though only when this is in-line with client stipulations (ClfA 2023c), a responsibility not shared among Non-ROs. Indeed, the divergent internal attitudes between ClfA ROs and Non-ROs towards engagement was encountered by the author, where just two of the unaccredited companies contacted responded (Chapter Three). This strongly suggests that for most Non-ROs the focus of their organisations is business-focused with wider dissemination only considered when strictly necessary.

This schism in responsibility for non-specialist dissemination is a neat encapsulation of the competing priorities for companies working within the sector. Despite the ClfA RO and Non-RO division, there is also significant variability within these two forms of organisation (Chapter Four) that reflects the divergent aims inherent to the UK's archaeological landscape. A lack of coordination, resulting in uneven outputs, may be the primary challenge for companies seeking to use social media as an effective engagement tool for connecting with users. Perhaps the most valuable method of attracting audiences, encouraging interactions and establishing a digital community is building and maintaining momentum through the regular creation of content.

Establishing a long-term social schedule, coordinating content and finding the time to develop and create material is clearly a significant challenge for much of the sector, with only a handful of companies managing to deliver active social channels. While frequent posting

does not guarantee engagement (Chapter Four), it is an important foundation from which to build an online communication strategy. What is key, is for companies to consider how social media can tie into their remits and objectives and develop a suitable, scaled stratagem that allows for a consistent output that can operate effectively within the time and resources at their disposal.

9.2 Social Media Content Creation: Subversion, Marketing and Managing Management

Social media content is the root from which digital engagement can grow, with the range of user interactions (Likes/Reactions, Shares and Comments) the dendritic strands that emanate through the online ether from their originating post. What these posts contain is integral to determining how audiences can engage, from providing learning opportunities to participative prompts designed to generate discussion. Qualitative content analysis (Chapter Five) provided an insight into how the UK's development-led sector is characterising and presenting archaeology to users.

While there was notable variability in the frequency, delivery and reception of Facebook Posts, there was greater uniformity in their content. Tellingly, almost one in three Posts were designed to promote traditional offline, in-person engagement activities such as talks and site tours. This prevalence not only implies that these established modes of communication still predominate but that one of the core functions of social platform use is to advertise these events, not to act as a primary source of engagement.

Equally, that Posts focused on artefacts and excavations formed less than a quarter of the combined dataset (Chapter Five), and still constituted fewer than one third of content post-pandemic (Chapter Eight), suggests that companies are underexploiting archaeology's most visual and relatable outputs. This perspective is reinforced by the number of user Comments these categories received (Chapter Six), where it was clear how strongly these facets of the discipline resonated with audiences, prompting them to ask questions and even offer interpretations where companies were encouraging and amenable to them doing so.

Similarly, there appear to be several areas of untapped potential for companies to exploit. The use of humorous content clearly resonated with audiences, producing similar light-hearted responses (Chapter Six). However, the low volume of Humour Posts created by development-led organisations (Chapter Five) is indicative of the sector's general discomfort at presenting a less professional front when communicating, despite the potential for more informal content to appeal to audiences.

Another common development-led output that could be ripe for mining by digital practitioners are publications. While many Posts focused on Publications receive low volumes of user interactions and comments (Chapters Five and Six), these are typically focused on links to completed books, reports or journal articles. Alternately, practitioners could view these completed outputs as resources from which to draw smaller "vignettes" around which to anchor Posts about micro-narratives from published projects such as individual archaeological features, artefact biographies, excavation techniques and interpretations. A small percentage of digital content creators employ elements of this technique though, for the sector more widely, most publications appear to be an underused resource, ready to be exploited.

Qualitative content analysis of Posts demonstrated that specialist and post-excavation processes were present in the outputs of many development-led organisations. Indeed, to see, and hear (Chapter Seven), practitioners pushing back against typical media depictions of the discipline and highlight the everyday knowledge production processes integral to archaeological research is heartening. Despite forming a sliver of the total encountered

posts, this presence is important and reinforces the oft-vaunted potential for social media to provide greater editorial control to archaeologists. This fleshing out of archaeology, as a complete scientific investigation, is critical for the sector and necessary to depict the profession more authentically by challenging the wider non-specialist perception of the sector being concerned simply with digging and treasure.

However, a tension exists behind the function of crafted content and the purpose of organisational social channels in the development-led sector. Visible in the prominence of Company Promotion posts in the content coding dataset (Chapter Five) and interviewee discussions of organisational eagerness to advertise services (see Appendix D: Samantha, 17-18), a dichotomy exists between practitioners and management structures on whether platforms exist for engagement, marketing, or a complex mixture of both.

Social media can function in an advertising capacity that exists in synch with engagement objectives, attested by the dominance of Event Promotion content within the dataset (Chapter Four). However, it is hard to visualise how overt posts detailing professional services can dovetail with material designed to educate, inform and encourage digital participation. Indeed, this disjunction was observed by practitioners who noted such practices reflected business practice, not meaningful attempts to engage audiences.

You get these quite bizarre Tweets about how archaeologists are managing risk and delivering value on time and on budget. Now that's using social media in a way many businesses do to express the value of those organisations to their key target client base. (Appendix D: Brendon, 43-46)

As highlighted in the literature (Chapter Two) and during interviews (Chapter Seven), most archaeological organisations' senior management structures consist of older staff members, many of which work in businesses where the mechanics of archaeology have remained largely unchanged for close to thirty years. Discussions with practitioners (Chapter Seven) highlighted that convincing management of the need for digital engagement and for social media to be predominantly about sharing archaeology, not attracting clients, is a difficulty for the development-led sector.

Despite impassioned calls for archaeology to reassess its mechanisms for delivery and relationship to the construction industry (see Watson 2019 and Brendon's discussion of DigVentures' model in Chapter Seven), it seems unlikely that the UK's archaeological sector will ever extricate itself from subservience to the construction industry. Long-established organisations and ingrained management practices are too heavily invested in the present reality to countenance alternative models. Therefore, for digital practitioners seeking to deliver meaningful online engagement they are likely to have to reframe their outputs in the language of management or operate covertly within existing corporate business structures.

The first, and most sustainable long-term, option is to change how social media content is perceived by management. While it is important to note that some directors and managers were supportive and recognised the value of online posts (Appendix D: Samantha, 352-354; Victoria, 244-246), for most it was regarded less positively (Chapter Seven). As numerous practitioners noted for many of their senior colleagues the perception of online content is typically viewed through an economic filter and similarly affected by personal attitudes towards social media platforms. To help alter established attitudes, practitioners may opt to repackage social media content both internally and externally.

For most development-led organisations, engagement is a problematic facet of their business models. Despite increasingly being required in planning conditions it is a component of the mechanism of archaeology that typically produces little financial return. Indeed, from the author's experiences in the sector, even when budgeted for, engagement will routinely leave little profit and is often written off as a necessary loss to secure tenders

or keep clients and development control amenable. With little economic benefit visible to managers, it is easy to see where the appearance of overt Facebook content promoting commercial services and posts highlighting company awards, sector collaborations and senior staff profiles stems from. However, this direct marketing-focused content is unlikely to yield returns and often was opposed to the strategies and content preferred by practitioners seeking to communicate a company's archaeological work.

One strategy practitioners could employ to help convince management structures of the institutional benefits of creating regular, engagement-focused online content on social media is to present it as an indirect marketing tool. Rather than scattergun posts explicitly advertising decades of fieldwork experience and post-excavation specialisms, weave content that highlights these organisational elements into engagement-focused outputs. Maintaining active social media accounts with posts focused on all aspects of archaeology, including practices, discoveries and analysis, that encourage user interaction and discussion will be a far better marketing tool than attempting to hard sell prospective clients on an organisation's ability to deliver a watching brief to budget.

Should companies wish to emphasise certain facets of their businesses, practitioners could subtly integrate these into posts, using a similar approach Keiran (Appendix D: Keiran, 166-171) adopted when attempting to recruit specialists by highlighting relevant work his organisation had recently undertaken. Should a development-led company want to emphasise their range of in-house specialists, practitioners could create a content series featuring different post-excavation analyses, detailing their work and its role within archaeological analysis. Similarly, for a focus on fieldwork post schedules could be updated to include a greater weighting towards on-site excavation and finds. This content need not be contemporary, companies could draw from their archives of projects and avoid issues relating to client confidentiality and site security.

Given that clients can often be unfamiliar with archaeological processes, particularly involving costlier post-excavation components, content aimed at non-specialist audiences would likely be a benefit for explaining the different planning condition requirements and demonstrating a competency and proficiency in these aspects. Furthermore, content would not need to be solely disseminated via social channels and could be repackaged for organisation webpages where it could supplement listed services, in a location more likely to be seen by prospective clients.

By creating and maintaining active social media channels with regular content and evidence of engaged users, organisations are demonstrating a highly visible commitment to communication. Implementing a strategy which frames digital engagement as a dissemination strategy effectively transforms it into a "product", more familiar to management structures and removing the more nebulous "outreach" associations that can inhibit senior staff from regarding this as a serious investment and responsibility.

Reframing digital engagement as a product also means it can be marketed to clients as a service, demonstrating the benefits of communicating with local communities that may be impacted by construction and, by using evaluation, provide them with evidence of engagement as a return on their investment. A selection of practitioners employed variations of this strategy (Appendix D: Brendon, 309-316; Mark, 371-391; Victoria, 460-470), but if more organisations were to formalise not only digital outputs, but engagement more widely, this would help cement interactive communication as a codified component of archaeological practice.

By characterising digital engagement as a product from which organisations can benefit may be one of the principal means of obtaining managerial buy-in from an area historically treated with scepticism. If practitioners can begin to encourage senior staff to perceive

engagement as a beneficial and practical service, this may help to replace negative trickle-down attitudes (Appendix D: Dawn, 286-293) with perspectives that regard communication as a core archaeological responsibility. That practitioners are likely to have to cynically repackage non-specialist communication by economically contextualising it is a telling indictment of the character of the UK's market-driven archaeological sector.

However, in a sector where change is, at best, slow and, at worst, glacial, any adjustments in managerial perceptions of engagement are likely to be a long time coming. Instead, effective digital engagement is likely to be dependent on individuals operating within a system where they are faced with widespread challenges ranging from client stipulations to internal politics. What is clear from speaking with digital engagement practitioners (Chapter Seven) is that most are passionate, creative and motivated, doing their utmost to connect with audiences and share archaeology however and wherever they can. Operating in what can easily be described as a hostile environment, where they are routinely forced to justify their role to senior colleagues (Chapter Seven), successful communication is largely a product of personal motivation in the face of adversity.

In a development-led environment that is reliant on individual enthusiasm, employee's love of the discipline and coworker friendships (Everill 2009), it is a real concern that the people driving positive digital engagement will be crushed by the sector's poor pay conditions, lack of staff recognition and a malaise of collegiate apathy toward wider communication. Currently, a sense of restricted institutional investment and senior support (Chapter Seven) suggests that companies are likely unaware of, or indifferent towards, staff feelings of isolation. This lack of concern furthers the potential for looming disenfranchisement relating to creating digital content and fosters a sense of "shouting into the void" (Appendix D: Dawn, 42-43) both online and internally.

Development-led archaeological organisations need to not only reexamine how they value engagement, both digital and physical, but the staff responsible for crafting, implementing and evaluating these strategies.

9.3 Breaking Barriers: Challenging "The Three C's": Content, Colleagues and Clients

When seeking to engage audiences with archaeology, practitioners are routinely faced with a surfeit of obstacles that inhibit their freedom and creativity. Indeed, Chapter Seven's interviews emphasised the scale of these barriers with 27 different hurdles regularly problematising wider communication of archaeological work. Despite this breadth, these hurdles can be categorised in three distinct areas: Content, Colleagues and Clients.

One of the primary difficulties for practitioners was their ability to acquire the content they needed to create digital engagement. Owing to the prevalence of the staff responsible for social media being office-based (Chapter Seven) obtaining suitable content from field teams was often the first challenge they encountered and could effectively kill online engagement before it could begin. With most field staff solely focused on delivering their responsibilities to record and remove archaeology, "encouraged" to do so by client and managerial pressures, tight timescales and little opportunity to deviate from proscriptive excavation strategies, there appear to be few formal avenues for teams to share information and directly contribute to engagement outputs.

Similarly, when field staff are asked to capture and share excavations for engagement, there is seldom any training provided to help them produce these non-standard outputs which can lead to unsatisfactory media resources (Appendix D: Dawn, 220-226). For practitioners, trying to retroactively discover usable visual components from projects by digging through photographic archives is time consuming and may not yield results. Indeed, the current

development-led landscape appears to rely on practitioners themselves cultivating personal relationships with field teams to find out about projects and as a mechanism to receive relevant material.

It seems clear that this model is unsustainable, places undue pressure onto engagement staff and its informal nature adds a further unofficial responsibility to archaeologists' daily workflows. Companies need to formalise this relationship, recognising the importance of site staff as valuable resources for capturing and sharing the outputs that underpin communication. Organisations could codify engagement practices within staff responsibilities, to provide them opportunities to help office-based practitioners gather content and respond to request for specific visualisations or information. This would help mitigate the difficulties of practitioners struggling to visit excavations, often dispersed over wide geographic areas, and help improve staff buy-in by making the process more collaborative. Improving content acquisition by focusing on upskilling staff, not only in the field but specialists and project officers, leads to a second area of challenges facing practitioners: collegiate attitudes and perspectives.

Throughout this research's interviews, a constant theme was the perception of engagement by archaeologists working in the development-led sector (Chapter Seven). Encountered at all levels, from field teams (Appendix D: Dawn, 448-454) to management (Appendix D: Victoria, 246-249), communication was not considered to be a specialism (Appendix D: Mark, 351-362) and convincing colleagues to cooperate and participate was problematic for practitioners. To develop more sustainable, long-term engagement strategies development-led companies need to tackle how participation in wider communication is perceived by all archaeologists. Echoing the discussions about management perspectives above, engagement needs to be taken seriously and considered to be a core component of what archaeology is. In a profession that periodically faces threats to its very existence within the UK's construction sector, archaeologists need to consider communicating the value of their work as an intrinsic responsibility.

To increase staff buy-in to engagement, organisations should concentrate on codifying practitioner-staff relationships, making employee contributions a central part of developing content. Equally, providing direct internal feedback to colleagues that have helped co-create content, such as sending them metrics and selected qualitative Comments from social content they have contributed to, can ensure they realise their participating is valued. Indeed, a handful of interviewees described successfully using a similar strategy (Chapter Seven) but formalising this process more widely would be an effective method of valuing contributions. Increasing participation in engagement, and working alongside colleagues, would be a crucial mechanism for eroding ingrained scepticism towards non-specialist communication.

The final overarching inhibitor to conducting engagement is one to have dominated development-led archaeology since its inception: clients. The power and control clients can exert on the archaeological process can be an insurmountable roadblock that, should a funder so choose, can prevent all communication by companies. If a client says "No", and many will do so no matter what (Chapter Seven), practitioners have few opportunities to challenge this decision. One of the key priorities for organisations seeking to conduct digital engagement in the development-led sphere it to develop a clear internal communications strategy for working with clients. Critically, this document should be drawn up between engagement practitioners, management structures, project officers and site supervisors and cover variable approaches that can be tailored to tenders and create provisions for engagement to occur irrespective of client attitudes.

In the more extreme circumstances, where clients are unwilling to permit the release of information, practitioners can still deploy several techniques to ensure that archaeological

content can be disseminated. One such approach, skilfully implemented by Victoria (Appendix D: Victoria, 270-276) for her company, is to include clauses within contracts and WSIs to allow development-led organisations to post about archaeology if it is anonymised and features no information to identify locations and projects. Management structures may be reticent to include legal provision to enable anonymous digital engagement content in contracts, over concerns such contractual components could jeopardise tenders. However, that at least one forward-thinking organisation is currently doing so in the UK, suggests that this rarely occurs and that many clients are content to consent to the anonymous release of information providing it is formalised in writing.

Alternately, for clients that object to information sharing, practitioners can seek to employ longer-term strategies by sharing the archaeological findings of projects once they have been completed. By opting to wait until archaeological conditions have been delivered and developments finished, organisations will generally be freer to disseminate content unless clients have extensive legal restrictions on communication built into contracts. Given that on the completion of projects, the development control process typically requires the deposition of reports in accessible locations, for example the Archaeology Data Service or on company's own webpages, information will be available in the public domain. Using this rationale, practitioners can justify repurposing the rich repositories of data contained in reports for wider engagement material.

However, this is a far more long-term strategy, particularly given the timescales of many archaeological projects. It is not uncommon for sizable housing developments or infrastructure projects to take years to reach publication stages. To effectively use projects in this way, to circumvent client restrictions, would require far-sighted preparation which is likely to prove difficult in roles where time is already restricted. Practitioners could create a long-term schedule, into which the dates when projects become available for use could be entered, providing people with a bank of resources from which to draw engagement content from. Such a schedule could prove useful during fallow periods, providing opportunities to highlight the very best and most appealing content to generate rapid boosts in digital visibility through the sharing of rare artefacts, photogenic features and strong narratives. For this strategy to be most effective, it is likely staff continuity would be a key factor, something that could prove difficult in a landscape with high employee turnover.

The above techniques demonstrate that despite client control being a perennial challenge for engagement, that workarounds are available though they require organisational support and investment to be effective. However, as many practitioners noted (Chapter Seven), client attitudes are beginning to change, potentially owing to a greater appearance in investment in social value among local authorities and planning conditions. In these situations, it may be easier for development-led companies to be able to share information about archaeological work, though these may well be fraught with challenges of content oversight, lack of budgets and communication delays. Here, practitioners require significant support from their colleagues and managers to deliver effective engagement while simultaneously keeping clients on-board.

Key to this delivery is presenting online engagement as a proactive, professional and personal product that clients are buying into. These outputs are delivered in the same way as on-site archaeological services and clearly framing the outputs, and their evaluation, in a format familiar to clients is integral to developing this as an effective strategy. Quantifying and costing outputs, so funders know exactly what they are receiving and incorporating reports on evaluation and impact evidence help present a method that can demonstrate a return on investment. Some practitioners described developing similar strategies (Chapter Seven) involving the translation of engagement into a language understandable by corporate, business structures.

This seemingly essential transformation of exciting archaeological discoveries, artefacts, processes and practices into a depersonalised, sterile service, complete with itemised pricings, is a depressing indictment of the overwhelmingly economic character of the UK's development-led landscape. Indeed, perhaps ideally, it is tempting to imagine archaeologists resisting corporate censorship and waging a subversive guerilla engagement campaign, capable of sharing content freely. Yet, given the financial stranglehold of the established status quo, the consequences of such actions would undoubtedly be swiftly dealt with. Instead, attempting to repurpose engagement to fit within the current system is likely one of the primary, practical means of getting regular communication integrated into archaeological workflows, at least until more radical change can be attempted.

However, crucially, the content produced within such a system need not reflect the dry and fiscal method of generating client support and approval. Posts can be, and indeed should be, a dynamic blend of vibrancy, creativity, humour, participation that seek to draw audiences in and make them feel connected to archaeology. While development-led social media outputs may be, on one level, a performative means of social maintenance between companies and clients, their primary function should be to excite, educate and engage audiences with archaeology.

9.4 “Social” Social Media – Engagement, Evaluation and Audiences

A further critical factor highlighted by this research is the need for regular, internal evaluation and assessment of digital engagement content, combined with a greater awareness of potential audiences. Such self-evaluation of online outputs has long been called for within the discipline's literature (Chapter Two), though there is little consensus as to what forms such assessment should take. Indeed, when evaluation is carried out there is a variety of different metrics that tend to be collected and reported (Chapter Seven), though many focus on follower counts rather than post performance. There appear to be several barriers to conducting evaluation, chiefly a lack of time and training available to practitioners (Chapter Seven). However, if organisations were to begin employing digital engagement outputs as services to clients, this practice would require evaluation to produce reports, that could prompt greater investment in upskilling content creators in assessing audience interactions.

While social media platforms can provide owners with a wealth of data, it is critical for practitioners to scrutinise these figures and separate broader metrics from those they are presenting as evidence of engagement. This is especially true of markers that capture content visibility but not necessarily audience interactions. These “visibility markers”, can include broad brush figures such as Follower Counts and more specific metrics such as Facebook and Instagram's Impressions and Reach. These metrics report on the numbers of users that had content served to their Newsfeeds and “viewed” it, though critically there is no guarantee that these individuals acknowledged the Posts and may simply have glimpsed at them as they scrolled. Critically, there is no degree of discernible interaction present in these figures, making them unsuitable for use in evidencing engagement.

Some practitioners (see Appendix D: Chloe, 255-258) described visibility markers forming the basis of their digital engagement reports, with user-Page interactions such as Likes, Reactions, Shares and Comments not being discussed. It is understandable for organisations to be keen to employ follower counts and Reach metrics, as these are typically the largest numbers present in the stats platforms provide (see Wakefield 2020). These visibility insights will include a numerical representation of “lurkers”, audiences that do not interact with content, but without investing considerable time and resources to derive qualitative data from this audience sector, companies will be unable to generate identifiable and actionable evaluation of these users. However, definitions characterise engagement as a “two-way” process (NCCPE 2023a) meaning that visibility markers are unsuitable as

evidence of this form of interaction. This is not to say that practitioners and organisations should avoid using visibility indicators in their reporting, only that they should be clearly presented and discussed as evidence of the profile of content, more representative of how far a post has travelled, rather than how many users have engaged with it.

It is recommended that companies instead focus their reporting on social media interactions that contain identifiable evidence of engagement, prioritising those metrics with a greater qualitative component. Alongside reporting these externally, regular internal reviews of metrics are also valuable for practitioners to assess how content is performing and to established audience preferences. However, several practitioners described not feeling confident in doing this (Chapter Seven) and specialist social media training would provide them with the relevant skills.

A proposed weighting for evaluation (Figure 51) would rank engagement via the degrees of discernible interactivity. While this tiered system can provide a general overview of the character of received engagements, useful for determining content popularity, further examination of Comments is necessary to determine a more nuanced understanding of how individuals are responding to posts.

While Mark (Appendix D: Mark, 374-275) described carrying out qualitative analysis of comments where possible, no other practitioners suggested this was regularly undertaken. By capturing, and ideally anonymising, user comments for internal use, practitioners could conduct targeted qualitative content analysis to identify areas of engagement. Focusing on audiences' perceptions, interpretations and questions concerning shared archaeology would enable organisations to determine levels of engagement and target increasing user responses in these areas. Recording and tracking interpretations, questions and positive interactions could help create baselines and facilitate assessing longer term online engagement with development-led archaeological material.

With time and resources a persistent concern, practitioners could employ samples of comments to streamline the process and use a trial period to communicate results to senior management and/or clients to kickstart more qualitative examinations. Were development-led archaeology not such a competitive environment, practitioners could collaborate to share information on audiences and content reception, to create a mutual support network to help one another navigate the difficulties of fluctuating online audiences and client and colleague relationships.

A further crucial area for enhancing online engagement is maximising Page responsiveness and making social media, social. Given that a surprising number of companies never replied to user Comments in the original research period (Chapter Four) including a quarter of CfA ROs, organisations need to make a concerted effort to acknowledge audience interaction. This need not take the format of a Reply, but ensuring most, if not all, user comments receive Likes/Reactions and a tailored, personal response whenever possible is essential for eroding barriers and projecting online Pages as welcoming and accessible.

This is understandably challenging for practitioners with limited time and who may be receiving Comments, particularly those from international audiences, at irregular hours. However, ringfencing a period, potentially at the beginning or end of the working day, specifically to respond to and interact with users, both on Page posts and via private messages would help establish a routine. Similarly, for practitioners to also use this time to Like/React to, Share or Comment on other heritage Pages, potentially of collaborators, stakeholders, or other content is a simple method of developing online relationships that may prove beneficial and, in turn, foster new channels of interaction for the future.

A final important aspect for practitioners to consider are their digital audiences. However, while the evaluation of user interactions via qualitative and quantitative examination of

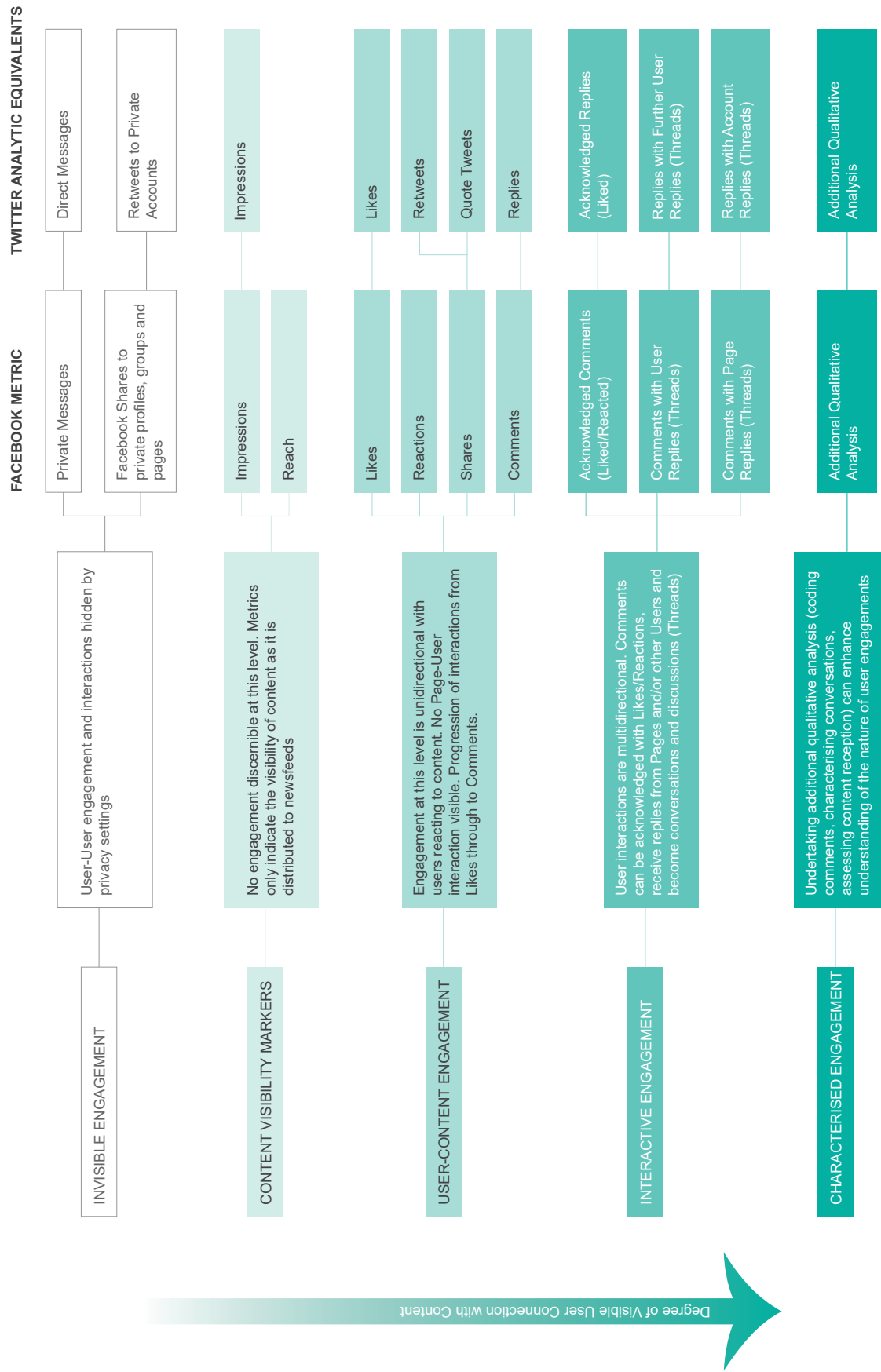


Figure 51: A proposed method of separating common social media metrics that identifies the disparate degrees of user engagement generated by content. While this research has centred on Facebook, the Twitter equivalence column indicates that such a ladder of engagement is applicable across platforms

metrics can help to decipher audience engagement, the demographic information available to Page owners is of more restricted use. Audience insights are largely limited for more nuanced analysis, but practitioners can still extract useful information though with more tempered expectations. Comparing Page and content demographics with broader site trends can help organisations broadly characterise their followers and gauge how these compare with platform-specific strategies. Is your newly created Instagram or Tik Tok account reaching the younger audiences you were targeting? Equally, tracking demographics from a month-to-month basis can assess if content campaigns are consolidating or challenging these audiences. Platform choice will play a major factor in audience composition, though as previous research has demonstrated (Wakefield 2020) individual Page follower demographics can notably deviate from broader site trends.

However, as Chapter Six's examination of commenters highlighted, development-led Page audiences are likely to comprise a notable proportion of archaeologists or individuals with a concerted archaeological interest. Ideally, organisations would carry out more detailed online audience analysis to accurately characterise their followers. This would be time consuming, costly and impractical for all but the largest companies. Ensuring that there is an awareness of the skewed disciplinary character of most content recipients is valuable in reminding practitioners to craft posts that attempt to penetrate beyond the archaeological bubble. While delivering content that meets user expectations is a critical facet of generating engagement, augmenting this with attempts to broaden audiences is not only an aim of many organisations, but one for the entire profession.

Typically, strategies to reach new audiences in the digital sphere have largely focused on exploring new platforms, usually during a honeymoon period where more recent sites and apps (most recently Tik Tok) receive influxes of users. These approaches can undoubtedly be successful, if content is tailored to match platform trends and, crucially, is sustained to attract audiences and generate momentum. Yet, archaeologists are likely to have to go further and extend into areas beyond typical comfort zones, both for individuals and the management of organisations. Exploring new styles of delivery, particularly informal formats including memes, humour and influencer-styled discursive video content are likely to open doors and tap into less traditional archaeological audiences. Doing so requires ceding some control, cultivating a more relaxed and accessible delivery style and being more transparent about the character of development-led archaeology.

Experimenting in this manner may well lead to conflict, between practitioners, ingrained institutional attitudes and clients, though trialling new approaches and risking setbacks in a calculated manner can be an effective mechanism for delivering change. However, if companies are to explore alternate content creation strategies, they must be given time to find their feet and not rapidly fall by the wayside if results are not immediate, a trend that was visible among more platforms requiring greater investitures of time (Chapter Four). To create successful digital spaces designed to facilitate audience engagement, practitioners need to equate responsiveness with content creation and underpin their outputs with evaluative reporting focused on the most participative forms of user interaction

9.5 Creating a Practical, Scalable Digital Content Strategy

At the centre of this research is the need to alter the internal perspectives of development-led organisations, from field staff to managers, of the value and purpose of digital engagement. Establishing communication as an integral component of archaeological workflows, not simply a benevolent add-on to passive audiences, is crucial to the future perception of the sector, irrespective of engagement's lack of immediate economic benefits. While this is a long-term, challenging, and possibly unattainable ambition, creating a sustainable, practical, and streamlined strategy with a cost-effective workflow for producing

digital content could help organisations create a foundation from which to establish concerted engagement outputs. The following discussion proposes areas for organisations to consider when developing online engagement in the development-led sector, separated by preparation, practice and perception.

It is imperative for companies seeking to implement digital engagement as one of their communication outputs to formalise this mode of engagement and the role(s) of those creating content for and moderating channels. Such roles will vary based on organisation size and available resources, but it is recommended to have an individual act as a principal practitioner with ancillary support from upskilled colleagues elsewhere in the organisation (Figure 52). The presence of colleagues, with a formal and, preferably paid, responsibility to spend a portion of their time assisting with providing and disseminating content helps reduce overreliance on individuals and provides a critical source of support in digital spheres.

A principal practitioner would primarily be responsible for the creation and implementation of an organisation's social media strategy, with supporting staff predominantly helping with the acquisition of content and drafting material based on their respective areas of work. Supporting staff could be drawn from different departments, with individuals from field teams, specialists, finds, and post-excavation working closely with principal practitioner to regularly provide them with updates on potential areas of interest and help generate content. These supporting staff should receive training in communication and engagement practices to enhance their knowledge, invest in individuals and ensure their knowledge and perspectives stem from informed archaeological backgrounds. Doing so would ensure that content is always embedded within development-led workflows and deliver on growing calls to upskill archaeologists, enhance the visibility of their contributions towards interpretation and entrench communication at all levels of practice (Perry 2018).

This model is also designed to respect scalability, enabling companies of differing sizes to create engagement teams suited to their outputs that can fluctuate with changing work schedules. Preferably, all staff would receive a degree of engagement training to enable every individual to identify and feedback potential content to principal practitioners. Codifying engagement support staff creates formal channels of communication and distributing these individuals throughout the organisation helps to mitigate the significant challenge of acquiring content and eroding the often-insurmountable barrier between the field and the office.

A field archaeologist trained in a support engagement role could be embedded in typical development-led open area excavations. Alongside their fieldwork responsibilities, they could be allocated 30 minutes each day to liaise with their colleagues and capture essential visual material, including photographs and short videos, of recent discoveries, interesting features, and methods of excavation. Individual, trained staff members could also report on smaller projects, such as evaluations and watching briefs or this approach could be scaled up, providing more engagement support staff on larger and longer-term open-area excavations to capture more content and reduce pressure on field archaeologists. At the end of the week the staff member would spend some time collating collected material, including descriptors of the media and a short summary of the work's progression, before sending it through to the principal practitioner. This may require providing staff with the equipment and time to use more reliable office internet connections to transfer files, rather than depend on 4G or 5G mobile networks or dongles.

A similar methodology could be applied to office environments where individuals from specialists and finds teams would receive guidance in image and video capture and provide weekly updates to principal practitioners on their sections work, highlighting exciting artefacts and their techniques of knowledge production. Placing office-based and post-excavation analysis at a similar level to fieldwork would help provide a more truthful depiction of the

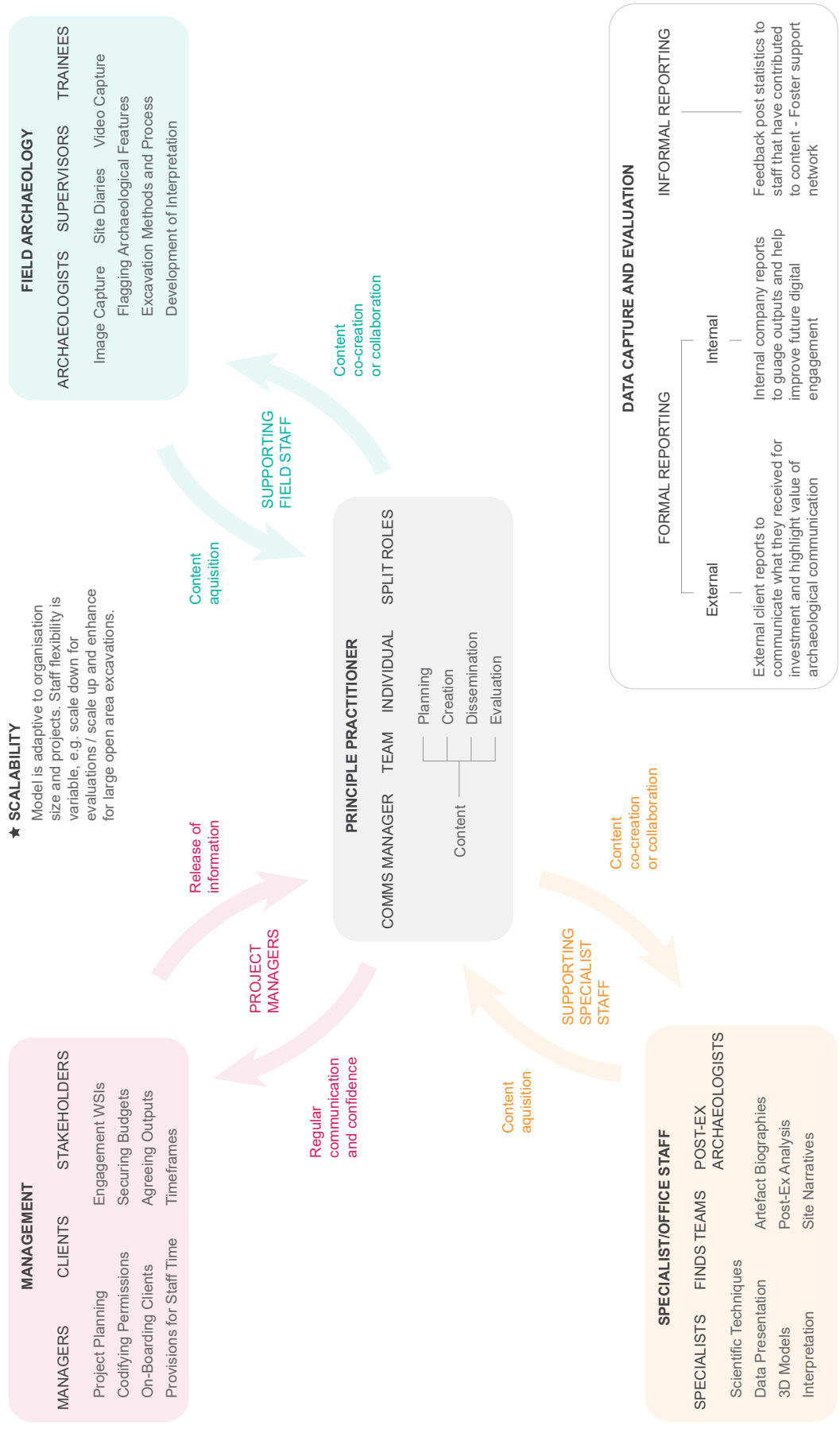


Figure 52: A potential model for embedding engagement within development-led organisations and to formalise relationships between practitioners and staff

profession and draw back the curtains on hitherto unforeseen but essential components of the discipline.

Training existing staff and including them as key members of the engagement process will hopefully increase colleagues' understanding of communication and, in turn, improve their recognition of its value. Including all tiers of the archaeologists in this process, from trainees through to project officers may also lead to a steady increase in acknowledging the importance of engagement as staff involved in this process progress in seniority. However, the foremost benefit for this strategy is it establishes communication routes between engagement practitioners and their colleagues, creating a delivery mechanism for them to receive the essential visual and information foundation needed to craft posts.

Underpinning these staff should be the production of a codified digital engagement document that clearly identifies organisational objectives and establishes the parameters under which principal practitioners and support staff can operate. Who is the organisation hoping to reach? How will they approach and evaluate this? This document should clearly set out the digital safeguarding measures in place to support staff, with clear guidance on out-of-hours working, crisis management and provisioning for employee cover. It should also establish policies to ensure principal practitioners are involved in the writing of engagement components featured in work tenders, WSIs and ensure they are included in discussions with clients at an early stage. Ensuring practitioners can directly speak with clients, and their relevant communications departments, rather than depend on mediation via project officers and management is essential.

A digital engagement strategy should also define the formal release of information, with practitioners detailing tone and styles, which may vary from platform-to-platform and during different campaigns. Similarly, management should create a formal section wherein levels of information sharing are clearly defined to establish parameters content creators can work within without having to get additional approval and clearance, either internally or externally. This should be made clear to clients during negotiations on communications, to ensure that practitioners can operate with a degree of autonomy during projects and minimise disruption from the overzealous issuing of consent often encountered.

Ideally, parameters would include a minimum agreed baseline, guaranteeing practitioners will always be entitled to share anonymised information that does not identify clients, projects or geolocatable sites. Alternately, establishing a window of time following the completion of archaeological work after which material can be shared freely, can reduce risks (unauthorised site access, client fears of local community mobilisation) while still enabling archaeological content to be disseminated. Organisations should strongly consider including such clauses in contracts to further emphasise a commitment to engagement, transparency and avoid bowing to client pressures.

Creating, and updating, a company digital engagement document, even one that is streamlined, embeds wider communication responsibilities in development-led archaeological processes, theoretically reducing its typical ad hoc, informal position. Not only would such a document formalise a commitment to these channels of dissemination, but they can support other aspects of the organisation's work. For ClfA ROs they can fulfil a method of meeting engagement requirements (ClfA 2023) but for all companies, accredited or otherwise, they can present a marketable service to clients. Having organisational strategies and dedicated online communication staff can give clients and stakeholders the confidence that companies are committed to sharing information in a thoughtful and professional capacity.

Engagement documents must not be tokenistic gestures, designed to disingenuously secure work or routinely slip out-of-sight until ClfA inspections or attractive tenders containing social

value components suddenly remind managers to dust them off. Digital engagement requires the investment of time and resources to create a long-term, meaningful series of channels to build engagement with audiences. For content outputs, practitioners should be given some freedom to use their personal creativity and knowledge of their platforms and audiences to meet expectations and craft posts that engender engagement from users. However, organisations should also seek to subvert these expectations and introduce more unusual aspects of archaeology to create a more rounded and truthful depiction of the discipline.

Similarly, creating a realistic social media schedule that can be maintained is important for generating momentum by the regular distribution of content. For practitioners setting an achievable posting target, and sticking to it, is an effective means of building audiences and establishing a baseline of engagement. Determining the level of regularity is key, with three posts a week over a year being preferable to daily posts that are only sustained for a few months. Experiment with trial periods to gauge the feasibility of plans and determine the levels of posting, responding and the time it takes to schedule material. Practitioners should also consider crafting posts with specific objectives in mind. Is this piece of content designed to prompt questions about a site feature? Spark ideas and interpretations over an unusual artefact? Entertain? Educate? Considering what each post is designed to achieve is useful when it comes to evaluation and assessing user engagement with different visual and textual components.

Ensuring that audiences feel seen, listened to, and connected is essential when attempting to cultivate a community. Not only does content need to be regular, so do responses. Focus on presenting archaeology as accessible, transparent and open, answering questions even if they are challenging and raise difficult questions. Delivering a space where archaeologists can discuss their projects and findings in an equitable environment will hopefully help to erode authoritative barriers using responsiveness to personalise the profession. However, in increasingly hostile social media environs it is also necessary to establish clear guidelines for users on what is considered acceptable online behaviour. Practitioners should not accept inappropriate or unacceptable behaviours and have a digital duty of care towards their Page audiences.

Finally, organisations should regularly collect and report on their digital data underpinning online engagement on social media platforms. It is relatively straightforward to extract metrics from all major platforms (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram), using in-built platform services that can provide them in manageable spreadsheet formats and tailor them to deliver data on specific aspects (for example divisions between Page and Post level content on Facebook). This data is useful for building internal reports on content and platform performance, particularly if extracted monthly. As discussed above, separating visibility and engagement evidence is particularly important to ensure that reporting is accurate on the nature of user interactions. Separating these into the different areas discussed above from Likes, Reactions, Shares and Comments helps practitioners characterise and assess engagement, particularly relating to different content types and to determine change in response to dissemination strategies.

Yet, it is also important to also capture qualitative evidence of engagement, which is absent from internal platform data collection. Creating anonymised records of user comments received in response to posts is also of value, a process that can be employed using targeted sampling if the volume proves challenging for the time and resources available. Gathering anonymous Comments, which can be inserted into platform-generated Post data spreadsheets, enables content analysis to be conducted to assess the character of user engagements. Examining Comments for evidence of questions, interpretation, positivity and personal connections can be valuable indicators of higher degrees of engagement. Similarly, quoting very engaged users can be a powerful demonstrator of the value of

wider communication and can form a component of both internal and external engagement reports.

To maximise the benefit of external reporting, chiefly for clients, metrics and post information extracted from platforms should be separated into project-specific outputs. Practitioners could develop a template, breaking down engagement data into platforms and different interaction types, complete with the visuals of each post augmented by user responses to them. Similarly, visualising this data using graphs and tables formalises these reports and creates a professional output that can neatly demonstrate precisely what clients have got from their investment. Indeed, by avoiding reporting on amalgamated company social media data, tailoring it to each client-funded project and making each a personalised summary helps build relationships and clearly illustrate the value of wider communication. The regularity of reports can be scaled to fit with differing organisations and however they are formatted, implementing them in the standard workflows of archaeological practice should become a formal part of the sector's outputs.

While the development component of the development-led sector is the genesis of most of the obstacles to engagement in UK archaeology, intramural attitudes are also a significant barrier to more open communication. While digital content is one facet of wider archaeological engagement, there is a critical need for companies to seriously value sharing information beyond our peers. These highly visible, online platforms are likely to increasingly become the major public face of organisations, acting as prominent delivery mechanisms to non-specialists. However, for change to take place greater investment in staff members, time, resources, wellbeing and audiences is needed.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the Facebook outputs of development-led archaeological organisations and interviewed the practitioners responsible for populating their Pages with content. In doing so, it has demonstrated the market-driven nature of the UK's archaeology sector almost universally relegates engagement to the liminal boundaries of projects, resulting in uneven outputs and practitioners that struggle to share information.

Using a mixed methodological approach combining quantitative manual social media data collection, to help inductively generate coding schema, with qualitative content analysis (Chapter Three) allowed Facebook to act as a lens to assess company approaches toward digital engagement and what information was being depicted in Posts. Augmenting this strategy was a response interviewing initiative with content creators and moderators designed to understand their organisational approaches and listen to their experiences of working in these roles (Chapter Three). Adopting this methodology enabled the research to detect many of the long-held concerns expressed in public archaeological literature (Chapter Two), including both the sector's restricted degree of wider communication and the scepticism of digital engagement being participative, multidirectional, and reaching beyond the discipline.

Quantitative examinations of company Facebook content demonstrated a highly uneven sector, not only across all organisations but often internally, where post frequencies could vary significantly from month-to-month (Chapter Four). Echoing the variability in posting, user interactions were similarly changeable with few companies managing to have built and maintain audiences. This was nowhere clearer than in the most discernible form of engagement, Comments, that were rarely received. More troubling was the sector's lack of responsiveness (Chapter Four), a paucity that undermines digital spaces as participative sources for engagement. While there were some notable exceptions, a handful of highly engaged, proactive organisations, for both accredited and non-accredited organisations most Facebook Pages were centres for unidirectional broadcasting.

Qualitative content analysis identified an emphasis on traditional engagement delivery, with a third of Facebook posts dedicated to promoting physical, offline events (Chapter Five). Similarly, there was a surprisingly limited proportion of the most visual archaeological processes: excavation and artefacts. Indeed, the notable percentage of content with aspects of promoting companies, including job adverts, sector collaborations and business information, highlighted the conflicted character of Facebook use having to accommodate both marketing and engagement for many organisations (Chapter Five).

Owing to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the digital landscape during this research, a post-pandemic sample of development-led Facebook use was conducted that revealed limited change in practices and content following lockdowns (Chapter Eight). While there were slight variations, the societal shift toward increasing online communication does not seem to have had a lasting impact on social media posting, either in its quantities or content.

Analysing user Comments, arguably the strongest visible identifier of engagement, highlighted a need for critical scrutiny when evaluating interactions, with one fifth of Comments existing to Tag users (Chapter Six). Users were more likely to leave Comments on artefact and excavation-based content, demonstrating a disconnect in audience expectation versus company outputs, an area that organisations should seek to address in their outputs (Chapter Six). Finally, a sample of Facebook commentators revealed users are likely to consist of notable proportions of archaeologists, or users with a preexisting interest in the subject, supporting disciplinary concerns that most engagement is failing to penetrate beyond established audiences.

Discussions with engagement practitioners demonstrated the difficulties they regularly face in an environment that often actively inhibits, or prevents, them from communicating archaeology (Chapter Seven). While it is well established that clients and budgets are significant obstacles to engagement, this research's interviews also highlighted that internal archaeological perspectives are also a sizable barrier to engagement non-specialist audiences (Chapter Seven). That many archaeologists are still reluctant to consider communication to be one of their responsibilities is a grim reflection of how engagement is typically perceived in the discipline.

In conclusion, this thesis confirms that within development-led archaeology digital engagement, and by extension engagement more generally, is subservient to the economic priorities and drivers of a market-driven sector. Being forced to continually bow to client pressures, disinterest and scepticism from senior management, apathy from colleagues and insufficient information, resources and timescales, online engagement is routinely banished to the margins of UK archaeology. It appears that there are only a handful of factors enabling digital engagement to keep its head above water, namely local authority social value stipulations, occasional proactive and PR-aware clients and rare, more forward-thinking organisations that recognise the potential for meaningful engagement to be a prominent business asset, even in development-led contexts.

However, the chief drivers for implementing digital engagement appear to be the practitioners operating in exigent environments, typically with only their own creativity, enthusiasm and passion for communication for support. Faced with so many hurdles to deliver engagement, it is a very real danger practitioners will steadily be ground down by ingrained development-led systems, losing the enthusiasm that is critical for building connections and developing multidirectional dialogues.

The financial drivers of development-led archaeology are inescapable, often diametrically opposing the tenets of engagement. Typically, engagement is still perceived as a benevolent reaching out to the masses, rather than created as an equitable foundation on which to open discuss archaeology. While organisations are still content to be beholden to client control of the sector, they are complicit in perpetuating an imbalanced system that frames most audiences as passive recipients of information, only disseminated when required.

Given how indurated the client-company status quo is within the UK, it is difficult to see any realistic prospect of radical positive change reframing how non-archaeological audiences are perceived within the development-led process. Instead, companies can try and subvert and resist these relationships where possible, by employing social media communication as a performative method of conducting social maintenance with clients, stakeholders and even organisational senior management. Buying support by presenting digital engagement as a marketized product itself, transforming it into the only language the sector truly values, is perhaps one of the only practicable mechanisms to increase opportunities to share information.

With social media now entrenched in daily communication, with new platforms continually appearing and traditional sites always evolving, digital engagement will likely become the most visible public face of development-led companies. With in-built audiences, core tools designed to share varied, mixed-media presentation and comment functionality designed to facilitate dialogue it is hard to imagine a more well-suited format for archaeologists to engage with non-specialists. However, until archaeology and archaeologists decide to raise engagement from being consigned to the depths of the development-led process, too often dragged out merely to fulfil a tick box, there is little chance of social media delivering on its inarguable potential to support personalised, positive, dialogue-driven engagement.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Qualitative Coding Book

This document outlines the framework used for conducting this research's content analysis on Facebook content and comments present on development-led archaeological companies. The coding book describes the methodology and identifiers adopted for both Chartered Institute for Archaeologists Registered Organisations (CIfA ROs) and those that are not members (referred to as Non-ROs).

The Coding Book has been developed inductively, using common trends and themes present in the data, with the final categories having been refined through multiple phases of trial coding. For further information on this process please refer to the research Methodology in Chapter Three. The framework is divided between Content and Comment coding, with separate Primary and Subcategories for each.

A.1 Using the Content Coding Framework

This coding framework is for use on Facebook Posts. Posts are content created or Shared by Facebook Pages. Both original Page Posts and Posts Shared from other sources are coded. Facebook Events, independent "sub-Pages" that can be created and dedicated to a specific event, typically to advertise it, are also treated as Posts and coded using the same system (whether Shared or otherwise).

Posts typically contain text and will often include one or more of the following: an image, embedded video, or external link. When coding a post using this framework all these components are taken into consideration. What does the text describe and how does it relate to associated visual or linked information?

A.1.1 Primary Categories

Every Facebook Post is coded into *one* of the following eleven **Primary Categories** (Figure 2) based on its textual and visual content (see descriptors below).

- Blog Promotion
- Event Promotion
- Publications
- Company Promotion
- Finds/Artefacts
- Specialist/Post-Ex
- Excavation/On-Site Update
- Media Coverage
- Humour
- Non-Archaeology
- Other

Posts may contain multiple qualifiers, elements that could belong to numerous Primary Categories. Where this occurs, Posts are *not* sorted into multiple categories and are instead assigned a single Primary Category that best represents the *overall* content of that specific Post. Coders use the presence of defined qualifiers, described below, and the weighting

of Posts' text, visual components and external links to match content to a single Primary Category.

Opting to assign content to a single Primary Category has been chosen to provide a less diffuse dataset and enable a targeted overview of the principal types of content being produced and disseminated via Facebook. For more discussion of this rationale, please refer to Chapter Three's explanation of the research methodology.

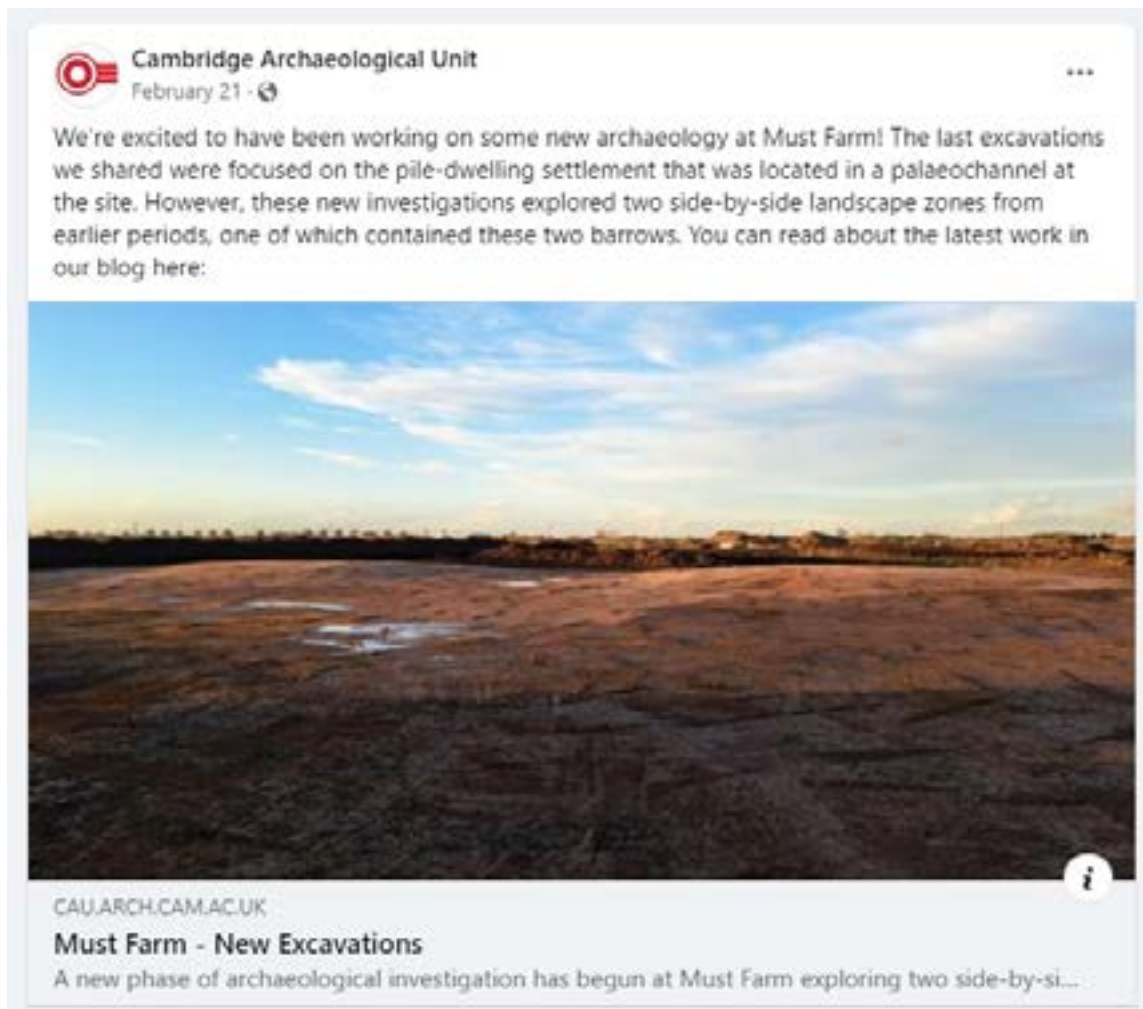


Figure 53: A development-led archaeology post from the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, a company that was not included in the analysis as it did not have a dedicated Facebook Page at the time the research was conducted. This post is used as an example of coding qualifiers.

Figure 53 shows a typical post of the type encountered during the research, one featuring a discussion of a new phase of excavation beginning on a project. The post contains numerous qualifiers for coders including:

- Text describing of a new excavation including mentions of specific archaeological features (two barrows)
- Text encouraging users to read an associated blog
- Photograph of the excavation area
- Link to individual blog post providing further detail, images and discussion of the excavation mentioned

The post contains qualifiers applicable to both the **Excavation/On-Site Update** and **Blog Promotion** Categories making it necessary to determine which of these two categories best matched the overall content and presentation of the post. In this instance, the overall weighting of the Post appears to be focused on promoting the blog content, given the prominence of the hyperlink to the blog itself and the specific text callout to encourage audiences to access and read the blog. This it would be coded as **Blog Promotion**.

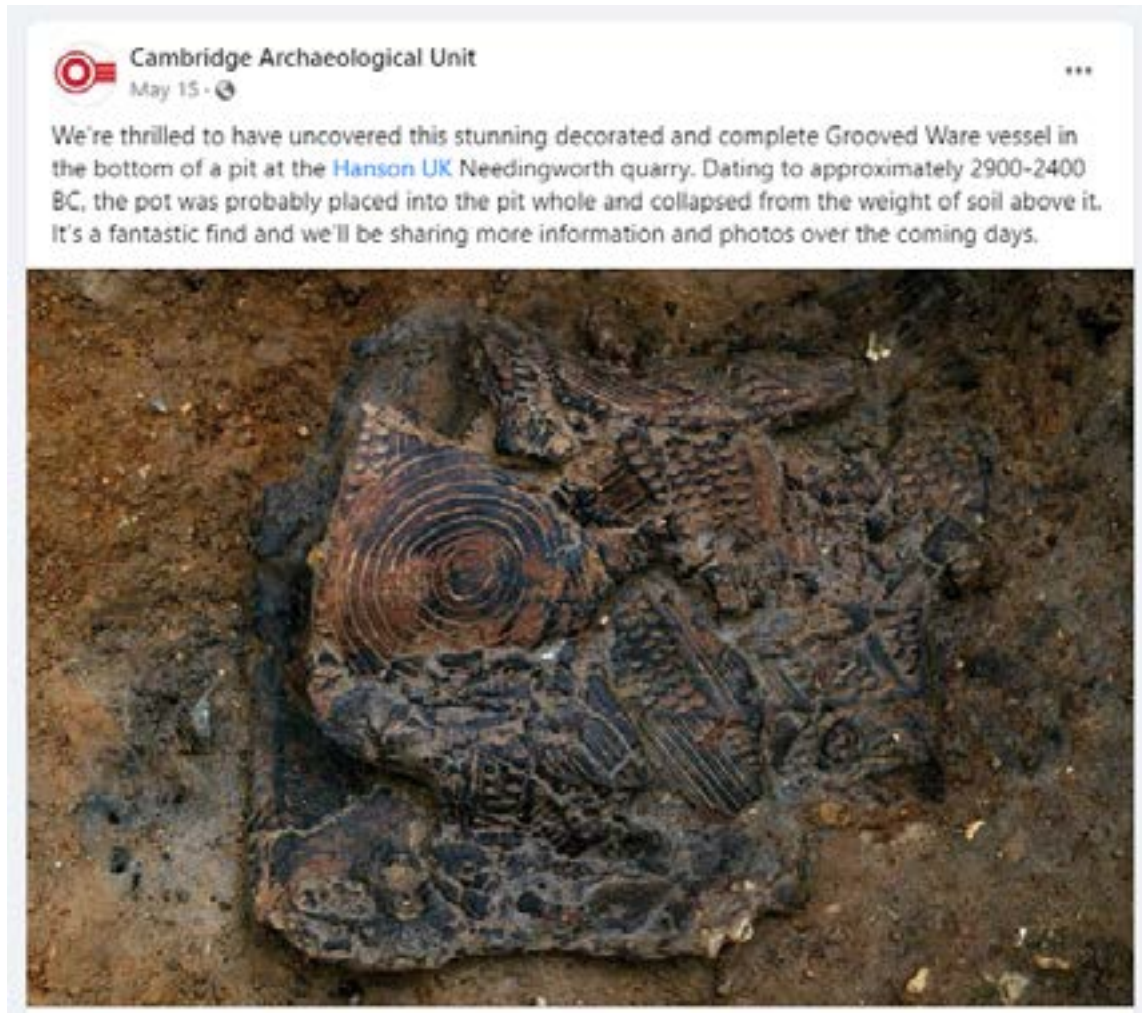


Figure 54: A second development-led archaeology post from the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, a company that was not included in the analysis as it did not have a dedicated Facebook Page at the time the research was conducted. This post is used as an additional example of coding qualifiers.

A second post illustrating coding qualifiers is presented in Figure 54, which depicts the discovery of a vessel in a pit during an excavation. Qualifiers present in the content include:

- Text describing the Grooved Ware vessel (approximate date, present condition, decoration)
- Text detailing the archaeological feature it was found in and circumstances of its deposition
- Text highlighting the client the excavation is being carried out for including a Facebook Tag to their own platform Page
- Image of the vessel in situ

In this instance qualifiers for **Finds/Artefacts** (image and description of the Grooved Ware), **Excavation/On-Site Update** (discussion of the pit in which the artefact was found and its deposition) and **Company Promotion** (inclusion of the client/collaboration in the content) are present. However, the importance given to the vessel, via its prominence in the image and the focus on it in the text, would lead to it being coded **Finds/Artefacts**.

Discussion of each Primary Category's qualifiers, descriptors and guidance on coding are detailed below.

Owing to the highly variable character of Facebook Posts, it is not feasible to develop a coding framework that can reliably categorise all content to pre-determined groups. Encountered Posts that fall outside of the described categories and contain dominant qualifiers not detailed are categorised as **Other**.

A.1.2 Secondary Categories

Once a Post has been assigned a **Primary Category**, it can be further coded into a *Subcategory* (see Figure 2). Subcategories are designed to provide a second level of qualitative coding, related to their parent **Primary Category** but offering an additional degree of detail and categorisation to identify frequent variations of content. Not all **Primary Categories** contain *Subcategories* (see Figure 2).

Following the **Primary Category** coding strategy, only one *Subcategory* is assigned to each Post. Only *Subcategories* linked to their **Primary Category** can be used (a Post designated as a **Blog Promotion** could only use one of the three *Subcategories* assigned to it: *Blog Post*, *Blog Archive* or *Vlog/Video Diary*). For instances when a **Primary Category** Post has no applicable *Subcategory* it will be left blank.

Using the above coding examples, Figure 53's *Subcategory* would be *Blog Post* as the textual and linked content focuses on a single blog entry, rather than an archive page featuring multiple entries. Equally, Figure 54 would fall into the *Subcategory Artefact Description* as the find focus is on describing and classifying the artefact as Grooved Ware with a date of 2900-2400BC.

A.1.3 Additional Qualitative Markers

In addition to coding Posts into **Primary Categories** and *Subcategories* (where applicable), additional content features are also recorded including the presence of images, videos, external links, emojis, Facebook Tags and hashtags. These are collected quantitatively and are discussed in Chapter Five.

User Comments posted in response to Page Content is covered by a separate coding framework detailed below.

A.2 Coding Framework Content Definitions

The following section defines each **Primary Category** (indicated with bold text) and their subsequent *Subcategories* (indicated with italics).

A.2.1 Blog Promotion

Blog Promotion content is designed to advertise and encourage access to blogs (regularly or semi-regularly updated webpages, written or presented in an accessible style). A **Blog Promotion** post will typically contain an external link to the promoted blog and may be accompanied by a short textual summary of its content. There may also be an image associated with the piece, either natively uploaded to Facebook or autogenerated by the

platform when the link has been added.

More rarely, **Blog Promotion** content may consist of the blog itself, either written specifically for a social network post or copied and reformatted as a Post. **Blog Promotion** posts may also contain Vlogs (video blogs) or Video Diaries either embedded with the Post itself or hosted on an external platform such as YouTube or Vimeo.

Other **Primary Categories** may contain links to blogs, such as dig diaries being incorporated into **Publications** content to contextualise projects and bring the excavation closer to the completed result or connected with **Media Coverage** to use in-house information to temper journalistic reporting. In these instances, it is necessary to determine the dominant qualifiers within the Post and decide if the linked blog is merely fulfilling a secondary or supplementary role, or whether it comprises the main purpose of the content.

Blog Promotion Subcategories are *Blog Post*, *Blog Archive*, *Vlogs*

A.2.1A Blog Post

This *Subcategory* covers Posts centred on a single blog post or text-based diary format entry. If the Facebook Post itself is a complete blog, it will always fall into this Subcategory. *Blog Post* content will always focus on a single entry, such as a direct link to an individual blog, and can include imagery from the piece within the post to aid its visibility. If an external link connects to a blog repository or a blog page not divided into individual entries, it should instead be treated as a *Blog Archive* (see below). Blogs are usually housed within a specific area of a website, using a bespoke system which will aid their identification.

Links to short posts on external websites on dedicated Pages, such as those announcing company news, providing details of events, or information on publications should not be considered blogs and should be categorised in their respective coding groups.

A.2.1B Blog Archive

This *Subcategory* should be used when the content refers to a suite of blogs or a wider blog resource section of a website, rather than an individual entry. Content of this character may contain external links to “scrolling” blogs where multiple entries are displayed on a single webpage, typically arranged in date order. Links may also connect to archives where blog content is sorted into categories, authors or presented on timelines where multiple entries are displayed via timelines.

Timeline formatted blogs may be employed by archaeological companies during excavation updates, where links to blog archives can be included as a footnote to every post connected to a specific project. Rather than highlight these links they are merely included as a further reference users may opt to explore. In these instances, where these links are included but not directly mentioned/promoted, it is likely this qualifier will be insufficient to code the content as **Blog Promotion**, making it more probable to fall within **Excavation/On-Site Updates**.

A.2.1C Vlogs

The *Vlogs Subcategory* focuses on content focused on video blogs. A vlog is a descriptive, visual blog presented in the form of a video. Vlogs should contain a degree of depth and detail, potentially via a voiceover or as a piece delivered to camera. Examples within the development-led archaeological sector can include dig diary-style vlogs where archaeologists describe regular updates on projects, site tour walkovers or Q&A format sessions. On-site livestreaming could also constitute vlogs depending on the presentation

and content.

Vlogs may be either hosted natively on Facebook or embedded within the content of a Post. However, since 2019 embedding playable videos from third-party websites (YouTube, Vimeo etc) is no longer possible owing to Facebook's desire to prioritise its own video content. Externally linked vlogs are also eligible for this *Subcategory*.

Video content does not necessarily constitute *Vlogs*, which are differentiated by their discursive character and information sharing. Short videos, such as those highlighting specific artefacts or features, will not constitute *Vlogs* and will typically be shorter or highly targeted in their focus and lacking the routine/semi-regular update component. Broadly, *Vlogs* are likely to be more generalised, longer videos discussing wider developments and topics. Where there is doubt, breaking down the video contents into qualifiers and determining the balance of these may be necessary.

A.2.2 Event Promotion

Event Promotion is used to code content principally designed to advertise, or provide coverage of, archaeological events. Events are variable but may include tours of excavations and heritage sites, talks and lectures, courses, community excavations, activities, and company attendance at open days, locations and themed occasions.

Content may be deployed at different stages of events, taking place in advance to market an event by sharing dates, times and locations alongside details of what prospective attendees can expect. This could take on the form of a dedicated Facebook Event Page or variations of standard Facebook Posts. It is important to stress that events may be organised and hosted by the relevant company or by other organisations. Alternately, **Event Promotion** Posts may also be created/shared during or after the events, depicting activities taking place, site tours being conducted or members of staff giving talks to audiences.

Event Promotion Subcategories are *Site Tour, Talks/Lecture, Course, Community Excavation, Attendance/Activities*

A.2.2A Site Tour

This *Subcategory* covers when content focuses on Site Tours and may include the details of the time, location, potential fees, archaeological/historical background alongside photographs of an individual leading the tour or groups on location as they take part in the visit. While many site tours will take place on an archaeological excavation or evaluation, this category is applicable to other tours including those of historic buildings, archaeological or historical landscapes, towns and cities, company offices and conservation laboratories. External links with further details may also be present.

A.2.2B Talks/Lecture

The *Talks/Lecture Subcategory* is used when Page Posts advertise, or depict, company involvement in presentations, talks and lectures to varied audiences. It is common for content to promote these events in advance to attract audiences and make users aware, though Posts may also centre on photos of the event taking place or the reception of it by audiences. *Talks/Lectures* may be arranged or hosted independently from the posting organisation, or they may form part of a larger event, such as a conference or themed day. They may be aimed at entirely non-specialist audiences, amateur/enthusiast groups such as local history societies, fellow archaeological professionals (such as conference papers) or prospective clients and developers within the wider construction industry.

A.2.2C Course

Course Subcategory Posts are employed when the content promotes or describes a course, such as a training event, workshop, specialist classes or similar. Courses may be offered solely by the company or form part of a collaboration between other organisations or institutions. Echoing other **Event Promotion** content, these Posts will often be focused on the advertisement of these courses but may also contain photographs of them taking place, either during or afterwards. Courses are likely to be variable in length and can range from single session events to longer, multi-session programs, all of which are coded as *Courses*. Both free and paid offerings of this type are coded within this *Subcategory*.

A.2.2D Community Excavation

This *Subcategory* concerns the advertisement and promotion of community excavation. This is here defined as archaeological work involving volunteers/participants who are not paid archaeologists or conduct excavation in a professional capacity. This *Subcategory* demonstrates substantial potential for overlapping qualifiers with the **Excavation/On-Site Update** and, potentially, the **Finds/Artefacts Primary Categories**. Only where the focus of the content is on the *Community Excavation* itself, such as highlighting participants, advertising the excavation itself, the value of the work, should it be coded into this *Subcategory*.

Posts concentrating on archaeological features and methodologies should be coded as **Excavation/On-Site Update**, artefacts discovered during these excavations as **Finds/Artefacts**, and content highlighting the collaboration between the posting company and clients/partners/stakeholders as **Company Promotion**.

Paid digging experience, while often termed community excavation should not be coded as this *Subcategory* and instead categorised as a **Company Promotion Product/Service** or **Event Promotion Course** based on the weighting of featured qualifiers.

Owing to the focus of the *Community Excavation Subcategory* being the promotion of these events, content will mostly constitute appeals for volunteers and participants, the sharing of the dates these projects will take place on and discussion of the context surrounding the digs to generate interest. Posts are likely to contain photographs to aid in the marketing, potentially containing photos of previous community work or specially created digital posters summarising the key information.

A.2.2E Attendance/Activities

The *Attendance/Activities Subcategory* is used for Posts covering companies attending archaeological, heritage and sector events and the implementation and running of associated activities. This is a slightly broader remit than other **Event Promotion Subcategories** which has been done to enable the coding of wider organisational engagement activities that are frequently featured in social media content (based primarily on encountering such Posts during inductive experiments).

The attendance component refers to content promoting or depicting companies being present at and participating in events. These could be educational (educational fairs, history curriculum events), themed days (heritage events, festivals, anniversaries, celebrations), location-specific events (historic attractions, reenactment meets), conferences and may or may not have been organised or hosted by the organisation. Company activities may include stands containing information about their work and archaeology, handling collections of archaeological material, tools for interaction (VR experiences, sandpits with mock excavations).

Similarly, activities may include working with groups to reproduce artefacts, providing tasters of archaeological skills and specialisms or provide tasters of archaeological methods or process.

Caution should be employed to ensure that this *Subcategory* does not incorporate instances where the focus of the content is the promotion of paid services, such as costed educational sessions, in which case they should be coded as **Company Promotion Product/Service**.

A.2.3 Publications

Publications are used to code content that promotes or depicts archaeological publications and resources. These outputs could include excavation reports and “grey literature” (often deposited with the Archaeology Data Service or on dedicated company webpages), technical or specialist reports on artefact types, academic papers, journal articles, single or multi-volume monographs, non-specialist books and resources (guidebooks, historic walks, interactive databases, maps, web archives).

Publication content typically contains links to the relevant *Report, Book/Monograph or Resource*, though this may not necessarily be the case if the output is discussed within the body of the content. Content will focus on the details and discussion of the output, its release or availability. Content in this Subcategory will not be predominantly concerned with selling the publication and Posts containing direct links to purchase books on storefronts, pre-order publications or special offers/sales should not be coded as **Publications** and instead categorised as **Company Promotion Product/Service**.

Content announcing the release of a book or monograph will often feature a link to a webpage that describes the contents and findings and may include a further link or option to purchase. In these scenarios the coder will determine the weighting of the balance between informing users and marketing a product. Only where the content is principally focused on more general discussions of the volume and its content will it be considered to comprise **Publications**.

Publications Subcategories are *Book/Monograph/Chapter, Reports, Resources*

A.2.3A Book/Monograph/Chapter

This *Subcategory* concerns **Publications** that take the form of Books, Monographs or Journal Chapters. Monographs are defined as more specialist publications, often the result of a larger archaeological project that draws together technical reports and interpretative analysis. Books may include “popular” non-specialist works written for general audiences alongside more professional volumes. As noted above, Posts which focus on Books as a product, emphasising where and how to purchase them, rather than discussing their content are to be coded **Company Promotion Product/Service**. Journal Chapters refer to peer-reviewed articles, papers, and book reviews and may be either open-access or paywalled. *Book/Monograph/Chapter* may be either physical or digital and can include linking to digital copies, such as PDFs. Many digital versions may be available free of charge, removing the possibility of *Product/Service* subcategorization.

A.2.3B Reports

This *Subcategory* focuses on content that promotes and discusses archaeological reports. While there is a wide variety of different archaeological reports, many are freely available online which makes one of the key diagnostic components of this subcategory the presence of links. *Reports* may link to specific documents or to more general archives/databases (for example the ADS) which can contain dozens, if not hundreds, of reports.

One of the most common qualifiers associated with this *Subcategory* are the mandated excavation reports that archaeological companies are required to produce as a planning condition. These reports, historically referred to as “grey literature” owing to their perceived inaccessibility, are more available thanks to the internet and are increasingly familiar content for social media Posts. Other reports that content may focus on could take the form of technical reports written by archaeological specialists, reports by institutions on aspects of the archaeological process, commissioned reports on the archaeological workforce, government reports on archaeology’s role and documents created and distributed by archaeological bodies such as the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) and the Council for British Archaeology (CBA).

A.2.3C Resources

Owing to the substantial variability of *Resources*, this Subcategory is consciously broader than the *Book/Monograph/Chapter* and *Report* coding groups. *Resources* are diverse and can be presented in different formats designed for a range of users from specialists to non-specialists and provide varied functionalities for those accessing them. Content focusing on these outputs will typically be promoting them and contain links directly to the content or to the webpages hosting them.

Resources are defined as sources of information for users that differ from other forms of **Publication** (and **Blogs**). A list of possible *Resources* that could be coded in this *Subcategory* are outlined, though this is not exhaustive. *Resources* may include: dedicated archaeological databases and online catalogues (such as museum artefact collections), interactive archaeological maps (such as websites that combine modern and historical mapping data), archaeological guidebooks including heritage walking guides that enable people to take self-guided tours and digital pamphlets and leaflets. While some *Resources*, particularly those involving mapping data and GIS may embed or integrate 3D models, individual 3D models such as those hosted on Sketchfab are coded in **Specialist/Post-Ex 3D Models**.

A.2.4 Company Promotion

The **Company Promotion** coding group is used for content that focuses on the marketing of the respective development-led archaeological organisation. Posts may highlight sector collaborations and partnerships with which the company is involved, advertising products and services to prospective clients and audiences, sharing details of awards the organisations has won or been nominated for, promoting job opportunities with the company, discussing recent staff activities and appointments and the presentation of organisational news, updates, contact details and other general information.

The primary purpose of **Company Promotion** Posts is the use of content to raise awareness among users about the companies broader activities and to market the strengths and services on offer. There is variability among this content, leading to a larger number of *Subcategories* than is present among other **Primary Categories**.

Company Promotion Subcategories are *Collaboration/Partnership, Product/Service, Job Advert, Awards, Staff/Appointment, Details/News/Information*

A.2.4A Collaboration/Partnership

This *Subcategory* is used for Facebook content focused on highlighting or promoting a collaboration or partnership with one or more organisations or institutions. Partnering entities could include fellow development-led archaeological companies, developers and clients, charities and non-profits, museums, historic buildings and attractions, government organisations and bodies, funding bodies and schools. *Collaboration/Partnership* Posts

will concentrate or heavily highlight this connection, typically making prominent use of the Facebook Tagging feature to highlight other institutions' social channels. Links to partner webpages are also typically featured.

Other **Primary Category** content may contain qualifiers indicating *Collaboration/Partnership*, such as **Excavation/On-Site Updates** where a partner Facebook Tag is included. However, unless the content is primary centred on this collaboration, such as announcing, discussing and/or promoting the partnership/cooperation then it should not be subcategorised as a *Collaboration/Partnership* and instead fall into a separate **Primary Category**. Other **Primary Categories** and *Subcategories* that may contain qualifiers of, but likely will not constitute, *Collaboration/Partnership* are **Blog Promotion** (blogs detailing collaborations), **Event Promotion** (content detailing talks, community work and activities) and **Media Coverage** (news stories featuring these partnerships).

A.2.4B Product/Service

Content that focuses on the promotion or marketing of products or archaeological and heritage services comprise this *Subcategory*. Products may be either physical or digital in nature and may include books, publications (see **Publications** above for clarification), paid excavation experiences (see **Event Promotion Courses**), company merchandise or equipment and tools.

Services are defined as areas of work a development-led organisation typically offers clients, either forming part of a standard archaeological “package” or more specialist solutions usually found among larger companies. Services may include desk-based assessments, planning advice and guidance, consultancy, archaeological evaluations, excavations and watching briefs, specialist analysis, finds processing and archiving, digital mapping, historic building surveying, 3D modelling and recording, landscape surveying, education and outreach packages, advice and assistance with funding applications and geophysical surveying and analysis.

Product/Service content may focus on promoting a single product or service or highlight multiple categories as a more generalised marketing Post to advertise the respective company.

A.2.4C Job Advert

The *Job Adverts Subcategory* covers Facebook Posts advertising positions and opportunities. Such positions usually are with the posting company though they may also include jobs with other organisations, institutions or potential partners and stakeholders.

Job Advert Posts frequently contain external links that provide more detailed descriptions of the role alongside salary and application information. However, this information may also be included within the body of the content itself alongside an external link and/or contact email for further information.

Posts in this *Subcategory* may also commonly include Shared content, for example development-led company Facebook Pages resharing details of relevant jobs posted to the Facebook account of the British Archaeological Jobs Resource (BAJR), a popular company that advertises jobs in the sector. External links may direct users to BAJR's website, the company's own employment webpages, LinkedIn posts featuring the job advert or other third-party employment sites. *Job Advert* content may also be posted, or Shared, multiple times to increase visibility either in its original form, with redrafted text or in an entirely new manner (such as a different image or added video content).

A.2.4D Awards

The *Awards Subcategory* is employed for Facebook Page company content that discusses and promotes award-related Posts. As awards and nominations indicate achievement and success, it is perhaps unsurprising that companies are keen to share these with audiences and prospective clients.

Awards Posts will typically discuss the nature of the award or nomination alongside details of its issuing body. The content may also highlight the work/projects the company undertook that relates to the award, potentially including qualifiers from other **Primary Categories** notably **Blogs**, **Publications** or **Media Coverage** and the coder should weight the present qualifiers to determine the dominant component of the Post.

Alongside Posts promoting award wins and nominations, it is also common to find companies using their Facebook Pages to source audience support. Some archaeological awards, notably the annual Current Archaeology Awards, determine their winners based on a public vote, which usually takes place online. Increasingly, companies are using their social networking accounts to request users to digitally vote for them. These posts, which mostly contain a direct link that users can follow to vote, fall into this *Awards Subcategory*.

A.2.4E Staff/Appointment

The *Staff/Appointment Subcategory* is employed for content focused on company employees, highlighting them and their roles. These may take the form of profiles, providing information on the featured individual(s) and how they fit into the company structure. Content can also feature new appointments and members of staff, often in an “introductory” format featuring background on a new hire, their achievements and qualifications and images of them. Similarly, Posts discussing the retirement or departure of staff and thanking them for their service are also typically encountered. This content can include “regular” staff, directors, alumni, emeritus or honorary positions, governors and trustees.

Staff/Appointment qualifiers may often feature in other **Primary Categories** and it is important for coders to take care when categorising Posts in which they feature. Much content on development-led archaeological Pages may feature individuals, particularly those more heavily discussing their work or situations. For example a named staff member in an exceedingly muddy feature (*Weather/Conditions Excavation/On-Site Update*), a specialist examining environmental samples from a site (**Specialist/Post-Excavation Analysis/Science/Post-Ex Discussion**) or a volunteer describing their first experiences on a community dig (**Event Promotion Community Excavation**).

A.2.4F Details/News/Information

The *Details/News/Information Subcategory* is a slightly broader Subcategory to enable the coding framework to capture the diversity of **Company Promotion** Facebook Posts. It is intended to cover content that deals with changes to companies and capture the more everyday maintenance and upkeep of Facebook Pages including contact details and more generalised news updates.

Facebook Page updates and Posts that report on organisational changes and developments (excluding new staff hires, see *Staff/Appointment* above) will all fall into the *Details/News/Information* subcategory. These could be changing Facebook Page profile or cover images, adding or updating contact information such as addresses, phone numbers and email addresses, announcing the opening of new branches or offices, highlighting moves to new premises, changes to opening hours, discussions of the history of the organisation and any other content that is predominantly focused on conveying information about the company

itself.

A.2.5 Finds/Artefacts

Finds/Artefacts content encompasses Posts focused on the materiality of archaeological work, chiefly artefacts and associated discoveries. Given the wider public perception of archaeology's finds and their association with the discipline, it is unsurprising that many Posts will feature finds and artefacts.

Posts coded as **Finds/Artefacts** are centred on archaeological material, pre, during or post excavation, though how these finds may be featured and presented can be highly variable. Featured artefacts in this content could include pottery, faunal remains, tools, coins, weapons, jewellery, textiles and many others, given the diversity of recovered artefacts within the discipline. Finds are often thought to be small but may include large finds such as architectural fragments or other structural elements.

Content will always focus on the finds and artefacts themselves and could feature them in-situ, having just emerged from the ground, show them being lifted or recorded, being cleaned and processed, or even being displayed in museums or collections.

It is important to note that **Finds/Artefacts** qualifiers may feature in other **Primary Categories**. Examples of posts featuring finds and artefacts qualifiers, but would not be coded into this group, could include artefacts being drawn by an illustrator to demonstrate this area of specialist work and the outputs produced (**Specialist/Post-Ex Illustrations/Reconstructions**), a photograph of a prominent find from a site being used as a visual component to promote a monograph (**Publications Book/Monograph/Chapter**) or a company updating its Page's cover photo to one of a striking artefact (**Company Promotion Details/News/Information**). Gauging the balance of qualifiers and ensuring that the featured artefacts are the focus of the content is essential for coding.

A growing trend on social networking sites, notably Facebook and Twitter, is to post about **Finds/Artefacts** in a regular Friday slot using a dedicated hashtag, #FindsFriday (or related variations). Posts using this hashtag are likely to fall into this **Primary Category**, owing to their emphasis on the materiality of the archaeological process. However, this may not be the case as #FindsFriday hashtags may also be used to promote **Event Promotion, Publications, Company Promotion, Specialist/Post-Ex and Excavation/On-Site Update** Posts.

Finds/Artefacts Subcategories are *Artefact Description, Guess/ID Find, Staff/Processing*

A.2.5A Artefact Description

This *Subcategory* codes Facebook Posts that are centred on providing users with information on a featured artefact. These will typically feature an image of the relevant find, potentially in situ on site or cleaned up after being processed and examined and include a description of the artefact. Descriptions will usually provide details of what the object is, what it was used for, what archaeological period it dates from alongside other supplementary information such as its condition, rarity, why it is considered important and why it may be particularly helpful to archaeologists. *Artefact Description* Posts may also contain external links to provide users with further information on an object, such as finds databases and museum catalogues.

A.2.5B Guess/ID Find

Posts belonging to this *Subcategory* will be focused on getting Page audiences to identify a

featured artefact or artefacts. This could be in the context of a game or competition, where a photo of a known find is shared, and a Page's followers are tasked with guessing what it may be, its date and what function it had. Alternatively, more specific characters of an artefact could be the focus for users to identify. For example, determining what is being depicted in the decoration of a ceramic vessel or on a weathered relief in a historic building. After a period has elapsed, the original Facebook Post may be updated to reveal the correct answer, or a new piece of follow-up content shared to inform followers.

A second notable type of *Guess/ID Find* content are Posts where the artefact being shared and described is unknown to the company. This could be an object their specialists have yet to encounter, or a type of find with which they are unfamiliar. In these circumstances Posts will feature an image and description of the object, focusing on its key characteristics alongside any additional contextual information that may help users to identify it. If an artefact is successfully recognised then the company may update the original Post or create a new one, sharing the finds' classification.

A.2.5C Staff/Processing

This slightly broader Subcategory includes Facebook content that depicts and discusses the more general work undertaken by an archaeological organisation's finds department. Content may feature discussions and/or depictions of finds washing, cataloguing, archiving, conservation and other related activities. While Posts may feature staff carrying out their roles, the focus of the content will be on the materiality of the artefacts rather than the featured individuals.

A.2.6 Excavation/On-Site Updates

Excavation/On-Site Updates content reflects one of the most immediate, visual and widely recognised elements of archaeology: excavations. Posts coded into this **Primary Category** are centred on depicting excavations and associated core elements. Content will typically feature imagery from sites, such as working shots, that can depict a diverse range of activities including archaeological features, working practices, staff undertaking site tasks, key moments of excavation including machining, backfilling and even the weather and ground conditions currently being experienced. Crucially, these do not have to be focused on digging itself and other critical aspects of archaeological process, such as surveying and recording, should also be included in this **Primary Category**.

The format of **Excavation/On-Site Updates** will vary, potentially taking the form of short-form (separate from more long-form **Blog Promotion**) updates describing progress, the archaeology encountered or more ad hoc Posts created and Shared when something notable happens or is encountered. Posts may utilise existing site working shots or, owing to the ubiquity of smartphone ownership, feature bespoke content for social media.

Excavation/On-Site Updates Subcategories are *Staff/Working*, *Archaeological Feature*, *Weather/Conditions*

A.2.6A Staff/Working

The *Staff/Working Subcategory* applies to **Excavation/On-Site Updates** content that concentrates on sharing the progress, process and milestones of an archaeological project. They will usually feature descriptions and discussion of what has been taking place on an excavation, potentially focusing on a particular area of a site or the work of archaeologists. Most *Staff/Working* content will feature a photo, often in the style of a site working shot, to illustrate the Post.

Staff/Working content may feature plant machining trenches or an open area (or backfilling a

site), archaeologists cleaning, excavating, drawing, recording, surveying, taking photographs and other related activities that form the day-to-day bulk of a project. Content will focus on these elements with accompanying text being used to share the details of what has been taking place, what techniques are being employed, discuss how interpretations of the site are forming or changing and the importance of different components of the archaeological process.

A.2.6B Archaeological Feature

This *Subcategory* contains Posts that focus on archaeological features and their discussion. Archaeological features could include pits and ditches, architectural or building elements or more complex clusters of intercutting archaeology. Crucial for this *Subcategory* Posts are concentrated on the features themselves, including explanations of their formation, characteristics, the information they can communicate, dating and other similar aspects. Content that concentrates more on the excavation, methodologies or staff working should be subcategorised differently as *Staff/Working*.

Photographs will often be present in *Archaeological Feature* Posts, where the feature itself (for example a pit or ditch section) is typically shown. Archaeologists may be present in images where they may be used for scale or highlight key aspects of a feature.

A.2.6C Weather/Conditions

This *Subcategory* includes content that highlights the conditions on a site or excavation or features a discussion of the current weather being experienced by staff. These Posts usually feature little textual description and will nearly always contain accompanying images, as photographs are ideal for conveying this content.

Posts featuring weather or site conditions often take two distinct forms. Firstly, when the weather or conditions are particularly good or beautiful. These are often hot, summer days, frosty winter mornings or on sites that are naturally photogenic. Secondly, when situations are particularly bad. Here Posts will feature torrential rain, freezing conditions, snow or when excavations have been turned into quagmires.

It is important to differentiate *Weather/Conditions* from content featuring these qualifiers in a supplementary capacity for the **Humour Primary Category**. Often extremely poor conditions are used to create light-hearted posts featuring staff caked in mud or building snowmen. The key difference between these two types of Post is the primary purpose and tone of the content with *Weather/Conditions* Posts being about sharing these elements whereas **Humour** Posts are more about entertaining and amusing their audiences and using the weather or conditions as a mechanism to do so. The accompanying text for **Humour** content will often help categorise it as such, as they will feature a joke, pun, or light-hearted statement, typically contradicting appalling conditions with a contrapuntal statement, such as “Lovely weather on site today”.

A.2.7 Specialist/Post-Ex

Specialist/Post-Ex incorporates Facebook content that tackles more specialised archaeological outputs which often occur during the post-excavation phase of analysis and visualisation. These Posts will be focused off-site and usually feature the products of specialist representations, such as illustrations, reconstructions, and 3D modelling/animation. They may also feature discussions of the results of scientific techniques and analytical methods (such as use-wear analysis, residue analysis, dating techniques, environmental analysis).

Posts may feature an image, particularly in areas of visualisations such as illustrations and 3D models. Additionally, there may be external links to dedicated online viewers (such as Sketchfab for 3D models) or these may be embedded into company webpages.

Specialist/Post-Ex can include a brief description of the relevant forms of scientific and specialist analysis (how it works and is of use to archaeologists), as these are often unfamiliar to non-specialists. However, in the case of specialist visualisations, particularly 3D models, there may be little additional information. Instead, the Post may simply contain an embedded link with no contextual details.

Specialist/Post-Ex Subcategories are *3D Models*, *Illustrations/Reconstructions*, *Analysis/Science/Post-Ex Discussion*

A.2.7A 3D Models

The *3D Models Subcategory* is used to code Facebook content that features this form of specialist archaeological visualisation. As photogrammetry becomes an increasingly affordable and popular recording technique, 3D Models are gradually appearing in archaeological organisations' Facebook outputs. Posts will usually contain an image, often a screenshot of the relevant 3D model, and may also include a short description of the artefact or area of site that has been recorded or recreated. Owing to Facebook's embedding policies and inability to natively host these file formats, *3D Models* content may not include a visual element. Instead, there will usually be an external link redirecting users to a third-party platform, usually Sketchfab. However, 3D model viewers may also be incorporated into company webpages. In these instances, it is important to determine if the original post is focused on the 3D model itself.

Alongside manipulable 3D models, such as those hosted by Sketchfab, videos or animations incorporating these models should also be coded into the *3D Models Subcategory*. Videos featuring flythroughs or choreographed navigation of 3D models are common, particularly as a way of circumventing the issues of users having the required software to easily access these digital filetypes. Videos featuring 3D models may not be immediately visible in the original Facebook Page Posts, owing to popular video platforms such as YouTube being prevented from embedding on Facebook, but if the primary focus of the content should still be coded as *3D Models*.

A.2.7B Illustrations/Reconstructions

This *Subcategory* includes Facebook Posts that focus on drawn visualisations of archaeological artefacts and sites. These can include technical, scale illustrations of artefacts, sections, and plans (either feature specific, composite or larger areas of a site or excavation). Alternatively, they may involve reconstruction drawings which could be of a site, people from the past, artefacts or events visible from the archaeological record.

Illustrations/Reconstructions can vary in their intended audiences, as more technical drawings are unlikely to be easily understood by non-specialists. Similarly, reconstructions are likely to be created with a more general audience in mind. As ever, the focus of the Post is essential for determining the correct coding of the content. *Illustrations/Reconstructions* are often used to provide a strong visual component for other Posts such as illustrating **Blogs** or being used as images for **Publications**, so caution in these areas is important when deciding upon the most relevant coding group.

A.2.7C Analysis/Science/Post-Ex Discussion

The third *Subcategory* for the **Specialist/Post-Ex** Primary Category is intentionally broader

to enable Posts featuring more amorphous discussions and representations of post-excavation analysis to be coded. Owing to the range of different scientific techniques that are used within archaeology, this Subcategory is designed to capture any content which depicts any of these important processes. Post-excavation can be defined as any work that takes place on a project *off-site*, though this does not necessarily have to be done following the completion of an excavation. It is often associated with the analysis of materials, typically lab-based, which are used to help archaeologists understand more about the dates, uses and lives of artefacts and samples. However, it may also refer to the exploration of more general data gathered during a project, such as studying the plans of sites, quantities of material types and so on.

Posts falling into the *Analysis/Science/Post-Ex Discussion* Subcategory will be centred around these forms of analysis. They may include photos which can range from specialists preparing or carrying out analyses (taking dendrochronological samples, working with samples gathered from the field, using scientific equipment such as scanning electron microscopes and mass spectrometers) to the products of the techniques (photomicrographs, graphs and tables that display the data). Their content may also involve explanations of these techniques alongside their results. Typically, these Posts will also provide discussions of why these results are useful and how they can shed light onto the projects the companies are working on.

While post-excavation results and discussion may result in the creation of specialist papers and journal articles, if these are the focus of the relevant Facebook Post they are instead categorised as a **Publications Book/Monograph/Chapter**.

A.2.8 Media Coverage

This **Primary Category** concerns Facebook Page content which is focused on media coverage of archaeology. It is important to stress that **Media Coverage** content does not have to involve the company creating and sharing the relevant Posts. Indeed, **Media Coverage** Posts present on development-led company archaeological Pages can bear no relation to the posting organisation or the work they routinely carry out. A subsequent space for recording if a Post relates to a company or not is included for all content that is coded. Shared media stories that are unrelated to archaeology should not be recorded in this category and instead coded as **Non-Archaeology**.

Media Coverage Posts will feature and discuss the wider coverage of archaeological content and have two sets of *Subcategories*, one dealing with the geography and reach of the Post and the second the nature of the media engagement. Posts are firstly *Subcategorised* broadly according to their regular spheres of influence into *Local*, *National* and *International* before then being divided into differing formats *Newspaper and Magazine*, *Radio*, *TV* and *Online*.

For the latter set of *Subcategories* as most linked or featured **Media Coverage** content will be online, it should be subcategorised as closely to its originating media format as possible. For example, a **Media Coverage** Post sharing content from a BBC local radio interview that was subsequently uploaded and made available online on BBC iPlayer, would be subcategorised as *Local Coverage* and *Radio* (rather than *National* and *Online*). Similarly, a company featuring in a BBC2 television documentary that is linked in a **Media Coverage** Post to a YouTube clip of the respective series would be Subcategorised as *National* and *TV* (rather than *National* and *Online*). A tandem online version of a local newspaper article that originally appeared in print would be subcategorised as *Local Coverage* and *Newspaper and Magazine* (rather than *Local Coverage* and *Online*).

Identifying characteristics of **Media Coverage** Posts are external links to the relevant

sources, which are almost always present. Content may also contain short summaries describing the content, often highlighting the areas of most interest. Text may also highlight the relevant timestamps for streamed content (such as the starting point for a radio interview or when a company features in a lengthier documentary). Linked content may not always be accessible, owing to region-restrictions or programmes expiring after a specific length of time has elapsed (BBC iPlayer features both elements). However, if this is the case but the content and link still clearly fit into the defined **Media Coverage Subcategories** then they should be coded accordingly.

There are numerous additional key components of **Media Coverage** Posts to be aware of. Reshared Facebook Posts from media organisations, such as regional BBC News Pages which often share video features, are popular among archaeological companies. Similarly, companies may take photographs of relevant articles that they feature in from print newspapers and upload them to their own Pages. Finally, if a Post by a company is solely focused on a film or news crew, either on-site or in their offices, gathering footage for a forthcoming piece of **Media Coverage** then this will also typically be coded within this **Primary Category**.

Media Coverage Subcategories are *Local Coverage*, *National Coverage*, *International Coverage* followed by a second layer of *Newspaper and Magazine*, *Radio*, *TV and Online*

A.2.8A Local Coverage

This *Subcategory* codes Posts that focus on media coverage at a local or regional level. This content will feature discussion and, usually, links to news stories and coverage from local sources. Often these will be local newspapers and their websites. However, it may also include regional BBC sources such as region-specific news stories, local radio coverage or features on local news broadcasts. Posts will typically feature a short description of the media coverage, highlighting its source and key details alongside an external link that directs users to its source. Occasionally, Pages will Share other Posts from these sources' own Facebook accounts while potentially adding their own commentary to the reshare.

A.2.8B National Coverage

The *National Coverage Subcategory* contains Facebook content that predominantly features media coverage at a national level. Posts will focus on the reporting of archaeology and related work that is covered by national newspapers and their corresponding web presences, other more specialist print media such as archaeology magazines and their websites, UK-wide radio and television stations and UK-based dedicated online news sources. *National Coverage* content will usually feature an external link to the respective source of the media coverage, accompanied by a short description and summary. Note that some Posts may redirect to content that is behind a paywall (such as some UK national newspapers), that is geographically restricted (BBC iPlayer) or no longer available (BBC iPlayer, some news sources). When this is the case, but the original content can still be identified, it is still coded into the respective category.

A.2.8C International Coverage

This *Subcategory* covers Posts that centre on international **Media Coverage**. As most of the development-led archaeological units involved in this study are based on the UK and seldom work overseas, it is likely that content which falls into this Subcategory will not involve the company that creates or Shares the Post. However, this may not always be the case, particularly if an organisation's work is of sufficient interest to attract attention from international media. As is common within **Media Coverage**, most Posts will contain

an external link directing users to the original media source. If *International Coverage* is featured in a Post, this will typically be in English owing to the UK-focus of the research, though occasionally content may feature foreign language sources.

A.2.8D Newspaper and Magazine, Radio, TV and Online

Media Coverage is the only Primary Category to feature two sets of multiple-choice *Subcategories*. Once a Post has been subcategorised as either *Local*, *National* or *International Coverage* it should then be coded into its respective media source. These categories are *Newspaper and Magazine*, *Radio*, *TV and Online*. While these are relatively self-explanatory each *Subcategory* may also contain its related online source, for example an online article from a UK national newspaper such as *The Guardian* would be Subcategorised firstly as *National Coverage* and secondly as *Newspaper and Magazine*. However, should a Post link to a dedicated internet news source, that only exists online for example IFLScience, this would be subcategorised as *Online*.

A.2.9 Humour

The **Humour Primary Category** codes content that is designed to be light-hearted in nature and is focused on entertaining and amusing audiences. This category can often have overlap with others but the key qualifiers for successful coding are that Posts must focus on a humorous tone that is intended to be funny. Common examples are Posts depicting archaeologists in difficult situations, such as trying to work in extreme weather conditions or coated in mud. Often these are accompanied by humorous captions designed to amuse followers.

Alternately, content may contain images of staff working, in unusual poses or that have been captured with funny expressions, which are then presented as entertaining caption competitions for users to participate in. While these Posts may also contain qualifiers that could be associated with other Primary Categories and Subcategories (such as **Excavation/ On-Site Updates** and *Weather* or *Staff Working*), the overall humorous tone and intention behind this content codes them in **Humour**. **Humour** Posts may also include Shared Posts from other sources, such as cartoons, sketches, memes, and videos.

A.2.10 Non-Archaeology

This is an intentionally broad Primary Category that is designed to capture Posts by development-led Facebook company Pages that do not concern archaeology. Content that falls into this category will be focused on non-archaeological subjects. It would be impossible to list the full range of topics that could be covered here, but the crucial qualifiers for this coding group are that Posts are entirely unrelated to archaeology and heritage.

Company Promotion content may occasionally deal with non-archaeological subjects. For example, these may include companies receiving awards or nominations for improving their environmental impact or announcing news about charitable donations to local organisations. Where these occur and are clearly designed to promote the respective archaeological company, either to improve their image or appeal to prospective clients, then they should be categorised as **Company Promotion** content and their respective *Subcategory*.

A.2.11 Other

This **Primary Category** codes all remaining content that cannot be easily coded into any of the other pre-existing groups. As social networking content is highly variable it is very difficult for any coding framework to be able to adequately categorise every type of Post a

researcher may encounter. Therefore, it has been necessary to create this broad category that will include any Facebook content created or Shared by a Page that does not match any of the established Primary Categories and displays no corresponding qualifiers.

Posts categorised as **Other** will also record brief descriptions of its content. This additional information will enable a subsequent reflexive examination of the coding group, to be discussed if relevant.

A.3 Recording Additional Information on Facebook Page Posts

In addition to coding development-led archaeological companies' Facebook content into distinct **Primary Categories** and associated *Subcategories*, further information present in Posts is also recorded as part of this research. Alongside the coding groups, each Post is checked for the presence of qualifiers for six other areas. These are: Company Related, Image(s), Embedded Video, External Link, Facebook Share and Facebook Event.

These seven “checks” are much simpler and typically require a Yes/No response or a choice of two options. Where a Yes/No check yielded a “No” response, the corresponding space is left empty to aid subsequent data analysis. These checks do not require the same detailed descriptions of the relevant identifying characteristics. Nonetheless, the following section outlines these further Post characteristics and any applicable qualifiers that they contain.

A.3.1 Company Related

This Yes/No check concerns whether the content of the Facebook Post features the company that created it, Shared it or is related to work or projects that they are undertaking or have undertaken. The Company Related check is designed to ascertain what proportion of content on an organisation's Facebook Page relates to the organisation and its activities. If a Post does not involve a company or its work, for example Shared media coverage of excavations done by other organisations, then this will be deemed unrelated and left empty.

A.3.2 Image(s)

The Image(s) check is a Yes/No record of whether the relevant Facebook post contains an image or images. Image(s) may include a single image, a gallery of multiple images displayed within the Post, or be an automatically embedded image generated when a Post contains an external link. Images may consist of photographs, illustrations, screenshots, logos or posters.

Owing to continual updates to Facebook and the research's study period focusing on material from pre-Covid 2019, Posts that once contained an image may now no longer display it. This may often be the case with auto-generated images from external links. As it is very difficult to determine, Image(s) will only be registered when an image is still visible in a Post gathered during the data collection which took place in 2020 (see Chapter Three).

A.3.3 Embedded Video

Another Yes/No check, Embedded Video is used to determine if Facebook content contains natively playable video. As Facebook made changes in 2019 to remove the functionality of embedding playable video from third parties (such as YouTube or Vimeo), any video falling into this category will be hosted on Facebook itself. Embedded video may be any length and include variations, such as videos comprised of galleries of still images, archives of livestreams, flythroughs of 3D models and manipulable 3D videos.

Where third-party video is included in a Post, this will typically involve an External Link and

an auto-generated screenshot (Image(s)). Therefore, when this occurs content is sorted into both these respective checks and not as an Embedded Video.

A.3.4 External Links

This Yes/No Check records if a Facebook Post contains an external link. The external link may auto-generate a more prominent link that sits beneath the body of the Post which typically contains a preview of the text and an accompanying image drawn from the source webpage. However, external links may also include simple hyperlinks with no generated preview that can be inserted into or beneath the text of a Post.

The link may no longer be active or redirect to the intended webpage, owing to the intended discrepancy between the time of posting and the dates of data collection. However, inactive links still constitute External Links.

A.3.5 Facebook Shares

This check is designed to determine the presence and source of Facebook Shares on development-led company Pages. Facebook Shares are a specific Post type that occur when an original, or already Shared, Post is reshared, in this case by a company's Page. Shares may contain additional text, added by the sharer but will always feature the original content.

This check has two options for Facebook Shares: Company Sources and Non-Company Sources, to differentiate when Shared content originated on the respective organisation's Facebook Page and when it was Shared from an external Facebook source. Companies may have opted to reshare their own Posts (particularly when advertising events or activities), content from other Pages that might feature them (such as a heritage body or charity posting about work involving the development-led organisation) or from entirely unconnected sources (such as a meme or humorous Post). Whatever the circumstances the two check responses, Company Sources and Non-Company Sources, will cover the origins of the Facebook Share and are used to code it.

A.3.6 Facebook Event

The final check is used to help characterise Facebook Events. These dedicated spaces, in this case set up by Facebook Pages, are used to promote events and allow potential attendees to find out more information about them. In a similar manner to the above Facebook Shares, the Facebook Events check is designed to determine what proportion of events are set-up by development-led archaeological companies and how many stem from external organisations.

Applicable Facebook Event Posts, or Shared Events (which will check both Facebook Shares and Facebook Events), can be marked as being Company Hosted or Non-Company Hosted. If an event is co-organised by multiple groups and it is not possible to identify a primary organiser, the Facebook Event is categorised as a Company Hosted event for consistency.

A.4 Understanding the Comment Coding Framework

This section details the comment coding framework developed to conduct qualitative analysis of the user Comments left on the Posts examined from development-led archaeological Facebook Pages. The framework has been created for use on both Chartered Institute for Archaeologists Registered Organisations (CIfA ROs) and companies which are not members of CIfA (referred to as Non-ROs).

The Comment Coding Framework has been developed using both deductive and inductive methods. Deductive coding uses prior literature to create distinct codes, whereas inductive coding identifies coding categories from themes that emerge from the data, typically during phases of trial coding. Unlike the accompanying Content Coding Framework (see Appendix A.2 above) which was solely developed inductively, owing to limited, applicable prior research, the Comment Coding Framework was generated using a mixture of both methods.

Comment categories first developed during research by Wakefield (2020) into archaeological Facebook content were used to create preliminary coding groups. These were then adapted, altered, or refined based on two phases of trial coding using a sample of the gathered data to create the following Comment Coding Framework. A more detailed discussion of this process and the precedent for using a mixture of deductive and inductive coding, can be found in the research's Methodology (Chapter Three).

A.4.1 Using the Comment Coding Framework

This coding framework has been created for the qualitative analysis of user Comments received on Facebook Pages. Comments are typically left by users, who may or may not be followers of the Page that Posted or Shared the content they are responding to. Comments may also be left by other Pages. If a Comment has been left by the same Page which generated the Post, it is not eligible for coding as this strand of research is centred on audience responses. However, if a different Page leaves a Comment, then this is applicable as it comes from an external source.

The Facebook Comments coded using this system are all “top-level”, primary Comments. These consist of two types of Comment, those that are independent and sit in isolation having never received Replies and those that initiated a thread (see Figure 55) by attracting responses from other users or the Page itself.



Figure 55: A Facebook user Comment and attached thread from a development-led archaeological Page which has been anonymised. The first Comment is an initial “top-level” one, which has then received Replies, forming a Thread. The first Reply has been left by the Page, indicated to viewers by the presence of the “Author” tag above where a user’s name and profile image are displayed. This research qualitative analysis focuses solely on top-level Comments to which broader details on thread Replies and Page responses are attached.

Focusing on top-level Comments, whether independent or thread starters, enables the coding to identify common categories and themes present in the data. Threads often diverge into new areas and differ in tone and content from the initial Comment. Typically, they can also contain a great deal of complexity much of which stems from the potential for multiple participants and changes in theme. This makes threads difficult to categorise using a coding frame like those developed in this research for Content and Comments.

Therefore, owing to thread complexity and the time constraints of this research, only top-level Comments are coded. Any user Replies to top-level Comments encountered during the research are not categorised. Instead, replies are quantitatively collected, separated into Page Replies and other user responses and are discussed separately alongside wider discussions of responsiveness (see Chapters Four, Five and Six).

As Comments reflect audience reactions, observations and responses to Facebook Posts, the Comment coding framework was designed in tandem with the Content coding system. These two frameworks are complementary with both employing a tiered system of categorisation.

Comments are first examined and qualifiers identified within the body of the user's response. Descriptions for different coding categories and their associated qualifiers are listed below. Once qualifiers have been identified, Comments are first sorted into a **Primary Category** followed by an associated *Subcategory*.

Mirroring the Content Coding Framework (see above) Comments are sorted into a single **Primary Category** followed by a potential *Subcategory* (if applicable). In instances where qualifiers are present for multiple **Primary Categories** or *Subcategories*, whichever are most prevalent within the Comment are used to determine their coding. If there is no way to establish a dominant coding category, for example if a coder cannot easily decide between two options, then the first relevant coding group encountered in the Comment is used.

Primary Categories for user comments are:

- Questions
- Tagging
- Interpretation
- Humour
- Thanks
- Praise
- Negative Comments
- Excitement/Awe
- Support
- Foreign Language
- Other
- Discussion

For further detail please refer to Chapter Three's Methodology and Figure 3 alongside the detailed descriptions provided below (Appendix A.5).

Two **Primary Categories** require further discussion, **Discussion** and **Other**. **Discussion** was specifically created to encompass and code the frequently encountered ambiguous/

amorphous Comments commonly encountered during social media exchanges. These are typically very brief statements, potentially single words, that are difficult to decipher and “read”, giving little insight into the intention behind their posting. Given the almost limitless topics and opinions available to users it was determined to create this category to deal with nebulous and unreadable responses, to avoid the creation of hundreds of minor categories containing only a small selection of Comments.

The **Other** coding group was created for defined User Comments with a clearly focused theme that was not present in the other **Primary Categories**. Where this occurred, and a Comment was coded as **Other** a note was added with a brief description to enable further analysis and to identify if further themes emerged. For further discussion of these aspects, please see (Appendix 5.A below).

A.5 Comment Coding Framework Definitions

The following section defines each **Primary Category** (indicated with bold text) and their subsequent *Subcategories* (indicated with italics) if present for that coding group.

A.5.1 Questions

Comments that focus on asking **Questions** fall within this **Primary Category**. The predominant purpose of the user Comment will be on the question, or questions, being asked. As top-level Comments are the focus of this study, the questions will almost always be directed to the Page, as non-Page questions and responses will mostly be present within threads following the original Comment. However, this may not always be the case and questions directed at other users can occur outside of threads, often because of confusion or mistakes when selecting where to type a response.

Some Comments may include questions that are speculative in character, containing **Interpretation** qualifiers on the content of Page Posts. For example, a Post featuring images and discussion of a pit could attract a Comment “This feature could have been used to deposit waste material from a nearby building?”. In these instances, determining the dominant qualifiers will dictate its coding group, which will often depend on the wording and presentation of the initial content.

Questions do not necessarily need to relate to the content of the Post on which they occur, with the two relevant *Subcategories* enabling the distinction between content-specific queries and more general archaeological enquiries.

Questions *Subcategories* are *Content Questions*, *General Questions*

A.5.1A Content Questions

The *Content Questions* Subcategory refers to User Comments which include a question that is directly related to the content of the Post the Comment has been received on. This *Subcategory* can incorporate a range of differing content-specific questions. These may include users commenting on an archaeological event post asking for times, directions, and spaces (“What time does the talk start?”). Alternatively, *Content Questions* could include users requesting further details on an excavation (Whereabouts is this site?), an archaeological feature (What was this ditch dug for?” or an artefact included in a company’s Facebook Post (“How old is this vessel?”)

The key qualifiers for *Content Questions* are the presence of a Comment containing a clear question or enquiry, typically of the company or Page itself, and that there is a clear connection with the content of the Post it has been left on.

A.5.1B General Questions

This Subcategory, *General Questions*, is applied to user Comments that involve a question that is not directly related to the content of the Post on which it is present. As with the previous *Subcategory* there can be a great deal of variety to *General Questions*. Examples of *General Questions* can include wider archaeological enquiries (“Who funds archaeological excavations?”, “How do archaeologists decide where to dig?”, “What do you do when you find a skeleton?”) or company-specific queries (Is it you digging at X location?”, “Do you take volunteers?”).

The primary qualifiers for *General Questions* are the presence of a question, or questions, within a user Comment and that these are not primarily concerned with the content featured within the Post on which it has been posted.

A.5.2 Tagging

This **Primary Category** codes user Comments that are focused on **Tagging** other Facebook users or Pages. Tagging is a process common to many different social networking sites and involves a user creating a link between a piece of content and one or more Facebook profiles or Pages. When this occurs, tagged accounts are notified.

While tagging was initially focused on photographs or Posts, it is now common to find users tagging one another in the Comments section of Facebook content. Doing so is an efficient means of drawing another user or Page’s attention to the content on which the Comment has been left (see discussion in Chapter Five). Indeed, a Comment tag is a faster and more streamlined way of sharing Facebook content with users than the platform’s own dedicated Share function. The ease of sharing by tagging fellow users has resulted in **Tagging** Comments becoming widespread across the platform, a trend that has necessitated it receiving its own **Primary Category**.

The core qualifier for this Primary Category and associated Subcategories is the presence of a hyperlinked tag, or tags, within a user Comment. These tags will take the form of a clickable name of a user’s account or Page, highlighted in blue. When this feature is present, the Comment is categorised as **Tagging**.

Some Comments may contain non-tagged user or Page names which appear as plain text and do not contain a link. This can result from the target Facebook account having strict security settings, preventing general users from viewing their profile. Alternatively, the tag may have been unsuccessful owing to the user that was creating the tag making a spelling error or failing to select the tag as it is automatically generated alongside the typed name. If a Comment containing a tag that has not worked or is not visible to a public account then it will not be coded into this Primary Category owing to the degree of uncertainty present. Instead, if any other applicable qualifiers are present these will be used to determine its categorisation. If no coding category is suitable, these will be coded as **Discussion**.

Tagging Subcategories are *Individual Tagging*, *Multiple Tagging*, *Tagging with Discussion*

A.5.2A Individual Tagging

The *Individual Tagging* Subcategory is used when a Comment is centred around the tagging of a single Facebook account, either a profile or a Page. This *Subcategory* is used for Comments that only contain a tagged account, which is the sole qualifier associated with this coding group.

If a Comment contains a single tag alongside any associated text (including emojis) then it is

instead sorted into the Subcategory *Tagging with Discussion*. Equally, if a Comment contains the tagging of multiple accounts it is instead coded as *Multiple Tagging*.

A.5.2B Multiple Tagging

The *Multiple Tagging* coding group is employed to code Comments that contain more than one tag and nothing further. This form of Comment typically involves a user tagging numerous accounts simultaneously to draw their attention to the original Post. If the Comment also contains any additional text (including emojis) then it is instead coded into the Subcategory *Tagging with Discussion*. The multiple tags featured in the Comment can be personal profiles, Facebook Pages or a mixture of both.

A.5.2C Tagging with Discussion

The *Tagging with Text* Subcategory is used to categorise Comments that contain one or more instances of Tagging, for either user accounts or Pages, alongside additional text or emojis. Typically, these Comments will involve a user posting a Comment in which others are tagged alongside a short message such as “Have you seen this?”, “This might be of interest”, “Thought of _____”. Alternatively, the person may post a more specific message directed to the tagged user, or users, which may then develop into a thread if they respond.

The key qualifiers for this *Subcategory* are the presence of a tag, or tags, and any other content. This could be as simple as a single emoji following the tag or a more in-depth discussion of a particular component of the source Post that the tagger is keen to discuss with others.

A.5.3 Interpretation

Comments coded into this category will focus on a user offering their **Interpretation** of the content featured in its source Post. This is likely to fall into two predominant areas, which form the two associated Subcategories: *General Interpretation* and *Guess/Speculation*. It is common for archaeological companies to share updates on their excavations including discussions of the features and artefacts they encounter. As a result, a Page’s audience may share their own thoughts on the archaeology being shared, creating **Interpretation** Comments.

These **Interpretation** Comments may be left by professional archaeologists, amateurs or interested users or from people with no prior experience or involvement with the discipline. Additionally, they may be deliberately solicited (for example source Posts which ask users what they think an artefact was used for or what an artefact’s decoration depicts) or unsolicited (such as users commenting that a feature resembles one they have excavated previously or relating an anecdote featuring an artefact being used ethnographically).

Posts soliciting users to offer interpretative Comments often generate flippant or light-hearted responses that may include deliberately unlikely uses of an object or functions based around wordplay. Comments of this nature are not coded as **Interpretation** and are instead included within the **Humour Primary Category**.

Interpretation Subcategories are User Interpretation, Guess/Speculation

A.5.3A User Interpretation

The *User Interpretation Subcategory* is used to capture instances where users have left top-level Comments offering their thoughts, ideas or opinions on the depicted archaeology or associated material. These could be users offering dating interpretation (“That looks to

be 1st to 3rd Century AD), use functions (“It’s a Roman cosmetic scoop for removing ear wax and part of a toiletry set”), comparisons (“It reminds me of a similar feature for drainage that we encountered during an excavation in the Midlands in 1986”). The interpretations may be correct or incorrect.

Comments containing clear degrees of uncertainty or guesses should be subcategorised *Guess/Speculation*, something typically clarified by the original Post the Comments are responding to. Similarly, if **Questions** qualifiers are present (“Do you think there is a possibility it may have come from Gaul?”) it is necessary to determine the weighting of these to guide whether such a Comment is more suited to **User Interpretation** or **Questions**.

A.5.3B Guess/Speculation

This *Subcategory* is employed to code user Facebook Comments that offer up speculative interpretations or guesses. These are defined by their more tentative nature, which can include phrases from users such as “I think it might be...”, “It looks like it could be...” and “It is possible it is...”. Some speculative interpretations may be phrased as a question, for example “Could it be...”. In these instances, deciding upon the balance of qualifiers is important to establish where the emphasis lies. Where the interpretative component is dominant Comments of this type are categorised as **Interpretation**, *Guess/Speculation* rather than as **Questions**.

A.5.4 Humour

The **Humour** coding group is for Comments that are clearly intended to entertain and amuse fellow users, and potentially the Page itself. As with all social media Comments there is substantial variability in the style, tone and format of humorous content but there are usually clear qualifiers present.

Humour Comments can include meme images, GIFs, puns, jokes, sarcastic comments intended to amuse, and more. Sarcasm is notoriously difficult to determine (and is problematic for many automated coding programmes) and may align more closely with **Negative Comment** qualifiers, depending on its deployment by users.

For coders determining qualifiers, gauging the User Comment in relation to the original Post is particularly helpful for this **Primary Category** (during trial coding there appeared to be a correlation between **Humour** content and **Humour** Comments).

Humour Subcategories are *Jokes, Memes/GIFs/Images*

A.5.4A Jokes

The *Jokes Subcategory* is employed for User Comments designed to amuse, principally through wordplay. These can be diverse, but examples could include puns (“I really DIG this Post!”, “Great to see archaeologists Roman round the countryside”), comedic questions (“If you dig up any gold I dropped it there last week”, “Found any dinosaurs yet?”, “Dug down to Australia by now?”) or statements intended to amuse (“My partner should be an archaeologist as they’re always digging up the past”).

Qualifiers that can help with coding are the presence of laughing and winking emojis within the User Comments that help demonstrate the humorous intent of the commentator.

A.5.4B Memes/GIFs/Images

This *Subcategory* is designed to capture User Comments that contain qualifiers relating to the image-based internet-culture of humorous responses and reactions. These are typically

presented as GIFs or meme-formatted images that conform to standard templates that ebb and flow in popularity as new trends emerge. Examples could include “react” GIFS, depicting celebrities or fictional characters reacting, combining wordplay and imagery such as posting an image of Keanu Reeves in *The Matrix* on a post discussing the use of Harris Matrices in stratigraphic recording or transforming an image from the original post into a meme by adding a humorous phrase in large font white text.

Memes/GIFs/Images Comments must contain an image or GIF to be coded into this group.

A.5.5 Thanks

The **Thanks** coding group is used to capture User Comments thanking Pages for events and content. This straightforward **Primary Category** relies on Comments containing users specifically thanking Pages on Posts (“Thank you!”, “Thanks for keeping us up-to-date with these posts”, “Thanks for the brilliant session you ran for our society last week”).

Determining if the thanks are the dominant component of the Comment is the main coding decision for this group, as thanks can often be included at the end of a longer or more discursive comment and ensuring that it is the overriding qualifier is necessary for coding within **Thanks**. In the following example a user leaving the following Comment, “I think the decoration on the side of the vessel shows two Roman gladiators fighting or possibly a man carving a statue. Maybe even someone collecting fruit? Anyhow, thanks for sharing”, the **Thanks** qualifiers are supplementary with the main qualifiers being **Interpretation**.

Thanks Subcategories are *Event Thanks*, *Content Thanks*

A.5.5A Event Thanks

The *Event Thanks Subcategory* concerns User Comments thanking Pages/organisations for Events they have run recently (and are therefore likely to have a strong correlation with the **Event Promotion** Content Coding Framework. Qualifiers are explicit thanks for event attendance or the running of activities, though they may not be posted on content advertising these. Indeed, *Event Thanks* may be left on entirely unrelated content, for example an **Excavation/On-Site Update** Post may garner a user to respond about a recent tour of said site (“Thanks for the brilliant recent tour we were lucky enough to attend. We really enjoyed it”).

A.5.5B Content Thanks

Content Thanks is used when a Comment specifically thanks the Page for a specific piece of content or series of Posts. These could take a variety of formats, for example “Thanks for the fantastic photos from this project, they’re great”, “Thank you for taking the time to share these finds and answering my questions”, “Thanks for keeping us updated with the excavation!”.

The thanks could be directed to the information contained in the content, the images, photos, illustrations present, the hyperlinked content such as blogs or resources or for wider regular updates that are being shared to the Page.

A.5.6 Praise

The **Praise Primary Category** covers User Comments that offer praise, such as compliments and congratulations to the Page. Comments will be positive in nature and may praise the dedication of staff, the work ethic of individuals in challenging environments, the quality of excavation methods and techniques, the comprehensive nature of scientific

analysis, the achievement of a publication, recognition via awards or more generally indicating a job well done.

Comments in this category may be short and relatively simple statements (“Congratulations on being recognised for your outstanding work”, “What a beautiful piece of digging”, “That’s a fantastic project”), though longer, more discursive Comments may also be left. As ever, determining the principal qualifiers is necessary to determine the most appropriate coding group.

Praise Subcategories are *Compliments, Congratulations*

A.5.6A Compliments

The *Compliments Subcategory* is designed to capture instances where User Comments are primarily complimenting the content depicted in the Page’s Post or Posts. Qualifiers can include users commenting on a range of potential topics for example the quality of excavation (“What a gorgeous straight section!”), the thoroughness of methodologies (“That’s a fantastic looking grid setup you have”), enjoyment (“I’m loving following your progress here”) and so on.

There is potential for qualifiers to overlap between *Compliments* and **Thanks**, so determining the balance of indicators is necessary and where the phrasing specifically includes “thanks”, content is likely to be more suited to the latter coding group.

A.5.6B Congratulations

Congratulations is used to code User Comments focused on individuals congratulating Pages on their Posts. This will typically take the form of phrases including “Well done”, “Good job”, “Bravo” and similar. There is likely to be a correlation between *Congratulations* and the *Awards Subcategory* of **Company Promotion**, where users congratulate companies on receiving recognition for their work and services. Equally, these Comments may be received on announcements of successful funding applications, community and outreach initiatives and other similar praiseworthy announcements/updates.

A.5.7 Excitement/Awe

Excitement/Awe is a **Primary Category** for capturing instances of excitement, amazement and awe that form the focus of User Comments. These Comments may be short statements, for example “Wow”, “That’s amazing”, “Incredible” or longer format “I’ve never seen anything like this before!”, “This is completely unbelievable that something in this condition has survived”. Comments of this type may be found on Posts featuring high-impact visual components, such as rare artefacts, large archaeological features or instances of exceptional preservation (potentially in **Finds/Artefacts** and **Excavation/On-Site Update** areas).

As **Excitement/Awe** qualifiers may well be short, there is a high degree of possibility they will be present in longer Comments and form a supplementary component where they are not the primary focus. For example, “Wow! What date does this animal burial come from? Do you think it could have been somebody’s pet?” in which an **Excitement/Awe** qualifier is present, but the bulk of the comment focuses on **Questions**. Coders should be careful to ensure that the user’s excitement and awe is the principal component of the Comment, a phenomenon that may well occur more readily in shorter Comments.

A.5.8 Support

The **Support Primary Category** is used to capture comments from users providing statements of support to Pages. These typically involve the use of phrases such as “Keep up the great work”, “Ignore the negativity, you’re doing a fantastic job” or similar encouraging Comments relating to the company and its content.

The qualifiers of this **Primary Category** may be similar to those present in **Praise** or **Thanks** but are distinct in that they are predominantly centred around gestures and statements of encouragement and support. When mixed qualifiers are present, coders determine the dominant elements and assign the Comment to the most relevant group.

A.5.9 Foreign Language

The **Foreign Language** coding group is exclusively to be used for any User Comments encountered on Posts that are not in the English language. The decision was taken to universally code any non-English Comments into a single group owing to the uncertainty of accuracy when using online translation tools and the impracticality of trying to source accurate translation for a range of international languages to determine their content. This encompasses other UK languages such as Welsh.

Foreign Language does not include Comments in which a non-English speaking Facebook user account has been tagged alongside additional commentary in a different language. In these instances they will fall into **Tagging** *Tagging with Discussion* as they indicate subsequent commentary/discussion is occurring alongside the tag.

A.5.10 Negative Comments

The **Negative Comments Primary Category** captures any User Comments that are concerned with criticisms, complaints, harassment, trolling, inappropriateness, and other negativity. With social media platforms increasingly becoming associated with online bullying, harassment and negativity capturing this data and exploring it was considered essential.

Posts that were primarily negative in nature are sorted into this **Primary Category** and may include users commenting on areas including: Posts containing insufficient evidence and information, perceived or real inaccuracies, criticisms of the destructive nature of the archaeological process, a lack of sufficient archaeological sampling being carried out, the quality of the methodologies, techniques and skills of the archaeologists, inappropriate personal or professional comments, the presence of human remains in content, technical issues with content or links, abuse and many others.

It was considered worthwhile to capture additional data where users were being negative about content and company Pages so coders would write additional information on the nature of the **Negative Comments**. These will be subject to further examination to identify potential emergent themes (see Chapter Six).

A.5.11 Discussion

As described in both Chapter Three’s Methodology and above (see A.4.1) the diffuse character of many social media Comments from platform users makes developing a comprehensive coding framework challenging. Therefore, the **Discussion** group was created to encompass any encountered top-level Comments that were not readily definable, contained no clear qualifiers and could not be easily categorised.

Examples could be short concise statements with unclear or little bearing on the posting content, such as: “OK”, “That sounds like it could be right”, “I’ve visited Scotland once”, “That pot is broken”, an emoji of animal or other similarly diffuse Comments. Equally, where it is clear users have attempted to reply to an existing Comment or thread but have instead left a new “top-level” Comment, a surprisingly common occurrence within the dataset, the highly-specific nature of these response will often mandate their inclusion within the **Discussion** coding group.

The characteristics of **Discussion** Comments are a lack of readable qualifiers and when these are encountered, Comments are coded into this **Primary Category**.

A.5.12 Other

The **Other** coding group is used when User Comments contain distinct qualifiers that are not related to any of the established **Primary Categories**. Where there is a clear presence of a new themed qualifier, the coder will make a note of this and these notes will be further examined to see if further groups emerge following the completion of the Comment coding.

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Digital Public Archaeology: investigating and improving the real-world impact of online engagement in the UK

Information Sheet for Participants

Thank you for your interest in this research exploring institutional and practitioner perspectives into online archaeological engagement.

Project Aims

The aim of this project is to find out more about the attitudes towards online engagement among development-led archaeological companies and gather experiences from practitioners involved in these activities. The research seeks to gain an understanding of the challenges those engaged within archaeological engagement face and the practical concerns and problems which impact their work on a regular basis.

The main aims of the project are to use a selection of interviews with practitioners to:

- Gain insight into the use of social networking sites to deliver online engagement in development-led contexts
- Understand the main barriers to conducting digital engagement within commercial environments
- Explore institutional and collegiate attitudes towards archaeological social media
- Develop a series of practical recommendations to aid practitioners and organisations in improving their online outputs

Who is doing the study?

This research is being carried out by Christopher Wakefield as part of a PhD at the University of York, Department of Archaeology funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and supported by The White Rose College of the Arts & Humanities (WROCAH).

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in an interview with questions relating to the use of social networking sites as a form of archaeological engagement within the development-led sector. The interview will cover your prior experiences, your attitudes towards online outreach and your organisation's perspective and investment in this form of engagement.

Interviews will be semi-structured, using a series of open-ended questions to allow you to respond to subjects freely. The interviews will take place online via a video call software and the conversations will be recorded.

Why should I participate in the project?

By completing this interview you will be helping to improve the understanding of the use of social networking sites by archaeological organisations and help develop recommendations and guidance to improve the output of future archaeological social media content.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in the research. If you do take part and later change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the study at any stage. You do not have to provide a reason. Simply contact me via the email address provided.

What will happen to the information?

All information gathered during the interviews is confidential and will not be shared beyond this research. All information will be stored on a private, secured University of York filestore and a password-protected PC used by the researcher. The interviews will first be transcribed from the online call recordings and anonymised to remove references to any identifying information, such as

company or colleague names. Interview participants will be given the opportunity to review their transcripts to ensure they are happy that these are anonymised and there is no risk for identification. Publications using this research will not identify anyone or any organisation that has taken part. The interviews will be the focus for a chapter of my PhD and are designed to characterise and understand the practicalities of the UK's development-led landscape. Following the completion of the research the PhD will be published via the University of York's White Rose eTheses scheme and you will be sent a copy. It is hoped that the research will be used to create a report containing recommendations for archaeological companies on how to improve their online outputs.

Who can I contact about this research?

If you would like to get in touch you can contact Christopher Wakefield cpw516@york.ac.uk or, if you have any concerns, Departmental Ethics Representative Dr James Taylor james.s.taylor@york.ac.uk
Thank you for your time and for participating in this research.

Digital Public Archaeology: investigating and improving the real-world impact of online engagement in the UK

Consent Form for Participants

Thank you for your interest in this research exploring institutional and practitioner perspectives into online archaeological engagement.

This form is for you to state whether you agree to participate in this study. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please contact the researcher Christopher Wakefield cpw516@york.ac.uk

All data will be stored in accordance with General Data Protection Regulation and the Data Protection Act 2018.

Consent Form for Participants

Have you read and understood the participant information sheet about the study? Yes No

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study? Yes No

Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in confidence by the researcher?
 Yes No

Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason before publication? Yes No

Do you understand that your interview will be recorded but anonymised before its inclusion in the research? Yes No

Do you agree to take part in the study? Yes No

Your name (in BLOCK capitals): _____

Your signature: _____

Interviewer's name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: Interview Script, Structure and Prompts

I'm Chris Wakefield and I'm currently researching how social media is being used by development-led archaeological companies to communicate with the public as part of an AHRC-funded PhD at the University of York.

For full disclosure, I now also work part-time for an organisation in an engagement/communications role.

Having worked in development-led archaeology for some time and witnessing the difficulties of carrying out online engagement, the aim of these interviews is to better understand the barriers and challenges archaeologists face when trying to connect with audiences.

I'm keen to learn about your experiences, the support you have available, how the pandemic has impacted your roles and what you think would help you most with online aspects of your work.

The intention for this research is to raise awareness of online engagement methods, provide evidence to support practitioners carrying out work and provide guidance on best practices and evaluating engagement.

Are you happy for us to begin?

1. Can you tell me about your role at your organisation? How do social networking sites fit into your role?
 - α. How formal would you say this responsibility was?
 - β. Is it shared with anyone else?
 - γ. How much time do you estimate you spend working on social media content and moderation per week?
 - δ. Does that involve out of hours work/monitoring?
 - ε. What resources do you have to support your social media?
2. What would you say your organisation's main goal for their social networking accounts is?
3. What platforms do you regularly use? Do you have a preferred SNS and, if so, why?
4. How do you create the content for your social media accounts?
 - α. Is it easy to find material to use?
5. What would you say are the main factors that determine what content you create?
6. Do you evaluate your social media metrics? How useful do you think this is?
7. Who do you feel your online audiences are? Do you think your social media accounts create a connection between you and your users?
 - α. Do you notice regular commentators/contributors?
8. What is your approach towards answering questions and responding to comments? How easy or difficult is this?
9. What do you feel the main benefits and disadvantages of online engagement are?
 - α. How do you think online engagement compares with in-person events?
10. What impact has the pandemic had on the role of social media in your organisation, if any?

- α. Were these changes permanent or only temporary?
- 11. Is there anything you feel would help you more in carrying out online engagement?
 - α. Have you or your colleagues ever had any engagement training, online or offline?
- 12. What would you say the main obstacles to engagement are in development-led archaeology?
- 13. How do you feel sharing archaeological information on social media is perceived by your colleagues?
 - α. Is this the same among management/senior members of your organisation?
- 14. Is there anything that I should have asked you about or that you'd like to discuss?

Thank you! I really appreciate you taking the time to talk to me and share your thoughts. If it is OK with you, I might contact you with a few follow-up questions.

I'll now transcribe the interview and anonymise it to remove any identifiers. Once this is done, I'll send you a copy that you can check to make sure that you are happy with the interview.

Thank you again and if you have any further questions about the interview or the research, please don't hesitate to get in touch with me.

Appendix D: Interview Transcriptions

1 **Interview One - Chloe**

2

3 Chloe is an archaeologist working for a ClfA Registered, Welsh Archaeological Trust.

4 *Interviewer:* *To get started can you tell me a little bit about your specific role at your organisation*
5 *and if social media is a part of that, and how formal that is?*

6 *Chloe:* My main role is a heritage management archaeologist. I work with the historic
7 environment mainly. But I think it's quite the case in archaeology and heritage in
8 general that you wear many hats. When I joined where I work now, they were
9 looking for somebody to help with regular posting of social media.

10 I took on that role along with two other members of staff. But I think it's to do with,
11 it takes quite a prominent role now, I think, because I'm a little bit younger than the
12 other two members of staff. My phone is always glued to the end of my hand. It
13 seemed to be that I was always replying to messages, doing the posts, because I
14 have my phone on me a lot more than they did. I've taken on a lot a bigger role with
15 that now as well.

16 I was quite passionate, particularly when lockdown happened in 2020, that we
17 needed to reach a bigger audience and just let people know that we were still alive.
18 We were still working. I wanted to create content to be regularly posted out. I'd say
19 from 2020 onwards, it has become more of a significant role for our organisation.

20 We post, it has gone down by the wayside a little bit. Only because I've lost some
21 slight bit of enthusiasm for social media at the moment. 'cause obviously it takes a
22 lot of time and I am now the only one that is doing it. When we first started, I'd say
23 actively in 2020 we were posting regularly, I think it was about four times a week.
24 Monday to Friday.

25 We're quite passionate about not working on the weekend. I know some people do.
26 They get it posted for them on Hootsuite and that sort of thing. But we chose not to
27 do that because I get all the notifications and I get all the questions. And I'd be sitting
28 there going, "Oh, I need to answer that question" and I'd end up working when I
29 wasn't getting paid to do it.

30 It has gone down, only about three times a week at the moment and the content
31 has shifted slightly. When I first started posting, we were doing, I tried to follow
32 hashtags. We started doing #HillfortsWednesday, #FindsFriday. I did a "Guess the
33 Site" hashtag as well, people to guess sites that were in our area that we cover.

34 But that regular posting has now gone by the wayside, and I've moved to doing
35 things like, "This is the site we're at today", "This is what we're doing", looking for
36 volunteers. That type of posting.

37 *Interviewer:* *Yeah. That's really interesting. You mentioned that you were originally sharing that*
38 *role with two people and are now doing it on your own. Can you talk a little bit about*
39 *how the time is distributed between you and how it led to you taking it on more*
40 *individually?*

41 Chloe: There were three of us. One of those members of staff has now left. The other
42 member of staff doesn't feel so comfortable with the use of social media. I think it
43 got thrust upon me because I was the youngest member of staff at that time. Like
44 I said, my phone was glued to my hand, so I think it was just automatically assumed
45 that I would take on that role.

46 We have an outreach budget, so everything social media wise comes out of that
47 outreach budget. But we don't have a, "You must spend so much money or so much
48 time on social media". I tend to do it a bit ad hoc again. Someone, other members of
49 staff, might message me and be like, "Oh, I've done this today, do you think it was
50 good to post about it?" and I'm like, "Yeah. Send me anything you want and I'll post
51 that on".

52 Personally, I think I need to get another member of staff, 'cos we've got the
53 commercial side, the field team side, and the heritage management and the charity
54 sides. I think I need to get another member of staff from the field team side to be
55 able to post from their point of view, because at the moment they're just sending
56 me the stuff and I'm posting it.

57 It makes more sense to get somebody else and then we can come up with both
58 angles and I don't have to worry about the field team side of things. I can
59 concentrate on promoting the heritage management side. The sites that we look
60 after and the Historic Environment Records. We've got a public facing Historical
61 Environment Record which is called Archwilio. It's my job, basically, to promote that,
62 which hasn't been done recently because I've been trying to cope with the field team
63 side of things. Because that's what I find people are interested in. They like to see
64 finds. They like to see volunteers. They like to see people. They like to know where
65 we are. They like to know if they can visit. They're not so necessarily interested in a
66 site that's been there for millennia and they can visit. They want to know what's
67 happening now. [Pause].

68 I'm hoping to gain another member of staff to help with that and come up with an
69 actual plan. I did start with a social media calendar. Things like #volunteersweek and
70 National Mills Month and that sort of thing. I thought that would give us the wider
71 audience using hashtags and sharing. It's just I've lost a bit of enthusiasm because it's
72 only me. What I'm finding at the moment is it's quite difficult to create that content
73 and get a backlog of things to post ready for that week or that day.

74 It is my plan for the next couple of months now to work on that calendar, to work on
75 stock information, photos and things that I'll be able to post, or anybody else can
76 post then at regular intervals.

77 *Interviewer: That's really interesting and you mentioned this is one facet of your role, so I was*
78 *curious how much time would you estimate you spend per week, on average, looking*
79 *at this social media.*

80 Chloe: I spend maybe a couple of hours a week, creating posts and then posting it and
81 replying to comments. It depends how popular the post is, depends on how many
82 comments and things that I respond to. I personally think it's really good to at least
83 like comments and things like that, just to show people that you are active on there.

84 I will respond to questions and things like that. I think that's really important. And
85 then possibly, another hour or two a week. We as a company have Facebook,
86 Instagram and Twitter. I spend about an hour or two a week then going through
87 those platforms trying to find new people to like, to add as friends to follow and
88 liking and retweeting things as well. Especially on Twitter I find that you don't need
89 so much live content as such, but you could get away with retweeting things just to
90 show that you have a presence. But also, that's a bit harder on Instagram. And
91 Facebook as well.

92 What I do find, I don't know if it's going to be applicable for your PhD, but I do all our
93 social media on my phone. I know a few people do it on desktop or they do a
94 mixture of the both. But I can't do it on a desktop, so I do it all my phone, I find that
95 easier. But then there are some things that are quite difficult. Facebook's quite
96 difficult to use on a business platform when you've got a personal one as well. It kind
97 of muddles between the two and that's one thing that I've come across that's quite
98 difficult.

99 *Interviewer: And is that a work phone or is that your personal phone?*

100 Chloe: Personal phone.

101 *Interviewer: OK and I'm guessing you probably have to have a personal Facebook account to then*
102 *be able to manage your work account.*

103 Chloe: Yes. Which sometimes, can be a bit [Pause]. I don't really use Facebook personally
104 anymore. The only reason I still have it is because I use it for work.

105 *Interviewer: And I'm guessing that makes it difficult. You mentioned trying to minimise time out*
106 *of hours working on it and I guess if you open Facebook, you'll be getting the*
107 *notifications and things from your business page.*

108 Chloe: Yeah, and you can't help but look. It's just the nature of social media anyways, isn't
109 it? Even if it wasn't to do with work. But I am a lot better 'cause we set up the out-
110 of-hours messaging to let people know we've received your message, but we won't
111 reply if it's out of these hours. That's helped quite a lot, because we do get quite a
112 lot of enquiries through our Facebook page and I think most people are quite
113 understanding and I haven't had any negative "Why haven't you replied" or anything
114 like that. It's been quite good.

115 *Interviewer: In terms of your organisation as a whole, what would you say that their main goal is*
116 *for your social media presence on your platforms?*

117 Chloe: Part of our mission statement is to make sure that archaeology is available for
118 everyone. Of course, social media is the best way to do that. And I feel like in the last
119 couple of years, we have really done that. Before I got there it was very sporadic
120 posting and hashtags weren't used. They didn't tag affiliated organisations or
121 anything like that. Which I found quite weird because that's the first thing that I did
122 when I got it. But we have grown a lot over the last two years particularly when we
123 are on excavation.

124 Last year we worked at a site called [Details of Site, Location and Historical Period].
125 And it completely blew up on social media and our following went up. Retweets. We
126 got picked up by news in America. In Germany.

127 It does show what social media can do. But obviously that's not all the time for us.
128 That was literally a couple of weeks that we were there and people I wasn't off my
129 phone that entire time. We posted every single day. With pictures and videos. That
130 isn't a regular case because this week I will post 'cause we're going on excavation.
131 [Pause]. But there's no [Archaeological Feature Type] there. We won't get as many
132 responses and things like that.

133 I think it is a very case-by-case basis. Also, for us personally we have to post
134 bilingually. That can sometimes slow down our posting or slow down our responses
135 to questions. But more people are quite accepting. We get to it when we do it. I
136 can't remember what I was going to say now. You might have to prompt me.

137 *Interviewer:* *No, that's great. There's a couple of things you've mentioned that I think I'll pick up a*
138 *little bit at the end, if we've got time explore it a little bit in more detail. You've*
139 *mentioned already the main platforms that you have. Do you think there is a*
140 *particular platform that you prefer? Or do you balance your time fairly evenly across*
141 *all of them? Or is there one that you feel is a bit more successful at achieving your*
142 *objectives?*

143 *Chloe:* I'd say it's quite equal among the three because I post the same thing on each
144 platform, when we've got a regular post. But then, sometimes I think within the
145 heritage community Twitter is quite prevalent compared to Instagram or
146 Face[book]. That's what I feel personally anyway. I think I tend to share things more
147 on Twitter than I would if it was Instagram or Facebook. Only because I feel like
148 more people post on Twitter. Whether that's just because who we're following and
149 that's just what they happen to do. I know some other businesses don't have
150 Instagram and Twitter and they just have one or the other.

151 It depends on what we're doing, who we're doing it with I think would depend how
152 much time I spend on each one. But generally, on a normal week, it's about equal
153 for each of them. I personally use Instagram more. I'm probably more comfortable
154 with using that. Then Facebook. Then Twitter I would say. I think Facebook and
155 Twitter I only have personally because I have to use it for work. I've learned how to
156 use it through work.

157 *Interviewer:* *That's so interesting. This is really pretty brilliant. Thank you. I think your role's quite*
158 *interesting 'cause you've got different aspects of the company that you're working*
159 *for. How would you go about creating content and deciding what to post and how*
160 *does it actually come about? Can you describe that process?*

161 *Chloe:* If it's something to do with the heritage management side, I created it all. Part of my
162 job role is working with the Portable Antiquities Scheme. I use all the work I do for
163 that for the #FindsFriday. That just comes from me when I'm working with a find or
164 recording a find. I create the content for that and then I tag the Portable Antiquities
165 Scheme, [Heritage Institution]. A photo goes along with that and the record ID goes
166 with that as well. That's not too hard to create content for because I'm already doing

167 it as part of a job. I literally just copy and paste the little tag that comes with it and
168 create it.

169 And I use a pro forma. So, it's, "This find, this was found today or last week, find
170 more information here". And I just attached the picture, so that doesn't take too
171 long. #HillfortsWednesday I also used a pro forma. It's, "Today's
172 #HillfortsWednesday is so-and-so" and then a link to our Historic Environment
173 Record, Archwilio. And then I did the same thing for the "Guess the Site". "Today's
174 site is. Where do you think it is?" and then I'd post it and let comments flow in. And
175 then the next day, I would say, "Oh, yep. Well done. Everybody got it right" or
176 something like that. And then again and link it to our Historic Environment Record.
177 When it's [The] heritage management side, I can do all that.

178 When it's field team or our field services side I rely a lot more on other members of
179 staff to do that because they're actually there on the site. Actually, I had a couple of
180 pictures today. We've got a site in [Location] and we've recently recruited
181 volunteers to clean the finds. The project manager down there sent me pictures of
182 the finds and the volunteers. Which is always really good. And he's a great member
183 of staff, he sends me pictures quite regularly. But then sometimes I have to nag
184 other people to send me stuff. Which is why I was saying earlier it would be good to
185 get another member of staff from that side involved. So I don't have to nag, they can
186 just do it themselves.

187 Then this is where the translation, because we have to post bilingually, issue comes
188 up. Because I do the translations for our organisation. They have send it to me
189 anyway. I think part of it is just because they just send it to me, and then I can do it,
190 and it's all there, and there's no back and forth. I don't know how that would work in
191 the future if we were to recruit someone else to do it, they'd have to be able to
192 speak Welsh and to translate it.

193 And then I do some ad hoc things but that's generally when people send me things
194 or I see something. For example, we were on television a couple of weeks ago for
195 [Programme Name]. But I didn't find out until two days before. I had to ad hoc, be
196 like, "Check us out on the telly this weekend". There was no planning and it was
197 literally a sentence just to say, "Here we are".

198 Or if another member of staff sends me something and thinks it will be good to put
199 on, I'll do that then. And then I try and share things from other organisations, again
200 on an ad hoc basis. Unless they previously asked me, you know, "We're going to be
201 doing this, can you reshare?". But that doesn't take a lot of time again.

202 *Interviewer: Thinking about your content, what would you say are the main factors that would*
203 *influence and impact on what you can create?*

204 *Chloe:* [Pause] I suppose it depends on where we are. But I'm quite happy to post obviously
205 anything archaeology related. When I first started, this will be quite interesting
206 [Laughs]. When I first started for some reason, they only used to share and follow
207 people that we've worked with previously. And I was like, "Why? because there's all
208 these organisations out there and it's just getting you more followers and more
209 reach.

210 I started just following people and resharing things that I thought people would find
211 interesting and that was archaeology related. I try and keep it Welsh if I can. Unless
212 it's super interesting. But personally, I think we try and keep it, so we cover
213 [Geographical Locations]. I try and, that's my first goal is to cover those areas, if
214 there's something happening in those areas.

215 And then it's Wales, pan-Wales I'll try and keep it like that. And then the third thing
216 is if it's something UK-based, we'll share that then. But it depends on the actual
217 content of what we're doing and where we are depends on what I post. We haven't
218 got a specific thing that we're trying to get across. It's just archaeology. Making
219 archaeology public and accessible is our main goal.

220 *Interviewer:* *And do you ever feel that there are potentially any barriers to what you can post. For*
221 *example, if you're working for a client and then there may be a little bit of reticence*
222 *there perhaps. Or I know you mentioned earlier that you were working on*
223 *[Archaeological Feature Type] but that seemed to do really well for you. So-*

224 *Chloe:* [Pause]. When I first started myself, I was quite nervous about what I could and
225 couldn't [Do] and I felt like I always had to ask permission. But as I've been doing it
226 longer, I've realised what not to do and to do, and how to deal with comments and
227 things like that.

228 We don't post pictures of human remains on our social media just to avoid any
229 negativity about it. [Site Specific Discussion].

230 What I think goes down well is excavations. Money is a barrier for us because there's
231 only so much time, it's only me that's doing it. And I've got another larger part of my
232 job to do. If I've got a particularly busy week, we may not get to post that week
233 because I just haven't had time. I suppose having to post bilingually is also a barrier.
234 'cause that's only me that does it. If I'm not here or sick or anything like that, posting
235 doesn't happen. [Pause] That's the barrier.

236 *Interviewer:* *You mentioned earlier about that difficulty of actually building up a bank of content*
237 *to use.*

238 *Chloe:* I suppose me and myself is a slight barrier because I'm only one person. I do rely on
239 other members of staff to send me things and if I do nag them and they just don't
240 get back to me then that site may not get posted about that week.

241 When I was working with other organisations we have to be careful about what we
242 post and if they're happy for it. We are working on a site in [Location] at the
243 moment that's very hush hush. We can post about it but we can't tell anybody
244 where it is. Then that's the public's first question is "Where is it?" but obviously we
245 can't. But they're satisfied with the answer, when we say, "We can't tell you,
246 because it's for the safety of the site", they're satisfied with that, which is great.

247 Other organisations can sometimes be a barrier and I find you have to be quite
248 careful when you're getting funding from loads of different pots, you have to make
249 sure that you're not missing anybody out. You have to make sure everybody's
250 tagged or at least mentioned. And I have forgotten in the past and that's happened
251 and then I've had emails from people telling me I shouldn't have done that. But it's
252 trial and error and I haven't done it since. It's practice as well. It's a learning curve.

253 Interviewer: *[Pause]. I guess on a more technical level, do you pay a lot of attention to your*
254 *metrics? And your figures, the comments that are coming in?*

255 Chloe: We do have quarterly reports. But all is mentioned in our quarterly reports is how
256 many followers we have on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. It's not necessarily
257 how many hits we're getting or how many views. It's just how many followers we
258 have. Because it's not part of my [Role] reporting I don't spend too much time
259 looking at it. But I do look for personal interest. But it's not for a business point of
260 view.

261 Because it's not our main goal [Pause], not that it's not seen as important, but it's
262 not seen as a benchmark that I have to hit or anything like that. Interestingly
263 because I'm the only one that posts you can tell when I'm on holiday because
264 [Laughs] we get figures up here [Gestures] and then it drops for a couple of weeks
265 and then it'll go back up again, which I find quite interesting.

266 When we were on an excavation last year for six weeks, and it was constant posting
267 every day. I did look every day then to see where people were coming from and
268 where they were viewing and I thought that was really interesting. But it's never
269 made it into our reports or anything like that. And I've got to be honest, I don't think
270 I'd have the time to check all these and put it into regular posting and it has never
271 been asked of me. I can't tell you the last time that I looked to be honest.

272 Interviewer: *I guess on a less formal level do you think "Ooh, that post did really well for Likes, I'll*
273 *probably do another one like that in the future"? Or-*

274 Chloe: Yeah. A couple of weeks ago we had a really good picture of a member of staff
275 actually holding an [Artefact]. And I think it was partly down to the [Artefact] and
276 partly down, 'cause the picture was really good quality and it looked really
277 professional. It was another member of staff that took it. It wasn't even me. But I
278 think combination of a good looking find and a good picture. And I think it was
279 something like [c.200] Likes and things like that on Facebook, which is quite high for
280 us, generally. I thought "Ooh, yes! Finds and good pictures are what people like".
281 I've been trying to post finds content the last couple of weeks now but we still
282 haven't hit that sort of level again.

283 I think it is with us, it is just a luck of the draw type of thing. 'cause sometimes I post
284 something and I think, "Ah, that's a regular post", but then the public will surprise
285 me and then that will get blown off, and shared, and liked, and commented on
286 loads. I think it depends what the content is. And I do try and subconsciously go,
287 "Ooh, that did really well. I'll try and emulate that again". But it still surprises me
288 there can still be something completely different that people like. I do try but I still
289 try and keep then the ad hoc posting up because people might surprise me and like
290 that just as much as an [Artefact].

291 Interviewer: *And do you get a sense of who your online audiences are? Do you have an idea of a*
292 *particular group that you're targeting? Or do you feel it's a more general audience?*
293 *And do you think that varies from platform to platform?*

294 Chloe: It's a general audience personally that we're going for. Any age at all. I think,
295 generally thirty years old and over tends to be what we get. Although I do get a lot

296 of students as well but they're looking for volunteering or work. They may not be
297 regular followers, they're just looking for volunteering or work. It's a mixture of
298 female and male as well. Different professions. Facebook and Instagram I think it
299 tends to be more public. Twitter tends to be more of the academic and other people
300 that work in heritage, I think.

301 As I said before, I think Twitter comes across quite highly in the heritage community
302 anyway. Museums and academics tend to use it quite a lot. I think the audience is
303 slightly different there. But I would probably say only slightly because we still got
304 lots of public followers on Twitter as well. Tend to get less comments on Twitter.
305 More Comments on Facebook and Instagram but Likes and Shares are higher on
306 Twitter.

307 *Interviewer:* *And do you notice repeat commentators? Do you get regulars who you'll put a post*
308 *up and be like "Oh, it's that person again"? Or-*

309 Chloe: Yeah. I notice that more on Facebook. Because on Facebook as well you do get the
310 Top Fan badge. And things like that. And I've got one or two people on Instagram
311 that do the same that I notice that they're regularly commenting. And Twitter, not
312 so much. But we do get one or two, I would say. But I can't say that I noticed it as
313 obviously as Facebook and Instagram.

314 *Interviewer:* *And, this is a slightly strange question, but do you notice a lot of people that like your*
315 *friends and family popping up and like your stuff as well? It's a way of keeping in*
316 *touch with them or-*

317 Chloe: Oh no! No. [Laughs] When I first started, I'd just finished university, so I messaged all
318 my university friends and be like, "I'm in charge of the social media now. I want it to
319 do really well. Can you please like this post I'm about to post". And they all did for
320 the first one and then haven't since. I think they still like our Page, so they still are
321 followers then. But they don't actively Like posts anymore.

322 I nag my partner all the time to like things and he never does. And he goes, "Oh, I've
323 seen this". I was like, "Did you like it?", "No". "So, you need to like things if you see
324 it". But my brother follows us and speaks to me on the phone and tells me that he's
325 seen it. But again, doesn't like it on the actual platforms and it drives me insane
326 because if you see it, just like it! [Laughs]

327 *Interviewer:* *Really interesting. And I guess we touched on this a little bit before, you really make*
328 *an effort to make people's comments acknowledged whether you like or reply to*
329 *them. Do you find that quite difficult to do, especially if you've got three platforms to*
330 *keep an eye on? And sometimes if you're posting stuff on the fieldwork side how easy*
331 *do you actually find it to answer those questions when you may not be able to*
332 *initially? Do you have to wait and have a delayed response? Or-*

333 Chloe: I used to find it quite difficult to reply when I first started doing the social media as I
334 didn't have enough confidence. I felt like, "Oh, am I saying the right thing?" or "Is
335 this going to send me down a rabbit hole?". But again practice, and I just get to
336 know what to say. Sometimes it is a head scratcher and I think, "Ooh, I'm not sure
337 about that one" but then I do say, "Oh, I'm not on site at the moment but I'll find out
338 someone that can" and I'll message the person that's on site and get back to them.

339 Or I'll say, "Oh I don't know the answer to that question, but you can email so-and-
340 so and they're on-site, they'll know the answer for you and give you more
341 information".

342 It is something I find quite difficult sometimes actually. Being the outreach person. I,
343 I get asked loads of questions that I'm expected to know, and I don't always know.
344 But that's come with practice for me to go, "I don't know that answer, but I know
345 someone that will and I can find that out for you". Practice. I've learnt stock answers
346 to certain questions. Things like, "Oh, where are these burials going?". I may not
347 actually know at the time, but I'll say something like, "Oh, it's a case-by-case basis,
348 so we will re-evaluate this at the end of the excavation". And I'm not lying or
349 anything like that. I think that's a suitable enough answer at the time, so I can
350 answer straight away. And it is true, sometimes we don't know where things are
351 going until the end of the excavation. Questions like that I can manage to answer
352 just from experience. I think if you'd asked me that two years ago, I wouldn't have
353 been able to answer that question.

354 *Interviewer:* *And. [Pause] I guess, you mentioned a little bit about the pandemic as well changing*
355 *the organisation's attitude towards this social media. Can you talk a little bit more*
356 *about the impact that you think that had and whether or not you think that's*
357 *continuing? I know you said that maybe the post numbers had fallen off a little bit,*
358 *but it would just be really interesting to get your take on that.*

359 *Chloe:* I'm not sure what it was like posting before the pandemic, because it was someone
360 else and the other members of staff that were posting on there. But I know it wasn't
361 with any regularity. When the pandemic hit, I was like, "Right we're not going to be
362 doing any in-person outreach at all". We've got a budget, we need to be able to do
363 something with it and we need to engage the community. And it did. I think it did. I
364 did the regular four times a week posting for about a year. And that was every week.
365 For a year.

366 And then I'm not sure, I think I got bored of it rather than the public. And I was like,
367 "I need to think of something else", and then I just couldn't think of anything else.
368 And then it just fell a bit like that. But I think it did make a difference because it
369 meant that people did know that we were still around, and we were still working.
370 And it also meant that people could send us enquiries if they had a question. If they
371 were going out on their walk for the week when they spotted something they could
372 ask us a question. I think it was important that we still had a presence for people to
373 get in touch with us if they wanted to. Rather than just assuming we'd fallen off the
374 edge of the earth. [Laughs].

375 Particularly from my job because I am mostly desk based anyway. People hear
376 "archaeology" and people just think you dig and that's it. The pandemic was a good
377 excuse to let people know about the other type of work that we did, rather than just
378 excavations and outreach activities. Sharing the Heritage Environment Record. I
379 think some people were aware of it but obviously people that had an interest in
380 archaeology and history anyway knew about it. It might have opened up a new path
381 for somebody that didn't know that we did that. And I did get lots of comments and
382 shares.

383 I did "Guess the Site". It could have been a castle somewhere and people were like
384 "Oh, I've been there", "I remember when I went there as a kid". And that was really
385 nice to see, because people were obviously like, "Oh, that would be really cool to
386 visit again" and I remember, I did #[Archaeological Site Type] and someone told me
387 that they were making a list of them all, that I was posting, so they can go visit them
388 all after lockdown was over, which I thought was quite cool.

389 I think it did make a difference and compared to, we weren't posting with any
390 regularity before. Having that regular posts. And people were looking out for it every
391 week which I thought was quite important, as well. I think, it did what I wanted to
392 do. It let people know that we were still there and that we were trying. And now
393 everything's gone back to normal a bit more I think that's another reason why the
394 posting has drifted off a bit. Because we are out in public again, so we don't need
395 such a strong social media presence as we may have needed two years ago.

396 *Interviewer:* *Do you think that the appetite for that social media content is still there now that*
397 *other people are returning to normal? Or do you think it was a flash in the pan, a*
398 *temporary thing, that it benefited you but also there were more people at home*
399 *looking at social media? Perhaps-*

400 *Chloe:* I think so, to be honest, I think we gained a lot of followers through lockdown and I
401 think they've stayed just because they're like, "Oh, they do interesting things". But I
402 think it benefited us at the time. And then I think more people are like, "Oh, they're
403 out again, I'll just go and visit them". But people do like to know where we are and I
404 do get messages, "Oh, I didn't realise you were there". I think people still want to
405 come out face-to-face. And that's what we're about really. That's what we would
406 have done pre-pandemic.

407 But I'm still keeping up with that type of posting so people are caught. That maybe
408 people have got an interest in archaeology particularly where we are, because I
409 know some people used to live there and then moved away. But they still want to
410 know what we're doing and where we are. I think it is still really important and I am
411 still keeping up with that type of content about letting them know what we're doing
412 and where.

413 *Interviewer:* *[Pause] How would you say that your colleagues that you work with view the social*
414 *media for your organisation and your role? Like does it vary? Or-*

415 *Chloe:* *[Pause]* I think so. I think a lot of people think, "Oh, it's five minutes and it's done"
416 but obviously it's not. And sometimes it is, if it's just a share or a like or a retweet
417 something like that. But I think when we're posting, when we're on excavation, I will
418 post every other day for this one. Just to give us a bit of breathing space.

419 But I think they don't realise that we have to get a good picture or a good video.
420 Pictures are obviously quicker, because then I can just write a sentence in English
421 and Welsh, post it, done. And then I just keep an eye on the replies or messages that
422 are coming in. If it's a video something that I took for granted and I've learnt from
423 the [Specific Social Media Workshop] is that I never used to put captions on videos.
424 Which I am now appalled by. That's something new that I'm going to do this year
425 that I haven't done before. So that's gonna take a bit of practice and a bit of time for
426 me to learn how to do that and make it good, as well. Videos now will take longer

427 anyway, but from now they will take a little bit longer because I'm gonna have to do
428 the captions.

429 I think some members of staff, typically of an older generation just think it's a five-
430 minute job and it is done. I think the importance of having just a good picture is
431 really important. A picture can make a difference on whether someone scrolling
432 through will stop and look at that or not.

433 And the replying. People say to me, "Oh you don't have to reply straight away", it's
434 like, "No, I know I don't" but if I know the answer and I can, then I will. And even if
435 it's just someone commenting I think it's important to, so that they feel seen. And
436 then they're more likely to comment again or ask questions. And I mean that's what
437 we're all about at the end of the day. We're supposed to be making archaeology
438 available for the public. Why wouldn't I comment and like and reply to messages and
439 things like that because that's part of what we're supposed to be doing.

440 I am a lot more disciplined now. I will put everything down on my timesheet over
441 the time that it takes. Because that's the only way that other members of staff and
442 managers are going to realise how much time it actually takes. If I'm just going, "Oh,
443 it's a five-minute job" and then not bothering to put it down then that's not a true
444 reflection of the amount of time that I'm actually spending. I have learned that's
445 quite important to do now. Like today I'll put this down to a bit of outreach as well,
446 because to me this is outreach. It does take time, it's quite important to see what
447 will come out of this as well.

448 *Interviewer:* *And, when you put that down and add up the amount of time, you've never had*
449 *issues where senior members of staff have gone, "Oh, what are you're doing*
450 *spending all your time on Facebook?"*

451 *Chloe:* [Laughs] No. To be fair, we're pretty relaxed where we are at the moment and in
452 recent weeks I've actually become [More Senior Outreach Role]. It is me now. I get
453 to tell myself how much I can spend on Facebook and things like that. But we do
454 have quite a healthy outreach budget, so it's never been an issue before.

455 And for some, we're going to the [Event] this year. All my day would be outreach
456 that day. I couldn't then specify how much I would actually spend on social media. I
457 will be posting about it on social media, but then I wouldn't be able to narrow down
458 exactly how long I've spent on it. And the same with the next couple of weeks on
459 excavation now. I couldn't maybe pin down exactly how long I'm spending on it. But
460 in an average week I can because that's all I do every week. I could trawl through all
461 my Facebook messages and things from other members of staff to try and work it
462 out.

463 We're quite guilty, a lot of us of just doing it and not putting it down. But I think,
464 since I've taken over a little bit it has been a bit more respected and it's become that
465 it isn't just one of those things that you do and it takes five minutes. I think people
466 have started to realise that it is quite important and it is part of our job and part of
467 our mission statement because we're trying to make archaeology accessible for
468 everybody.

469 *Interviewer:* *If you look at outreach or engagement, how do you think that the online social media*
470 *stuff relates to the in-person, traditional stuff? Do you think there's a place for both?*
471 *Do you think one should be prioritised more than the other? How do you view that*
472 *relationship?*

473 *Chloe:* [Pause] I think they're both as important as each other. But I think now that we can
474 do in-person outreach again I think that's going to take a higher priority, because I
475 mean it's a lot easier to do a visit to a school in-person than it is to do it over social
476 media. But I'll still, when we do things in person, I'll still put that on social media to
477 let people know where we've been doing. I think it has, depending on what you're
478 doing, it could be twofold.

479 I have spent a day at school, I then spend five minutes at the end of the day, just
480 saying, "Oh, we were here today", and then that's created another couple of hours'
481 worth of outreach. And because people see it and they like it, and then share it.
482 Again that's a case-by-case basis 'cause if I share something about a find or
483 something like that may generate a couple more hours than it would have when I
484 visited a school. Personally, I think that in-person outreach will take over again. But I
485 will still keep on top of it and just let people know where we are on social media
486 because I still think it's important. And people do like to know where we are and
487 what we're doing.

488 *Interviewer:* *That's really interesting. In some ways a part of your content on social media is*
489 *almost promoting some of your other outreach events but that in itself is a form of*
490 *engagement?*

491 *Chloe:* Yeah. And I get lots of things. In the beginning of the year, actually I did a visit to a
492 Girl Guiding group, and it was just they were digging in finds and sand and bowls.
493 But I posted about that and then I've had loads more comments since asking, "Oh,
494 can you come to my Girl Guiding group?", "Can you come to my Girl Guiding
495 group?". It was an in-person outreach activity that was posted on social media that
496 will now lead to other in-person outreach activities. If I hadn't shared that on social
497 media we may not have had those extra outreach in-person activities, which I think
498 is great.

499 And I've done a visit to a school and there were a few other schools like, "Oh, can
500 you come to us" or we've been asked to go back to that school again in a couple of
501 years. And it was all about building that relationship. And they've shared it on their
502 social media, the school, which I thought was really good. And then parents could
503 see it and then obviously the parents got interested in that. It's all about that
504 networking thing. It's quite amazing, isn't it? When you think about it. Just one post
505 can travel that far. I do think it is down to the content because it could have been
506 parents just going, "Ok, I'm not interested in that type of thing", but if it is
507 something that they are interested in and they'd like it, they'd share it and it'll move
508 on like that.

509 *Interviewer:* *And have you had any dedicated, specific training for this social media stuff? Or has*
510 *it been largely, you've been finding your own way? In some ways your role is also*
511 *quite formal. I was just wondering how much that would extend to the support that*
512 *you got in terms of that.*

513 Chloe: No training whatsoever. It was trial by error and a bit of luck. The only training, as
514 such, that I received is the [Social Media Workshop] which was done in [Month]
515 2022. And that was really good because I learned things like putting captions on
516 videos. Which, because it's never affected me personally, I've never thought about
517 it, and so I feel really bad about it. But that again that's something I've learned now
518 going forward. But no one's ever mentioned it to me before.

519 I know to post bilingually but that's something specific to us. But no one's ever
520 pointed it out to me before that I should maybe be considering other potential
521 disabilities or things like that. We're quite aware of them when you're on a site,
522 physically. But not so much on social media, which I feel really bad that I haven't
523 thought about it before. But obviously now going forward that I will. But that's the
524 only training that I've had.

525 And then I wonder if I had had professional training at the beginning, I would have
526 thought of something like this previously. I don't know if it's down to budgets or
527 time or, or what. But none of us have had training. Our organisation is quite good at
528 giving training, but I have to look for it and find it and say that I'm going to do it. If
529 there is something out there I would be definitely up for doing it and allowed to go
530 and do it. But I'd have to find it.

531 *Interviewer: And to round off a little bit what do you view as the main strengths and weaknesses*
532 *for social media in archaeology as you see it?*

533 Chloe: I think because it's part of our mission statement to be able to get archaeology out
534 there for the public, social media is the best way to do it. Because it can be accessed
535 any time of day, anywhere. If you've got any interest in it, you can search for it, so
536 you can search #archaeology or #[Location], for example and then everything to do
537 with that will, will come up.

538 Weaknesses, I sometimes think that when you read things, it could be taken the
539 wrong way. It's hard to get nuances out on social media. And if you're trying to be
540 funny or that sort of thing you've got to be careful, 'cause some things could offend
541 somebody even though you don't mean it to. And I think that takes a lot of practice,
542 to be able to get that just right.

543 And with archaeology I find sometimes I've asked the field team actually to write me
544 something so I can post about it and they've got a really complicated long word in
545 the middle. And I go, "Can't use that because people don't know what it means." I've
546 gotten quite good actually at putting it into social media speak.

547 What I've learned recently, as well, is try and put a question in. You get people to
548 reply to you and then that obviously ups your visibility. And another sort of negative
549 for us I suppose is that because I'm the only one that does it that's quite a threat
550 because, if anything happens to me the like, I'm not trying to sound big headed or
551 anything, but the social media would stop, at least for a little while. And that may
552 not be good for us as a business, potentially because we do post and say we work
553 with a commercial person they see that on social media, they go, "Oh, they've
554 worked with them, we'll work with them". I think it would have a sort of knock on.
555 Not catastrophically obviously, but having a presence, I think, does make people go,
556 "Oh, they are around and they've worked with that person. I'll work with them" and

557 "I'll volunteer for them" and share that knowledge and, and contact that I think is
558 really important.

559 *Interviewer: So, you would actually say that having more active social media has actually been*
560 *advantageous for your organisation as a business?*

561 Chloe: I would say so, yeah. Because we're present as well. Sometimes you go on a business
562 profile and they haven't updated their office hours or their phone number and
563 things like that. And you think, "Oh, why would I bother working with them" because
564 they can't even be bothered to update their Page or something like that.

565 I think it is important to keep on that sort of thing because I mean that's the first
566 thing I do, if I think of a new restaurant or something that I want to visit I go look at
567 them on Facebook. So why wouldn't it be the same case for [Archaeological
568 Organisation]?

569 Because we have got that commercial side, why wouldn't someone go, "Oh, I'll have
570 a quick look at them". See what they're doing and they see that we're active and
571 they go, "OK, well, they will at least reply to me", "And I can see that they've done
572 good work here", "They've worked with this company" or "They work in this area",
573 "They do stuff with volunteers, great", "I've got something", "I'd like to volunteer for
574 them" or something like that.

575 I mean I don't know if that's just personal to me but that's the first thing I would do
576 is look a company up on Facebook, I'm sure lots of people do it. I try and post things
577 and update things as if I was looking at the business myself as a customer.

578 *Interviewer: I'm conscious of time and I don't want to take up too much time.*

579 Chloe: Oh, don't worry, don't worry, I'm going to have a drink now.

580 *Interviewer: That, that's really interesting 'cause I mean almost from what you're saying is, it's*
581 *almost like a client maybe sees your social media as more of a first point of call than*
582 *maybe your own organisation's website, for example.*

583 Chloe: Yeah. I think it could be. I'm not saying it will replace it. But I think, well, because I'm
584 always on my phone [Laughs]. If it was me, I would probably look on Facebook first
585 and then say, "Oh, they do have a website, I'll go onto that then". I suppose it
586 depends what you're, who's looking at us, and why. If you were just looking for
587 volunteering you probably would look on Facebook and you go, "Oh, they have got
588 something on at the moment, I'll mention it to them now". If we say hadn't posted
589 for a month, they might be a bit more dubious about it and not message us and
590 possibly the same for a business as well because we're-

591 I think we're working with two different contractors at the moment. In the future
592 when we're tendering for things they might go, "I'll have a quick look at what they've
593 done in the past". And that may not necessarily be on our websites, so you'd look
594 on, on social media. Probably Facebook, most people use Facebook, don't they?
595 [Pause]

596 The good thing about the social media is that it's live, so we post about it then and
597 there. We do obviously put our projects onto our website. But that may not
598 necessarily be for several months until the project is finished, and it's been OK'd by

599 the contractor and that type of thing. So, I think it, it does the job that we want it to
600 at the time and it promotes what we're doing and that we're available and that
601 we're visible.

602 *Interviewer: Do you almost find it easier to actually get updates about projects out on social*
603 *media with contractors than it is to put a more formal statement about a project out*
604 *on your web page?*

605 Chloe: Oh, definitely. And I think people are more likely to, 'cause people are interested in
606 what we do. I think people are more likely to scroll through Facebook and go, "Oh,
607 they've done this today", rather than they are to go onto our website, find the
608 report and then we do a report that is aimed at a contractor rather than the public.
609 Obviously, they can view it and I'm sure that most people would understand it. But
610 it's quite boring and people want to look at pictures and know what we're doing and
611 why, rather than, sort of, sit there read into a report.

612 They might read through the report at the end. Because that excavation I was talking
613 about last year [With All The Archaeological Features], obviously people were super
614 interested in that and they wanted to read the reports at the end because they
615 wanted to know where everything went, and what we found out about them. And
616 that's not something that we may post on social media. We don't want to be posting
617 radiocarbon dates [Identifiable Details]. That is something that you'd look for in a
618 report. But once that report was done, I will post that on social media that it's done
619 and where people can find it.

620 I think the two work hand-in-hand and I think both have their own benefits each
621 side. We're trying, we've recently redone our website, as well which I suppose is a
622 slight form of social media and it's a lot better than it used to be. We are now
623 promoting our website a little bit more. Both now going forward will work hand in
624 hand quite well, I think.

625 *Interviewer: If you could draw up a list of the things that you feel would make it easier for you to*
626 *use social media in your job and what would be up there as the main things that you*
627 *think would make things easier or better for you.*

628 Chloe: I'd like some training I think, about, because obviously I don't know it all. I'd like to
629 know if there's things that I'm missing. Things like inclusivity, because I'm lucky
630 enough that maybe a disability doesn't affect me, so I quite naively don't think about
631 them and it's appalling [Laughs]. But I'd quite like that training and how I can be
632 more inclusive in our posts with archaeology.

633 I'd like sometimes someone to tell me what they want. I'd like our manager to go,
634 "This month I want you to focus on this" So it's not so much of the onus on me to try
635 and think up the content and create the content. It's not too bad when we've got an
636 excavation or an event on because I know that's what we're going to be posting
637 about for the next month, say. But in the low months when we're not doing a lot of
638 fieldwork. So, winter. I think it would be quite good to be told, "Oh, I think you
639 should post about this, this month" and "I think you should do this". Sometimes a bit
640 more of a plan coming from higher up would be quite good.

641 And just more content from other members of staff. 'cause I know a member of staff
642 said once that, "It looks like all we do is [Archaeological Site Type]" and I was like
643 "Well, if that's how you feel then you need to give me stuff to post about". Because I
644 can't magic up this content and I have got other stuff to do. I can't think of content,
645 all the time. It has gotten slightly better in that instance. I do get more content from
646 other members of staff, but it still could be better.

647 *Interviewer:* *And it also sounds like time would be one of the big things for you.*

648 Chloe: Yeah. Yeah, it's just I do have enough time but there's other more pressing aspects
649 of my job that would come first. It's not that I haven't been given enough time to do
650 it, it's low on the rank of things that needs to be done. Social media posts come at
651 the bottom.

652 It depends what I'm doing and where. Because I'm actually at the excavation next
653 week so it won't take too much time and that's all I'm doing for the week is social
654 media and a bit of digging. But if it's in the winter and I've got other stuff that are
655 higher on the list and I haven't got any content ready then it may go by the wayside
656 for the week and I'll think, "I can do it next week", "I'll have time to do it next week".

657 I think it says a lot that there should be dedicated person. Because most businesses,
658 well, quite big businesses have a dedicated social media person. And that's all their
659 job is, just to do that. They've got the time to create the content and think about it
660 and what they're going to be posting in a year's time, let alone next week. Whereas I
661 don't have that luxury. I've got to do it quite ad hoc.

662 I am going to look into doing things like the pre-posting. I think there's Hootsuite and
663 there's loads of others, isn't there? I'm hoping in a couple of months' time to maybe
664 do that, so it takes a little bit of pressure off. But then again, you've got to spend I'd
665 say at least a day prepping all of that content ready to post and we've got the other
666 thing of doing it bilingually as well. Ad hoc posting is quite difficult for us sometimes
667 because you can't just do it like that, you've got to think about the Welsh and write
668 it out. And the character limit as well on Twitter can also be a pain for, for Welsh
669 Tweeting, if you want to do it in one post, you can't, you've got to do it in two.

670 I've gone off on tangent again now [Laughs]. Time is quite important. But I think, it's,
671 I need a bit of a shove from higher up to say you need to do this now, and because
672 it's in my court, I can be quite relaxed about it, but I think I need someone that's in a
673 manager role to say "I want this done and you need to do it". But because we don't
674 have any benchmarking things for it, I don't have to go, "Oh, I need to reach 10,000
675 people in a month" or that type of thing. So, it's good and it's bad because we are
676 quite relaxed. I don't feel any pressure from social media, which I think is quite good
677 for mental health as well. But then, sometimes it is good to have a goal to be able to
678 hit it and to feel like, "OK our social media is doing something for us".

679 *Interviewer:* *That's been great and just the last thing is that, is there anything that you think I*
680 *should have asked you, or is there anything that you particularly feel that you'd like*
681 *to discuss?*

682 Chloe: [Pause] Not that I can think of. [Pause] I would like to mention, I did mention it just
683 now, but mental health and social media because I'm the only one that does it. I

684 know some people do it sometimes where they completely cut off from social
685 media. I don't feel like I can do that, as I do it for work. I feel okay about it, don't get
686 me wrong and if I did feel like it stresses me out too much, I would go to a manager
687 and sort it out. But sometimes I want to throw my phone at the wall. And I can't
688 because I'm the only one that does it.

689 [Pause] I think maybe a bit of help to incorporate that into [Pause]. We haven't got
690 any policies on it. I think to think about that, when someone's main job is social
691 media, the mental health and the policy should go with it. For example, if you get
692 rude comments or abuse through social media, there should be something written
693 somewhere that gives you that, 'cause I think people just think that they can abuse
694 you over a keyboard, don't they?

695 Luckily, we don't get that, and I haven't experienced that. But I can honestly say I
696 don't know what I would do if I did, because I haven't got any [Training]. I think that
697 comes down to training. I haven't had any training on what to do with that thing. I
698 think it would just be down to me to deal with that issue. [Pause].

699 *Interviewer:* *OK. Great. I'm going to finish the recording now. I just want to say thank you again, I*
700 *really appreciate the time you've taken.*

Interview Two - Alice

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Alice works in Marketing and Communications for an archaeological company.

Interviewer: And I'm just going to check that this is recording to the correct place. Perfect. That is going well. Right, to start with can you tell me a little bit about your role at the organisation and how does social media and social networking fit into that role?

Alice: Social media is one of my main day-to-day responsibilities. I do the day-to-day social media posting and the content planning behind that as well. And a lot of that often involves blog and website updates and then I also do a lot of the internal communications work, prior to and off the back of, our public facing communication.

But I would say I'm primarily public facing communication.

[Redacted]

Interviewer: It sounds, it sounds like a very formal role really, that social media is really embedded in your job description.

Alice: [Noise of Agreement]. Yep.

Interviewer: And you've mentioned a couple of other roles in there. Do you share the day-to-day posting with anyone else in the creation of content or the moderation, or is that pretty much your sole responsibility?

Alice: I think it's primarily my responsibility, but I wouldn't say solely because we do have a social media team with representatives from each of our departments, which I've been working to try and expand.

[Redacted]

It's about trying to build online connections with people I can't necessarily see and then also having the conversations when people are coming back into the office. I did, I started in [Month 2022] and it's been a bit of an interesting time to start because it was quite strict with Covid at the start and then it's not a very busy office environment.

[Redacted]

I think I also didn't mention, but I do press releases, web, webinar management and journalist liaison as well and I write case studies for the website. I also do Tik Tok as well, but I didn't know if you're aware that we did that, but we're working on growing our Tik Tok.

Interviewer: It sounds like you have got a lot of different responsibilities within that, that role. Focusing on the social media side how much would you estimate a week you would spend solely on the social media? Whether that's creating content, posting or moderating comments?

Alice: [Pause]. I think it would vary, very much week to week, depending on whether the social media post links through to an existing web piece, or whether it's a web piece I have to build from scratch and liaise with staff about writing a blog and briefing

40 them on what the new piece has to say, depending on if it's coinciding with [Pause] a
41 certain social media event or commemoration or company event. And also,
42 depending on what level of clearance it needs. I mean, some of them are really easy
43 to put out and I can just do it by myself and then others it has to go through multiple
44 levels of clearance which adds on massive amounts of time.

45 [Redacted]

46 *Interviewer:* *But I think that, that's really interesting actually in itself. And does your responsibility*
47 *involve any out of hours monitoring of channels? Or is it pretty much nine to five?*

48 *Alice:* [Redacted]

49 There isn't an expectation to post outside of hours and I think there's a
50 recommendation that you don't. But there is a complication with things like Twitter.
51 You can't schedule threads at the moment with the social media platform
52 arrangements, scheduling arrangements. And also, Instagram if you want to post
53 multiple pictures and do, quite a high level, more sophisticated post it isn't. It if it's
54 got multiple images you have to do that manually. You can get a notification with all
55 the copy set up, but you actually have to log back on to set it live.

56 So, yes, I've been. [Pause]. I think there'll be ongoing discussions about that, and
57 whether we can change our social media scheduling and the platforms that we use.
58 And a lot of the times the nature of my job is reliant on what the social media
59 platforms and the social media companies are changing about their platforms and
60 even the analytics.

61 I feel like my life is slightly dictated by what Facebook decides [Laughs] to change on
62 its platform and then trying to maximise on any changes, and keep up-to-date with
63 changes. And especially in relation to Tik Tok as well. That is something that I think is
64 really important for us to do and I'm really proud of the work that we've done with
65 it, so far, but trying to keep up with trends and sounds and hashtags and different
66 partnerships is. It could almost be a job in itself.

67 [Redacted]

68 *Interviewer:* *And out of interest with things like your personal account, your Facebook, where you*
69 *obviously have to manage a Page through that, have you noticed you're using your*
70 *own social media less now you've got this work responsibility with those notifications*
71 *flashing up?*

72 *Alice:* I've become a lot stricter about my personal Instagram. I still love Instagram to keep
73 up with people that I know in my personal life, but before, when I was studying, I
74 used to have, I used to follow, so many different museums and heritage
75 organisations. And now I've, I did a bit of a cull of my Instagram list, and now I follow
76 all of those people on Twitter. All the work-related content is on Twitter and then
77 I've been a lot stricter about keeping my personal Instagram for strictly personal
78 connections. Because I have to draw the line somewhere.

79 [Redacted]

80 Interviewer: *And thinking of your organisation's wider aims, how do you, what do you think their*
81 *main goal for your social media channels is? Or, if there are multiple, what do you*
82 *feel are the priorities?*

83 Alice: [Redacted]

84 Entertainment, inform, inspire, educate. I think I mentioned that one. I can send you
85 our social media strategy for reference, probably. But there's four pillars that we use
86 and then within that you're trying to get a good coverage for all the different
87 departments.

88 But then there's also some highly technical departments which I find are harder to
89 convey on social media to more public facing audiences. So, [Geomatics/Survey] and
90 there's a lot of technical language which you end up having to explain. And also, if
91 the content isn't innately visual and maybe [Geomatics/Survey] doesn't have big
92 flashy pictures. It's about trying to find hooks to get people engaged in that.

93 And then we're also in the process of, I think we'll be developing more of a
94 dedicated plan for our [Technical Department] as well that deals with public facing
95 and business-to-business and trying to develop that side of the organisation. And
96 there's quite a lot of nuance in that [Laughs], and again I feel like social media for a
97 [Technical Department] could be its own role [Laughs] in itself.

98 Interviewer: *I mean that's really interesting you actually have a dedicated social media policy for*
99 *your organisation.*

100 Alice: Yeah. So, we've got a strategy, [Redacted], but we're working towards an overall,
101 updated comms strategy.

102 [Redacted]

103 Interviewer: *So, you've mentioned a little bit already about some of the platforms that you use.*
104 *What are your main platforms? And do you have maybe one or two that you focus*
105 *more on? Or would you say that you distribute your time evenly between them?*

106 Alice: [Pause]. I think it's fairly even for me between LinkedIn, Facebook and Instagram and then
107 Twitter. LinkedIn can get more technical.

108 [Redacted]

109 And then Instagram also takes a bit more time in terms of trying to get the pitch of
110 the content and the visuals right, because the visuals are so important. And that will
111 often be me trying to [Laughs] liaise with other members of staff and maybe waiting
112 on photos from events that we've been to. [Pause]. It's quite a lot about
113 coordination. [Pause]. Yeah.

114 Interviewer: *You just mentioned creating social media content. Can you describe how you go*
115 *about creating your content and how easy do you find it to gather that material?*

116 Alice: I would say I've really benefited from, we have really extensive [Photograph
117 Resources] that are all thematically organised. That's a great resource and then our
118 website has got an extensive library of news pieces relating to different sites which
119 I'm keeping updated as of right now. But going back and looking at what previous
120 staff have uploaded is usually massive help.

121 You won't necessarily always get the complete story from a news article and there
122 might be gaps on the website and then I'll go via [Collaborative Software] and quite
123 a lot of the time there's more technical archaeological detail in publications which
124 we can download from [Collaborative Software], which give more of the nuances of
125 it. [Laughs].

126 But if you really want to nail it on or try and be ambitious with it, quite often it's a
127 case of trying to catch the relevant specialists and see if they can give you a quote or
128 cross check something.

129 [Redacted]

130 But you do always have to be very aware of what your different avenues are to try
131 and get as much as you feel you can out of the potential of a post, is sometimes I
132 think a lot.

133 *Interviewer:* *And [Pause]. What would you say the main factors that, that effectively determine*
134 *what it is that you post? Do you have pretty much free reign? Or do you have some*
135 *restrictions? What, what can you say would influence you, you mainly in those*
136 *decisions?*

137 *Alice:* [Redacted]

138 *Interviewer:* *And do you find that there are any particular obstacles that might prevent you from*
139 *from sharing information. I don't know client confidentiality or resources or time?*

140 *Alice:* [Redacted]

141 *Interviewer:* *Do you almost find your role is navigating, a big part of your role is navigating those*
142 *political issues to be able to post what it is that you want? I mean I think it's really*
143 *interesting you're almost a developing a longer-term strategy banking content that*
144 *you know is good until you know a site is finished or a report is published.*

145 *Alice:* Yeah. [Pause]. It's, it's, about having. [Pause]. I mean I think one of the most
146 effective strategies is working up long-term sites that you can return to again and
147 again and it becomes a narrative.

148 [Redacted]

149 I think relationships are key in getting the content that you'd like as well.

150 [Redacted]

151 So, I think we'll be brainstorming about what the social media team meetings look
152 like going forward. [Pause]. And then another part of my role is to promote new
153 concepts for blogs as well.

154 [Redacted]

155 And a lot of the beginning of my role as well, has involved being called into events or
156 meetings, that are not necessarily being led by me, but are to do with my
157 professional development as well and see how that works and the mechanics of it
158 and being in meetings with people with more experience. Also being proactive

159 about, being confident and asking my own questions and doing my own research
160 and being as useful as I can be in coordinating projects.

161 *Interviewer:* *And [Pause]. This is great, by the way, I just wanted to say this is really good stuff. I*
162 *really appreciate it. You've touched on this a little bit earlier when mentioning*
163 *looking at analytics and metrics. Is that something that you look at quite often? Is*
164 *there are any formality associated with that? Performance indicators? Can you just*
165 *talk a little bit about that?*

166 Alice: [Redacted]

167 *Interviewer:* *Do you have any KPIs, Key Performance Indicators? Where, do you have to produce a*
168 *report or anything to show, progress or performance in social media channels?*

169 Alice: [Redacted]

170 *Interviewer:* *You've got a seemingly, quite a coordinated strategy. Do you use particular*
171 *scheduling software or analytical software to do some of that work for you?*

172 Alice: We have Hootsuite for scheduling which also does analytics but I tend to find
173 analytics is normally better to do through each individual platform that we have.

174 [Redacted]

175 *Interviewer:* *Cool. And you're day in, day out, looking at these social media platforms, do you*
176 *have an idea of who your audiences are on the platforms? Do you feel they're pretty*
177 *much similar across the platforms? Or do you feel there's differences between them?*

178 Alice: [Pause]. There's definitely wild differences between how the same content performs
179 on different platforms. The audience demographics are pretty different and we do
180 some tailored posts to target the different demographics. But Tik Tok is our
181 youngest audience and we have audience segmentation and stakeholder mapping
182 that we're working on as well that I've done workshops in. And the audience
183 mapping is fed into our social media strategy and informs the different blog projects
184 that we do, as well.

185 [Redacted]

186 *Interviewer:* *Do you notice regular posters? People, who will-, are there familiar names that*
187 *you're like, "Oh, this person's replied". Do you have regulars?*

188 Alice: Yeah, we have, we definitely have super fans who are on every single post [Laughs].
189 On Twitter and on Facebook. But we've done, we've been growing our audience
190 steadily. We have very substantial LinkedIn and Twitter audiences. Instagram's the
191 hardest to grow. So [Pause] I think there'll be some training that I do around that
192 and then try and develop and nuance what we're doing with Instagram-

193 *Interviewer:* *[Interrupting] I guess it, it seems quite. Ooh, sorry.*

194 Alice: -I feel like Instagram changes year to year. And it's one of the most popular social
195 media platforms. But it's, because of that it's, it's very hard to compete for attention
196 on it. So, it's really important, but it takes so much effort [Laughs] to get right but Tik
197 Tok cross posting has worked really well in growing our audiences on both Tik Tok

198 and Instagram. Boosting our Instagram engagement and then feeding people back
199 to our Tik Tok pages.

200 [Redacted]

201 *Interviewer: It sounds like time is a big factor in your role. With so many different platforms to
202 look at, almost each one of them could be a full-time role. Do you find that quite
203 difficult to balance your time with your other responsibilities, managing everything?*

204 Alice: [Redacted]

205 *Interviewer: And thinking back to the questions and the messaging and the comments that you
206 get. How difficult do you find being responsive to those and what's your policy
207 towards that? Do you try and answer every question or do you target only the
208 comments that are asking things?*

209 Alice: I try and respond in some form to all of our comments. I'll like, give it a like react.
210 And then, if it's a question I'll definitely always reply. Sometimes there's a bit of
211 delay in that, and then I'll use [Collaboration Software] which is one of our internal
212 communications platforms where we have different groups for different
213 departments and interest groups. And I'll post in the relevant group with a question
214 that maybe we've had in the comments section or via Facebook, 'cause we get a lot
215 of Facebook, private DM enquiries. And they can get very technical, often have
216 photos attached.

217 Sometimes the person who's [Pause] asking a question, they might [Pause] not have
218 English as a first language. They might, you might have to translate, or try and
219 translate and I always try my best, to try and ask the relevant questions to see what
220 exactly it is that they need. Or to redirect them to the relevant sector organisations
221 and resources if we can't answer as well. So Portable Antiquities Scheme, places like
222 that, who have more of a specialism in what it is that they've presented us with.

223 *Interviewer: That seems again like a huge amount of work, really being able to respond to a lot of
224 messages that are coming in, on top of all of your other stuff. So-*

225 Alice: Yeah.

226 *Interviewer: And thinking, more broadly, what do you feel the main benefits and strengths are for
227 these social media platforms and actually being active and engaging on them?*

228 Alice: Especially places like Twitter and LinkedIn are pretty invaluable for our sector
229 collaborations and building networks.

230 [Redacted]

231 *Interviewer: What are the main benefits for engagement, do you think you get from social media
232 platforms? It sounds like it's been very, very beneficial for people within the sector.
233 What about a more general audience. I guess non-specialists, or people who have
234 got casual interest in archaeology.*

235 Alice: What's the benefit of our social media for them?

236 Interviewer: *Yeah. Do you think you can, if you, if you think about physical events, do you think*
237 *that these online posts and content, do you think that's producing engagement? Or*
238 *do you think it's more of advertising or promoting the company?*

239 Alice: [Pause]. Depending on the post, sometimes it's, it's a whole site story within itself.
240 Sometimes I'll do posts that are much more in that vein and then sometimes it will
241 just be like pushing out an event which [Pause] is giving an abstract of the event, but
242 going to the event itself will give you the full experience. And that's the aim of that
243 post, is to point you towards a different experience, rather than the social media
244 post in itself, being the whole experience. It's like the beg-, supposed to be the
245 beginning of an experience or something that encourages you to come back to our
246 social media or follow along. Yeah.

247 Interviewer: *So, I guess there's a separation between the online elements and those physical*
248 *events, they're both fulfilling a different role?*

249 Alice: [Pause]. I would say. [Pause]. They, they do tie into each other, and they do, there's
250 quite a symbiotic relationship between them. And our YouTube channel has a lot of
251 content that's related to, and reflects, our in-person events and, kind of, gives the
252 highlight of that, [Redacted]. But maybe it'd redirect you towards a news piece or an
253 article that for some people who can't reach the actual in-person event would give
254 you as full of the story as you can get. We do full scale long-form write-ups of
255 important flagship events. Or the staff member would write a first-person account
256 of what it was like to be there and that's important for inclusion and accessibility.
257 And having that in mind as well.

258 Interviewer: *[Identifiable Detail Removed] Thinking about the pandemic and the impact that had*
259 *on maybe the difficulty of holding more in-person physical events. Do you think that*
260 *there was a shift in your organisation towards most online content and was that*
261 *successful and well received?*

262 Alice: I think it's really pushed us to develop some quite sophisticated [Redacted] moved a
263 lot of their school sessions online. And I'd say that that's quite an innovation to be
264 able to do school sessions online via Zoom.

265 [Redacted]

266 Interviewer: *And thinking about things like webinars, do you think that now things are opening*
267 *back up, becoming a little bit more traditional, do you think that they will continue?*
268 *Or do you think there'll be a shift to those more in-person events?*

269 Alice: [Redacted]

270 Interviewer: *In your role is there is, there anything that you feel would help you with your role?*
271 *Particularly with social media is there particular training you think you'd benefit*
272 *from? More resources? More time?*

273 Alice: I am looking into going on to training courses which I, [Pause], will be an ongoing
274 priority.

275 [Redacted]

276 Interviewer: *Do you feel like you've got fairly easy access to training and those opportunities*
277 *through your role?*

278 Alice: Yes. And I feel that along with my colleagues if you band together with your
279 colleagues to say that you feel something's important then there's often quite a high
280 level of support for an initiative.

281 [Redacted]

282 But if you put forward the idea that something needs funding behind it, usually you
283 can make it happen if you've put a strong enough case forwards.

284 Interviewer: *And you mentioned you're part of a larger organisation. How do you feel that your*
285 *role and particularly the organisation's presence on social media is perceived by your*
286 *colleagues on a wider basis? Do you feel that there's a very positive outlook towards*
287 *it? Or are there a mixture of different opinions?*

288 Alice: I've noticed especi-, with our internal communications channels there's quite a few
289 people who are always on-, online and interacting and are very into it. And then the
290 [Management] will be on LinkedIn posting frequently doing thought leadership
291 which is part of their role, [Laughs], to promote the post that I put out.

292 [Redacted]

293 And then also for fieldwork staff as well.

294 [Redacted].

295 And developing new modes of doing that and that's an ongoing challenge, fieldwork
296 staff, because they're in a different place every week and they're not on their
297 phones in the day. They're not really online in the day, they might check their
298 phones at lunch. It's not their priority. But when we do have input from them, it is
299 massively popular on social media, actually. I'm pleased that we'll be able to survey
300 them. We've got a comms survey going up soon to staff and that there'll be some
301 more analysis of that. And hopefully we can make some changes there, again.
302 [Laughs].

303 Interviewer: *It seems like you've got distinct different groups within your, the organisation that*
304 *you're having to build and maintain relationships with that are all quite different, I*
305 *guess. Your fellow colleagues within your, the same area as you, you've got*
306 *management, you've got research specialists, you've got the actual field staff. I guess*
307 *that's quite challenging.*

308 Alice: Yes, I definitely still feel I'm being challenged and I will continue to be challenged.
309 But that, that staff also within the organisation have the opportunity to take their
310 own initiatives and challenge the organisation to build on their ideas and it's not
311 necessarily even just [Management] who are allowed to action their ideas you can
312 very much have your own ideas and [Pause] get clearance for your own projects and
313 build up on them.

314 We've got a few projects in the background that we're working on longer-term
315 development for, that'll be, hopefully, coming into public work, engagement work
316 within the next year [Pause]. And then raising that with [Management] [Pause].

317 Yeah. And I think Tik Tok was one of those ideas which didn't necessarily come from
318 [Management] but has worked really well and has opened a door for us, as a
319 channel.

320 *Interviewer:* *Cool. There's a couple of other things that you've mentioned before that I'd like to*
321 *talk a little bit more about. Something that, that is very interesting to me is if you're*
322 *creating some content that has to get that clearance or that approval that you*
323 *mentioned about. That taking up a lot more time.*

324 Alice: Yeah.

325 *Interviewer:* *Do you find that actually impacts what content you want to produce? If you think,*
326 *"Oh, this would be really good". But you know it's going to take quite a while to get*
327 *through that. Does that put you off doing that a little bit more? Or just do you plan*
328 *earlier and factor in that time as part of your, your planning?*

329 Alice: The thing about those posts, I know that they're really important for company
330 objectives and they're the kind of posts I want to be doing as much as possible of.

331 *Interviewer:* *Could you give me an example, perhaps?*

332 Alice: So, I did a recent series of posts around different finds that we'd had featured in
333 [Museum]. But because we're working on the [Specific Development-led Project]
334 there was about two different levels of clearance that each post had to go through.
335 Those posts, they did, some of them did really well and I think it was important to
336 link back to earlier website pieces and to make sure that those were getting as much
337 traction as possible, which was a piece of communications work that my earlier
338 manager had done with one of our [Specific Development-led Project] specialists
339 earlier in the year.

340 [Redacted]

341 *Interviewer:* *So, it sounds like anything with a, particularly with a client or multiple stakeholders*
342 *would require that additional level of clearance, then?*

343 Alice: [Noise of Agreement].

344 *Interviewer:* *OK. But typically, that's content that does very well?*

345 Alice: Yeah, and also the really technical content. I did a post about the [Survey] process
346 and how that feeds into [Visualisation] and that took a massive amount of back and
347 forth, but then did really well. [Pause]. And I suppose the flip side of that is, a lot of
348 our heritage inclusion and social prescribing and social justice projects. I'm really
349 passionate about them and I work with our heritage inclusion specialist [Colleague
350 Name] to try and promote that. But that's still a very new idea and I feel like we're
351 one of the main companies articulating that and working on that and investing in
352 that. So, I'm [Pause] about it, I'm also trying to focus on building engagement with
353 posts like that and, and content relating to that. And to keep that on people's radars
354 and get people engaging with that across different platforms. [Pause]. Yeah.

355 *Interviewer:* *Yeah, that's really great. And just a couple of quick things to clear up. When you say*
356 *[Specific Term] that is...?*

357 Alice: [Company Specific Term Definition]

358 Interviewer: *I thought so but I just wanted to clarify that. And with your social media team that*
359 *you've mentioned a few times. How many people would you say make up that wider*
360 *team?*

361 Alice: I have a list. Let me see if I can pull it up. [Pause]. I have a ridiculous number of tabs
362 open at all times, I apologise. [Laughs].

363 Interviewer: *No, I can't see it so- but you've said it now so it's going to go into the interview*
364 *transcript.*

365 Alice: [Laughs]. This is why it takes a little while. [Pause]. Let's see how many people we
366 are. So, we generally have, kind of, on our social media team a figurehead for each
367 office. Or maybe a couple of people from each office. I'm just counting up. OK. So,
368 formally, I think we're at about 12 including me.

369 Interviewer: *Great. Perfect. Thank you.*

370 Alice: [Redacted]

371 Interviewer: [Redacted]

372 Alice: [Redacted]

373 Interviewer: *But I guess it, it seems that generally your staff, I guess, it seems to me from what*
374 *you've been saying, but there's a really good awareness of your role within the*
375 *organisation and the value that social media brings to the company.*

376 Alice: [Pause]. I'd say overall that is the attitude. But there is always more we can do to
377 bring certain people on board.

378 [Redacted]

379 Interviewer: *And those staff members who are maybe less aware of social media. Do you find*
380 *them quite amenable to, sort of, when you're, sort of, explaining things and the*
381 *value, or do you find there can be a bit of resistance there?*

382 Alice: No, they are. I think it's just probably more part of my role of myself having to be
383 cognizant of, maybe, where I can have more of a light touch and maybe where I
384 have to be more hands on. And that'll be something that I develop within my role
385 and within the comms team. It's probably comms team scale.

386 Interviewer: *Great and I guess to finish off, is there is, there anything that you think I should have*
387 *asked you, or you'd particularly like to discuss about your role or social media?*

388 Alice: I was gonna say, in addition to what I said about my last comment is probably best
389 practice to always give as much information as you can, but there are differentials.
390 No, I think, it's been a very interesting interview. I look forward to reading that
391 transcript and I think it'll probably spark off a few questions for myself to bring back
392 to the rest of the communications team. [Pause]. Yeah.

393 Interviewer: *Well, great. Well again, thank you. I really appreciate you taking the time and*
394 *sharing your thoughts with me.*

Interview Three - Keiran

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Keiran is a Project Manager for a ClfA Registered, single office archaeological company.

Interviewer: -cloud and just double check that's in there. Perfect. To start off with if you could describe a little bit about your role at your organisation and how social media really fits into that.

Keiran: I'm project manager for our excavation team. We've got a team of about between 40 and 50 at our single office unit. We all do commercial work. We're not a charity entity, like some of the bigger companies like [Company Name] or [Company Name], so we don't have that obligation to do any outreach as an organisation.

In the past we've had people on secondments or placements from things like [Scheme Name] or [Scheme Name], it was called. Where we have had a Community Officer. But it's only been when it's been provided through funding bodies. We've never funded it ourselves from our own excavations, our money just doesn't stretch that far.

And when we do outreach it's almost, it's probably split half and half. Half is where it's been put on as part of a condition. There's a recent project we're just finishing up now that we did through Covid, and the county archaeologist has asked that we do outreach with a local society. In this case, it's just giving them a local talk.

In other projects, we've had one just at the backend of Covid, it was with another [Local Society]. They were very interested in the site, but they're also not very interested in doing any digging themselves. But we set up an archive day with the local archive service, took them around that. We set up a little private tour just for the society around the sites they could see. It was the remains of a [Site Type], was what they're mostly interested in. They got a bit of a preview of that before we then did a bigger open day. Again, this was all dictated by a WSI [Written Scheme of Investigation] or specification from the county archaeologist or equivalent in [Region]. That tends to drive what we do.

Some of that has been then written into social media, so the projects with the [Local Society]. That we gave regular updates on Facebook. Now, none of that was specified in the specification as to how frequently or what we were putting up. We tended to post three or four posts a week. Maybe two or three perhaps. Just showing the people, the team on site digging. The first week then the machine stripping and stuff like that.

And then when we had the open day. We publicised it on our Facebook page with that. Then that drew attention from local papers and radio shows. Whenever people reach out to us we will always try and accommodate if it's possible. That is the bulk of what we do in terms of community outreach is when it's specified in a planning consent. And then we adhere to it and we do as much as we can, within our budget.

With societies, we tend not to make much money off them. Partly because, [Pause], they take a lot more time to deal with than developers, because people are more interested and tend to have more questions. Which is just fine. I don't think there's

43 an awful lot of money to be made out of these local societies and it's not particularly
44 ethical to go overboard on them. So that's our limit, I would say. Does that answer
45 what you were after?

46 *Interviewer:* *It does, yeah. It sounds like that social media component there it's not really a formal*
47 *part of your job. It's an add on aspect as and when that need arises.*

48 Keiran: Absolutely. And then in terms of what we then do with our, we've got a Facebook
49 Page, an Instagram and a Twitter, which I think most companies do. We were a bit
50 hesitant when we started to set one up for the sake of, why do we need one? Is it
51 just because every other company's got one? What are we going to get out of it, for
52 what we put into it? And we decided mostly what we put out is of interest to
53 archaeologists that work in the commercial sector.

54 We don't have the time or energy to put big essays up on Facebook or nice finds that
55 we pull out and things like that. We realised that a lot of the people that were
56 looking at what we were putting out, were other archaeologists working in the
57 commercial sector. We almost use it as a recruitment tool. In the sense that what
58 we put up are nice pictures of sites.

59 And the Instagram that we've set up in the last few months, the idea of that is purely
60 as a morale thing for our own staff. 'cause they are the ones who mostly look at it.
61 And then potentially for other archaeologists and their friends and things to go, "Oh,
62 that seems a nice place to work. Should the job opportunity come up I might be
63 more in keen, or more inclined to apply for it than if I didn't know anything about
64 the company at all".

65 We don't use it as much in terms of outreach as we're not seeking with our page to
66 go out and expose ourselves to the public, beyond if they glance at it. Or if we do
67 work with local societies we will join them in and signpost people towards it. But
68 otherwise, we're not keen to put out a wonderful post about something in outreach
69 because, to be honest, we we're not huge company and the benefit for us as an
70 organisation with budgets as tight as they are, and everything else, it's not going to
71 bring us in any more work, we don't think.

72 We don't go down that route very often. What we put up are the things that interest
73 us and that we think are worth sharing, but we know our audience are mostly
74 commercial archaeologists. So that is almost what it's targeted to. Either directly or
75 indirectly. But then we have used it when we've been recruiting. We've paid for
76 targeted adverts on Facebook, and we found the reach of that is very far ranging.
77 But again, they're a means to an end for us. We're looking to reach as many
78 archaeologists as we can to look at the advert and go, "Oh, I'd like to work for our
79 company".

80 *Interviewer:* *And have you found that quite successful in terms of recruitment? Is it something*
81 *that you almost see a correlation that when an advert goes out or when you're*
82 *promoting one of these recruitment posts does that end up getting applications in?*

83 Keiran: We've had mixed results. At a lower level, so at an entry level into archaeology,
84 undergraduates and people with maybe a bit of volunteering experience. We

85 probably had more outreach for a job on that, than we have for anything else we'd
86 put out in the past few years. Certainly, since I've been doing recruitment.

87 For higher up levels, supervisors, project officers, experienced archaeologists, or
88 geophysicists, not as much impact. And I think that's probably more based, talking to
89 other people in the industry, I think that's an industry-wide problem or issue that
90 there isn't a great deal of experienced staff floating around. And the ones that are
91 floating around are hesitant to move. Even in the market now where there's a lot of
92 opportunities.

93 I think when people reach their mid-to-late 20s and beyond, I think there's less
94 people that are willing to up sticks, long distances. You know, people, we don't find
95 a lot of people uprooting themselves from [Region] to come to [Region]. It does
96 happen. It's something I did, but it's a big decision. I don't think people are keen to
97 do it as a rule. Whereas undergraduates I think or people returning to areas they
98 know are a little bit more open to it.

99 So, whether the advertising is a [Pause] but it's certainly gathered more interest. It's
100 certainly more successful for undergraduates and we certainly got more
101 applications. But then you also brought in a lot of applications from people who
102 weren't necessarily qualified for the position. There's a bit more to filter through but
103 we certainly had more suitable applicants when using targeted ads for undergrad-,
104 for low, early career positions, definitely.

105 *Interviewer:* *And it's, I mean that's really interesting to me, but alongside the recruitment facet of*
106 *Facebook or your social media channels, there's that internal benefit to the*
107 *organisation of adding value to your staff and have you had any feedback from*
108 *anyone about that? Or do you get a sense a lot of people who are liking posts,*
109 *reacting to those, are actually your internal members of staff or archaeologists from*
110 *surrounding companies?*

111 *Keiran:* Yeah. Our Instagram account is still quite fledgling, it's not got a huge following but
112 it's not something, again, we've not put any money into advertising. The lad who
113 volunteered, or was keen to start it, came internally as one of our supervisors and
114 said, "I'd like to do it, I think there's, there's interest in it" and we said, "Look here's
115 our parameters. We don't want you sharing these sorts of posts and this sort of
116 information, but apart from that you've got autonomy on it. And anything you're
117 worried about you can come to one of the managers and we can vet it".

118 But and he gets posts and he'll, he posts two or three times a week. He doesn't
119 spend an awful lot of time on it. But he spends, he puts, but we have a lot of nice
120 people who take nice pictures within the company and he gets posts from project
121 managers, all the way down to field archaeologists. And he puts a few posts a week,
122 but the people that like it on Instagram, the vast majority, are people that work for
123 us internally. And again, we weren't expecting a huge following or anything like that,
124 but it is interesting to other people in the company, and it's a nice way of sharing
125 pictures from sites that's inclusive to the whole company.

126 I'm sure a lot of pictures go back and forth on little WhatsApp groups and things like
127 that. But I'm also sure that there are people that aren't privy to all of those groups,
128 certainly outside field teams and people who work in our office, you know? There's

129 little, not cliques, but you know what I mean? It's small social groups within our
130 overall company. And I think the ability for everyone to look at these posts it's quite
131 nice. And I think it probably does help morale or it certainly keeps interest levels
132 high.

133 *Interviewer:* *If you're thinking about the staff that do contribute and post to your social media*
134 *channels can you put an estimate on how, in terms of hours. Half an hour a week?*
135 *An hour a week? I guess that will vary depending on if you're recruiting or I suppose*
136 *it will fluctuate?*

137 Keiran: When we set it up, we said to him, "If you want to take half an hour a week out of
138 the whole week then that's fine". And partly because of our slightly wonky IT system
139 and phone system at the moment that we're struggling with, he said he's mostly
140 been doing it when he gets back from work when he's cooking his dinner, he'll just
141 put his posts up then. He said that's when they gain the most attention is half-five in
142 the evening.

143 He tends to pop them up then or he'll schedule them of an evening, but he doesn't,
144 he doesn't timesheet anything onto it at the moment. We gave the opportunity for
145 him, but I think he enjoys doing it from a small point of view. But again, we're not
146 dictating that he does much beyond that. Our Facebook posts are all just done at
147 work time. When we were doing it on the projects where it was factored in, so we'd
148 have a budget for it and usually it'd be the project manager would just spend, he'd
149 get a few pictures at the end of the week, and he'd pop them up. Or at the end of
150 every couple of days he or she'd just, plonk 'em on then.

151 It wasn't a [Pause]. Yeah. We don't mandate Friday afternoon, so-and-so is going to
152 spend two hours on social media to do this. It's a bit more ad hoc than that I would
153 say. But again, it's shoot-, we're quite laissez faire about it as well. Which is probably
154 why we don't have a huge following on social media as well, I expect. But we're not,
155 [Pause]. The benefit of it, I think, is quite low for us in terms of a social media
156 following I expect compared to companies of larger size, or with you, know, spin-offs
157 like [Company Name] and things that've got [Different Aspect of Company] attached
158 to them and things like that. I think they've got a lot more of a mandate for it and a
159 lot more opportunity. Because I guess [Pause].

160 *Interviewer:* *You've mentioned having three platforms, one of which is a member of staff has*
161 *Instagram. And then are the Facebook and Twitter shared a little bit more between*
162 *different people in the office?*

163 Keiran: Yeah. So, we've, there's four or five of us with access to the Facebook and Twitter
164 accounts. And it tends to be ad hoc if something nice comes up that we can share
165 and it's not going to take us long, then we'll share.

166 Or if we're, particularly if we're looking to recruit [Specialists], we might put up a
167 nice post saying we're recruiting [Specialists] but we might also put up a couple of
168 posts throughout, around that time saying, "Oh, look, we found some nice
169 [Archaeology Relevant to Specialists]", or "We, we think this is this", or, "This is a
170 correlation between what we've dug and some [Specialist Work] that we've done
171 previously". In an attempt to sell ourselves a little bit. But on the whole, you're then
172 relying on people to see multiple posts and if you're doing a targeted advert, they're

173 probably only going to see the targeted advert and make their decision based off
174 that anyway. It'd be a case of finding nice pictures for the targeted advert and if we
175 get anything around it then that's a bonus.

176 *Interviewer:* *When it comes to creating content you've obviously got some key objectives of*
177 *recruitment or sharing things that are going to benefit the morale or the mood of the*
178 *organisation. What are the main factors in determining what you can post? I think*
179 *that you've already alluded to there maybe being issues in what you can and can't*
180 *post. Can you talk a little bit more about that?*

181 Keiran: Things we can and can't post. We're certainly restricted on, we won't geolocate
182 stuff. Just as a rule, in terms of all the problems that comes with people coming onto
183 site, people showing interest in the site that isn't perhaps necessarily accessible, or
184 it's a controversial development.

185 Whenever we post things, if it's a site that we don't really want to show where it is.
186 Or it's a-, we will consciously make an effort of not showing landmarks in the
187 background. Other times that's quite beneficial. We've just done a project at a
188 [Location] and there's some nice pictures in the background with the [Location] and
189 we're working in the [Area]. So there's that sort of aspect to it in terms of the
190 privacy of the site.

191 We've also got clients that are, particularly with developments, that struggle with
192 local interest in terms of it's an unpopular development, nobody wants people
193 building or developing in their locale. We try and avoid those sites in general
194 altogether. We wouldn't [Pause]. Why make a rod for your own back?

195 Often we might find something lovely and perhaps when it's washed and processed
196 and photographed for a report, a year, two years, maybe down the line when we've
197 got that photo. If it's available we might pop it up then, "And this is something we
198 found in [Region], two years ago". That's when we'll use those images. So, we have
199 that to battle with.

200 Some clients just don't want things shared at all because it's, they think it's
201 detrimental to their project and often I can sympathise with them quite a lot. Others
202 not fussed either way and quite happy. But as a rule, we try not to post things that
203 show where we're digging at present. Partly for client confidentiality, partly to stop
204 metal detectorists or interested people wandering over of an evening and things like
205 that. There's a big aspect to that it. We're careful on what we post with that.

206 We don't post human remains at all. And [An Archaeologist] who doesn't work at
207 the organisation, but is an osteologist and part of [Professional Body] and everything
208 else. And the more you hear about, and this is globally not even in, just in Britain,
209 about peoples' reactions to human remains being posted or shared. And some are
210 overwhelmingly positive and in some countries people are desperate to see these
211 remains it's important that they're shared, whereas others, completely the opposite.

212 And I think ethically I'd raise a lot of questions about people putting up pictures of
213 skeletons they've excavated. [Pause]. Showing them off. I think that's quite
214 questionable. If there's an educational facet to it, if there's a [Pause]. You've got to
215 ask yourself, "Why are you putting up pictures of human remains?". And is it

216 because lots of people will like it on Facebook. That's not a good enough reason.
217 [Laughs]. To put it up on Facebook. Or put it up on, wherever. Or display them in
218 general. I mean I sometimes question some museums displaying human remains.
219 Why're they displaying those? Is it because they're an interesting skeleton and is
220 that a good enough reason to display them?

221 That whole ethics argument, is an argument and it's one that we think, we don't
222 really want, we haven't got the time or energy, if something does come of it, we
223 haven't got the time or energy to put into it. So, we're much safer just not sharing
224 them at all. And ethically I think it puts us in a much safer place than if we were to
225 display them. But I mean the [Professional Body] is the- and their ethics document is
226 absolutely the place to start when it comes to human remains but it's something we
227 avoid completely.

228 *Interviewer:* *It sounds like the role that social media plays in the organisation is quite informal*
229 *and a bit ad hoc. But it seems like you've actually got quite a, even if they're*
230 *unwritten, you've got quite a set of guidelines or rules that you stick to when you're*
231 *creating that kind of content.*

232 *Keiran:* Yeah. I mean we haven't got many more beyond no human remains. [Laughs].
233 Nothing, nothing that can, can identify a site. And things that show us in a positive
234 light as well. I mean I'm sure there are moments on site that are hilarious, when
235 people fall over and end up covered in mud at the bottom of a hole. And sometimes
236 those pictures of people covered in mud, enjoying themselves doing their job,
237 they're interesting pictures.

238 But others have, potentially, can land you in more trouble with clients who see, you
239 know? If that suddenly becomes viral, for whatever reason, a funny picture. If it's for
240 the wrong reasons. One hundred percent there are times that pictures look
241 misleading and big deep holes that the shoring is not shown in the picture, because
242 it looks unsightly but it's there. But if you can't see it and you're a Health and Safety
243 Executive, it can land you in real trouble. Or clients will go "We're not using them
244 again. Look at these dangerous pictures".

245 And we see pictures shared by other companies of particularly deep excavations and
246 it sometimes horrifies us a little bit, that they've got a lovely picture of somebody at
247 the bottom, waving or whatever, or they're not wearing a hard hat and things like
248 that. And you have to question it. Did they go through a vetting process and things?
249 And we haven't got time to vet everything we put up on Facebook.

250 But it's in, the people that do post are aware of it and we'd hope that's enough of
251 that. We've talked about it with people what you can post and can we make sure
252 that anything we do post is safe and people are doing what they're meant to be
253 doing or doing it in a safe way.

254 They're our main things. It's mostly what we would call common sense. I suppose
255 the ethics side of it is a little bit beyond that, but. Yeah. We haven't, certainly
256 haven't got a formal set, or a tick box to put this image on social media. It must
257 conform to these things. We don't have that. But everyone one of us that posts
258 there's been a sit-down discussion with all of us of what, one, what the purpose of

259 posting it's for, and two, what we can and should post. So, it's ad hoc to an extent.
260 But yeah. [Pause].

261 *Interviewer: And it's really interesting you mentioned quite varied client attitudes in that some*
262 *aren't particularly concerned with that, but others are obviously more aware of that.*
263 *Of the ones who are a little bit more aware of the communication channels, is it*
264 *something that's just an unspoken rule between you that you just, you don't even*
265 *bring it up? That it's just implicit that you won't post any content without their prior*
266 *approval? Or is it more formal in the contracts or written down as that being a*
267 *condition of the work?*

268 Keiran: It depends. A lot of the specifications we do, we get in [Region]. [Regional Council]
269 have put in a thing saying that they're, in the specification, they're allowed to share
270 pictures on their social media. That's the county archaeologist effectively coming
271 round. He'll see something nice, they'll take some pictures and they will share them
272 on their social media. And it's written into the specification. There are a few small
273 caveats in most specs but it's there for all to see. [Regional Council] do similar things
274 with outreach and things.

275 If we write our own WSIs we tend to almost put in it as a small caveat, of we might
276 share images on social media. But, as a rule, if we found anything nice, we wouldn't
277 share it without permission, if it geolocated the site. If we found, [Pause]. We've
278 recently done work on a [Historic Feature] in a small town that had been damaged
279 by [An Accident]. We haven't particularly got any nice images of it.

280 This [Historic Feature] has been taken away. We were just looking for [Element of
281 Historic Feature], but if we found [Element of Historic Feature] it would identify the
282 site. But if we had a particularly nice picture and the client, in this case the [Regional
283 Council], that's quite good publicity for them, we might suggest it to them. But then
284 the time and effort for us to do that financially with, you're effectively doing them a
285 favour. Because they've not paid for you to share and take the time to take the
286 pictures, crop them, size them, put them up. We probably wouldn't, even if the
287 option was there but it would depend on the client. Some consultants that's where
288 their role would come in more, is a case of selling the archaeology.

289 And we've done it ourselves with [Pause]. The project with the [Local Society]. And
290 this would, this illustrates two sides of sharing things on social media. [Pause]. As
291 part of the thing, we had to share on social media, which we did. That gained a lot of
292 interest locally, we got radio interviews, things like that. For the client it gave them a
293 lot of headaches.

294 The open day that was only going to probably be, if we'd have just advertised it
295 locally, or not advertised it beyond putting up a few posters around the site, would
296 have probably been attended by less than 50 people, outside the people invited.
297 Once it got shared on social media, it made it into the papers and the local radio. We
298 had over 100 people turn up at the end of Covid, where we weren't gathering in
299 huge numbers. And it was a site with no parking. Access was difficult and we turned
300 away, probably in total, 50 to 100 people, for a three-hour open day on a Saturday
301 morning.

302 And it caused a lot of disruption for local roads. But there were people parking
303 where they shouldn't have been parking. The landowner despite closing gates and
304 everything else, ended up having people try to effectively trespass through his land.
305 And for the client that's stress and bother for them. An alarming number of people
306 turning up, an unexpected number of people turning up and everything else. But
307 equally, they also shared that on their LinkedIn account and it's a bit of promotion
308 for an unpopular development. They were doing something that was popular.

309 It's a bit of a balance for them. But I would say, in total, it probably went, weighed
310 more down on the stress and inconvenience than [Pause]. And the sharing of it as
311 well, then put it more in the local interest. When they have their planning interests,
312 meetings, people are asking them more questions about archaeology. They're not
313 going, "We're really glad you did the archaeology. Now build some houses" they're
314 like, "Why didn't you do more archaeology and why isn't this being saved". It
315 doesn't, it's not helped them in terms of their development. It's hindered them. And
316 that interest isn't positive for them. It might show them in a good light for doing it,
317 but it's never going to be enough for people that want to stop the development.

318 Again talking to that client, I say, that they're happy to do everything and they know
319 they have to, and they were very supportive, but equally it wasn't a benefit for them
320 overall, at all. It was a hindrance.

321 *Interviewer: That's the amplification potential of social media. It only makes things more difficult*
322 *going forward?*

323 Keiran: Yeah. In a world before social media, before that would have been shared or
324 whatever. If we were in the 90s, you'd have had the local society turn up. They
325 might have had, they might have pushed through something into the paper which
326 might have got a little bit of interest, but chances are they wouldn't have had a time
327 and a date to turn up, or a person to contact directly. Or it could have been ignored
328 and it would have gone fairly quietly and out the way, I think.

329 Whereas when it can be circulated quickly on Facebook and people can instantly
330 contact about an open day, rather than having to write a letter or phone up a
331 number. It does, I think it changes it and it certainly makes it more accessible. Which
332 is great for the archaeology. It's great for that we were able to share what we had
333 with so many people in a quite short space of time and a short open day. But
334 equally, as I say, it just meant more stress for the developer, who are ultimately
335 paying for that.

336 *Interviewer: Do you think, and maybe another factor that played into the creation of your social*
337 *media channels is if you're not on there that other people are going to be having*
338 *these discussions? That if you had put posters up there'd be other people sharing the*
339 *details of it on their own personal social media accounts? Or in local interest groups?*
340 *Do you think it was almost a necessary evil, or a necessity for you to go onto these*
341 *channels?*

342 Keiran: Yeah. I mean we've no issue with using it and in terms of, we wanted to advertise
343 the event. We weren't, I've done open days where no one's turned up and they're
344 devastating because you put effort and time into it and it's something that you want
345 to share what you've done. And, for whatever reason, the location, what we'd found

346 or hadn't found, or whatever, there wasn't an interest. And it's a, you feel like it's a
347 big waste of time and effort for everyone involved.

348 I'd much rather people turned up and for us it's an absolute positive. We can say
349 hundreds of people turned up to look at the archaeology we've done. The staff get a
350 buzz because they're sharing things that they've done. They're proud of their work.
351 It's beneficial in that respect, and we're quite happy for it to go viral or for people to
352 show an interest. However, we also know that with the client, it causes, the more
353 people are interested, the more hassle it is for them.

354 So, you've got to question that balance, certainly, and the ramifications of sites
355 going viral or being popular and things. It can be difficult. Ultimately the clients pay
356 our bill as well. That's the huge, and they're clients as well that often we want
357 repeat business with. For decades, some of them, you have been using us and if
358 something like that fell apart, that relationship fell apart based on something like
359 that. That'd have huge ramifications for us for something that we don't put a lot of
360 effort into.

361 *Interviewer:* *It's interesting 'cause it sounds like that the social media, it's interesting that these*
362 *components can be written into WSIs by county archaeologists or developmental*
363 *control, but do you think that there is still a, that the actual event and the actual*
364 *engagement itself has to be physical? It's not enough to do social media posts and*
365 *then categorise that as engagement. Do you think that there's a perception that a*
366 *physical rather than a digital component it's still preferable or still better?*

367 *Keiran:* I think there's a desire from people to see and touch things, regardless of social
368 media or whatever. I think equally, though social media gives you an opportunity to
369 share some sites that are otherwise inaccessible, through access issues.

370 If you're working in the top of a quarry that's live, people physically can't get there
371 safely or otherwise. Whereas you're still able to share your findings, if you need to. I
372 think it gives the options for some sites that otherwise wouldn't have that option to
373 be shared, certainly.

374 But yeah, there's certainly a desire and off the back of this open day at the end of
375 Covid, who I think people were keen to get out and do things, but for a site that
376 wasn't [Pause]. We weren't digging up [Famous Site] or anything like that, there was
377 an awful lot of local interest in it to look at the archaeology on a miserable winter's
378 morning, in the freezing cold. People turned out in quite high, in surprising in
379 numbers really. I suppose there is, I think there's still the desire to do these things
380 and I think [Pause]. But it's a tricky one [Sighs]. I think [Pause].

381 We had another project in [Location] and we found a store of [Artefacts in a
382 Feature] and they were all arranged as they had been in the [Pause]. They'd been
383 left [Details of Artefacts and Feature] and we took a picture of that, put it up on our
384 Facebook page and it went mad across the world. It was shared across news
385 networks and, and things like that, and we had [Pause]. I think it was, it was in the
386 millions of views on it for what we thought was a fairly, it was just a nice picture of
387 some [Artefacts in a Feature]. But people went bananas for it, and we had people
388 contact us from America and Europe and Australia wanting to see if they could get
389 [One of the Artefacts] or wanting more information. [Pause].

390 And again, that's great that we can be able to share something interesting that is
391 clearly of interest to people in Australia or America that otherwise would never have
392 even known we were doing it. So that's fantastic for us. But the actual benefit for us
393 was fairly low as a company in a strictly mercenary, business sense. The benefit for
394 us was none, and the detriment was that the project manager ended up getting 100
395 emails about some [Artefacts in a Feature] and having to do a few news interviews,
396 which I don't think brought us more work.

397 I don't think clients were suddenly like, "Oh, they're the [Artefact Type] guys, we
398 must get them in to do our archaeology". And that is our driving force as a
399 commercial entity, is bringing new work in. Does that make sense? Have I veered off
400 on a tangent that doesn't actually-

401 *Interviewer:* *No, no. That's really good. I mean it is really interesting, 'cause I'm trying to speak to*
402 *organisations of different sizes and as a smaller company do you actually feel, there*
403 *are some of these larger organisations which have a very, public engagement or very*
404 *public facing online channel, ultimately, for a smaller organisation where clients in*
405 *the archaeological sector that we're in they want a project delivered cheaply, on*
406 *time. These are the main factors for them. Having an organisation that's pumping*
407 *out a lot of this information isn't necessarily going to be an advantage to the people*
408 *that you work with regular basis?*

409 *Keiran:* No. Absolutely. Our main clients are house builders and there are varying sizes.
410 Some big national organisations like [Company Name] or [Company Name] someone
411 like that. And some of them are tiny little organisations where they do two or three
412 plots of land a year, and every other year they hit one with a bit of archaeology and
413 they go, "Oh yeah, we use these guys". And we go out and we do it and that's how it
414 goes. And a lot, and then other clients are straight through consultants, but they're
415 still house builders.

416 And we win and lose jobs entirely on cost and availability, pretty much. I, reputation
417 I think probably goes a bit of a way and there are certainly clients that we deal with
418 and have for decades that are return clients and don't often tender out the smaller
419 jobs to other companies because they use us, and they've got a good relationship
420 with us and we're reliable and all the rest of the things that come with that.

421 But I don't think our social media has *any* part to play in who they use or whatever.
422 And when we get new clients we often, we always ask, "Where did you hear about
423 us?" and it's the lists that the county archaeologists give out or they Googled us.
424 Now, I suppose, if you've got a slightly bigger Internet presence and you Google
425 archaeology and whatever town they're in. It might pop up one of the bigger
426 organisations, for whatever reason, or they might have previously done a big dig
427 where they found something. But equally, developers might be put off if they see
428 that somebody found a big chariot burial or a gold coin hoard and they think, "Oh,
429 they find stuff" [Laughs]. Is that what we want from our small development or large
430 development?

431 And yeah, I don't think it has a huge part to play in driving business our way. And I
432 might, I'd be interested to know whether that was the same for the large companies
433 who have people in positions for outreach or managing social media on a more

434 regular or factored basis. Whether that brings in any extra work or not, or whether it
435 brings in community work, because we do get community groups approach us for
436 expert advice or to partner up. They've got some lottery funding and they don't
437 know what the best way to go about it. And we partner up with those. Every few
438 years one of those comes along. Whether all that work just goes to the big units with
439 proper social media outputs and they go, "Ah, look what they do. That's what we
440 want to be spending our money on". But my gut feeling is they go locally every time
441 and it's just a case of who's got the money or who's got the funding at whatever
442 point they're looking for it. I might be wrong, but I, that's my gut feeling is that it's,
443 business wise I don't think it generates an awful lot.

444 *Interviewer:* *You mentioned a little bit with this particularly successful post that you had, that you*
445 *were getting really big numbers on there. Do you really look at any of the numbers or*
446 *any of the metrics for your channels? Or is it just something that you will notice*
447 *something particularly unusual but on a day-to-day basis it's just there in the*
448 *background?*

449 Keiran: We're not monitoring it beyond we'll look at the Instagram and go, "Oh, that post
450 got a few more likes. That's nice". But again, we're not then going "That got more
451 likes, because we need to post more of that". Because again for us it's not [Pause]. I
452 imagine for the, the chap who runs it, it is a bit of an indicator of what is popular and
453 not. Because how could it not be?

454 But no. The recruitment side when we have put targeted posts up, we have been.
455 One we target them, so we know who we should be reaching. And two we know
456 how many we've reached because there's a financial, you know, you set your budget
457 on how many people and you find out how many clicks you got for your money. And
458 so, we check that correlation, the first time we did it particularly, just to see whether
459 it was worth doing in the future and we decided that it probably is worth doing.

460 And certainly, the money, you know, £15 on a Facebook advert targeted at [Pause].
461 Well [Professional Body] have come and it's five and a half thousand archaeologists
462 in the country at minute. If you target, let's say four to three thousand of those are
463 on Facebook and check it, you can probably hit every archaeologist in [Region] that
464 you want to potentially advertise to, confidently. If you know that, if you pick your
465 parameters well enough and that's probably better than putting it up on [Website]
466 or [Job Resource] or whatever else. Even then if you check it and you go, "Yeah
467 we've had a thousand people look at it", you think, "Well, yeah, that's probably, if
468 even half of those are commercial archaeologists" that's a good outreach for £15.

469 *Interviewer:* *If a lot of the people who are, [Pause]. You said you got quite a good sense of who*
470 *your audiences are. To start with that they're other archaeologists and particularly*
471 *people that work for you. Do you find there's a lot of comments on your posts? Either*
472 *people tagging each other or chatting about stuff? Or do you find it is mainly in the*
473 *likes, maybe some of the shares rather than those comments?*

474 Keiran: I would say mostly likes and occasionally shares. Projects, if we do show a project
475 and where it is and that gets picked up by somebody in the local vicinity, then you
476 do get people tagged in those conversations underneath going, "Oh, did you see this
477 Tracy? This is next to where Jeff walks his dog" or whatever. You get a bit of that.

478 But if it's just a "Here's a nice picture of a, you know, [Artefact]". it's just lots of
479 people going, "Oh yeah, that's a nice picture of a [Artefact]". But again, we're not
480 targeting in a way to engage either. We're not asking, "Have you ever seen anything
481 like this?" as a question. They're very much a "Here's something we're interested in,
482 or we found" or "We think this is worth sharing, here it is." It's, it's not much beyond
483 that I'd say.

484 *Interviewer:* *And do you feel that the, the pandemic had any impact on you using these social*
485 *media channels a bit more? Particularly if physical events were no longer possible in*
486 *the same way that they were, if there was that specification to have some*
487 *engagement component.*

488 Keiran: Only on the ones where we were obligated to do it. I would say that we did, but
489 otherwise, no. I mean our working practices, obviously they changed in terms of
490 social distancing and things like that. But we were, we furloughed people for maybe
491 a week and we were, once we worked out how we could work safely and we were
492 allowed to work safely, we did. So, our working practices as much as they changed
493 and people working remotely and things, what we did as a company didn't really
494 change. If that makes sense?

495 We were still busy with sites. People weren't short of things to do [Pause] in the
496 office or anything like that. It just operated as we had done previously but with the
497 restrictions. So, no, I don't think it made a big impact on what we did. We didn't
498 have suddenly extra time to be posting on social media. [Pause]. And a lot of the
499 time there was less to share, because that obligation to share things, wasn't there.
500 Because you couldn't bring people to sites. But nobody was going, "Well can you do
501 this instead then?" Certainly not on the specifications.

502 *Interviewer:* *And it's really interesting that there is that drive seemingly from a lot of the county*
503 *archaeologists or that development control side of things to increasingly have that*
504 *component into things. Like, if you see that in a project, do you think, "Aww, that's,*
505 *that's another thing we've got to do" or do you think, "Oh it's quite a nice addition,*
506 *it's a bit unusual, it's good to do a little bit of this now and again"?*

507 Keiran: I personally, yeah. It's a chance to do something a little bit different. I mean my jobs,
508 'cause we're a small company, we're quite, everyone does a bit of everything, you
509 know? You're not just, as much as I'm a project manager and I manage projects, I
510 still go out and do the odd, very odd day, in a field to cover. I do loads of
511 illustrations. I do report writing. I do tendering. I do, I see projects from start to
512 finish. Whereas I know at other companies I've worked at, there's less of that and
513 you're a lot more compartmentalised. So, for us it's just an extra, another thing that
514 we do.

515 So, yeah. But equally it is an inconvenience to do, compared to if you were just
516 digging a site and you could just get on with it. It's different to if you can just dig a
517 site, get on with it, but then you have to put a post up on Facebook once a week and
518 then ten local people might interact and say, "I'm not happy with this" and you're
519 almost obligated to respond.

520 Obviously, you don't have to but sometimes you almost want to defend, 'cause it
521 doesn't happen very often with us. As I say, we're not, we don't circulate widely. But

522 on local projects you do see and local Facebook groups that you're then pointed at
523 too by people and they're like, "They don't look like archaeologists. None of them
524 are using trowels they've all got mattocks and shovels" and you're "Well, that's, that
525 is what archaeology is about", but you don't want to engage in that because it's only
526 going to upset somebody or upset your client, ultimately, or cause more grief. So,
527 we tend to almost shut ourselves off a little bit from that side of the interaction as
528 well because it is just opening a can of worms. Or it feels like that. [Pause].

529 *Interviewer:* *How do you think social media is perceived generally across your organisation?*
530 *Because I'm guessing you've got a variety of ages in different positions and it seems*
531 *that the person who is running your Instagram seemed to be quite proactive, quite*
532 *keen to do that. Do you think that's maybe reflected, is there an age difference with*
533 *that, do you think?*

534 *Keiran:* I'd say our audience has changed in terms of, I think people have, in their, what are
535 now in their mid-thirties to late twenties probably still have a Facebook page and
536 look at Facebook. I get the impression, and again I'm an old man now compared to
537 21-year-olds [Laughs] that we hire. That Facebook's for their dads and their mums
538 then and they're on Instagram or Tik Tok or whatever and I think it has moved on.

539 Compared to when Facebook started. This'll age me. I was a student, and it was just
540 starting and it was just for university students and nobody else had it. And then it
541 felt once your mum got a Facebook Page probably started the death of Facebook, I
542 would say and the advertising probably killed it off finally. But I still use Facebook. I
543 don't post a lot on there but there's other bits on it, groups or whatever, that are
544 used but I don't think our younger staff are that interested. But equally none of the
545 other project managers particularly have got Instagram pages beyond ones that
546 have got their own interest.

547 A couple of our project managers, we're in our 30s and 40s have got Facebook pages
548 for their own personal interests. Not Facebook, Instagram pages for their own
549 personal interests and use Instagram but others, no interest whatsoever. And if you
550 go into our project managers in their 50s they, they don't use social media at all. Or
551 they might check on it because they're part of some group with their kids school, or
552 whatever, and they're forced into doing that. But there's definitely a, you can almost
553 bracket people in their ages by what social media or not they use. I would say that's
554 definitely the case. And that is one of the reasons for starting the Instagram page is
555 the realisation that there's no point having a Facebook page to advertise to 21-year-
556 old undergraduates because they're not on Facebook.

557 *Interviewer:* *And [Pause]. Sorry, this is really interesting, this is this really fascinating. And I guess.*
558 *[Pause]. Yes. Is there anything in particular that you think I should have asked you?*
559 *Or that you really feel that you want to discuss relating to how social media fits into*
560 *your organisation?*

561 *Keiran:* There's one other thing that I do, the recruitment for our company and if we get
562 applicants, I will type their name into social media and see if they've got a Facebook
563 page or an Instagram page. What they put on that, I don't really mind [Laughs]. If
564 they're load, following a load of far-right pages and their spouting nasty comments

565 at people that might give me pause to concern. But it's not going to [Pause]. I can't
566 discriminate on that. But I can certainly get a feel for somebody.

567 And equally if they've gone to their Instagram page and they're an archaeologist and
568 they're sharing lots of pictures of them on sites holding human remains up and,
569 perhaps, not in a respectful way and things like that. [Pause]. It draws concern.
570 [Pause]. And it might stop us employing somebody if, if they're doing things that we
571 find unethical on their Facebook page in an archaeological sense, then I think that's
572 cause for not hiring someone, to be totally honest. And I'm not sure all
573 archaeologists are fully aware of what other people can see just by doing a quick
574 search. I'm not, you know, we're not paying for a big agency to do a proper little
575 search down. And it's just a curiosity thing. What are they about and what are they
576 up to?

577 And in other things it can be really positive as well. We can see somebody has
578 worked on a lot of sites or they're doing interesting things and, or they know people.
579 And suddenly I can go, "Ah, they know so-and-so that I know" and I can get an
580 informal reference and things. And I think social media like that, from the other end
581 not an organisation but as an individual working as an archaeologist, you can almost
582 sell yourself as an archaeologist back. If that makes sense? If you're applying for a
583 job and you're aware that people are going to search your name on social media,
584 you can tailor that so that you know what they're going to be looking at.

585 Certainly, if I was looking to apply for a job with another company I could tailor my,
586 my profile to that job or LinkedIn or whatever you want to. Because I, the reason I
587 talk about that is because I think in archaeology it's a bit of a [Pause]. I don't think
588 people think about it too much from the applications that we get in, I don't think
589 people are very good at applying for jobs as archaeologists. I've a lot of friends that
590 work, that are not archaeologists, somewhere completely outside and work for big
591 corporate entities in London and big national companies. And its things they do, and
592 that's part of what put me onto it. But they're often quite horrified at what output
593 people put on their social media when they are looking for jobs. I don't know how
594 that ties into your research or whatever else, but I think it's something that most
595 archaeologists don't really consider and I think it's something that other industries
596 outside of archaeology really do consider. And whether-

597 *Interviewer:* So if you've got a potential, do you ever have to have that conversation with your
598 new staff, if a lot of your clients are reticent about sharing information, do you have
599 to basically have a conversation with all of your staff to say, "Look, no posting social
600 media stuff about sites on your own accounts"? Or is it a requirement, basically?

601 *Keiran:* Yeah, we've got a staff handbook which spells out fairly concisely. But they also sign
602 up to a code of conduct to work at our company. And that code of conduct also has
603 a section on social media that came in five or six years ago, maybe something like
604 that, about sharing things at work and an equally about talking to colleagues and
605 things at work and things like that.

606 It is, I'd say a lot of people, some of it is like you're not allowed to have your friends
607 as your friends on social, people at work on social media and things like that. It is
608 quite because it's come, it's because we're, sort of, [Company with ties to a larger

609 organisation] so HR, it's come through that. And it is quite, I'd say if they really went
610 into it, a lot of people are in breach of it, just by being, you know, Facebook friends
611 with their boss. But if they're mates with them and they go out for a drink anyway, is
612 that-? [Pause].

613 But that's part of it, but everyone has to sign up to that when they join us and it's
614 part of the induction. So, everyone should be aware of it when they start for us, and
615 certainly at other companies they've had that discussion with the staff. But I don't,
616 we've, it's certainly formalised here, and I've worked for a long time so expect it's
617 changed everywhere else anyway.

618 *Interviewer:* *And to finish off really, if you did end up getting a contract, multimillion pound*
619 *contract with a significant social media or online outreach component, is that*
620 *something that you would feel equipped to deal with, take on? Or what training or*
621 *support, do you think would help in those situations where there is that specific*
622 *requirement or specifications to do that?*

623 Keiran: I think if we were in that position we'd probably look to recruit for it. Rather than,
624 because I don't think the people [Pause]. That we have in, in positions, I'm sure
625 there are plenty that could do it, and do it well. But nobody's got that formal
626 training. [Another Archaeological Company] I saw an advert not too long ago, they
627 wanted [Communications Roles] and things like that and that's not a traditional
628 archaeological skill that we recruit from. We recruit people with archaeology
629 degrees or ancient history degrees with experience in archaeology not the other
630 way around.

631 And I think we would struggle to compete with some of the well-established
632 companies that do have these big social media presence. But we certainly wouldn't
633 shy away from it. I think if we won a big contract that had that part of it, and it
634 involved funding a part-time position or whatever, we would recruit to it, I would
635 expect. Or we might have those people internally and they've just never had an
636 option to [Laughs] show, they might have video, they might be a little Twitch
637 streamer in their evenings and we just don't know about it and they're perfectly
638 capable. But that'd be an interview process and things beyond that. That's the thing,
639 it'd be the size of the contract would dictate what we could put into it. So, if there
640 was in funding for a part time position or whatever, then we would go for it.

641 *Interviewer:* *It's-*

642 Keiran: The other side of that though, if it was a part-time position and all of our staff are
643 pretty much full time, we do have part time people, but the bulk are full time, that if
644 we recruited internally then it puts you in the position if you've got somebody that's
645 available two days a week to do social media and three days a week to do digging or
646 [Specialist Work] and that limits what they can do and where they can go. So, it does
647 put strain on, in that respect as well, which is again why you'd want to recruit
648 externally you'd hope.

649 *Interviewer:* *So, it's that perception that communication isn't a direct archaeological skill it's*
650 *something from a different sphere?*

651 Keiran: Yeah, it certainly to us feels that way. Everything we do and things on social media is
652 us having our best go at it. It's not, we're not, none of us have been on a two-day
653 Facebook course or a media interaction thing. But we could say that about a lot of
654 archaeology. A lot of what we learn is on the job and taught by somebody who's
655 done it previous, you know? We [Pause]. We get what skills we graduated with and
656 whatever else we picked up and then you're taught on the job how to use different
657 programs and things like that. And occasionally we send people on courses and
658 things, but it would be lowdown on our priorities, certainly.

659 We'd much rather have somebody who was much better at using AutoCAD or
660 Illustrator than somebody who is a better, is a good video editor or had got those
661 skills. The photography side of it is very useful because that's got other knock-on
662 bits, whereas other bits, yeah, has ramifications in terms of it'll help us photograph
663 things that we have to do. Whereas some of the other social media skills or training
664 is something that doesn't really have an overlap with the bulk of what our staff do.

665 *Interviewer: So, you'd much rather have someone who could write a good technical report to be*
666 *produced as part of the thing, rather than someone who is great at blogging or*
667 *writing for a different audience?*

668 Keiran: That'd be way higher, yeah. Technical skills for archaeology are way more up on my
669 desired skill list if we're recruiting any level. I'd rather have somebody who was good
670 at writing a report or could dig two ditches a day, rather than one ditch a day, over
671 somebody who could gain me a hundred or a thousand more likes on Instagram. In a
672 heartbeat, in a heartbeat. It's much more desirable.

673 *Interviewer: Great. I'm conscious of the time so I'm gonna just round up and say thank you again*
674 *for taking the time.*

Interview Four - Ellen

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Ellen is an archaeologist working for a ClfA Registered, Welsh Archaeological Trust.

Interviewer: Great. To start off with if you could describe a little bit about who you are and your role at the organisation and how social media fits into that.

Ellen: Yeah, sure. I'm [Ellen]. I'm the [Role Involving Public Archaeology] at [Organisation Name]. We're one of four Trusts across Wales that are in charge of monitoring research and engagement on the historic environment. We do excavations, research work, almost bordering on commercial work as well, 'cause we do have commercial clients as well as our core research projects. But we also deal with the heritage management side. We run the HER for our area. We do things like responding to planning applications. We help with aggregate environment schemes, that kind of thing.

We've got quite a broad remit of what we cover, work wise. But our core charitable aim is to educate the public in archaeology. Basically, the outreach report is quite important because we're the, the connection between all that work that goes on and the public and various different types of public. We do a lot of school work. But also, we tend to do a lot of partnership working with specific organisations to target specific communities. So that we're trying to get that as broad across Wales as we can.

Social media wise it's quite varied across the [Organisation]. A couple of years ago I did try and introduce an [Organisation]-wide social media policy where we did similar work across there but it's just a matter of capacity and time. What we mainly use it for is one, education. We have [Regular] themes where we share things from our archives or project work to highlight what's available for people to read or engage with and so they can find out about their local area archaeologically speaking. But also, to engage with people to get involved.

Our volunteer callouts, especially, are very heavily social media popular, especially Facebook. We've found that really targets into a good audience for us, 'cause once we share it to the right couple of places it balloons out nicely there. We find it's our most successful platform for that, engagement wise. The other ones like Instagram and Twitter tend to be quite, they're quite surface level for us. It's like we share content on there and people might read it but they don't really respond to us or they don't engage with us there. But on Facebook we'll get a lot more of conversations or people approaching us with questions. Or we get people signing up through that. So that's really what we use the platforms for in that respect.

Interviewer: How formal would you say that social media aspect is to your role? Is it something that's an unwritten rule that it's just part of what you do? Or is it written into your job description?

Ellen: Yeah. It's actually in my job description that social media and other media, like press releases are my remit as well. It was quite light touch when I first started the job. It was like, "Oh, it's social media, but we don't do much with it" kind of thing. It's

43 developed, as I have, in the role. 'cause I started really as a project officer and then I
44 worked my way up to the senior management level.

45 Then it became much more codified into what I'm responsible for, a site or social
46 media content of a certain standard is your responsibility. Now it's quite formally
47 within the role that you're expected to do a certain level of social media and that it
48 fits certain standards and guidelines on what we should be posting about.

49 *Interviewer: And is that role, do you share that social media posting with other people within your*
50 *organisation? I know you mentioned a wider policy, or is it you're the facilitator for*
51 *creating the content, moderating?*

52 Ellen: I've got the overall responsibility, but I have an [Assistant Role] who will, who does
53 write a lot of content as well and then he tends to be the one who responds to stuff,
54 if there's any questions and things. A couple of other people have logins, but they
55 don't really post content, because it's, we try to keep it as tight to us doing it as
56 possible so that there is a continuation there.

57 The director does have access, 'cause if anything happens as a negative response to
58 something or something spirals out, that he can be on it to get a hand in it. But
59 content wise it's just us two, really. We'll sometimes put call outs to the rest of the
60 team. So, I'll ask them, "What are you working on?", "Can we get some
61 photographs?", "Can we get a bit of a written account details?", but then we will
62 edit that and copy edit it and make it more into what we would post.

63 *Interviewer: And does that go back and forth? So will you send them a draft? Or do you basically,*
64 *once they give you that information, process it up and then it will go out there and*
65 *then they'll see it.*

66 Ellen: It depends what it is. If it's just a brief paragraph and some pictures then we'll just
67 run with it. But if it's a longer post, we've been doing a bit more blog posting and
68 splitting it up into separate Tweets or Facebook Posts recently. We'll edit it down
69 and then there will be that back and forth, so they're happy with what we're sending
70 out. Especially if it's a commercial project. We need to know that the client's happy
71 with it as well, before we publish things. Yeah there's definitely a back and forth for
72 the more in-depth posting content.

73 *Interviewer: And thinking of the two of you in that role, how much would you estimate time wise*
74 *you'd spend on across your social media platforms on an average week?*

75 Ellen: My assistant's about [Pause]. Some weeks more than others, but, about on average,
76 about half a day a week, I'd say. He works three days, so it's quite a chunk of his
77 time. About half a day a week I'd say. And me it's about a day a month, I do to
78 working on it, 'cause I just pick up here and there and then neaten up things a bit.
79 [Pause].

80 *Interviewer: It sounds like you've got a very efficient system in place. Do you view-*

81 Ellen: It sounds like it. [Laughs]

82 *Interviewer: Do you have scheduling software that you use? Or-*

83 Ellen: We do. We use a platform called Buffer. We did previously use Hootsuite but they
84 upped their prices and changed their system, their way of doing it, it's so
85 complicated, that we just binned that off. But Buffer's quite a reasonable, I think it's
86 about 75 quid a year. And that lets us schedule a fair amount of, a whole month's
87 worth of posts we could do at once. So that's really good.

88 *Interviewer: And thinking about both of you, do you find yourself just concentrating on nine to*
89 *five? Or do you find that creeps into some out of hours stuff? Getting notifications*
90 *through if they're that out of hours monitoring?*

91 Ellen: I try to be quite strict about nine to five because I didn't used to be, and that was a
92 lot of burnout territory that was going on. I try to make sure that my assistant knows
93 that it's nine to five. But we do always find ourselves, especially if you have to
94 respond to something, or something's happened at work and we want to be, talk
95 about it. We're on site at a dig, we're often typing up site reports in the evening to
96 post that kind of thing. So, it definitely does creep.

97 *Interviewer: And have you found that's impacted on your own social media use a little bit? Do you*
98 *find yourself using a bit less perhaps than you might have done previously?*

99 Ellen: Definitely. Especially Twitter. I'm quite switched off to Twitter now. Not just because
100 of work, but because it's become not the environment than it used to be. But, yeah,
101 I get so many notifications due to work that I tend to not hardly use Twitter at all
102 myself now. Facebook not so much 'cause I'm, it's quite separate there because my
103 account's very private and I'm not connected to work stuff. It's a little bit easier to
104 stay engaged with that.

105 But, yeah, I'd say definitely Twitter and Instagram. Because we tend to get people
106 who will like a huge chunk of our stuff or respond to a chunk of it at once. There'd
107 be dozens of notifications coming through at once in sporadic patches. So, it can be
108 quite, you get [Sighs] a bit frazzled with social media, "I'll just put it aside" [Laughs]
109 kind of thing. Maybe that's a good thing, who knows? [Laughs].

110 *Interviewer: And I mean it sounds like you have quite a bit of time to spend on your social media.*
111 *Do you have some resources to spend on that, like a budget associated with*
112 *promoting content or creating it?*

113 Ellen: Yeah. When I wrote the social media policy for the [Organisation] I negotiated that
114 all people of who were doing outreach would have equivalent to [Number of Hours],
115 budget wise, to spend on doing it. And then if we're doing project work that we have
116 to do for, there's also extra budget then to do a little bit more if we want to talk
117 about a project or share things about it. It's always written into project design, when
118 we do that. And then it's part of the core funding that we do outreach. We also get
119 core funding for translation of it as well because we're in Wales. We've got a
120 separate pot of money that goes to that as well.

121 *Interviewer: OK. And it seems that your organisation has quite a clear overall strategy to social*
122 *media. You mentioned education and engagement. What would you say the main*
123 *goals for your platforms are? And are they the same across all your platforms? Or is*
124 *it slightly different from Instagram to Facebook, for example?*

125 Ellen: I think Instagram is more just about having a presence and being there and sharing
126 some nice images of our landscapes and of our finds and that kind of thing. It's
127 almost like a placeholder really, just so that we have got a presence there. It's, we
128 don't use it much wider than that. And there's a lot more we could do. We could
129 engage with Stories, but it just takes up so much time that we haven't really got the
130 resources for that.

131 Twitter is more formally about education, I'd say. We get a lot more people reading
132 our linked articles or links of things in the archives that we link to. That's more solid
133 education. We put more effort into posting there about the regular, we have
134 [Archaeological Site Type] there on a Wednesday and we have like #FindsFriday kind
135 of thing. We put quite a lot of effort into making sure that we've got, that we cover
136 all of our area and that we cover all the time periods, that kind of thing. It's quite
137 formal. But again, not much back and forth engagement with others. Although we
138 can see people are reading the link things, so that's good.

139 And with Facebook that's, we strategize that's more about recruitment of volunteers
140 and about recruiting of followers and getting people to our events. It's bit more of
141 conversational. We put more effort into things like creating event posts on there.
142 Having longer posts that people can engage with a bit more. Putting a callout for
143 volunteers or talking about our projects, having Lives on there as well. It's much
144 more informal and approachable I think, on Facebook. That tends to be where, I
145 think that was our strategy when we were putting it forward.

146 At first, we thought that only a certain age demographic works with Facebook,
147 because I think it's 35 to 55 or something is the biggest Facebook group. But we
148 found that they just talk to everybody. If we put something on Facebook, we get
149 young people volunteering and we get people coming for work experience. It's not
150 just that older demographic. We get, we found it's been really effective at getting
151 the word out about things.

152 *Interviewer:* *And you've mentioned the engagement and educational components. Do you also*
153 *feel there's a benefit for your organisation in terms of marketing or potentially*
154 *recruitment? Do you think that there's a potential for social media for those*
155 *elements?*

156 Ellen: We definitely struggle on that side because we do, the whole website needs a
157 rebrand as well, because we need to make more of a thing about the commercial
158 services that we do offer. Because they are a big part of where our funding comes
159 from is that commercial side. I think we haven't got the expertise in-house to market
160 that because I'm very used to marketing outreach and engagement and education
161 content. But I'm not used to, I'm not a business marketer so we haven't got that in-
162 house skill of knowing how to talk about what services, how to share in the work
163 that we've done, how to big ourselves up that way.

164 We did have some consultation during Covid, that was [Funded], about just this kind
165 of thing. About marketing yourself and the digital resilience stuff. And they said,
166 they did point out things like, "You wouldn't know you're a charity from looking at
167 our social media, so people wouldn't know to donate, or you wouldn't know that

168 you had as many commercial services as you do, because we don't talk about them
169 as much.

170 I think there's a definite gap for us there in what we're talking about and how we
171 talk about it. 'cause I think especially on Twitter, not so much Facebook because
172 again it's a bit more informal, but I think definitely Twitter there's room for us
173 getting more clients that way and getting more professional contacts. We do use
174 LinkedIn which has been good for recruitment. We've done recruitment through
175 there. Now we do tend to post there about conferences that we go to and
176 commercial projects that we're on but not to a very wide extent. It's not, we don't
177 really utilise it as much as I think we could do.

178 *Interviewer: So that's, the other platforms mentioned previously are your main focus?*

179 Ellen: Yeah. Definitely.

180 *Interviewer: Are you fairly office-based? 'cause I'm just thinking of being able to create that*
181 *content across the organisation. How easy do you find to get material from different*
182 *members of staff and the different areas of your organisation? Do you find that quite*
183 *easy or is it challenging?*

184 Ellen: It's very challenging, always. Because even when we're working on really interesting
185 stuff the staff are just so pushed, capacity wise, that there's not much time to
186 dedicate to sit down and to send us information. And we've got limited capacity to
187 go out to visit site. If it's a volunteer project then we're out there anyway, doing
188 stuff with our volunteers.

189 But if they're a commercial project and, we cover such a huge area. We're all of
190 [Region] and sometimes [Other Region] as well. So, we can't get out and take photos
191 and speak to people on site. There's a really limited capacity for getting information
192 and then the guys who are office, we mostly work from home because we haven't
193 really gone back into the office since Covid. And a lot of our staff did hybrid working
194 beforehand anyway.

195 Especially the [Specialist] team because they don't really need to be in the office.
196 We don't get to see them face-to-face very much, it's quite hard to get stuff from
197 them content wise because they think what they do is boring, [Laughs], as well.
198 Because it's just day-to-day to them, they don't appreciate that a lot of our followers
199 and people will be interested in the work they do. [Identifiable Details Removed].
200 They just don't think it's very interesting. It's really hard to draw stuff out of them
201 content wise.

202 *Interviewer: That's really interesting actually. Does that mean you feel that some of your content*
203 *is skewed towards things that are maybe, easier for you to gather? Like the*
204 *volunteer side of things? Is that something that you feel, had you got the time or the*
205 *resources, that you would try and change?*

206 Ellen: Oh, definitely. Yeah. It's very much skewed to our main [Government Funded]
207 projects because they're the ones that fund our volunteer work. That's always
208 something that we're posting about. I think a lot of our fieldwork team are quite
209 traditional. When they're doing a commercial project, they don't think they can talk
210 about it.

211 They're worried about confidentiality, where it's not, it's not as bad as that. And it
212 used to be like that, that you would never, that contractors would never want you to
213 speak about that. But now, they've often got an outreach component in their own
214 requirements when they actually come onto site. I think there's more that we could
215 do to publicise that work that we're doing as well. There's just a bit of a reluctance
216 of the field staff to take that step into it, I think. I think they think that it's more extra
217 work for them as well. But given the ability and capacity, we would get out to the
218 site and do some of that work.

219 *Interviewer:* *And that's really interesting you've mentioned client confidentiality and perhaps that*
220 *attitudes there are changing. Can you talk a little bit more about that and how social*
221 *media fits into the client communication and PR on more commercial projects?*

222 *Ellen:* Yeah, definitely. I mean a lot of our commercial work, we do a lot of [Infrastructure
223 Projects]. They often have already quite a lot of pushback from local communities.
224 So, it's quite beneficial for them to do a feel-good social media story or, "Oh we've
225 made this discovery while we're working on a site", or, "Oh, yeah, archaeologists are
226 here on site".

227 I think there's been a bit of a change from "Let's just get it done and under wraps as
228 quickly as we can and then get out of there". Now they realise that, well, it's more
229 effective to get a boost public opinion wise to talk about the archaeology that's
230 happening because it's quite, it's something that so many people want to be
231 involved with and engage with quite easily. But they realised that it's good PR,
232 basically.

233 The ones that, [Pause], housing construction is still a difficult one for us. They're
234 often very reluctant to talk about things. I mean we're doing a [Project] in the
235 [Region] at [Location], that's actually partially paid for by a housing developer
236 because [It's a Planning Requirement]. So, we thought that they'd be really keen to
237 do some public engagement. 'cause we're [in Region], we found some [Type of
238 Archaeology]. It's fantastic stuff. But they're just so reluctant to speak about it
239 because they've had such bad experiences previously with public opinion that
240 they're just completely closed off.

241 It varies from sector to sector, who wants to speak about things and who doesn't.
242 But I've definitely noticed a change in it, as they realised that social media is a thing
243 that is not going anywhere and if there's a void in social media then it will be filled
244 with a negative usually. It's best to get something good out there.

245 *Interviewer:* *And that's really interesting. And in those situations where you do have quite a*
246 *positive client, are they looking at putting that content out on their own social media*
247 *channels? Or are they happy for it to go out on your channels but with tagging or*
248 *cross posting?*

249 *Ellen:* Usually, they like to leave it to us. I think, similarly, 'cause its capacity wise. As they
250 as long as their logos in it and we namecheck, and as you say, they're tagged in the
251 pictures, they're happy with it. Sometimes they'll have, if they're a big organisation
252 they'll have their own media team and they'll put out stuff and then we'll share each
253 other's work. Or they will put out the press releases because they'll have a press

254 team who does it. But usually, it's left up to us to do it, as long as, but they always
255 insist on a proof read generally and a read through of what images we share.

256 *Interviewer: Does that mainly apply to longer pieces like blogs or website content or are they*
257 *micromanaging every single word of every social media update your posting?*

258 Ellen: Sometimes they'll micromanage it, 'cause they want to OK what images were using,
259 they want to make sure you link to the right accounts. But most of them it's the
260 longer term. Facebook posts usually everyone wants to have a look at, 'cause that
261 can be a bit longer. But Tweets though generally we do it as long as they're tagged
262 in.

263 *Interviewer: I'm guessing that make things a little bit more complicated for you in a role that's*
264 *already quite challenged for time.*

265 Ellen: Yeah.

266 *Interviewer: Having that extra layer of back and forth between you and the client, does that make*
267 *it quite difficult for the immediacy of social media?*

268 Ellen: Definitely. Because we have to build translation time in as well. Depending, because
269 most, some clients won't insist on it, but especially if they're Welsh government
270 backed or they're working with any kind of grant aiding, they have to be translated
271 and we've got quite good ones, who can do usually a day turnaround. But that's still,
272 you're losing that immediacy, you can't find something and then post about it
273 straight away. There's always that lag of what you can talk about.

274 *Interviewer: We've discussed a little bit about client confidentiality. What other factors are there*
275 *that would have an impact on the content that you create, that you can think of?*

276 Ellen: Ethics, for me, is one of them. I won't ever share images of human remains. Because,
277 well, for many reasons, but I just don't like the use of it to sensationalise
278 archaeology, for one. And I think that does require trigger warnings, no matter what
279 the right-wing press wants to say about it. I won't share human remains. That's
280 sometimes limiting, especially if we find a graveyard.

281 We recently found, we [Word Removed] found [Human Remains] when we were
282 digging a site in [Region] and we wanted to keep that safe but also that we have got
283 quite a big issue with metal detecting, nighthawking, in some areas that we work in.
284 And there are a lot of clubs that we do work with who are really positive, but there
285 is still a big problem in some areas that as soon as you announce a site, they're in
286 there, they're stripping it at night, and we haven't got the security resources to look
287 after a lot of these places. So that does limit some places that we talk about.

288 [Pause]. And another one is local backlash. A lot of the [Infrastructure] sites that we
289 work on, we'll talk about them quite generally, or we'll talk about them a while
290 afterwards. But we won't publicise it while we're on site because there is the risk
291 unfortunately of sometimes of people coming up and causing trouble. There is that
292 sometimes, that we recognise there is that element that it could be dangerous for
293 our staff, as well as other people on sites that we don't talk about things straight
294 away.

295 *Interviewer:* *And changing subject for a little bit, when you're using your social media channels,*
296 *do you pay a lot of attention to the metrics? Is there any reviews of any of that*
297 *material that those accounts generate?*

298 Ellen: Slightly. Yeah, I mean I do a quarterly report [Identifiable Detail Removed] about our
299 outreach. I'm always monitoring things like what subjects get the best Reach and
300 who, what is the audience that's reading certain parts. I don't have a lot of time to
301 do really in-depth look at the metrics but I tend to do that just so I can get trends.

302 And I can see well what things should we be repeating, and who's was looking at it.
303 Because I am aware that a lot of our audience is quite homogenous for a lot of stuff
304 that we do. I do try to then do a few more things that engage the younger end.
305 [Pause]. But it is quite difficult to then act upon that effectively really. Because we
306 have got a social media strategy that my assistant went on some courses a few years
307 ago and that built up a strategy to look at improving audience sectors. But we don't
308 really have the time resources to then look at it in enough good detail, to redraft
309 that strategy to assess what the gaps are and what we're not hitting really.

310 *Interviewer:* *It sounds like there's an informal process where you're keeping an eye on what is*
311 *particularly doing well on different platforms and then feeding that back in and*
312 *creating more of that content, where you can. Would you say that's, that's fair?*

313 Ellen: Yeah. Definitely.

314 *Interviewer:* *OK. And what you've mentioned a little bit about audiences. Do you get a sense of*
315 *who they are? And do you think they vary between platforms?*

316 Ellen: [Pause]. On Facebook it tends to be a lot of retired age, white people, basically, is
317 our audience there definitely. Which we know is our audience everywhere really.
318 That's our main core audience, which I've really pushed to try and widen that out.
319 But we do also get a little bit of a flurry of slightly younger people, school age leavers
320 as well who might be thinking about archaeology at university or a career choice.
321 We get a little bump there as well.

322 Twitter-wise we get a lot of our audience there is not actually based in Wales. It's
323 people either in the UK more widely, or even worldwide as well. We get a lot of
324 international audience there. We get a lot of people who won't engage on the
325 ground with our stuff because they physically can't be in Wales. But we get a lot of
326 people there. More broader age demographic as well, it tends to be sort of about I
327 think 25 to 40 is our core audience there. And it's people who are interested in
328 heritage or people interested in science tend to quite, link in with us as well. People
329 who like walking and landscapes and that kind of stuff we've found. That's a good
330 crossover for our audience there. But beyond that, I, we haven't done as much
331 audience segmentation really as I'd like to.

332 *Interviewer:* *And do you think there is the potential for social media to break out of those*
333 *traditional heritage audiences? Or is that something that you think we're going to*
334 *be, we're basically replicating the traditional audiences but online instead?*

335 Ellen: I think it can, but it needs to be a bit more creative about what platforms we use and
336 how we use them. One of my colleagues is begging me to get on Tik Tok [Laughs]. I
337 have not got the time and I'm also too old. But I think that is a good way to get out.

338 Because look what [Organisation]'s done fantastic work on Tik Tok to get a really
339 good audience there.

340 I think we just need to push the boundaries a little bit more and go outside the
341 traditional forms that we're using now. Or maybe have slightly different content as
342 well. 'cause we're very, the content that our existing audience already likes. We're
343 not, we're not pushing that and challenging it with some of the stuff that we could
344 be doing, I think.

345 *Interviewer: And do you notice regular commentators on your social media channels? Do you*
346 *have that, almost when a post goes up there's, "Oh, it's that person sending a*
347 *comment in again"?*

348 Ellen: Yeah, definitely. A lot of our former volunteers tend to comment, especially on
349 Facebook and there's definitely a core of people who we always see liking them
350 around about the same time. Yeah, we've definitely got a core audience going on
351 who are repeat visitors coming back.

352 *Interviewer: But do you think it's almost creating a little bit of a community for that group? I*
353 *guess it's a way of them connecting with you.*

354 Ellen: Yeah, there is a nice feeling, because a lot of our former volunteers will comment on
355 sites we're doing now. And ask us, if we return to a certain place, they'll be like, "I
356 remember being so-and-so" or if we share a find from particular site they'll come
357 back, "Oh, didn't so-and-so find that?".

358 There is that nice sense of community that way, especially on Facebook and Twitter
359 to some extent as well. We get that going back and forth a lot of our former staff or
360 former work experience will spot us there and connect with us that way. So, there's,
361 there's definitely a sense of alumni it feels like, coming back to us.

362 *Interviewer: And what about internally? Do you feel that social media actually is a benefit to the*
363 *internal communication of the company? If you've got different elements of field*
364 *staff or office staff. Do you feel that these platforms are a good way of people feeling*
365 *appreciated or feeling that it's an opportunity to see their work being promoted?*

366 Ellen: I feel it could do if we had better buy in, because it's difficult to get stuff from a lot
367 of people, then they're not represented. There's a bit of a feedback loop there going
368 on. But certainly, when the field services guys see stuff and see people's reaction to
369 their stuff, that's always a really good lift for them. Because we have been quite
370 fragmented as an organisation. There's only [Less than 25] of us staff but we're all
371 over the place and we're not really based in the office very much. We have struggled
372 to have a sense of a cohesive workplace as a whole. It's definitely nice for us to
373 connect that way and see other people valuing their work outside of the workplace
374 it's quite nice.

375 *Interviewer: And what do you think is behind the more limited buy in from people? Do you get a*
376 *sense of why people may be a little bit reluctant? Is it time? Is it opinions on social*
377 *media? Attitudes?*

378 Ellen: Part of its time. Part of it is definitely attitudes. A lot of our staff are lifers. They've
379 been working here since the late [Year Brackets], in some cases. And they have their

380 way of working, and it works for them, and it works pretty well for the company.
381 They don't want to change. They don't want to engage social media.

382 Very few of them have accounts on social media. They wouldn't come across things
383 naturally anyway. The ones that do are very active and they'll share our stuff, and
384 they will engage with it, but that's literally two or three people at most. They're just,
385 [Pause], they just struggle to find, to see themselves in it, I think. To find their place
386 in it.

387 *Interviewer:* *Does that mean there are quite varied attitudes towards your role with the social*
388 *media for the company? Do you go to get a sense that-*

389 *Ellen:* Oh, yeah.

390 *Interviewer:* *Oh, can you talk a little bit about that?*

391 *Ellen:* Yeah. I mean, [Pause] some people, well, yeah. Some people can be quite dismissive.
392 They don't see what the point of it is. They, [Pause], I mean some people don't
393 particularly like community archaeology in general. [Laughs]. So the added
394 component of talking about it on social media is completely alien to them. They
395 don't see why it's a good use of time or effort. It has got better in recent years. It
396 was quite openly quite hostile when I first started.

397 But I think, as people have seen more of the feedback come in, especially volunteer
398 feedback when volunteers have talked about the impact stuffs had on them. Or how
399 they felt after working in projects with people there's definitely been a warming of
400 attitudes and people have seen work come in, because people that spot them on
401 social media. That's definitely softened some attitudes. And when they realise that
402 they're not being asked particularly to do any more work. Or it's, the onus isn't on
403 them to manage stuff. Then there's a softening of attitudes there as well. But there
404 is still a reluctance to see it as part of archaeology, I think, for some people.

405 *Interviewer:* *But you mentioned there that actually you get the sense that some work has actually*
406 *directly resulted from-*

407 *Ellen:* Yeah. Definitely.

408 *Interviewer:* *That's, I mean that's amazing, isn't it?*

409 *Ellen:* Yeah. It's really good. I mean a lot of it has been the volunteering side and we've had
410 some projects like partnerships and [Detail of Partnership] that we're starting to
411 work on have come through that. So I think if we could get more of our commercial
412 work up there, then it would start coming in, because people would see that we're
413 doing that commercial side of things as well.

414 *Interviewer:* *And I guess with-*

415 *Ellen:* They've just started drilling. Apologies if you can hear that. [Laughs].

416 *Interviewer:* *No. No, it's fine. So, with things like the comments and the things that you get in, I'm*
417 *guessing that also adds to your workload. 'cause, in a way, the more popular some of*
418 *your content is, the more messages and comments you get. Do you find it difficult to*
419 *reply to that? Do you have a particular policy towards responsiveness?*

420 Ellen: I'll only respond in work hours because I want to make sure that people know that
421 there's boundaries between staff and work hours. I won't respond on weekends
422 either, unless we're actually on site on a weekend, which we are for some types of
423 events. Then I'll respond. I try to make sure that people get a response within 24
424 hours if it's there, in a working week. And we have an automatic reply as well on
425 Facebook at least if people are sending messages to us.

426 But we do get a lot of traffic, especially on Facebook with people sending us
427 pictures, like, "I found this in my garden. What is it?". We do have some set
428 responses that we send to people. Like, "Oh, go to your local museum or PAS
429 officer". Or if they want to know about events we'll just send them a link to what's
430 going on this year. That does cut down admin time a little bit. But, yeah, the more
431 popular stuff is, we have to keep an eye on comments.

432 Especially because we do get sometimes, can get spam in there, or we get people
433 with some negativity. Especially if it's outreach with a specific demographic that
434 we're targeting because people start to get affronted then that we're working with
435 these people, but why not those people. We have to be quite careful to make sure
436 that we're responding relatively quickly to things like that.

437 *Interviewer: I guess that's a minority, those negative comments?*

438 Ellen: Oh, yeah.

439 *Interviewer: But I thought it was interesting that you seem to have quite a good strategy in place
440 if anything negative did happen. You said that the director had access to the
441 account. It seems like you've got measures in place to approach that. Could you talk
442 a little bit more about those?*

443 Ellen: Yeah. I mean I'm lucky he's very proactive and that he's very supportive in that
444 respect. If anything does happen, I know that we've got a unified front against
445 anything like that. I know that he'd be supportive. And he works quite a lot in
446 [Aspect Of] archaeology. He's got a really good ethical grounding and responding to
447 this stuff.

448 But we're just very wary of the situations that have happened in the past around
449 archaeology and heritage on things like Twitter. Where things can really snowball
450 quite quickly. We just got a really strong policy of, we just shut things down. We
451 don't engage and that we know if anything does happen that the staff are supported
452 and the support network's in place. And we can signpost them to particular services.
453 But really at the standpoint it's set answer, don't engage and shut things down really
454 is our, the way we want to do it. We don't want any staff to be negatively impacted
455 by stuff that happened on social media. So [Pause].

456 *Interviewer: And thinking back to the last couple of years and the pandemic, do you think that the
457 pandemic has had an impact on your social media? Either in terms of how people
458 have been perceiving it, the numbers using it, or how you as an organization have
459 adapted to change it?*

460 Ellen: The numbers definitely went massively up, especially in the first lockdown. When it
461 first started I did quite a lot of work about sharing activities people could do at

462 home. I shared people's pictures of their local area so that people would say, "Oh,
463 do you miss a certain place?" or, "Here's some photos from it".

464 And I did a lot of work about engaging with our volunteers through social media. So,
465 "You can't volunteer for us right now, but here are some things you can do from
466 home". We saw a lot more traffic coming in during that time. Captive audience, I
467 suppose.

468 But it definitely did change how we did things because the, the strategy that we use
469 now came off the back of that. About how frequently we post and what that content
470 is and what the different platforms we use are for. And definitely we engage more
471 now than we did before. Before the pandemic even things on Facebook were quite,
472 "Here is some information". It wasn't really that, invitation to engage about it. But
473 now we definitely use it as more of a way that we can communicate and speak to
474 people. Who, because some of our volunteers are still reluctant to come back out
475 into the field and they're still, not shielding, but they don't want to engage in big
476 crowds or be in the field with us. We're still making sure that we're keeping them
477 busy at home doing stuff and we're still talking to them.

478 And we also changed some of our events to be online as well. We do our [Series of
479 Events] is now completely online and it will be going forward, I think. I don't think
480 that we're going to go back to in-person. At least not for the near future. We tend to
481 make sure that's up on [Platform] for people to watch and things, as well. Or we've
482 got sometimes mini-Lives that we have on Facebook. It's changed the way that we
483 use platforms. Definitely.

484 *Interviewer: Do you think that change in developing those policies was only possible with the*
485 *extra time you had to focus on that because of, of Covid?*

486 Ellen: I think so, yeah. Because it was after that I negotiated the set time that we have as
487 staff. But I think it made people realise more the value of it and that we should be
488 doing it really as standard because I think it made a lot of people who didn't
489 previously work from home or were previously limited in what they could access
490 realise what that limitation was like. I already worked from home quite a bit
491 [Personal Details Removed]. And I think it made my co-workers realise just how
492 much I rely on these online tools to keep connected to people. I think it made a lot
493 of people realise that actually it's a good shake up and that we could do with doing
494 things that way.

495 *Interviewer: And have you noticed people's attitudes changing now that the pandemic is*
496 *changing and people are going back to working? And do you find that there's more*
497 *of an appetite for physical or in-person events? Rather than the online engagement,*
498 *the online content that you've been producing?*

499 Ellen: There's an interesting split, I think. A lot of people are very keen to get back in the
500 field and as soon as we open volunteer places we've got masses of applicants. But
501 there's also another sector of people who are like, "We can do it this way now, so
502 we should continue doing it this way now and this is the only way I can really, truly
503 access things". And I guess a lot of volunteers, especially to our older ones who don't
504 want to come back because they're still quite afraid of being out in places. There's, I
505 think I'd say it's about a 70-30 split. 70 who're dead keen, raring to come back and

506 do physical things and 30% who're a bit more wary or who are already limited and
507 now are like, "I can now openly talk about my access needs" or "I can, I can stay at
508 home and cope better with doing things".

509 *Interviewer:* *Archaeology has quite traditional engagement activities. You've got site tours, talks,*
510 *these kinds of things. How do you think social media platforms relate to the more*
511 *physical outreach stuff? To the more online? Do you think that they're*
512 *complementary to one another? Do you think that there's always going to be a*
513 *preference for the in-person, the fact you can see things? How do you view that*
514 *relationship?*

515 *Ellen:* I think there will always be an appetite for in-person, because there's a very strong
516 impact of being in the field and doing things, especially with something that's almost
517 as meditative as trowelling is or washing finds, or just being in the company of
518 people and becoming friends. That you will never replace totally with being online.
519 Because it's, there's a physicality to it and there's a method to it that you can't
520 replicate just being on your own doing something. You can't have that community.
521 You can't have that, the way of moving through things that you can in the field.
522 You'll always have a need for that, I think.

523 But I think online activities definitely complement it. Because a lot of your post-ex
524 work, some of our archaeological drawing now happens online and a lot of the desk-
525 based stuff we do beforehand is generally all online now. And we're training people
526 to do things like use QGIS or use LIDAR that they wouldn't have done before because
527 they didn't think to ask, "Can we do something online" or "Can we do something at
528 home?". I think it's opened up more of the spectrum of archaeology. I think it's
529 made also people realise that it's not just digging. And that there's more to it that
530 you can do more things involved in archaeology. I think it always be complemented
531 that way. It might make it actually more rounded opportunity wise, because people
532 can see that there's more that they can do.

533 A lot of our volunteers they still try and come and do the physical side of things,
534 even though they're quite limited sometimes health wise or access wise. And that
535 can be quite frustrating for them. Now we can then speak to them and say, "Do you
536 know you can do this instead?" or "We've got opportunities to this" because we
537 have had funding and the time to do things over Covid. We had funding to develop
538 different volunteer opportunities or to develop resources. And to buy equipment
539 that we can loan out to volunteers to do things. We've had that bit of space to be
540 able to reevaluate how all these things can work together.

541 *Interviewer:* *And. [Pause]. So your social media are an advantage for facilitating engagement,*
542 *whether that is online or whether that's advertising-*

543 *Ellen:* Yeah.

544 *Interviewer:* *-and drawing people into those physical events?*

545 *Ellen:* [Noise of Agreement]

546 *Interviewer:* *And. [Pause]. Is there anything you feel that would really help you or your*
547 *organisation take advantage more of social media?*

548 Ellen: [Pause]. I think it'd be good to have some training at organisation level. So people
549 are more aware of what the nuts and bolts of it are like. What does it actually do?
550 Who does it actually reach? 'cause I think if some of them saw the amount of Reach
551 we have on some of our stuff, they'd be quite surprised. Because they think it's just
552 a few dozen people or something. When I say some of our posts are hundreds of
553 thousands of people, that'd be quite surprising for them.

554 But also, I think, possibly just resources to pay internships to do things like social
555 media residences or social media placements. Then we can build up the presence on
556 things like Tik Tok. Or work on different platforms. Or get a refreshed social media
557 strategy. I think to get people in who have experience to do that as a temporary
558 placement and train staff that can do it going forward would be really helpful.
559 Because people who work in archaeology they don't necessarily have a media
560 background or a marketing background and they wouldn't necessarily have a long-
561 term need to do that. But to buy in that expertise would be very worthwhile, I think.

562 *Interviewer:* *You mentioned before that your assistant had gone on some training courses*
563 *previously. It sounds like that's something you've engaged with in the past.*

564 Ellen: Yeah. Yeah. [Noise of Drilling]. Sorry. Our director's always very keen for us to do
565 training and CPD, he's very big on that. It's just been finding the right and the right
566 time. This just happened to be, it was pre-pandemic, and it was, it was a local
567 government initiative to help people like heritage organisations, museums and
568 things to evaluate their social media and draw up a plan. So that was a fun-, it was a
569 funded training opportunity. I haven't really come across anything of the same sort,
570 and the same content really recently. But it's def-, it's something that we could
571 easily make a case for if we did come across something that was the right fit for us.

572 *Interviewer:* *And looking across your different platforms, what do you feel the main benefits are?*
573 *And do you feel there are particular disadvantages as well that make you a little bit*
574 *more cautious about spending more time on it?*

575 Ellen: The benefit's definitely reach wise. You have to do a little bit of work to get into the
576 right places. I think Facebook, is the best for this, if you join the right groups and
577 know the right Pages, then sharing things in a few places can really network you out
578 quite well. But it does take that initial investment to make sure that you're in all the
579 right local groups or you know the right, keystone people who are going to share
580 things basically. There's that initial time outlay that can be quite a lot, but it can be
581 quite rewarding on there. I think that's probably the most rewarding platform for us.

582 Things like Twitter, you can get really big Reach, but it doesn't really translate into
583 people coming back to us to attend events or to be a volunteer. Just because the
584 audience is not close by, basically. I think because it's such an international
585 audience, it can do great for things like if we have publications, it will be good for
586 our Reach in that respect, it will be good for publicising that. I think really the main
587 benefit of that is fulfilling that educational goal. We are educating the public in
588 archaeology using that platform, but it doesn't immediately benefit us financially or
589 numbers wise as an organisation.

590 Similarly with Instagram it's good for getting us out there. [Multiple Organisations]
591 have a presence there, and it has a benefit in education but it doesn't really

592 translate into a high level of engagement. Which it could do with a bit of
593 development. I think if we got someone in who was good at doing things like the
594 Stories, keeping it fresh, doing good updates, connecting with other accounts and
595 doing lots of responding to other people's images and responding to our messages,
596 then we could build it up to be a bigger profile. But it's just that initial investment
597 into getting a really solid base of, how do you make a good story? What are we using
598 to do that? Having the right knowledge, that respect that's limiting us in going
599 forward in that.

600 Benefit wise, the main benefit of all of them is that we're fulfilling our core objective
601 educating the public, and we can get some quite good numbers on how we're doing
602 that. But the drawback is that we don't always get enough back to maybe warrant
603 that, in the eyes of like management structures. Basically, they can't see an
604 immediate benefit of it. It's really good for our numbers to report [Identifier
605 Removed] but then we can't say off the back of it, "we've got X number of
606 volunteers", or "we got so many new projects" because of what's happening on
607 there. I think we just we haven't hit the right balance of time invested to what we
608 could get back from it, what we can really achieve.

609 *Interviewer: I thought it's really interesting what you said about the financial benefit of it,*
610 *actually a tangible outcome there. Do you think that if your organisation was more*
611 *focused on commercial side of archaeology that perhaps the social media side would*
612 *shrink further? Because it doesn't necessarily have that tangible output. But the fact*
613 *that you work quite heavily with volunteers and engagement and education are a big*
614 *component, that you have a little bit more space, more leeway to focus on that?*

615 *Ellen: Definitely. I mean if it was more commercially focused, we'd have less of a case to*
616 *make for the social value side of things. Unless we could demonstrate that social*
617 *value was part of our financial profile. I know a lot of the big units now they are*
618 *taking on more social value, because they are encouraged to do so with their*
619 *projects, and they build it into their projects. But really in raw numbers, if it's our*
620 *commercial work, a lot the time it doesn't even have a budget to outreach in it.*

621 We can't then say, "Oh, but social media does X, Y and Z" because you can't really
622 prove it, financial wise. I think if we had to go down the route, there is the possibility
623 that our [Funding Source May Be Impacted]. You would have to rely on more of the
624 commercial work. I think that social media presence would shrink. Unless we have a
625 massive rethink about it quite quickly and do a bit of organisational change to it, to
626 get the message across about how much return it could get to us. Without that
627 happening first, it would definitely shrink, I think.

628 *Interviewer: Thinking about that, do you think that that would pretty much be the first thing to*
629 *go? If you, if that's from discussing earlier about the benefit and importance of*
630 *physical events, I'm guessing that if it did come to that decision, I imagine that social*
631 *media would probably be one of the things that would be first in line to be lost.*

632 *Ellen: I reckon so. Yeah. There'd be a few automated messages every now and then about*
633 *events that are happening, that kind of thing, but that would probably be it.*

634 Interviewer: *[Identifiable Detail Removed] And I guess really to almost round off, is there anything*
635 *else you feel is quite important to discuss about social media? Either with some of*
636 *your personal experience or as part of your company?*

637 Ellen: I think the most important things that organisations don't really think about is the
638 safety aspect of it. If you are running social media for, I mean we're not even that big
639 an organisation, but people will still try and contact myself, my colleagues' personal
640 accounts because they know that we're linked to it. But if you're running a really big
641 high profile one, all it takes is for one Tweet to get picked up by somebody who used
642 it for a purpose other than its intended and that can really snowball. And people can
643 start getting doxxed. You can start getting people causing trouble for your
644 workplace. I get people maliciously reporting things. And that can really become
645 quite serious, quite quickly.

646 And I think a lot of organisations don't have adequate safety in place, don't have
647 training, they don't have awareness of what that can mean. They just think, "Oh it's
648 online, it doesn't mean anything" without a bigger understanding of how it can
649 impact a lot of your life. I think that organisations could definitely do with resources
650 and training to really appreciate that and get some solid plans in place. For what
651 would happen if something did occur. I know that but they just had a really solid
652 response, of they completely shut it down. [Details of Specific Incident Removed].

653 I think more organisations need to understand that you need that quick, firm
654 response and that to get the training in place to understand that. Even small
655 organisations, it could happen to. So, I think that needs to be a much-, the safety
656 aspect definitely needs to be stronger.

657 Interviewer: *This is a bit personal, so feel free not to answer this. But have you had anything*
658 *that's, kind of, affected you or impacted you, even, even if it's a small degree.*

659 Ellen: Yeah. Definitely. There's been a couple of times when I've had some quite
660 unpleasant private messages about things [Personal Details]. There is a certain
661 audience who uses [Archaeology] as a lynchpin for some quite nationalist and
662 unpleasant things. [Personal Details Removed].

663 Interviewer: *But it sounds on your organisation's level, is that part of your social media policy that*
664 *you've developed? Is there stuff in there that addresses best practice and a support*
665 *mechanism in case anything like this happens?*

666 Ellen: Yeah, definitely. It's written into our social media policy that if messages are
667 received, who do you report it to? What's the time scale? What the flow chart of
668 what happens is quite strong in there. I redrafted all of our safeguarding policies and
669 online was just one of them. Just to make sure that everybody who used any of our
670 online spaces, including staff and volunteers, knows exactly what will happen and
671 that they can feel quite secure in that response.

672 Interviewer: *And when staff and volunteers come to work for you, are there particular social*
673 *media guidelines they have to abide to in terms of what information they can share*
674 *on their personal accounts?*

675 Ellen: Yeah. So as part of the employment handbook, which, there's a volunteer handbook
676 which isn't quite as weighty but it's the same content, basically. There are guidelines

677 like you can't share photographs of the workplace unless there's permission. Then if
678 you're on a project not to share details unless you've got permission. It's most
679 mostly permissions based.

680 But also it's thinking about security, because if you're photographing on site,
681 someone knows exactly where you are. Especially if you're on your own. There are
682 content guidelines but they're not really, it's not like tone and language guidelines
683 it's more just permissions based and security based.

684 *Interviewer:* *Right. Well just to round off, thank you again. I really, really appreciate you taking*
685 *the time to do this. It's been really useful.*

1 **Interview Five - Dawn**

2
3 Dawn is a community archaeologist working for a ClfA Registered archaeological company.

4 *Interviewer:* *Can you tell me a little bit about your role at your organisation and how does social*
5 *media and social networking fit into that role?*

6 Ellen: I'm the [Senior Community Archaeology Role] at [Company Name]. I'm based at
7 [Regional Office] but I work for the full company [Other Regional Office Details]. And
8 it's my job to oversee all of our public engagement. Whether that is as part of our
9 development-led activities. So, engaging residents and people local to the projects
10 that we're undertaking, commercial archaeological activities. Or whether that's as
11 part of grant-funded projects sometimes from a range of different sources, where
12 the aims and outcomes are audience focused rather than archaeologically focused.

13 We interact with the public in a wide variety of ways. Whether that's working with
14 community archaeology groups. Whether that's working with schools. People
15 looking for work experience. I oversee all of our activities that have volunteer
16 involvement and events aimed at the general public. I think that's something I have
17 done is draw quite a firm line in the sand, actually.

18 Since people have embraced digital output and content much more is that I don't
19 oversee other aspects of our external communications. For a long time I have been
20 perceived as the interface with the rest of the world but I see my role as primarily
21 being about the general public, people who might not already be engaged in
22 archaeology or who are engaged but at a [Pause], but not necessarily a higher
23 academic research level.

24 I think certainly internally it's trying to make clear to my colleagues that if we want
25 to expand other aspects of our external communications that that has to fall under
26 somebody else's remit, because I've already got enough on my plate. In terms of
27 social media I'm on a cross-company communications team. At [Company Name] we
28 haven't to date had one person in charge of communications as a whole, internal
29 and external and with a strategic overview. That I hope is about to change.
30 [Identifiable Details Removed].

31 And I think it has become particularly evident over the last couple of years that
32 actually that is a necessary role. That's actually somebody to have some marketing
33 insight to somebody who understands that audience development to really, I think,
34 strategically help us prioritise where we target our messages, particularly in the
35 online sphere. Because, at present, we have a mix of people with different daytime
36 roles involved in the cross-office communications team and I think there's always a
37 slight struggle for capacity given we've got other day jobs. But also realising we have
38 our own particular interests and that there is a perhaps a lack of consistency and
39 coherence with our online presence and the messages that we want to get out.

40 From my perspective social media is a tool I use as and when. It means that some of
41 the channels are not nurtured. And that there isn't really an in-depth understanding
42 of the audiences. And so, there are times when it feels a bit like shouting into the
43 void. For me, social media is a tool for public engagement, I need a dialogue.

44 Whether that is co-producing content with the public. Or whether that is really
45 ensuring that there is that dialogue and conversation with the public online. And I
46 think the channels have not been grown with that in mind and even if some of the
47 content I produce has that in mind, [Content] being generated by my colleagues and
48 put out the rest of the time isn't.

49 I think it's very conflicting messaging and not really nurturing those channels. But
50 having said that I think [Pause]. Perhaps content through our own channels, I think,
51 is hitting this from a public engagement perspective but I do find it an effective tool,
52 working with others on their channels. Whether that is, say we've got events
53 happening, I'm quite insistent that open days do not go out on [Our] channels.
54 Because I know that we've got a very broad reach, it's not really targeted and a lot of
55 time actually that wants to be targeting people local to that project who've been
56 watching what's been happening behind the Heras fencing for months on end and
57 actually then ensuring that it goes out on local groups.

58 Making sure that the Parish Council or a local history group or local schools and
59 businesses really broadcast those sorts of opportunities through their channels. And
60 a lot of the time I'm networking and trying to make contact with other people's
61 channels. Facebook, I find particularly effective for that. It is, I suppose, the local
62 notice board of the digital age.

63 I think there is a greater potential for social media to be a more effective dialogue.
64 But I think it's trying to make sure that there is actually a strategy to get to that point
65 and probably myself and others being a little bit more skilled really in how to do
66 that. In a world where I'm constantly thinking about outcomes and impact, it's
67 whether compared to other types of activity, I can be dedicating resources and time
68 to how that engagement online compares. At the moment, I don't feel I have quite
69 the information to make that decision.

70 *Interviewer:* *I found it particularly interesting you saying that social media almost feels like a bit*
71 *of an add-on to your role. How formal would you say social media was in terms of*
72 *your job description? Could you estimate roughly how much time you would spend*
73 *on average thinking about it or carrying it out?*

74 *Dawn:* I joined six years ago and my job description when I applied, I think the
75 communications team was mentioned in that role description and I think social
76 media may have been mentioned. But it was not particularly weighted and it was
77 perhaps one aspect compared to others. I would say, [Pause]. Oh, how much time
78 do I personally spend? Well, recently I have quite deliberately not spent very much
79 time on it. That is because of our internal politics of my trying to make a point that
80 we needed a [Communications Role] in post and that [Pause] things will not happen.
81 If I'm not doing them then nobody else is. [Laughs].

82 So actually if anything I've really tried to deliberately distance myself. Mostly to
83 actually demonstrate that it does require expertise and it does require time that I
84 have lacked. It is something that I would like to do more of, in an effective way, but I
85 was very worried for a long time that what I was doing wasn't proving as effective as
86 it should do, without more support. At the moment, how much time do I spend?
87 Right now, next to nothing. It depends on the particular projects.

88 Would you count blogs as part of this? We have been trying to do a little bit more on
89 that front. But I would say this is, right now, probably 10% of what I do. And there
90 have been times when, according to the particular set of projects that I'm working
91 on it can be a bigger part. Maybe a quarter to a half.

92 But it just so happens recently I've made a deliberate point of not doing as much on
93 social media. Just because I feel that we need to really develop what it is we want to
94 achieve out of it. Without actually having a clear idea of who is it we're trying to
95 reach, what difference is that supposed to make? How does it work with other
96 activities that we're doing? Because I think there is a lack of understanding about
97 social media and the influence that it can have.

98 I do get frequently sent things by colleagues saying, "Can you put this on social
99 media?" without really knowing what channel does this go on, who's it aimed at.
100 And sometimes I think, "I don't think this is going to be very interesting" or "Where
101 are the photos?". I think there does need to be a lot of education internally about
102 what we're trying to do there. Actually, given that there has been [Pause] I'd say a
103 lack of investment in it, we still get reasonable engagement and I think that goes to
104 show that there is an appetite and the demand out there that can be nurtured.

105 *Interviewer:* *Thinking about your organisation more generally, what do you feel is their main goal*
106 *for being active on social media? Do you feel it's primarily to communicate public*
107 *engagement or-*

108 *Dawn:* -I think it's seen as self-promotion rather than actually an engagement tool. I get
109 requests when there are achievements or news to just shout out. But when I have
110 proposed doing more, about getting responses or getting to the collaboration, I
111 don't think that is seen in quite the same light. I think there are all concerns about
112 professionalism.

113 Things that are perceived as, which I think are more fun, engaging, eye-catching. I
114 think it is trying to convince people that actually that is appropriate for an
115 organisation such as us as a [Company Details] trying to reach as broad an audience
116 and share our work. I think there is a bit of fear there to overcome.

117 Demographically our senior management are older, and I don't think any of them
118 routinely use social media. I just don't get that impression when talking to them
119 about the different channels. Whereas a lot of our junior staff are younger, they're a
120 different demographic. I often get moans from them about, we're not doing enough
121 [Pause]. I think if you don't use it, then you don't know what it offers.

122 I think, even with myself, I'm a millennial, I use Twitter a lot, I'm trying to embrace
123 Instagram and I'm not there with Tik Tok yet. And yet on YouTube I know that a lot
124 of shorts and things that I see on there actually originate on Tik Tok. For us it is just
125 trying to move away from that self-publicity, which there is a place for that.

126 And realising that in some ways the best publicity we can have are having advocates
127 for [Company Name] and for archaeology as a whole. And those advocates are only
128 going to come if people feel very personally invested in what we're doing and feel
129 like they really understand us, that they get to interact with us. And that's what's
130 going to be really effective in the long run.

131 *Interviewer:* *Thinking about self-promotion, who do you think that your organisation is appealing*
132 *to or promoting? Do you think its clients? Do you think it's the archaeological sector?*

133 Dawn: I think it's the archaeological sector. I think [Company Name] prides itself in its
134 research output and publications. I think [Company Name] sees its USP as being that
135 when compared to other commercial service providers. I think there is an emphasis
136 on promotion to the archaeological sector and particularly to emphasise the
137 academic research output.

138 *Interviewer:* *Who do you feel the audiences you have on your social media channels are? Do you*
139 *feel that they are broadly from that sector? Or are they a more interested public? Do*
140 *you think the content you're producing is meeting the audience you have and their*
141 *desires, perhaps?*

142 Dawn: I honestly don't know. We don't do enough to routinely analyse the data. I've got
143 some hunches but I actually don't really have the evidence to back that up. And I
144 think that's where we have lacked the expertise and capacity to really deep dive into
145 the data and to have really evidence-based decision making on how to use social
146 media. I think we have made the mistake of relying too much on personal hunches.

147 My impression of Twitter as a whole, within archaeology, is that it is much more the
148 profession. I think it is more difficult to reach out of that silo to a more general
149 audience. Facebook, I think you do get a more general audience and there is greater
150 potential to cross post and share content in a more targeted way. And that's
151 something I try to do. I don't think it's something my colleagues do so much.

152 Instagram, we've managed to build up a very large following on there quite quickly.
153 [Pause]. I simply notice from the comments that it's a lot of archaeologists which I
154 suppose is quite telling that the engagement is coming from others within the
155 sector. There's quite a big international following on there, and I think that's
156 something we don't consider enough. I currently see my remit as being more UK-
157 focused. Partly because a lot of the in-person events I do are here in this country.
158 But actually, digitally there is scope for really widening that audience internationally
159 and I think that is there. Thinking about how we could actually meet that interest is
160 something we could consider.

161 But really it's something we should try and better understand, "Who is where? Who
162 are we currently reaching? Who do we want to reach? What's the content?", 'cause I
163 think at the moment it's very ad hoc.

164 And I'm just thinking about things that have worked. We had a publication on some
165 [Archaeological Site/Feature] in [Location] at the beginning of this year and, at the
166 time, it's just something our post-ex team said, "Oh, this [Publication] is coming out,
167 can you put it on social media?". Turns out the photos were just of [Specific
168 Archaeological Material] and not very exciting. The project was quite a while ago.
169 But through no real effort of our own, people local to that project had picked up on
170 it and I wouldn't exactly say viral, but it got shared quite widely, locally. Through just
171 a few posts and that has been still our best post on Facebook for 2022. So that was
172 much more serendipitous.

173 Trying to learn lessons. I think that's something we don't do enough of. We don't
174 review and implement lessons learned and plan for the future but that's something
175 I've certainly got in mind that, actually, something that initially struck me as quite
176 uninspiring for social media, because the imagery was not terribly interesting, I
177 wasn't quite sure how [Specific Archaeological Material] we're going to go down to a
178 more general audience. But in a really focused, targeted way for people local to that
179 development, it was really of interest to them and there was a lot of traction.

180 I'd say what I probably did most work around on social media this year was
181 [Archaeological Television Series]. The [Broadcaster] didn't [Promote the Series] and
182 so there was a lot of concern from the production company that people didn't know
183 about the programmes coming out, and so they wanted to do a lot of social media
184 to try and rectify that. And I mean [Archaeological Television Series], I think they had
185 [Viewing Figures] for one of their episodes. That's a huge audience that I know we
186 can't reach on our general [Pause] platforms and channels.

187 I really wanted to try and make the most of that as being a way to reach lots of
188 people. I did a lot of live tweeting around that, really trying to interact with every
189 post [Laughs] I could. Really trying to drive as much traffic to our accounts and make
190 the most of that opportunity and I actually enjoyed that. A lot of the time I don't
191 enjoy doing a lot of the shouting into the void on social media. But that was actually
192 something I quite enjoyed doing because I felt there was a live event. There was a
193 program being broadcast. I could see the comments people were making around
194 that and I could bounce off them and I could interact directly with people involved in
195 production, I can see what the viewers were making of it. I could share extra photos
196 and information around the projects that were profiled.

197 There was an initiative [Details of Online Initiative Involving Audience Interaction].
198 And so that was really lovely seeing some of [Audience Outputs] that were coming
199 out and sharing those and commenting on them. In terms of a social media
200 engagement experience, I felt that worked really well. I think it always reflects if I've
201 enjoyed it, I feel that maybe others have as well.

202 *Interviewer:* *And thinking about how you produce content. I'm guessing you're office-based*
203 *predominantly. How easy do you find creating the material that you're going to put*
204 *out on the social media channels? Is that something that's quite challenging? Is it*
205 *quite easy? Do you have a particular approach towards it?*

206 *Dawn:* It's very challenging. The pressures on site are often such that people are,
207 understandably, focused on delivering the job at hand. So, my piping up saying,
208 "Working shots. Video. Please make sure that you've got that", it's just another thing
209 they've got to add to their already lengthy to-do list. I'm constantly trying to
210 emphasise the importance of images, whether that's still or video. Because it's
211 incredibly frustrating, coming to a project, after excavation to find that there is just
212 nothing visually engaging to work with.

213 I think it's a constant battle to try and do that. It's trying to make it as quick and as
214 easy as possible. Things have helped in terms of we make greater use of
215 smartphones, tablets on site for other purposes. The fact that you've got a camera
216 to hand that you can, and you can transfer those digital files to, we have a cloud-

217 based filing system. So that certainly is a much easier pipeline than when we were
218 only using cameras and having to download photos although that's still the main
219 way in which we capture site shots.

220 But even then, I'd say just the quality of images, even when people are taking them
221 is incredibly variable. And I still get a lot where little thought's gone into composing
222 images. We've recently put through [Number] staff from across the office through
223 some dedicated video training. That's still only a very small portion of people. So for
224 anything that we are commissioning and producing from, we have people who are
225 better placed. But still on the majority of sites if I'm asking, "Can you just take some
226 video?" It's wobbly, the audio's rubbish, a lot of it is just unusable, unfortunately.

227 I think there are also concerns about, [Pause] just how much storage some of this
228 requires as well. I don't think it's a lot really compared to some of the
229 photogrammetry and things that we're doing, but I suppose it's just one other thing
230 on top of a lot of digital files that we're producing. A lot of the time I'm trying to pre-
231 emptively ask people to collect content. I think it's much easier if you know how it's
232 going to be used, if you've got a particular purpose for it, but at the time that
233 excavation is taking place you're just saying, "I think in the long run, we really need
234 this". It's very difficult to instruct and encourage people to collect that content.

235 We've had issues about permissions. Increasingly we are getting staff who do not
236 wish to be photographed and videoed. And we are actually reviewing some of our
237 documents actually to get clarification about whether people give permission or not.

238 There's always concerns from the client's perspective. But I think a lot of that is still
239 fear that is outdated. Or it's not talking to the right people. Our clients do have
240 communications and marketing teams and I'm always requesting can I directly
241 contact them and talk to them. When it's one project manager talking to another
242 about the delivery of the archaeological mitigation works and a lot of concerns
243 around health and safety and the like it's very different. And you have a very
244 different conversation if you're working directly with their comms and marketing
245 teams. I think that it's a perception that still prevails.

246 And that's just on site. Getting people in the office to think about-, we've got a real
247 lack of imagery for some of the post-ex side 'cause nobody ever thinks to-. A lot of
248 our specialists work independently. So, they're not exactly taking photographs
249 themselves. Within our finds department it can be very tricky trying to say, "Please
250 look out for finds as they get processed through and make sure to take some nice
251 shots of them". Lighting is always an issue with those. Got some really muddy
252 photos that I'm constantly trying to edit it into something usable.

253 So, it's a shame, I think there are real missed opportunities there. There are staff,
254 who I think do like doing that aspect and it gives them an extra dimension to the
255 work that they're doing. It's a way of them recording what they've been working on.
256 It's a way of sharing, I suppose, particularly for staff who are digging, processing. I
257 think sometimes they can feel very detached from the final output of our projects.
258 Reports that they haven't directly contributed to and really don't have a very wide
259 audience. And that doing this content for social media is a really fulfilling and

260 interesting thing for them to get involved with. I think we need to see it as not only
261 something advantageous to us in terms of externally, but also internally.

262 *Interviewer:* *In the literature, client confidentiality is often cited as one of the biggest barriers to*
263 *engagement in projects. But from what you're saying it seems that time might be the*
264 *biggest barrier from your perspective. Whether that's the time for staff to actually*
265 *get this material on-site or for yourself to actually do things with the material. Could*
266 *you talk a little bit about that?*

267 *Dawn:* Yes, I would agree with that. A lot of clients there's still occasionally a little concern
268 around while excavation is taking place, about actually sharing that content, but
269 there is never I'd say any issue with collecting it. So long as there is a clear
270 agreement about the timing of releasing that content.

271 And often actually clients just want to do it in a way that they benefit. That it's
272 clearly coming through their channels to their audiences. Whether that's through
273 press releases or through their social media content. I often find that they share
274 things without the comms team [Participant's Company Name] being aware. We're
275 not aware the client wants to support and make the most of this. The [Company's
276 Archaeological Project] I've just seen a series of Tweets coming from their channel
277 and it hasn't been highlighted internally that this is a project where there is potential
278 to do that and that the client is amenable. It's going out on their channels but not on
279 ours. So we miss out on doing that.

280 The main barriers we've had, to a lesser extent, some of our staff being a little
281 reluctant to be in front of cameras. And that's mostly where we haven't planned
282 ahead, and we haven't engaged those who really do want to. It's just been a bit ad
283 hoc.

284 I'd say definitely the limiting factor is just time and pressures on the staff who have
285 other tasks to do. It's not that they're necessarily reluctant, it's just that they've got
286 too much else going on. And I think it just hasn't been emphasised to them. I think it
287 is a top-down thing, that the messaging they get from their managers is that other
288 things take priority and need to be done first. So those are at the forefront of their
289 minds. And so if public engagement was seen as an integral part of their roles as
290 archaeologists, an important skill to be developed and that the content that is
291 produced for wider engagement is seen on a par with the grey lit, monographs
292 output, then actually I think archaeologists would obviously perceive what their role
293 on site or in the office, is actually what they're there to do.

294 I think without ourselves and the sector at large really increasing the relative
295 importance of that content, people aren't going to see that as part of their day job
296 and make time for it. Within the archaeological sector it's been an incredibly busy,
297 pressured few years. There aren't sufficient archaeologists to do the work that
298 needs to be done at the moment. So, if something's got to give then I suppose it's
299 seen as an easy target to not prioritise.

300 *Interviewer:* *It seems as well that there are very variable attitudes towards social media amongst*
301 *your colleagues. Do you find there a particular groups of people who share opinions?*
302 *Whether its management or office people or perhaps staff or project managers?*

303 Dawn: I'd say it's particularly age based and just because of the nature of our company its
304 senior managers who are older. I do recall being in a meeting, this was a few years
305 ago, where there was talk about our digital output and I asked around the table,
306 "Who here is on any social media?". And it was myself and one other. And so you're
307 never going to get that engagement with something that they don't see the personal
308 value in. That understanding.

309 One project where the staff on site, I think out of frustration really, started
310 producing content themselves, rather than being asked to do it. And there weren't
311 the arrangements in place to unfortunately share what they were doing, which was
312 lovely. So, I think there is this real difference really. I think people who do use it and
313 see it as a useful, interesting tool are really engaged and those who don't [Pause]. I
314 suppose it falls more under age and that goes with seniority.

315 Coming back to I suppose barriers is something I have noticed. I think clients are
316 much more receptive to engaging online, but with that is that they want increasing
317 control. They want it on their channels, they want to produce the copy. On the one
318 hand you want to embrace those opportunities and work closely with the clients
319 who want to do that. But on the other hand, it's extremely difficult because they
320 misrepresent and they haven't got the facts right and it's incredibly difficult to then
321 rectify that after the time.

322 Things like some webinars that we've done, they've wanted to do on their platforms
323 and publicise. Which on the one hand it's great that they're embracing that and it
324 saves us a bit of time and effort if they're going to deliver that for us, with us. But I
325 found we're not seen as the experts on how to engage the public with archaeology.
326 They don't actually draw on the expertise that we have out of doing this a lot. So,
327 when I've tried to say, "Have you made sure that these people know about it?", "Can
328 we do this with that?", "Can we make sure that's recorded?" and trying to have
329 more input into how things are presented they're not very receptive.

330 It does feel frustrating when it's not seen as something that we can and should be
331 delivering and that they should trust us to do so. And I see them constantly
332 reinventing the wheel. Where if they had talked to us about what we already know
333 about how to engage people with archaeology it would be much more effective.

334 *Interviewer: Would you say that perhaps there's a perception that engagement and outreach isn't*
335 *regarded as a specialism or an area of expertise in the same way that faunal analysis*
336 *or geophysics or one of these other very science-based facets of your organisation*
337 *would be? And do you feel that's limited to clients? Or do you find that also*
338 *internally, perhaps?*

339 Dawn: I think both internally and externally there is a confusion between what I think of as
340 more of a pure communications/marketing and what public engagement is. I mean
341 there are crossovers but I think a lot of clients go, "But we've got a comms team.
342 We've got a marketing team".

343 I've found this on a project with [Large Infrastructure Organisation] who've got
344 customer leads, they've got huge numbers people involved in comms and they
345 wanted to do an oral history project. But all they did to try and publicise that was
346 put out press releases on their own channels. And I kept saying, "We need to

347 directly contact and engage with groups who we want to involve with this". That
348 concept of developing personal relationships with particular groups and
349 organisations, trying to understand their needs, is a much more alien concept.

350 It's not what I think marketing people think about. Because I think some of their
351 criteria for success are about numbers, about reach rather than necessarily the
352 impact on a much more personal level. So, there's me trying to think in terms of
353 outcomes and impacts and they're thinking in terms of very much a numbers-based
354 game. And that is very true internally as well. I think, for a long time it's outreach.
355 It's you go out and you preach to the masses and if you've got loads of people
356 attending your event then that's what makes it successful, rather than necessarily
357 thinking about the difference that that is making.

358 It's great if people are enjoying themselves but also we've got potential to really
359 make a difference to their lives in terms of the skills that they can acquire, the way
360 that they perceive their local places, that kind of connection with people they may
361 not have met before. And we need to be thinking about designing activities and
362 evaluating them to try and capture some of that impact. I think there is this slight
363 confusion about what communication can achieve.

364 *Interviewer:* *It almost seems like social media is a bit of a battleground between public*
365 *engagement and communication/marketing for your organisation, I guess?*

366 *Dawn:* I mean [Sighs]. I'd say social media hasn't necessarily been the battleground itself. I'd
367 say our social media has suffered because that is a background really of what has
368 been happening for a long time. That there hasn't been a clearer idea about what it
369 is we're trying to, what we're trying to achieve. And I'm hoping that actually
370 [Identifying Details Removed], who can help provide insights into different strategies
371 for reaching different audiences and really coming in and reviewing how we
372 currently do things and how we can improve, that I can work with and I can really
373 emphasise what I see as public engagement and hopefully give me some real tips on
374 taking that forward will be a hopefully really successful way forward, out of this.

375 We do need to think about in terms of contracts with clients. I mean we stipulate all
376 sorts of things as part of our contracts, we don't really have anything about our
377 communications policy and we've suffered for some projects where actually all of
378 the IP has been signed over to the client. Now it's in small print and I don't know
379 that we necessarily been pulled up on. But we've got to be really clear about the
380 images and the information that we generate and who can use those and where
381 they can use them and I think that's a real scope there for having upfront
382 conversations with clients about this. Working with their comms teams right at the
383 start of a project to agree strategy. I've had to really fight to say, "Send me all of
384 your copy you produce before you release it", because they'll send out garbage
385 otherwise.

386 *Interviewer:* *And changing topic slightly, thinking back to the last couple of years and the impact*
387 *of the pandemic. Has that impacted on social media use for your organisation?*

388 *Dawn:* No. Not really, I don't think. Has it? [Pause]. No, I wouldn't say so. Not I'd say social
389 media particularly. I suppose webinars and making use of digital events is really the

390 front where it's had to be a rapid learning curve in how we develop and deliver
391 those sorts of events.

392 I suppose, in that sense the YouTube channel, there have been more videos going up
393 in the last couple of years. I think it's a real shame that we haven't done more to
394 develop that channel. I suppose that's from a very personal perspective that I watch
395 a tonne of crap on YouTube that [Laughs] it would be nice to contribute to that. So,
396 I've tried to commission where I can more video content for that, but it probably
397 hasn't been shared enough across various different channels. But I think in terms of
398 other strategies, I wouldn't have really said that this type of content, the amount of
399 content going on our social media hasn't changed really in the last couple of years.

400 *Interviewer: Touching on what you said earlier about the fact you haven't really had the time or*
401 *the opportunity, or maybe the training, to dig into your demographics and your*
402 *analytics of your social media. Do you ever look at your metrics even on a slightly*
403 *more informal basis to think, "Oh, that did particularly well. I'll try and do more of*
404 *that content"?*

405 Dawn: I do. Yeah. On an ad hoc basis have a look, and so if I'm thinking, "Oh that's had a
406 quite a few comments on it", then I will check-in to see, and I have picked up on a
407 few little trends. I think that another member of the comms team does do more of a
408 review that goes in our [Report]. But I don't think they actually do a very deep dive
409 on that. I think it's just a presentation of numbers to the [Company] but it's not
410 really used internally to inform the next steps and what we're doing next.

411 We're very reactive not proactive about planning social media content and
412 campaigns. It is very much what happens to have taken place or what happens to be
413 coming up. And putting that out. I think what greater use of the analytics will allow
414 us to do is to be more proactive and actually plan ahead about what is going to
415 engage our audiences.

416 *Interviewer: And thinking of the social media as part of your role, what do you feel would help*
417 *you or support you in perhaps doing more with it or taking advantage of it more in*
418 *public engagement or in communications?*

419 Dawn: If I had a better understanding of who is where and how to reach them and what
420 they want. So actually having a proper audience development plan in place. So,
421 somebody who can actually do that research and generate those insights, that can
422 inform me so I can use that to plan and to know where the opportunities are and
423 what I can be doing. Because at any one time I have so many different initiatives and
424 projects in development or on the go. Some of these come to fruition, others don't.
425 And if I know ahead of time that as something comes up that a particular
426 partnership or particular project and I think, "Yes, actually, I know that's really great
427 content for this particular panel" that I can really identify those opportunities.

428 I think a real, strategic, audience development plan. Just having other staff. I mean I
429 have so many other things to do, that actually having other staff to really nurture
430 the social media side, who really want to do it. I think I see it as a little bit of a chore.
431 And I think that really comes across actually. I think any engagement you've got to
432 want to do it. Particularly the last couple of years I much prefer doing things in-
433 person [Laughs]. Having staff who really want to do and who'll be really good at it,

434 who'll go out of their way to do it well and to really respond to everything that
435 comes back.

436 I see it as the sort of thing that I can help set up and get the wheels in motion and
437 get something in place. I've had that with a blog recently that I've tried working with
438 the clients to get permission and I've got a staff member who really is generating
439 content, working really hard on it [Pause]. But I have been ghosted by the client a bit
440 on this and I'm trying really hard to understand why. They gave the initial go ahead
441 but then haven't worked with us to launch it and to promote it. I'm having a meeting
442 next week to knuckle down on that. Whether it's just that they're very busy or they
443 just don't like it. The idea of what we've actually produced. I'd rather they just told
444 me outright. It's nice when I've got essentially a staff member who will take
445 ownership of that project and really drive it forward and make it their own and be
446 quite a unique voice on there and who will sell it, take it on board to understand
447 their audience on that particular project.

448 I guess the other thing that would just make life a lot easier is if it is just seen as
449 something. If it's seen as part and parcel of what we ought to be doing as
450 archaeologists. That it is seen as our responsibility. Project managers who
451 themselves don't see it as something that we ought to be doing and therefore their
452 reluctance comes across to clients. Rather than them presenting it as like, "This is
453 just what we do. This is standard. This is what we will just be doing on your project".
454 And that filtering through to the staff working on sites and then the office, whereby
455 they see it is as part and parcel of what they're quantifying they should [Take]
456 photos of some of the nice finds that come through that. A lot of photos of the
457 brown ditch sections, that taking a bit of video of somebody working on site should
458 just be part and parcel of what we do. I think that is a cultural shift. That in some
459 small ways this is happening but not in a wholesale.

460 *Interviewer:* *And then just a very quick technical question. Do you use any particular scheduling*
461 *software for your social media content? Or is it very much ad hoc, it goes up when*
462 *you've got it?*

463 *Dawn:* Really ad hoc. I personally have for some of my things I have used some scheduling,
464 I've used TweetDeck particularly to do things but it's not something I routinely use
465 and I don't think other colleagues do either. [Discussion of Content Scheduled at
466 Particular Time]. I haven't really engaged with that because I think, well actually, if
467 you're putting out all this content over a time when there aren't any staff working
468 you've scheduled that to go out, but then there isn't anybody actually necessarily
469 online responding to comments or reacting to, "Oh that post has gone down really
470 well, we should make sure the one in two days' time is on a similar theme".

471 I guess I've avoided doing that very rigid scheduling because I think I would rather be
472 around at the time that content goes out. So, for instance, some of the [Specific
473 Batch of Site Content] stuff I really made sure that I was online, and I was on it, I had
474 lots of different devices with all the different channels really trying to make sure that
475 it was going out, but also people were getting responses and that I could react and
476 put different things out, depending on what was getting good engagement. So, it's
477 something that I've tended not to do so much.

478 *Interviewer: And from a wellbeing point of view, do you feel supported in terms of your online*
479 *safety and mental health? This is a role where often in the evening or out of hours*
480 *you're getting notifications on your phone. Is there anything like that that you'd like*
481 *to discuss?*

482 Dawn: Oh, I'd say that's not a conversation we've had at all within our company. On a
483 personal level, I am a mental health first aider. I've done a lot to try and promote
484 wellbeing within the organisation and I'm part of our wellbeing group and I very
485 much have my own personal strict boundaries, really, that I adhere to. All of my
486 work social media is on my work phone. I will not look at that outside of work hours
487 unless there's a particular reason to.

488 In that sense I'm not seeing notifications come up when I'm not expecting them to.
489 I'm not checking that. Because the nature of my role is, there's no end to it [Laughs].
490 There's always so much more you can do on so many different fronts, you've got to
491 have those boundaries. I know that actually our Instagram account was really grown
492 by a staff member in their own time in the evenings. Which I think we do need to
493 have a think about whether that's actually appropriate or not. On the one hand if
494 somebody is willing and interested to do that and they're prepared to, and this is a
495 staff member who's got a [Child], though I know [They] were at home in the
496 evenings, [They] felt that actually it wasn't [They] were doing that, over and above
497 other things. [They] felt it was necessary in order to do that. But it does make me
498 feel a bit uncomfortable.

499 From my own wellbeing I have a love-hate relationship with social media. I haven't
500 used my personal Facebook account in God knows how long. I only really have
501 Facebook now for work purposes. If I didn't need it for work, I wouldn't have it.
502 Twitter on the one hand I find it incredibly useful to see what's going on, I don't
503 know how other people know what's going on in the archaeological sector if they
504 don't follow all the accounts that I do on Twitter. But also, I know it always leaves
505 me feeling like, "Oh, I'm not doing enough and everybody else is doing so much
506 more than I am", and it can leave me feeling really sad and down about that. I know
507 that that's not a very good thing really.

508 And I guess Instagram, my personal account is strictly non-archaeological. I have no
509 archaeology content on there. I do [A Hobby] and so the work Instagram account is
510 entirely different to my personal one and the two shall not meet. And then things
511 like YouTube I watch too much of. But it's not something I'm monitoring and such on
512 our work one. Tik Tok we've talked about diving into but hasn't yet materialised.

513 Yeah. I try not to use too much social media in my own time, and I do see it as a bit
514 of a chore and a burden. Which does unfortunately go into my perspective in using it
515 for work. And I wish I were in a position that where I see it as satisfying and it's joyful
516 to use as an engagement tool as I do other sorts of public engagement activity. It
517 would be really nice to do that. I suppose that's where I've tried to utilise the
518 enthusiasm of other people who perhaps don't see it as quite a contradictory, toxic,
519 fear. If they really get out more than I do.

520 *Interviewer: I'd just like to say, you know, thank you ever so much for taking the time and sharing*
521 *that with me.*

Interview Six - Louise

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Louise is an Admin Assistant for a Non-ClfA Registered archaeological company.

Interviewer: To start off with, if you could just tell me a little bit about your role at your organisation and how social media fits into that.

Louise: OK. I am an admin assistant. My role is everything office based. Booking plant, accommodation, that kind of thing. Getting the sites set up. Social media came into my role a little bit by mistake when the person who did it resigned. Then it was like, "Who's got time? Who is in the office?". 'cause it was during Covid as well. "Who is in the office? Who can do this kind of thing?". [I] Took over. That's how it happened.

Interviewer: Is that a formal part of your job description? Or is it something that it's quite ad hoc and it's an unwritten thing that you do?

Louise: Yeah. Unwritten. I just do it.

Interviewer: OK. And do you share that with anyone else? Or is it pretty much you-

Louise: Yeah. I mean, it's just me. [Discussion Involving Identifiable Information Removed].

Interviewer: Thinking about your role, how much would you estimate you would spend on social media on an average week?

Louise: It depends. It's [Inaudible] a little bit recently. [I'm] just struggling with content and stuff. So it depends. Probably this week, I've probably done maybe like an hour and a half.

Interviewer: And do you find that it creeps into your out of work hours? Do you have to monitor channels when you're not at work?

Louise: Yeah. To start with there was another [Employee] that used to do it with me. So, we split the channels. We do four. We did two each and we monitored the messages, and it was down to us to reply to them. Which obviously you don't have to do it during home time, but you do because it pops up on your phone. So, yeah.

Interviewer: And do you find that's changed a little bit how you use your own social media. Do you use it a little bit less? 'cause you're seeing these notifications pop up? Or has it not really affected it?

Louise: [Pause]. I don't know. Yeah. Maybe. Well, yeah. I suppose I do. Yeah. Or I tend to use mine less, 'cause I'm going on theirs and liking stuff that we follow as a company. Yeah, I probably do.

Interviewer: And is that on your personal phone or do you have a work phone that you monitor it through?

Louise: Yeah, it's all personal phone.

Interviewer: Do you have any resources available to you for using social media? Stuff that you can use targeted adverts or anything or any guidelines or anything like that?

Louise: No. [Laughs].

39 *Interviewer:* *So, it seems like it's quite an informal role. That you've got quite a bit of autonomy.*
40 *How do you decide what to post?*

41 Louise: Yeah. How do I decide what to post? I suppose it depends what's going on at the
42 time. Quite a lot of the time it's me chasing whoever's on site, to be like, "Have you
43 found anything interesting?" or sometimes I might see the odd picture that pops up
44 in a folder somewhere and I'm like, "Oh, that's cool. That would look good on social
45 media". [Pause].

46 *Interviewer:* *Are you having to spend quite a bit of time chasing back and forth between field staff*
47 *and otherwise?*

48 Louise: Yeah. [Pause].

49 *Interviewer:* *And how do you find that? Do you find that quite time consuming? Quite a difficult*
50 *process? Or are people quite keen to give you these images? Or does it vary between*
51 *different people?*

52 Louise: Yeah. It varies. There's certain ones that you go to that you know'll reply. Sometimes
53 it's more difficult because if there are time constraints on a site or whatever. They
54 don't actually have the time and I'm aware of that when I'm asking them to do
55 something.

56 *Interviewer:* *And what would you say your organisation's main use of social media is for? Do you*
57 *think it's to promote the organisation? Is it to get some sort of outreach? Or is it to*
58 *try and recruit new staff?*

59 Louise: I suppose we use it for all those things really. Yeah. [Pause]. I don't know. For me, it's
60 probably, I see it more as a tool to explain what we do. I'm not an actual
61 archaeologist myself. I find it interesting. I see it from the point of view that it's good
62 to explain to other people what you do. Do you know what I mean? I don't know
63 how people see archaeology, really. Just digging a hole but they don't see the whole
64 process behind it and the interesting parts.

65 *Interviewer:* *Do you find not being an archaeologist is a bit of a challenge to what you do? When*
66 *you're getting questions? Or do you actually feel that it helps give you a bit of*
67 *distance that you can view it as a little bit like a-*

68 Louise: Yeah. It depends. Sometimes it's good 'cause I'm on the same level as whoever's
69 asking the question, probably. But it does mean that I have to go to someone else to
70 ask the question, rather than being able to answer the question myself.

71 *Interviewer:* *Do you get a lot of questions on your social media channels?*

72 Louise: It hasn't been too bad recently. There was a time when there was more. But I guess
73 it's probably down to the amount that we're posting. We're not posting as often so
74 there's less engagement there.

75 *Interviewer:* *You've mentioned a couple of different channels that you use. What are the main*
76 *ones that you focus on? And is there a preference for a particular account?*

77 Louise: The main ones are Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. LinkedIn I'm trying to get better
78 at. We have YouTube but we don't really use that as much. [Pause].

79 *Interviewer:* *Do you get a sense of whether your audiences are the same on each channel? Or do*
80 *you think that they are variable and different between those different accounts?*

81 *Louise:* Yeah. I think they vary. I don't know, Twitter tends to be more business-like.
82 Whereas Facebook might just be, not normal people, but non-archaeologists.
83 Twitter tends to be more professionals. And different companies that might like or
84 tag you in something.

85 *Interviewer:* *As part of your role with other organisations, do you have an obligation to tag them*
86 *if you're working together with them? Is that something that's expected in every*
87 *social media post?*

88 *Louise:* It depends on the client. At the minute we're working with [Client] and that's one of
89 their things. That if we do post anything, we do have to tag them in it. Which is fine.
90 It's just knowing the right companies that you have to tag, I suppose. Some of them
91 aren't bothered. But some of them do want the recognition that you're on their site.

92 *Interviewer:* *How do you find client attitudes towards what you do? Are they quite variable? Are*
93 *some more keen to share things than others? Or do some people not want any*
94 *content going out on social media mentioning their projects?*

95 *Louise:* Yeah. Some people don't want that. I guess it probably depends on the type of job it
96 is. Maybe a housing development or whatever. They might be a bit keen to keep it
97 quiet until they've actually started the building phase. That's one of the important
98 things that we have to check, which pictures we can post. As the client has to
99 approve it first.

100 *Interviewer:* *And, in terms of the actual posts that you're doing, do they have to read every single*
101 *word that you're going to post? Or do they set parameters that you know you're*
102 *going to work within. How much oversight do you find in those client relationships?*

103 *Louise:* Yeah, most of them are alright. Some of them I do have to send to the project
104 manager and then they check it. Sometimes they do forward it onto the client and
105 then they do read it. I can't remember the client, but we did have one that was like
106 that. That they actually wanted to read and monitor what we were saying.

107 [Zoom Call Disconnects]

108 *Interviewer:* *You were mentioning about client oversight on projects and having different*
109 *attitudes. I think you were mentioning a particular example where a client was very*
110 *hands-on.*

111 *Louise:* Yeah. It delays it all as well. Because by the time I've sent it to them to edit and stuff.
112 They've obviously got other things to do, it's not a priority for them. And it gets sent
113 back to me, sometimes that can take a few days.

114 *Interviewer:* *When it comes to creating content, do you find yourself avoiding sites and examples*
115 *like that, where you know there's going to be a lot more work involved?*

116 *Louise:* Not really, because content, I find it hard to find anyway. It's just one of those things
117 that you might have to do and that's all right.

118 *Interviewer:* *When you're estimating around an hour and a half is being spent on social media.*
119 *How much of that time is actually you chasing up the content and trying to get that*
120 *in the first place As opposed to-*

121 *Louise:* *Yeah. Probably quite a lot. [Pause].*

122 *Interviewer:* *Most of the time would you say?*

123 *Louise:* *Yeah. [Pause].*

124 *Interviewer:* *Do you find yourself producing something that you could use easily between*
125 *Instagram and Twitter and Facebook? Or do you create it for a particular platform*
126 *and then reformat it for the others?*

127 *Louise:* *No, I try and do something that will go over all of them, just 'cause it's easier.*

128 *Interviewer:* *Do you use any scheduling software or anything like that to help keep on top of your*
129 *posts or monitor them?*

130 *Louise:* *Right. Yeah, we do Hootsuite.*

131 *Interviewer:* *Do you find that quite good for scheduling?*

132 *Louise:* *Yeah. If I've got a couple of hours one day, then I can schedule a few posts in it and it*
133 *saves me having to do it every day. 'cos they pop on once they're ready.*

134 *Interviewer:* *And apart from client oversight, what are the other main factors that dictate what it*
135 *is that you can post?*

136 *Louise:* *Probably getting the images from site. Getting images from site is quite difficult.*

137 *Interviewer:* *Do you message individual people on site asking for images? Or is there a general*
138 *messaging group, where people will post things into that?*

139 *Louise:* *No. I tend to message individuals. Tends to be the site supervisors who will take*
140 *[Photos]. Sometimes people, if they found something interesting, they will send an*
141 *image themselves. But the rest of the time it's me nudging them, and then*
142 *sometimes I do need them to write a short bit of text to explain whatever it is.*

143 *Interviewer:* *When you think about your colleagues, how do you feel that they perceive the social*
144 *media and your role in doing that? Do you think that that changes between, say, the*
145 *site staff to the office colleagues to your managers?*

146 *Louise:* *I think it's seen as something that's not really important. [Pause]. Different*
147 *managers have different ideas around it. One of my managers is quite into it and he*
148 *said the other day, when I was doing a post, he was like, "Oh, yeah, make sure you*
149 *see this and try that". Whereas some people are just like, "Oh, yeah. I don't have*
150 *time for that". It's not really [Pause].*

151 *Interviewer:* *That's really interesting that there's a difference particularly amongst managers*
152 *where one is very active and others aren't. Do you find that you're almost having to*
153 *negotiate a bit of time to do that within your role, when there are other people*
154 *maybe thinking, "Oh, you should be prioritising this"?*

155 Louise: Part of it, I suppose, comes down to budget doesn't it? If the project's had social
156 media or outreach time budgeted into it then that's easier, 'cause then the site staff
157 and myself, do have time to do that. That it's chargeable. Whereas if you're using
158 your own time, which isn't chargeable, then things become more difficult.

159 *Interviewer: What proportion of projects that you deal with would you say have that outreach*
160 *component built into that?*

161 Louise: Not a lot. Maybe like a quarter.

162 *Interviewer: Then the rest you're doing it, that just comes from a general pool of resources, a*
163 *general role that's more for the promotion of the company?*

164 Louise: Yeah. [Pause].

165 *Interviewer: Thinking back to the pandemic, it sounds like you came into the role in the middle of*
166 *that. Do you feel that had an impact on the social media content? Do you feel that it*
167 *was suddenly a little bit more important because people were maybe spending more*
168 *time online? Or do you think that it was largely the same throughout the pandemic?*

169 Louise: [Pause]. Yeah, it probably was important, and it was good to keep people up to date
170 with what you were doing. Our roles and jobs didn't really pause during the
171 pandemic, whereas some peoples did. It was good to show that. But it did make
172 content harder with some people working from home. I think we had a couple of
173 sites running but not that many. Quite a lot of our staff got furloughed. It was quite
174 difficult to get things to post, but at the same time it was important and it was good
175 for the staff to see that we were still being active.

176 *Interviewer: Do you think that a lot of the staff check them [Posts] out and see what's going on?*
177 *Do you get a sense that people commenting and liking are people that you work*
178 *with?*

179 Louise: Yeah. I always recognise a few names. [Pause].

180 *Interviewer: Whether they're staff or not do you have regulars? Regular commentators or regular*
181 *likers or sharers that you can recognise?*

182 Louise: Yeah. I'd say so. Even ex-employees or staff members and stuff. They often pop up.

183 *Interviewer: It sounds a little bit like the content you're producing helps with the internal*
184 *communication within the company, even if it's publicly visible?*

185 Louise: Yeah.

186 *Interviewer: Do you ever take a look at any of your metrics? Any of the statistics that are*
187 *generated on Facebook or Twitter or Instagram?*

188 Louise: Yeah. [Pause]. I haven't looked as much as I used to. I like it. It's interesting to see
189 when a post's doing really well. It's interesting sometimes if a post gets shares on
190 Facebook how fast the numbers grow. 'cause obviously it's spreading it to a wider
191 audience, isn't it?

192 Interviewer: *Do you ever think, "Oh, this post's done really well, I'm going to try and see what*
193 *made that do well and try and copy that in the future?" Or is it an informal review of*
194 *the metrics?*

195 Louise: I probably do try and do something similar, but it tends to never work out the same.

196 Interviewer: *But there's no requirement from your management or your senior members of staff*
197 *for you to produce a report saying, "We've had this many people have seen content*
198 *this year, or this quarter" or anything like that?*

199 Louise: No. It might be a good idea to show them that, actually.

200 Interviewer: *Thinking about answering questions and responding to people. If someone asks you*
201 *a question that you don't know the answer to how do you find that? Do you have to*
202 *go away, then message people, and then it takes a little while to get back to that?*

203 Louise: Yeah. I normally send a message being like, "Oh, yeah, I don't know the answer to
204 that, but let me talk to one of our archaeologists and I'll get back to you". Then I
205 have to message whoever I think would know the answer. And then get back to
206 them after that. [Pause]. It could take quite a while.

207 Interviewer: *But do you find people really appreciate you doing that? Do you get positive*
208 *feedback from them when you reply to them and when you're interacting with*
209 *people?*

210 Louise: Oh, yeah. Always, yeah. Even the first message they're like "Oh yeah, that's great.
211 Thanks for asking. Blah blah blah". I guess messaging a company you don't actually
212 know if someone's going to answer, do you?

213 Interviewer: *Thinking of the other side of the coin, when you have to moderate or step in, do you*
214 *find that you get many negative comments or any kind of criticism? And do you have*
215 *to be quite on top of that?*

216 Louise: Yeah, we have had some. I think that's why we put it on our phones to start with.
217 Because if there was negative comments and it was waiting until the next day,
218 obviously more people are reading them, and it has a chance to expand more than if
219 you act straight away.

220 Interviewer: *And what did you find that negativity was about? Was it actually to do with the*
221 *archaeology? Or was it perhaps about other things that are connected to that?*
222 *People unhappy with the development or unhappy with a different issue?*

223 Louise: Yeah, it tends to be more that. It's the politics, isn't it?

224 Interviewer: *That must be quite difficult for you. Having to try and keep on top of that, because*
225 *it's a representation of the organisation. That's quite a bit pressure on you. How do*
226 *you find that?*

227 Louise: Yeah. That's the thing, it's knowing that you have to say the right thing, don't you?
228 There was a couple of times when I did a message one of the managers. And I was
229 like, "Oh my god. I don't know what to say to this. What do you think?" kind of thing.
230 And they gave a good short response that no one could reply to and that worked.
231 Sometimes it is asking someone else what they would say.

232 Interviewer: *It sounds like you've got a level of support if you need it. If something like this*
233 *happens, you've got people that you turn to and help you through that process.*
234 *You're not entirely on your own?*

235 Louise: No. There is people that I can ask. I tend to ask more senior management, 'cause I
236 feel like if they say it then it's more alright, because it's coming from the company at
237 the end of the day, isn't it?

238 Interviewer: *Traditionally in archaeology, a lot of the communication and engagement, it's very*
239 *physical. It's site tours or it's going and giving talks. How do you feel that your*
240 *company's social media relates to that? Do you think it's there to help promote those*
241 *physical events? Or do you see it as a bit of an alternative that complements those?*

242 Louise: A bit of both. We haven't held a physical event in a while. But when we did,
243 obviously, we did advertise it on there. I have posted a couple of videos recently of a
244 similar sort of site tour that we would do, but we haven't done it actually in-person.
245 But the video's an alternative which, I think they were quite interesting.

246 Interviewer: *And did you find that the videos did particularly well? Did they perform better than*
247 *maybe photographs or other posts with links in?*

248 Louise: Yeah, on Facebook they did. [Pause].

249 Interviewer: *Do you use videos particularly often? Because I'm guessing they require a lot more*
250 *time to produce than doing a quick photo-*

251 Louise: Yeah. And people have to agree more to voice them. So, videos, it was kind of a new
252 thing that we tried this year. And they did go down really well. But it is harder to find
253 people to do it.

254 Interviewer: *And your staff, is there anything when they sign up to your company, are there any*
255 *conditions that they can't post site information or archaeology on their own*
256 *Facebook pages? Or is that just something that it's not too much of an issue?*

257 Louise: Yeah we do. There is an agreement where they can't post work-related content.

258 Interviewer: *Do you find that people are more willing to help you, knowing that they can't*
259 *necessarily do that, share it to their friends and family? But if they send it to you,*
260 *then they can show people as it goes out on the official channel?*

261 Louise: I don't know. I've never thought about that before. But there has been the times
262 when I've noticed the same surname or whatever popping up underneath a post. So,
263 maybe they have told their family that if you look out on this, you'll see something
264 that I've done.

265 Interviewer: *Do you ever feel that there's a difference between how people in your organisation*
266 *view social media based on their age? Do you find a better awareness and more*
267 *enthusiasm amongst younger staff members? Whereas maybe your older members*
268 *and perhaps more senior members don't regard it. Do you think there's a difference*
269 *there?*

270 Louise: Possibly. Although, one of our oldest members of staff he's quite into it and he quite
271 likes-. [Identifiable Information Removed]. He doesn't mind writing the pieces that

272 go on there. I don't know if he's actually on social media himself, but he doesn't
273 mind providing the content for it. [Pause].

274 *Interviewer: Do you find yourself relying a little bit more on the people who are easier to work
275 with and more up for it? I guess there's more content involving them going out just
276 'cause it's a lot easier for you with the time that you have available to do that?*

277 Louise: Yeah. I find myself asking the same people. I sent an email, the other day to two
278 people on different sites and I was like, there is other people I could ask but they
279 never reply. So, there's not even any point. There is a bit of that.

280 *Interviewer: And what do you think would make your role easier working with social media? Are
281 there any particular things that you think would really help you?*

282 Louise: Probably having the time budgeted for in the project. That would be easier. 'cause
283 then people on the site would have time to put down to it.

284 *Interviewer: And what about something like training? Have you had any formal training on how
285 to use social media? Or how to respond to comments or anything like that?*

286 Louise: No. Only what the last person told me, but I don't think she'd had any training
287 either.

288 *Interviewer: So, it's very much a handover from a previous member of staff?*

289 Louise: This is how we do it, kind of thing.

290 *Interviewer: I mean that sounds really quite tough, actually. If you're having to learn what is
291 effectively really complicated platforms and complicated content creation, just from
292 experience. Almost making it up as you go along.*

293 Louise: Yeah. That's what it tends to be. [Pause].

294 *Interviewer: Social media are always on, aren't they? They're these things where you can always
295 look at your phone and there'll be something on there with it. Do you ever find
296 yourself getting tired or maybe a bit stressed out with that?*

297 Louise: [Pause]. Not really. I suppose when it's busier. Say when we did some [Publications].
298 So around that time, it was more stressful and, 'cause there was more to do. We had
299 to think of more to post, 'cause it was that sort of advertising. That was more
300 stressful. Whereas the day-to-day stuff, it doesn't really matter. That sounds bad.
301 But, you know what I mean? No one's chasing me to do it.

302 *Interviewer: Do you ever get feedback from people you work with? Do you ever get people
303 coming up and saying, "Oh, that was a really great post the other day", or do you get
304 a sense that it's more just looking that a post has gone up and they're not necessarily
305 looking so much at the content of the post?*

306 Louise: Yeah. A bit of both. I think if a post does well then they seem to notice it a more.
307 And they might say, "Yeah, that was good".

308 *Interviewer: You mentioned earlier that sometimes it felt like there was a bit of a perception that
309 it was a quick and easy thing to do that wouldn't necessarily take very long.*

310 Louise: Yeah, I suppose, when you do it yourself it's just a post isn't it? Whereas it is
311 different doing it for a business. And finding the content is definitely the hardest
312 part.

313 *Interviewer: Is there anything there that you think would help make things easier for you in terms*
314 *of content? Whether you had someone in the field team having a certain amount of*
315 *time to prepare content to send onto you? Or-*

316 Louise: Yeah, definitely. And even them having a site phone or a company phone that has a
317 camera on that they can use to email photos over. Because our archaeologists tend
318 to have old phones that don't have that sort of capability. And WiFi and stuff isn't
319 available on site. If they had them tools it would probably make it easier to send
320 things backwards or forwards.

321 *Interviewer: Thinking about some of your other specialists or people that work in different roles of*
322 *the office, like in finds. Do you use content from them?*

323 Louise: Yeah, the finds team tend to be really good. They do need a little bit of chasing. But
324 if I ask them they tend to write things up and send me images and stuff quite
325 quickly.

326 *Interviewer: If you had to summarise the main things that you post, would you say that they're*
327 *mainly about finds, about excavations, about publications like monographs? Or do*
328 *you try and make it as varied as you possibly can?*

329 Louise: I try and make it varied. It probably is more about finds because you obviously find
330 more than one thing on a site, don't you? But finds tend to be the easiest thing, and
331 because they're in the office, they're closer. I can go and take a picture myself if I
332 need to.

333 *Interviewer: Is there anything else about your role or about social media with your organisation*
334 *that you want to talk about? Or that you think is something interesting?*

335 Louise: Don't think so. It'd be interesting to read your thing after you've done it. Yeah. It is
336 interesting how it works.

337 *Interviewer: Great. Well, I'll just stop this recording.*

Interview Seven - Samantha

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Samantha is a Communications and Marketing Assistant working for a ClfA Registered archaeological company.

Interviewer: To start with, if you could tell me a little bit about who you are and your role at your organisation and how social media really fits into that.

Samantha: I'm [Name] and I am the communications and marketing assistant for [Company Name]. That means I'm in charge of all of the public facing stuff that we do. Social media is a big part of it. I run our social media channels on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and LinkedIn. We're in a really interesting position right now in that we're trying to sort out exactly what we want done with each channel. Because we recognise that different audiences tend to flock to different platforms. What we post on Instagram is not going to be what we post on LinkedIn.

As a development-led archaeological unit it's not always going to be the feel-good stuff which tends to be our most popular posts. Everybody likes to see what's going on with [Company Project] or the latest thing that came out of the [Company Project]. But actually, needing to advertise our special services and our archaeological services is an interesting tension that we're trying to work out. Because, probably not going to get too much traction on Instagram for our harder archaeological services. That's basically my role when it comes to social media. And where our organisation is at the moment in terms of how we're using social media.

Interviewer: How formal is that social media role within that? Is that something that's specified within your contract? Or is it something that's just part and parcel of that job role?

Samantha: It is specified in my job description. [Identifiable Details About Company Removed]. My job is more focused on the social media aspect and on collecting the content from our archaeologists and different departments. Which is a lot easier said than done a lot of times. [Laughs]. One of the biggest problems that we've had is that field archaeologists are great at their job. They're not super great at sharing what they're doing. They might not find the millionth piece of Roman pottery interesting that they've dug up. But other people, I hesitate to say normal people, but not archaeologists still find that really interesting.

It's been a bit of a work in progress trying to help them understand things that they find common and everyday, other people find really interesting. And sometimes the things that they find interesting [Are] not super interesting to normal people. Stains in the ground I know are very interesting to a lot of different archaeologists but it's really difficult to convey why that's important in 180 characters.

Interviewer: And with your role is this your sole responsibility? Or is it something that you share with some other members who have access to the accounts?

Samantha: I am the lead for it. We do have a couple [Of] other people who post content. [Staff Member] is one of them. He is in charge, he's the leading archaeologist for [Company Project] and also our [Company Project]. A lot of the daily on-the-ground updates for those two particular projects are from him. Beyond that everybody else

43 has been told to send their content to me so that I can then rewrite it and
44 restructure it and frame it in a way that really works for social media.

45 *Interviewer: When you end up restructuring and reformatting that content do you then go back*
46 *to the individual with it? Or does it then go out on the channels?*

47 *Samantha:* For the most part, it goes straight out on the channels. 'cause mostly what I'm doing
48 is simplifying language and taking out all the jargon. I'm not really changing any of
49 the meaning behind it unless there's a big change. Part of the understanding is that
50 if I do change anything it's very basic things. It's not going to change the overall point
51 of the content or anything like that. Nine times out of ten I don't send it back to the
52 person who supplied me with the content in first place. I honestly can't think of any
53 examples where I've had to send it back off the top of my head.

54 Sometimes I will ask for a different photo to accompany a post. Some of our field
55 archaeologists prefer to have bare trenches in their images which is very interesting
56 for archaeologists. For non-specialised audiences it's just a pile of dirt. At least
57 making sure that there is an archaeologist or human being in there. Living human
58 being, I should specify. Even if it's just a hand that's holding the artefact that they
59 want shown, rather than just a very sterilized photo of the artefact. It's things like
60 that, more that I need a little bit more from them, rather than showing them the
61 edited version.

62 *Interviewer: And with your role it sounds like you have other responsibilities tied in there.*
63 *Thinking about the percentage of your work that is directly creating content or*
64 *moderating social media channels, could you give a rough estimate, on average, of*
65 *what that would be a weekly basis?*

66 *Samantha:* Part of this calculation has to take into the fact that I'm only part time at the
67 moment. [Personal Details Removed]. Probably about a quarter of my job is
68 specifically on the social media content, monitoring the posts and responding. Part
69 of that has to do with my workload and that's the amount of time I can give to it.
70 Part of it is we don't have a ton of active content that has a lot of questions or things
71 that I need to answer. But part of it is we're not putting out a lot of variable content.

72 Obviously, there's lots of daily stuff from [Company Project] and also [Company
73 Project]. They still get quite a lot of engagement but not on the same level as some
74 of our different posts. It's sort of a thing that people are used to. They like it, they
75 say, "Good job" and then they move on. Whereas, when we start putting out
76 #FindsFridays posts that's when more discussion happens. That's where more
77 comments are. So, it's checking to make sure that I have the capacity [Laughs] to
78 respond to a lot of these different posts before we even think about putting them
79 out, honestly.

80 *Interviewer: And thinking about that capacity is it very much a nine to five job and then that's it?*
81 *Or do you find that there's out-of-hours monitoring? Does it creep into out-of-hours'*
82 *time? With those notifications popping up?*

83 *Samantha:* Theoretically we've been encouraged to keep it as a nine to five job. However, this is
84 social media and social media doesn't exist in nine to five world. I'm perfectly happy
85 spending five minutes once a day outside of my normal working hours, just to check

86 things, make sure everything's running smoothly, there's not an emergency or a
87 really bad comment or something that's going to side-track a whole lot of things.

88 And it's the same for [Other Social Media Staff Member]. He's been encouraged to
89 work nine to five, but the fact of the matter is that some of our events, [Identifiable
90 Detail Removed] happen on the weekends as well. So, he'll go and cover them and
91 then take that time back in the week.

92 For commercial archaeology a lot of our stuff is nine to five. It's during the week, but
93 sometimes we will have events like open days and things like that that I will go and
94 cover and I'm perfectly happy to acknowledge that it's not a nine to five world for
95 social media. And I think there needs to be a better expectation that we aren't
96 necessarily just nine to five and flexible working hours are really helpful in that
97 regard.

98 *Interviewer: Since working with social media have you noticed that's been affecting your own*
99 *personal use of social media? Do you use it more? Do you use it less? Or pretty much*
100 *the same?*

101 *Samantha: I think I've started looking at different social media feeds instead. I'm not really using*
102 *it more, or less, but I am looking at different things. Whereas before I was stuck very*
103 *much to my personal interests. Now I'm looking a little bit more widely, especially if I*
104 *go on Twitter looking at trending hashtags, which is something that I never did*
105 *before, 'cause I'm not good at hashtags. It's just not something my brain likes. But*
106 *it's helped me to link in other trends that are going on right now and catch national*
107 *holidays or national days.*

108 Yesterday was national [Item] day and I learned about it in the morning. I quickly
109 sent an email to someone in a different office and said, "Hey. I know we have an
110 [Item] graveyard. Can you send me a picture of that so I can put it up today?". And
111 just being able to flexibly think about that. I can try and pre-plan all I want but a lot
112 of things happen on the day that I really can't [Pause]. Well, I probably can plan for
113 them, but I don't plan for them. [Laughs].

114 *Interviewer: What would you say your organisation's main goal or strategy for their social media*
115 *is?*

116 *Samantha: That is very dependent on the platform that we're talking about. We are in the*
117 *middle of formalising a strategy document to figure out what our primary audiences*
118 *for each platform are and therefore what our primary strategy for the actual content*
119 *that we put out there will be.*

120 This morning we were even talking about setting up a [Department Specific
121 Company Social Media Account] so that the daily updates from [Company Project]
122 and [Company Project] can go there, instead of constantly putting that content on
123 our [Social Media] feed. But we also want to advertise our services on the [Social
124 Media] feed and having that get lost in the whole shuffle. Because when we have
125 [Specific] projects going on and we could if we wanted to have two updates a day
126 from those [Projects]. It's very easy for things to get lost in the feed, basically.

127 We are trying to more strategically figure out where to put things. The basic idea is
128 that Facebook is mostly public engagement. Instagram is mostly public engagement.

129 Twitter is a mix between professional and public engagement. And LinkedIn is pretty
130 much professional engagement. So that will then in turn colour what we actually
131 post there.

132 *Interviewer:* *There's a blending of engagement with marketing and raising the profile of an*
133 *organisation?*

134 *Samantha:* Yeah, exactly.

135 *Interviewer:* *And you've mentioned the four main channels that you're working with. Would you*
136 *say that you divide your time pretty much evenly between them? Or do you target*
137 *and prioritize certain platforms?*

138 *Samantha:* Far and away Facebook is our most popular platform. We get the vast majority of
139 our interactions from there. I do spend more time on Facebook. I spend very little
140 time on LinkedIn and probably equal amounts on Instagram and Twitter. Facebook is
141 very much where a lot of our engagements are. I don't know enough about the
142 statistics and everything of Facebook specifically to understand why it's necessarily
143 that. But I do know that there's a lot of Facebook groups that will then share our
144 content. There's an [Archaeological Period] group in [Location of Company] that
145 likes to share our posts a lot. And they find it easier to engage that way. I spend a lot
146 of my time on Facebook honestly. And that's where we also get a lot of messages,
147 and the vast majority of comments are on Facebook as well.

148 *Interviewer:* *In terms of generating and creating content, can you describe a little bit about how*
149 *that process works? It sounds like it is quite challenging at times.*

150 *Samantha:* [Laughs]. We are trying to put in more formal ways of getting that content. A lot of
151 times it's just me going around different offices going, "So, what you working on?
152 Can I take a picture?" Things like that. And now we have a Google Form that people
153 can fill out if they have something.

154 Because we also have offices in [Locations]. I can't go there and constantly ask them
155 what they're working on. We put a post yesterday out about our [Identifiable Post
156 Details Removed]. So that was something that had been shared through the Google
157 Form. I was able to just very easily put that out. Didn't take very long. [Pause]. And a
158 lot of times I do like to go and visit where we are actively working on things. So, I can
159 then take pictures. I can then get sound bites sometimes. We can film it for release
160 later. All these different things.

161 And just helping our field archaeologists to see the best way to capture their content
162 and help them realise that it's not that much different from what they're doing
163 themselves. 'cause I know that they take personal photos. They take images and bits
164 here and there to send around between each other. And a lot of times that's the
165 stuff that's really exciting and really personal and very helpful and helps to humanise
166 archaeology and archaeologists in a way that more formal content doesn't always
167 do.

168 That's how we gather content and a lot of times it's just me talking to people and
169 emailing them and just very casually chatting to them and asking, "What you
170 working on right now?", "Could you send me a picture of that? That sounds really
171 interesting".

172 *Interviewer:* *These messaging groups amongst your staff. Is that something that you're included*
173 *in? Or is it very much a field team thing that you're trying to almost break in to?*

174 *Samantha:* [Laughs]. It's very much the second. Outside of work I'm personal friends with quite
175 a few of the field team archaeologists. I will, just over the course of chatting with
176 them, they'll tell me about something and I'm like, "You need to send me a picture
177 of that". And it's implied that they have WhatsApp groups on particular projects and
178 things like that so they can send to each other things of what's going on.

179 I have asked to be added to those groups and no one has yet. But that's OK. I'll keep
180 asking. And I've been added to [An Internal Fieldwork Update] that goes out, so I can
181 see a very brief [Identifier Removed] overview of things that have happened in the
182 past week, as well as sites that are coming up next week. Then I can target a few to
183 say, "Hey. How's this site going?" and "Have you found anything here", "Hey. How's
184 the post-ex on this particular site going?" and things like that.

185 *Interviewer:* *It sounds that one of your challenges, or one of your barriers, is being able to access*
186 *that content or get it created in that first place. Are there other barriers or challenges*
187 *to what you can post? Or that impact on what you can po-*

188 *Samantha:* A big concern is client confidentiality. Because we work with a lot of [Developer
189 Type] and we work with other organisations that don't particularly want their sites
190 to be highlighted. We do have to work with the clients', I don't want to say press
191 team, but their marketing and their particular parameters.

192 A lot of times, I am not allowed to know about some of these sites. Our project
193 managers will quite often tell me that I can't say anything on this. Or that we have a
194 really cool thing that's happening, but we can't post about it yet. And that's a bit
195 frustrating. I understand why that is, I totally get it.

196 But it's also slightly frustrating. Because we can just say, "Here's the thing that we
197 found". We don't have to specify the client. We don't have to specify the place. We
198 don't even have to post it immediately. We can wait a month or two until that
199 project has wrapped up and then post about it. That has been quite a big frustration.
200 No one formally did any social media [For Organisation Until Recently]. So, they
201 aren't necessarily used to having public interest in what they're doing on-site. It is
202 very much a learning curve for all of us at the moment. Yes. [Laughs].

203 *Interviewer:* *When you think about clients, would you say that there's variability amongst the*
204 *clients you work with? Is there almost a predisposition towards clamping down on*
205 *any content going out there? Or do you find that's now a smaller number, perhaps?*

206 *Samantha:* It's very much variable from client to client. There's certain [Client Sectors] that just
207 don't want anything posted about it. They don't want their name associated with a
208 lot of these things. From my point of view, I don't quite understand why. It's a good
209 PR move that they can be associated with. Helping develop a community.

210 I understand that there's a lot of concerns and that clients have been targeted by
211 protesters in the past. So, I understand that it's a very complicated network of
212 considerations that we need to go through. But there's definitely, especially from
213 larger clients, a very big hesitation to engage in [Social Media & Communication].

214 Whereas when we have smaller or much more local ones, they tend to be much
215 more enthusiastic about getting their name out there.

216 *Interviewer:* *You've mentioned some strategies that you considered in the past, such as delaying*
217 *the release of information or anonymising locations. Have you found those have*
218 *been successful? Or even with limitations on there, do you still find resistance?*

219 *Samantha:* Sometimes by anonymising the location, it has helped a lot. But there's still some
220 clients that just say no. It doesn't matter what we change things to. It doesn't matter
221 if we delay it. They just don't want any of that being put out. We can explain to them
222 that we can frame photographs so that no one can tell where we are. There's no
223 physical landmarks for people to tell where they are. And they still don't want to do
224 it.

225 *Interviewer:* *You mentioned there being differences in attitudes depending on the size of the*
226 *organisation. Do you think perhaps that one of the obstacles is that you're trying to*
227 *get in touch with these companies through a project manager or a mediator or*
228 *someone like an archaeologist? Whereas perhaps if you had the opportunity to*
229 *speak directly to the communications team in these large organisations, do you think*
230 *that that would be a potential way of being more successful?*

231 *Samantha:* I honestly do think it would be more helpful if I could speak directly to their
232 communications team. Rather than going through our project managers, which then
233 have to go to their project managers who then have to go through a third party to all
234 the way go around. I do think that sometimes where I could just go to the comms
235 team and be like, "Here's what we're planning. Do you like this?", "Do we need to
236 change some things?", "How can we make this happen?". I think that would be
237 much more beneficial in the long run. Especially to develop those connections.

238 I understand that a lot of these clients, the archaeology is just a very small fraction
239 of what they do. But I think that we see the community value in archaeology. And it
240 could be a very good social responsibility thing for them to be encouraging these
241 archaeological investigations and to have their name assigned with digs that are
242 going on and finds that are happening and connecting people to their past. And not
243 just being a company that comes in, raises a whole bunch of stuff, puts up
244 something new and almost destroys the character of the area or something like that.

245 *Interviewer:* *Thinking about how the social media updates come about. Is it something that's an*
246 *obligation for a client to engage with an outreach component? Or are the social*
247 *media updates coming from something you do as a company to promote you and the*
248 *work and to share that information?*

249 *Samantha:* At the moment, it is very much just us putting ourselves out and showing what we
250 do. We have tried in the past, once or twice, again this is still really early days for us,
251 but we are trying to engage with clients and to help them put themselves forward.

252 [Details of Specific Project Removed]

253 Working with the clients to help them. Working with them to help them engage with
254 people, because we have all of these departments and skills. Not just field
255 archaeology, we also have a [Details of Organisations Departments] that are
256 associated with not just [Company Name] but the wider environment really. That we

257 can help them to create these different things that would benefit their company, as
258 well as whatever project that they're working on.

259 We have expertise in more than just digging holes. We can engage the community.
260 We can put together press releases and things like that. And it's helping them
261 understand that there is more to us than just digging a hole for them.

262 *Interviewer: Traditionally, in archaeology a lot of that engagement component has been really*
263 *focused on in-person activities, whether they're site tours or talks to communities or*
264 *local groups. How do you feel that social media updates and content fit into that? Do*
265 *you feel that they're something that's always going to be subservient to that physical*
266 *side of things. Or do you think they're an alternative? I'm just wondering how you*
267 *viewed that online-traditional relationship.*

268 Samantha: I can't speak for everybody within the organisation but I like the hybridization of in-
269 person and online things. We did an event called [Event Name] which brought some
270 of our archaeology to a wider audience. It was lots of pre-recorded stuff.

271 We had a livestream [Identifiable Details Removed] that was archaeology based and
272 it helped to bridge the gap between people who aren't ever going to be able to
273 make it out to [Location]. As someone [Personal Details Removed] it's very big for
274 me that we reach as wide an audience as possible and that we understand not
275 everybody can physically make it to these things and that's OK. But we need to be
276 providing people who can't be here with opportunities to engage with us, even if it's
277 through a social media post.

278 [Personal Details Removed].

279 I wouldn't have been able to visit a lot of these excavations as they were happening.
280 But I can still follow them online and I can still follow what's happening and it's very
281 exciting to see things that are going on, even in other [Archaeological Companies].
282 I'm not going to be able to go to their sites and sometimes I'll see an open day and
283 be bummed that I can't make it down there for it. But if I can at least see some
284 photos or see a round up video or something like that it helps me feel more
285 connected to them. And with that knowledge I then, in turn, try to make sure that
286 we have as much online content that people can connect with as we possibly can,
287 seeing as people can't always make it in-person.

288 *Interviewer: The online social media aspect it's something that can provide equal engagement to*
289 *physical events in the way that you're viewing it?*

290 Samantha: Yeah, exactly.

291 *Interviewer: You mentioned some of the metrics and the data that's gathered on social media. Do*
292 *you look at that in a formal way? Or in an informal way? Does that feed into your job*
293 *in any form?*

294 Samantha: It's a very informal task at the moment, partly because we just don't have a baseline
295 for it. I mostly look on Hootsuite and see how our engagements are from last week.
296 That's the extent of what I do at the moment. But future plans are to look a little bit
297 deeper into the data to help us to target content to these different channels and
298 figure out what works best. And use those metrics to make our content as impactful

299 as possible. It's not something that we're doing yet. But it is in the works, down the
300 road for us to do that.

301 *Interviewer:* *Even in that informal viewing of posts, do you ever look at a popular post and think,*
302 *"Oh, that did well. I'm going to try to replicate that in the future"? Or does that ever*
303 *inform content that you're going to create or the format that you're creating*
304 *content?*

305 Samantha: Yeah absolutely. We put out a 3D model. And that was quite popular and there was
306 quite a bit of engagement with that. So, I'm going to be trying to put more of our 3D
307 models online in the future.

308 When I go back and see which ones have the most comments and stuff like that, I
309 will try my best to, not copy them, but figure out why those posts work best. Was it
310 because it was asking questions? Was it because it was a particular time period that
311 people were interested in? That it just happened to hit at the right time? Trying to
312 figure out why those posts work best and then using that information in the future
313 to go with it.

314 *Interviewer:* *Who do you feel your online audiences are? I'm guessing you think they probably*
315 *very a little bit between platforms.*

316 Samantha: LinkedIn is very much our professional partners. Twitter it tends to be more
317 organisational and professional. We try to do some personal interactions but it's not
318 general public, it's very much a specialised audience there as well. Instagram, I
319 believe it tends to run a little bit younger just based on my knowledge of social
320 media in general. But they are very much more general public. We have a bit of
321 sharing content from project partners, sometimes, but it tends to be much more just
322 general public. And Facebook is general public. It's people who have participated
323 with us in the past. There's a little bit of professional engagement there but it's
324 mostly from project partners. With Facebook it's very much more generalised,
325 whereas the others have a bit more targeted audience to them.

326 *Interviewer:* *And do you notice regulars? People that are regular likers or commenters?*

327 Samantha: Yes. [Laughs]. Yeah, very much so. It's really funny because I can see a lot of our staff
328 members [Laughs] as our regular likers and things like that. Every now and then
329 there's quite a few former participants from various projects that will comment on
330 them. I have noticed that with the [Company Project] posts former [Members] of
331 our other ones have been commenting a lot on them and saying how it was really
332 nice to see these excavations. [Identifiable Details Removed].

333 *Interviewer:* *As well as being quite public facing your social media channels also have an internal*
334 *function for the organisation if staff members and colleagues and people that have*
335 *been involved with the organisation in the past are interacting and engaging with*
336 *your material?*

337 Samantha: Absolutely, we have an internal [News Source] that is still finding its feet, but a lot of
338 the information we just say to our staff members, "Go check out our social media
339 channels", because that's always where the most up-to-date information is on these
340 particular excavations.

341 Interviewer: *Thinking about the colleagues that you work with you've mentioned a little bit about*
342 *field staff, how do you think your role in social media is perceived across your*
343 *organisation? Do you feel there are perhaps differences between different areas of*
344 *the organisation? Or different levels of seniority or age, perhaps?*

345 Samantha: The biggest difference is definitely age related. Part of it is also geographical. I'm
346 based in [Location]. A lot of the [Location] field staff are familiar with me. I can go
347 and I can speak to them face to face. I can't do that as easily with [Other Offices]. I
348 have gone out and visited with them, but the nature of field archaeology is that not
349 everyone's in the office at the same time. It's not as easy for me to go and strike up
350 a conversation or strike up a professional friendship with them.

351 Older, more established fields archaeologists have a harder time understanding why
352 these things [Social Media] work and seeing the point of it, honestly. Interestingly,
353 the very senior people, like our director and our head of archaeology, they're both
354 very into social media and they're both very supportive of it. It's immediately under
355 them that's a bit more difficult, to get the heads of the different [Departments] on
356 board with it. Whereas we have the younger field archaeologists who would like to
357 send me things. But because of political tensions within the organisation, they don't
358 necessarily have the authority to send me these things. That has to go through their
359 POs and their PMs before it can come to me. And it's been interesting to try and
360 work out how to best handle each of these different challenges, really. Because
361 every person is different and so it's just how do I get this person on board to help
362 me, help them, honestly. Show the world what they're doing.

363 Interviewer: *It sounds like interpersonal skills are actually a really important component of your*
364 *job and actually being able to deliver the content and being able to get people on*
365 *your side.*

366 Samantha: Yeah. It's an unspoken thing. But it very much is. If people don't know who I am,
367 they don't know to send me things and if they don't know to send me things, they
368 won't. Their bosses can tell them as much as they want, but if it doesn't stick in their
369 mind to do it while they're actually excavating, they're just not going to do it.

370 Interviewer: *What about the specialist side of things? Do you find that getting content from there*
371 *or the more finds-based material. Do you find that a similar experience?*

372 Samantha: It's interesting. Our [Department], for example, is in the same building that I am. I
373 can pop down and say, "Hi" to them quite a lot. I'm on very good terms with them,
374 but they have [Confidentiality Restrictions]. Our [Department], they would like to
375 have more content out there, but, honestly, a lot of it is just them looking through
376 [Specialist Material], which is not the most engaging thing. But they do keep an eye
377 out for projects that they're working on that could be interesting to go on there. So,
378 it's nice that I can just, they are literally a floor down from me, I can just go down
379 and pop in for five minutes and say, "Hi" and see what's going on.

380 Our [Technical Department], that's an interesting one. Because they do want to do
381 more social media, and that is a particular service that we want to push more. But
382 it's also a lot of [Technical Output] that doesn't necessarily translate well to social
383 media posts. For example, we just did an updated version of [Location] [Technical
384 Output] which is very cool, very exciting, very over my head as someone with a

385 [Postgraduate Degree] in archaeology. And I can only imagine how confusing it
386 would be just to the average person. So that's something that I'm working with
387 them as to how we can put more of that content out. Some of the specialist ones
388 are very on board with it. Some of them, not so much. It's a very mixed bag.

389 *Interviewer: Do you feel that the pandemic or the latter part of the pandemic has had an impact,*
390 *or a change of perception, perhaps in your organisation of social media or the role*
391 *that social media can play in the company?*

392 Samantha: Yes. I can't point to any direct evidence, but my feeling is that my position was
393 created because of the pandemic, honestly. There wasn't anyone during lockdown
394 posting on our social media sites. A lot of people had been furloughed at the time,
395 so it's very understandable but fieldwork did continue for us quite a lot, even during
396 lockdown. Construction was one of the first industries that was allowed to go back.
397 But we weren't posting about it or doing much of anything with it, because no one
398 was there to do that.

399 I can't say I have any direct evidence that the pandemic created this position for me.
400 But I strongly feel that it was because of the pandemic and because we had such
401 limited digital engagement during that whole time period that we have actually
402 started to focus and concentrate on doing more online and digital content.

403 *Interviewer: And now that the pandemic is easing and those physical events are resuming have*
404 *you noticed a change in that? I just wondered if you had any observations on that*
405 *transition now that we're returning to "normality"?*

406 Samantha: Yeah. [Laughs]. It's almost that they want the best of both worlds, is my impression.
407 They still want to keep the digital content going. They're seeing the benefit of it at
408 the at the very senior levels at least. They're seeing the benefit of it. But they want
409 to bring those in-person events back as well because, to be frank, those are good
410 money makers. They're really good PR opportunities.

411 It's much easier to say, "OK, we had 75 people visit us during this open day" than it is
412 to say, "Well, we had a reach of 3000 people over the course of a week on this
413 particular post". But what does that mean? They definitely want, as far as I can tell,
414 the blended approach. They want both aspects of it.

415 *Interviewer: To your organisation, there seems to be a definite weighting in preference for*
416 *physical events in terms of the financial benefit but also maybe that engagement or*
417 *that impact?*

418 Samantha: Yeah. It's just a different way of thinking about things that they're much more used
419 to because they can quantify it much more easily.

420 *Interviewer: Is there anything that you can think of that you feel would really help you or support*
421 *you more in this particular role? Would that be training? Or more time? Or resources*
422 *which you can use?*

423 Samantha: Honestly, training would be a big thing. I [Discusses Personal Background in
424 Heritage/Archaeology]. I had zero marketing experience, training or experience and
425 not really a whole lot of professional, structured communication training. It's more
426 what's come through just my experience. I would very much appreciate some more

427 training in these different areas. Just because I'm coming at it as an archaeologist
428 who has a digital background, rather than as a marketing person who knows digital
429 stuff. And just trying to find the balance between the two. Yeah.

430 *Interviewer:* *Do you feel that you would have found this role easier, perhaps, if you had more of a*
431 *marketing background? Or more of an understanding of that conventional public*
432 *relations communication?*

433 *Samantha:* Yeah. Definitely. Even if it was just a class here and there, that explained this is what
434 a press release is, this is what metrics you look at for different things. My team is
435 great, don't get me wrong. The team is great, but most of them have a marketing-
436 communications background. They will use jargon that I have no idea what that
437 means. But likewise, I have the archaeology background. Sometimes our field
438 archaeologists will come in and they'll use jargon that the rest of the team has no
439 idea what that means. It's finding the right balance between the two.

440 *Interviewer:* *You've mentioned that there's the desire to promote some of your services or some*
441 *of your more professional services that you offer as a business. Do you feel that*
442 *you're reaching clients on these social media platforms and that you're generating*
443 *an awareness of services you offer or work from that content?*

444 *Samantha:* That's something that we're trying to figure out honestly. [Identifiable Discussion of
445 the Organisation Removed]

446 *Interviewer:* *In terms of resources that you have available to you, do you use paid promotion to*
447 *increase the visibility of your posts? Or to perhaps target certain audiences?*

448 *Samantha:* Yeah. We have done some Facebook paid promotions for our [Physical Engagement
449 Activity] in particular. Because I think we can more easily see the link between those
450 paid posts and the actual income that we get from it, rather than if a particular
451 construction company sees us and then therefore finds us. This is where I wish I had
452 more of a marketing background, because I can't tell what is driving these different
453 things.

454 *Interviewer:* *Did you notice that was a productive use? Was it something that you've got a return*
455 *on your investment? In advertising that event?*

456 *Samantha:* Oh easily. Yeah. We had quite a lot of negative comments about the cost of our
457 [Engagement Activity]. We just had to shut off the comments on that post after a
458 while. We probably had at least two or three times the amount of people booking
459 [Engagement Activity] once we had that paid post circulating, than we did
460 beforehand. So, it definitely works, at least for the [Engagement Activity].

461 *Interviewer:* *You've mentioned some of the negative feedback, that almost comes as part of the*
462 *territory of working on these social media platforms. Do you find that you've got a*
463 *good level of support from your organisation for dealing with some of that negativity*
464 *and those situations?*

465 *Samantha:* Surprisingly, yes. [Pause].

466 *Interviewer:* *You say surprising?*

467 Samantha: [Laughs]. Yeah. I came from [Discussion of Previous Heritage Work] experience. I
468 was very used to my managers backing me up on particular issues, but not
469 necessarily higher up. Moving over here expected the same that my managers
470 would support me and no one would particularly care higher up.

471 Whereas actually, I have from the director of archaeology down to my manager
472 saying, "Let us know what you need. If there's something that you can't deal with
473 just send it on to us". If there's a particular comment on there that I don't know how
474 to respond to, I can just send it to them, and they will happily either craft a response
475 for me to post or respond themselves if they have the particular logins for that social
476 media account.

477 *Interviewer: Do you have anything in place, almost like a preventative step, like guidance or a*
478 *document? Or is that something that's again, a bit more informal that you've got it*
479 *yourself that you have those answers prepared, or those strategies prepared?*

480 Samantha: It's still a very informal thing. I base a lot of my own thinking on [Specific Social
481 Media Guidelines], because we don't have anything in particular that's officially set
482 out. So I use the [Specific Social Media Guidelines], just so I can fall back on those if I
483 ever need to point to something, or if I'm not sure about something. But it's still
484 quite an informal thing, and hopefully over the course of the next year or two, I will
485 be able to put in something more formalised. So, this is what we do, this is what we
486 don't do.

487 [Identifiable Discussion of Organisation Removed].

488 *Interviewer: Thinking not just of negative comments, but the positive interactions that you have.*
489 *How difficult or challenging or easy do you find it to respond to comments and to be*
490 *more interactive on those platforms?*

491 Samantha: It's one of my favourite things honestly [Laughs]. Commenting back to people who
492 have questions or that they have their own experiences and things like that. I'm
493 trying to remember, there was a post [Pause], where I can't even remember what it
494 was, but I said I had a question about what's your favourite [Object]. I can't
495 remember the exact thing. But there were so many people who were commenting
496 back on it and it was very fun just to go back and just say, "Yes, that's a very
497 excellent point" or, "Oh yes, I remember that" or things like that. [Identifiable
498 Details Removed]. Going back and having those interactions is always really fun.
499 Even if it's just them responding to a comment, I respond to their comment and
500 that's it.

501 *Interviewer: I was just wondering if there's, there's anything you think I should have asked you?*
502 *Or if there's something that you particularly wanted to talk about relating to your*
503 *role or social media within archaeology.*

504 Samantha: I can't think of anything off the top of my head. It's been very interesting and it's
505 made me think about [Laughs] my social media role in a way that I hadn't
506 beforehand. So, it's been very helpful for me as well.

507 *Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time.*

Interview Eight - Mark

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Mark works in a senior communications role for a ClfA Registered archaeological company.

Interviewer: Could you tell me a little bit about your organisation and how social media really fits into that?

Mark: Yes, I'm the [Senior Communications Role at Organisation]. The comms team covers more broadcast forms of engagement. Things like press releases, TV, radio. We organise a lot of film shoots, or coordinate I should say, for things like [TV Programme] and other TV shows.

We also manage PR aspects of our work. Crisis control we also do. Alongside that we do digital work. We manage the website and blog for [Organisation] and manage social media channels. All content that goes on [Organisation's] social media flows through us to get there.

Interviewer: That sounds like it's a very formal part of your job description. It's not something that's an add on or anything. Is that a specific thing that's in your contract and in your job purview?

Mark: Yeah. Absolutely. It is my responsibility to manage social media, more my team's responsibility. It's within our job description. In terms of management of social media, we're quite controlled over our social media in the sense we would never allow people free range to post whatever they wanted.

Everything, we tend to either write content ourselves, people provide us with a paragraph on what they're working on and we'll write a Tweet based off that. Or someone will write a Tweet for us if they wanted to, and we will then edit it before it goes out or at least look at it before it goes out.

I think maybe versus some of the other archaeological units where it's a bit more freeform in terms of who posts on their social media, ours is very much what you'd call a professional, for want of a better word, social media team.

Interviewer: You've mentioned that you share some of the moderation and content creation with other people. Could you give an idea of how many people are involved with that overall?

Mark: In an ideal world, we want everyone in the organisation to contribute to social media content. That it's coming from different places. That it's both from the field and from the lab and that everyone feels that they can contribute to our social media content.

In reality, often it's site supervisors who will send content to us and usually it's on our request. We'll say when the client has asked us to do X number of social media posts this week and can you tell us what's happening on sites and send us a few pictures that we can craft into something.

Or on the other end of the spectrum it's our finds specialists and researchers who will want to share the results of their research. Or will also share with us specific finds that they're working on that they think could be interesting. [Pause]. I'm trying

42 to encourage more of that contribution. I think in the past it hasn't really happened
43 that much and it's quite difficult sometimes to get information out of people. And
44 that's an ongoing process.

45 We also have an [Internal] system. Anyone in the organisation can just submit an
46 [Internal Communication] where they outline what they want to talk about. And
47 then we will respond to that [Internal Communication] with details of what you
48 want to say. The response could be anything from social media through to a press
49 release through to anything else really that we think would be a good idea.

50 *Interviewer:* *And you mentioned traditionally it's been quite difficult getting that content and*
51 *getting people on board with that. Have you got any idea why that might be?*

52 *Mark:* [Pause]. There's a few reasons, I think. I think the first reason is people just don't
53 think about it. I think there's a lot of people in archaeology [Who] tend to be very
54 focused on their discipline and what they're working on. And then the idea I should
55 be sharing this with someone doesn't necessarily come to them. [Pause].

56 That's a massive generalisation because there are obviously people that are fantastic
57 communicators and always talk about their work. But there are a lot of people that
58 have a very narrow range of focus, which is obviously what they need if you're
59 looking at [Archaeological Material] for your whole day, you need to be very
60 focused. But that focus doesn't necessarily translate into thinking, "This is really
61 interesting. Rather than wait until it comes out in the grey literature report or
62 sharing it at a conference, maybe I could do a Tweet about it now". That process
63 doesn't happen.

64 I think archaeologists tend to be very nervous about saying anything early-on in
65 processes because they're worried about someone else in the sector saying that
66 they're wrong [Pause]. People are very worried about making interpretations, I feel.
67 That often changes as people are more senior and older, I tend to find. [Pause]

68 A lot of our more senior specialists will be much more confident in saying, "This is
69 this" kind of thing. But particularly more junior people and site teams, particularly,
70 are very nervous about making an interpretation of an artefact without a specialist
71 looking at it. So that can hinder the process of getting stuff out there.

72 And for us it's more of a requirement to make constant reminders of, "Well, we can
73 put in those caveats to say initial interpretation" and we can caveat stuff to make it
74 clear that it's an ongoing process.

75 But on the flip side part of our work in comms is showcasing the process of
76 archaeology to the public as well. So that the public and the media, particularly work
77 very much in black and white. It's this or it's this. Actually, that's not really how
78 archaeology works. It's often there's an ongoing interpretation that evolves over
79 time. Recently on our [Project], part of that work specifically was to showcase the
80 process of understanding the past, rather than the conclusion that we reach at the
81 end of that process.

82 *Interviewer:* *How do you feel that content was received when you put that out there? Showcasing*
83 *a different aspect of archaeology than audiences were used to?*

84 Mark: I think there's an incredible, knowledgeable pool of people who are not professional
85 archaeologists out there. Who, when we put stuff out there about [Pause].

86 For example, an [Archaeological Feature Type] that we found that was [Details]. So,
87 we put out the question, like, "Why do we think this [Archaeological Feature Type]
88 was [The Way it Was]?" And people came back with really informed responses, off
89 the back of that. People came back with stuff like, someone drew an ethnographic
90 example [Identifiable Details Removed]. And someone else came and responded on
91 that one with another example from somewhere else. I think that these are not
92 professional archaeologists or ethnographers and that shows, I think, that there's
93 [Pause].

94 Archaeologists, [It] sometimes feels like, we're simplifying stuff, we're denigrating
95 our work to the public too much. We should have more faith in the public to actually
96 make interesting and informed interpretations of what we present them with. And it
97 also just enables people to have a bit of fun with archaeology.

98 Sometimes there were things that we found on the site, we found a [Period and
99 Archaeological Artefact] and we couldn't work it out, no one knew what exactly it
100 was. So, we put it out there, like, "What do you think it is?". And people came back
101 with really funny responses [Examples of Humorous Responses]. And that shouldn't
102 be underestimated, as well. That people should feel that they can have fun with
103 archaeology and it doesn't have to be serious interpretations all the time. It can also
104 be a bit of a laugh.

105 So I think those are two things that I noticed. Also, just in terms of the importance of
106 doing that, encouraging that two-way conversation on social media is so important.
107 More so just in terms of the algorithms that work on social media. So, for me it's
108 clear that EdgeRank favours comment-led social media posts in terms of increasing
109 Impressions and Reach. I did a lot of training in social media as well in my previous
110 life [Personal Details Removed]. And the thing I always come back to is it's called
111 social media. It's about being social. And that's the part I think that archaeology
112 often misses out on, generally speaking. We do a lot of dictating in archaeology and
113 a lot of broadcasting about what we discovered rather than actually bringing people
114 into that conversation.

115 *Interviewer:* *In terms of the number of people at your organisation who have access to your social*
116 *media channels in terms of creating content or moderating content, could you*
117 *estimate the size of that team?*

118 Mark: Yeah. I mean it's [<5] people. [Laughs]. That's people who have direct access in
119 terms of logins. We are looking at doing other aspects where we [Pause] use things
120 like Buffer, where we can give people permission to post, that then goes into a pool,
121 that gets reviewed and then pushed out.

122 I think the ideal is that we have different levels of access to our social media. We
123 have the moderator access which is the [<5] people. So, myself and my [Comms
124 Staff]. And then we have a contributor level where people can post directly from the
125 field. But that will always flow through a moderator to check.

126 *Interviewer:* *It seems within your role you've got a lot of different things that you're overseeing.*
127 *Whether that's media or perhaps other elements. What percentage would you*
128 *estimate is spent on the social media aspect of that? I know it will vary, but on*
129 *average?*

130 *Mark:* Of my time personally, very little. Because I have to oversee a team. But for my
131 team's time pretty much every project that we do has a social media aspect to it. It's
132 the "bread and butter", the base of most communications proposals is that we'll do
133 social media. Clients expect social media content nowadays.

134 The team, will always be working on social media. It'd be hard to guesstimate their
135 time. I'd imagine that each one of them would spend around a day a week, roughly,
136 on producing social media content. But I do think we could do more. We're looking
137 at doing more on our social media [Pause].

138 There's always the danger, because a lot of our social media content is client funded
139 in the sense that we're posting stuff that clients have paid for, it means, sometimes
140 we miss out on more interesting things potentially that we could be generating good
141 reach and engagement from because, naturally, we have to prioritise the funded
142 work. Because that's where we get our income from.

143 I think there is an interesting point there on the fact that our communications team,
144 and archaeology generally, the stuff the public see on social media isn't necessarily
145 the most interesting stuff that's being discovered. It's the stuff that is being funded
146 by clients to talk about. I think that's probably more or less a general across
147 archaeology, that the public maybe have an impression that every cool
148 archaeological thing that gets found, gets talked about. That's not really the case.

149 There is a space to expand our social media beyond just client funded work and we
150 do that occasionally and generally it leads to good results [Laughs]. But it's tricky to
151 manage time when you have huge pressures and expectations from clients as well.
152 In an ideal world the client stuff is also the coolest stuff that gets found. But that
153 doesn't always happen. Sometimes you have to make something out of nothing,
154 almost.

155 *Interviewer:* *What do you feel your organisation's main goal for their social media and social*
156 *networking is? Is there a primary goal or are there different components to that?*

157 *Mark:* I think the idea of having more two- way conversations is definitely a goal. And I
158 think the secondary goal of encouraging more direct engagement from the field, so
159 that our social media is more at the trowel's edge than what we do currently. A lot
160 of time we're talking about stuff that was discovered weeks, if not months ago. The
161 magic of archaeology is that moment of discovery. How can we use social media to
162 connect people more strongly with that moment of discovery? That's what we're
163 pushing for.

164 And that's difficult when there's complicated sign off procedures that we have to
165 follow through [On] different projects, particularly on the larger scale infrastructure
166 projects [Which] often have very complicated things. Often, these are unnecessary.
167 The stuff that we're having to get signed off, particularly on social media, it's not
168 going to cause any controversy and it's not going to be an issue. It's just embedded

169 in practice that we do sign offs. That's what we're trying to push back on a bit with
170 our clients is do you need sign off on all these? If we don't have sign off, we can do
171 this quicker and it'll be more effective, is what we're trying to push a bit more.

172 *Interviewer: It sounds like there's a focus on engagement on your channels. Your organisation's*
173 *presence doesn't seem to be about potentially marketing the organisation or raising*
174 *its profile or visibility, it seems to definitely have that focus on public access, public*
175 *engagement. Would you say that's true?*

176 *Mark: Yeah. I guess it's my, it sounds a bit poncey, but philosophy on social media. [Pause].*
177 *One of the books when I was early on in my career that I was looking at was Gary*
178 *Vaynerchuk's *Jab, Jab, Jab, Right Hook*. He described social media as being like a*
179 *boxer. A boxer doesn't just flail and try and hit one single knockout punch as hard as*
180 *they can all the time. They jab and prod and they explore different angles and then,*
181 *once they feel they've created an opening, they go for the big knockout hit. And to*
182 *translate that into social media it's about telling stories and engaging your audience*
183 *and making them involved and feel involved so that when you do have an event*
184 *you're trying to promote, or a service you're trying to push that that hit then*
185 *resonates more strongly with an already engaged audience. So that's where I base a*
186 *lot of my thinking on social media on.*

187 *Interviewer: [Pause]. We haven't really discussed any specific platforms at the moment.*

188 *Mark: Yeah.*

189 *Interviewer: Could you describe a little bit about what social networks you are on and is there an*
190 *even distribution of time between all of them? Or are there a couple of platforms*
191 *that you really favour and focus on? And, if so, why?*

192 *Mark: Yeah. We're on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn. We definitely favour*
193 *Facebook and Twitter above all the others. The order in terms of importance would*
194 *probably be for us Facebook and Twitter equally, LinkedIn then Instagram. I think*
195 *that's just time management as well, that we haven't had time to really look at our*
196 *Instagram properly.*

197 *That's not a reflection of the importance I put on them. It's just a reflection of-*
198 *[Personal Details Removed]. There's an order in which I can take things on.*
199 *Facebook's an interesting one because often Facebook is talked about in social*
200 *media circles as the dying platform because the younger demographics are not*
201 *going onto Facebook. Although they are obviously using Facebook services without*
202 *realising it.*

203 *But for archaeology audiences Facebook is the place to be, really. Because our core*
204 *audience could be broadly defined as a 55-year-old plus white person. Middle class.*
205 *Highly educated. That's very broadly speaking but that audience is the most active*
206 *pretty much on Facebook now. So that where we resonate quite strongly there.*
207 *That's where we tend to get most of the more informed responses through*
208 *Facebook, which is interesting.*

209 *Twitter's obviously important to us in terms of its potentially more academic*
210 *audience, I would say [That's] who tend to respond to our content on there. It's also*
211 *the place I would say where we get the mass reach on certain posts. We did a post*

212 about a [Artefact Type] the other day. That one reached 200,000 people. Well
213 Impressions, I shouldn't say Reach, that's a bad term. [Laughs]. So that's where we
214 get the mass reach from on some of our posts.

215 LinkedIn's interesting [Pause]. People just use it as a job platform mainly. But we get
216 really good engagement on a lot of our [Identifiable Detail Removed], on all of our
217 research side of things. We do use it, obviously, to talk about our jobs, but I've also
218 tried to push to be a bit less job-y about everything and be a bit more, "Here's what
219 we're doing research wise and on our sites" and that tends to resonate quite
220 strongly. And I think it's quite a good distraction for people on LinkedIn from just the
221 endless job posts. Or people talking about their career change or about the latest
222 development and this and that.

223 *Interviewer: I'm particularly interested in content creation and how you might have some*
224 *obligations from client funding, particular projects or also restrictions perhaps on*
225 *what you can post in terms of signing things off. Can you talk about how it comes to*
226 *be, what's behind most of the content you create and what informs that process?*

227 **Mark:** Yeah. It's a relatively standard process in the same way that you would tender as a
228 freelancer, the client will, as part of their work and planning conditions, will have an
229 obligation to do some public outreach work and that will vary in scale based on the
230 size of the project and the demands of the local authority and the interest of the
231 client. Some are more interested than others.

232 Usually within that we will define at a post level how many social media posts we'll
233 produce. We will cost up that. As part of your engagement work, we will produce a
234 series of 10 posts about the excavation, for example, and that will be costed to the
235 post.

236 I think that also recognises something that I think is often not recognised maybe
237 within the sector is that it may look like it's a two-line Tweet, but the work that goes
238 on behind those two lines, can be up to half a day's work to get that to that point.
239 So, I think that our costings acknowledge the amount of work and are realistic about
240 the amount that goes on behind the scenes to get stuff that's quality content out on
241 social media.

242 That can involve professional photography of finds to get the right images. It could
243 involve talking to specialists to get them to identify things. All these costs come into
244 it and factor into how we work things. Usually the writing time isn't the stuff that
245 takes that long. It doesn't take that long for us to write something. Unless it's a
246 particularly difficult subject matter. But it's all that background that takes the time
247 and collating all the information together.

248 In terms of our content creation side of things in terms of writing the content,
249 generally that's up to the individual poster to write, whoever on my team writes it.
250 Sometimes it will go through me, if it's particularly controversial. We're working on
251 tone of voice guidelines. Generally, we have certain stylistic things that we try and
252 follow in our social media content in terms of how we break up lines and how we
253 have [Social Media Post Type], for example. We try and keep things consistent and
254 also think in terms of accessibility as well. There's certain accessibility parameters
255 we look at and make sure we implement.

256 Interviewer: *Thinking about client attitudes, in the literature one of the biggest barriers to*
257 *engagement is cited as client confidentiality concerns or client oversight on projects.*
258 *It sounds like from what you're saying that those attitudes aren't necessarily the case*
259 *and clients are actually quite, even if there is an obligation for them to do it, keen to*
260 *engage with that as part of those projects.*

261 Mark: It depends on the client. I think, for the most part clients are now more willing to. I
262 say more and I don't have the length of experience that some people have. But the
263 impression I get is that clients are more used to social media. So even the old, more
264 traditional clients, they have social media channels now. So, they're not surprised
265 when we talk about doing social media work. That makes it easier.

266 Secondly clients are recognising the value of good social media content in terms of
267 PR opportunities for them. If they have a post about archaeology that reaches
268 200,000 people, that's a big PR opportunity for them for very little cost. I think they
269 also recognise the value of good social media content in terms of smoothing over
270 potentially controversial or difficult subjects or issues they're having in other aspects
271 of their development. So they may be having local opposition.

272 A good example, we recently did a bit of work in a [Public Space] in [Location].
273 Obviously, it's a public space, people could have been really annoyed that public
274 space is being taken up by machinery and stuff, but we did a whole social media and
275 blog outreach for it and we got local stakeholders really interested in it. People were
276 going up to the site and talking to the archaeologists saying, "We saw this blog about
277 it", "We were online and we were talking about it". So, it's a very small-scale
278 example. That's a good example of where social media has been used to mitigate
279 against some of the more disruptive elements of development-led archaeology.

280 Interviewer: *Perhaps, traditionally some developers have seen any communication that goes out*
281 *there as a chance for that opposition to mobilise on those social media channels. But*
282 *from what you're saying the experience is the opposite where actually it's an*
283 *opportunity for that discussion and dialogue to positively impact a project.*

284 Mark: Yeah, I think so, but I think that's a gradual process. That's not standard across the
285 board. It depends who you talk to. There are still people that are very concerned
286 about talking about things that we find. Particularly when it comes to human
287 remains or things classed as treasure. Or where the site has already faced a lot of
288 opposition already. Although in those instances it's often easier when it's already
289 faced a lot of opposition to get to do more engagement stuff because it's like, "Well,
290 cats out the bag now! We might as well try and see what we can do to mitigate it".

291 I think having a dedicated communications team gives clients more confidence. It's
292 not Jill and Bob on the site that are Tweeting about it if they find stuff. This is a
293 professional team that are trained and media experienced.

294 [Identifiable Discussion of Company Reputation Removed].

295 I think that has partly helped our cause in terms of smoothing over, or easing client
296 concerns is we have a team that take care of this for you and that are used to talking
297 about all these subjects, without opposition.

298 Interviewer: *Do you find that there are any barriers to any of the work that you do?*

299 Mark: We've talked a bit about how the length of time between a site being discovered
300 and a post going out is an issue. And that's often because of complicated processes
301 that take time. Which is fair enough. I think also that a lot of our social media is
302 potentially a bit safer than I would go. [Personal Discussion Removed]. If we were to
303 be a bit bolder on some of our social media content, a bit more Museum of English
304 Rural Life style. That might pose more issues in terms of getting sign offs on stuff,
305 but that's something for me to look at.

306 A lot of the issues that I think we have to talk through more are actually internally
307 with archaeologists and with our specialists. Recently we've had a lot of clients who
308 are really keen to talk about the work and really eager to get stuff out there and a
309 lot of the holdups and barriers have been nervousness internally about saying
310 different things. Which can be quite frustrating because you're in a position where
311 you've got a client who's really eager to talk about the work. You've got all the
312 content there and yet you're having to have endless discussions about minutiae
313 which is not relevant to the general public.

314 I used to work with [Details of Previous Personal Archaeological Work], and that's
315 across the board in terms of archaeology, that there is a nervousness in the
316 profession about talking about anything in public until you know absolutely
317 everything about that find. And that's a real barrier to how we engage as
318 archaeologists and engage with people about our work. It's difficult to manage that
319 as a lot of my time and a lot of the time of my team goes into having those internal
320 discussions and explaining our work.

321 We've been doing a couple of talks to [University] recently to their students and
322 talking about the different things we do in archaeology. I talked about [My Role]. I
323 said a lot of your job in comms is about winning hearts and minds internally in
324 archaeology. And I think that's not something that you would have to do in another
325 comms setting. If you work for Nike you wouldn't have to convince anyone about
326 whether you should talk about your shoes on social media. You wouldn't have to
327 convince anyone of that. Whereas you sometimes do still have to do that in
328 archaeology.

329 *Interviewer: Thinking about internal perspectives on your role in social media do you find that*
330 *changes between different areas or departments in your organisation? Or potentially*
331 *between age groups, younger and older members of staff?*

332 Mark: No, I don't think there is. What I've said is generalising across the board. There are
333 people that are really easy to work with and really keen, onboard with everything
334 and understanding of everything that we do. I find a nervousness more in the field
335 side of things, particularly about making interpretations when sites are still live more
336 than in post-ex work. So, I think there is a nervousness about talking about
337 immediate discoveries in the field.

338 Interestingly I don't think there is much of a distinction in age, and I think it really
339 varies. You sometimes have the different problems that you have people that are
340 older, who are more experienced and therefore will have a greater confidence to say
341 things and also have a bit more of an attitude of like, "Well, we'll put it out there. If
342 someone wants to disagree, then let them disagree". A bit more of that attitude.

343 Some of the younger archaeologists and specialists feel a bit more nervous about
344 doing that because they're at the start of their career and they're worried about
345 professor-so-and-so from some university coming in and correcting them on
346 something. They're always worry about being made to look stupid or they don't
347 know what they're talking about. So, there's no clear pattern I don't think. It's just
348 based on the individual.

349 *Interviewer: It sounds very positive across your organisation, that your colleagues see and value*
350 *what you do as a role. Or do you disagree?*

351 **Mark:** No, I think they do. This is my personal view. I don't think communications is seen as
352 a specialism in the same way that an archaeobotanist is viewed as a specialism. Or
353 that conservators are a specialism. Obviously, I like to work collaboratively with
354 people but there's a point where you drift between working collaboratively to
355 having to justify what you're doing and what the decisions are that you're making on
356 things. [Pause].

357 A lot of people would do their own communications, whether they know it or not.
358 They go to a conference or they have their own Twitter feed or they have their own
359 little blog that they run. That means that they do have some knowledge of
360 communications. But I think there's a big difference between someone who does it
361 in a personal capacity and someone who does it professionally.

362 I don't think there's necessarily the same level of respect shown to communications
363 versus other specialisms. Certainly, in terms of the market value of communications
364 it's quite a lot higher in terms of salary than field archaeology, for example. And
365 that's just because that's the going rate for communications in the wider world
366 [Laughs]. So that I think can often cause barriers as well because communications
367 specialists can be paid more than potentially other specialisms in archaeology.

368 *Interviewer: Getting to a slightly more technical level you've mentioned a little bit about metrics*
369 *and some of the internal stats on some of your posts. Do you regularly review those?*
370 *Is that done quite formally or informally?*

371 **Mark:** Yeah. We basically monitor as you would normally as I would assume most
372 professional social media outlets do. We do a monthly report in impressions,
373 engagements, audience, follower increase, follower decrease, comments, likes,
374 shares, etc. We always try and do a bit more of the qualitative stuff as well. So, we
375 screenshot anonymised comments to have a record of that.

376 We'll often produce reports for clients specifically on their posts about their sites.
377 What we'll also do more informally is if, for example, a specialist has supported us in
378 doing a Tweet and that Tweet has done particularly well, then we'll share with them
379 the results of how many people they've reached and that kind of thing. People tend
380 to like that.

381 *Interviewer: If you're costing individual posts, then I suppose that gives a direct feedback to that*
382 *client of the value or the success of doing that. It sounds like they value that*
383 *feedback from you.*

384 **Mark:** Yeah. Sometimes. I think they value social media. I think certain clients, you send
385 them a report and it's, "Here's a report, it's put in a folder somewhere and never

386 looked at". I think they'll definitely pick up if something goes wrong on social media,
387 not that it does very often at all, if we do our job right. It depends on the client.
388 Some clients will be really keen to see all our stats and want to read an in-depth
389 report. A lot of clients wouldn't even ask for a comms evaluation report. We provide
390 them anyway, because I think part of convincing clients to do more of this work is to
391 demonstrate value.

392 It's interesting that we monetize value in press so when we generate press coverage
393 for a client, we will give them a monetary value for how much that press coverage
394 would have cost them to pay for. [Discussion of Press Details Removed]. If you had
395 to pay for that coverage in advertising space in the publications [The Organisation]
396 we got into, it would have cost you [Figure] pounds worth of advertising. So, we give
397 that monetary value as well, which often is the language that a lot of our clients will
398 speak in. But there's nothing like that that exists for social media, which is
399 interesting there's no monetary value ascribed to social media.

400 *Interviewer:* *It sounds like that might be something that you might be keen to change or develop.*

401 *Mark:* It's just how would you do that, I guess? The reason we can do press stuff is because
402 the software generates reports for us, based on that. Because they know how much
403 half a page of advertising costs in The Guardian, for example. So, they'll equate your
404 article with that advertising spend and then they'll give you a [Figure]. So, there's an
405 easy way to work it. But how do you value social media?

406 I mean you could value it in terms of how much advertising spend, how much paid
407 social you'd have to do to create that organic reach. But that doesn't exist on social
408 media. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram's not going to provide you with those numbers
409 either. So, you can guesstimate it but [Pause]. It's tricky, isn't it? I think there is an
410 interesting exercise in equating monetary value to social content.

411 *Interviewer:* *Do you feel that there's a difference in perceived value by either clients or your*
412 *colleagues in, say, a social media post getting 200,000 views compared to it getting*
413 *an article in The Guardian? Do you think that there's a prioritisation of more*
414 *traditional forms of media coverage than say social media coverage?*

415 *Mark:* Across all organisations that I've ever worked for there is a perceived value to press
416 and media over social media. I think that often comes back to the very top of all the
417 organizations, [They're] made up of [People] who are generally in their 60s, who
418 maybe don't understand social media well. They understand the meaning of an
419 article in The Guardian. They don't understand the meaning of a Tweet seen 200,000
420 times. Actually the Tweet may have been more impactful than your Guardian article,
421 but that wouldn't be recognised.

422 That's also represented internally in how people sign off content as well. There'll be
423 different sign off processes for a press release, [It] will be much more stringently
424 signed off than a Tweet would be. Why would that be the case? A bad Tweet has
425 just much potential to create [Issues]. One would assume that sign off is generally to
426 ensure clients and permissions are done right and also that there's nothing
427 controversial in there that's going to cause a major issue. But that could just as easily
428 happen for a social media post, if not more so than a press article. At least a

429 journalist would likely contact you if they have a comment, so you have a chance to
430 respond. Whereas once that's out there on social media it'll be reshared endlessly.

431 My feeling is that is because at the top level of all organisations sits a slightly older
432 demographic who don't understand social media as well and, therefore, because
433 they don't understand it tend to not be involved in it as much.

434 [Identifiable Discussion Involving Organisation Removed]

435 *Interviewer: Have you got any sense of the impact the pandemic had on online communication*
436 *and social media? Do you feel that that's something that's now reverting back to a*
437 *more traditional model, now that we're coming out of that?*

438 **Mark:** Yeah, I think for sure. [Identifiable Discussion Removed]. The thing that we saw was
439 at the start of the pandemic, there was a massive increase in digital engagement.
440 Everyone went digital and it really spiked and then it literally just fell off a cliff.

441 All our metrics that we report on social media for [Organisation] now that we
442 compare them, they're all compared to a year ago, I have to put asterisks in and say
443 that is the point when people became sick off digital engagement and were craving
444 real-world experiences. I think now we're starting to even out a little bit again.

445 I think it is starting to revert back now people are adapting back to the normal way
446 of things which is a maybe a way of balancing their physical life and virtual life, for
447 want of a better word. It'll be interesting to see how that translates to digital events.
448 I mean that's a separate point to social media but I don't think people will be more
449 likely to stick, to go back to social media quicker. But I think there's still probably,
450 this is just my feeling, that there's a lingering desire to be more engaged in physical
451 space, rather than digital space when it comes to events and gigs.

452 *Interviewer: How do you view that relationship between the physical and the digital? Because*
453 *archaeology has a very long tradition of relying quite heavily on physical events in*
454 *the sense of site tours, open days, talk. How do you view that relationship in terms of*
455 *engagement?*

456 **Mark:** I think that it's very easy to do either. We get good engagement from either. So, we
457 get really good engagement from an on-site tour or an open day or something like
458 that. And we get really good engagement from a Tweet or a social media post about
459 a feature or find. What's difficult is that area in between in terms of hybrid digital
460 and physical experiences. How do you create that? And we did a bit of that with
461 talking about live discoveries and new things are slightly blending it, but it's not
462 really blending it to the extent of being there on site.

463 I mean the ultimate I think would be strapping a GoPro to an archaeologist's head
464 and doing a Facebook Live, where the audience actually inform what the
465 archaeological digs next or works on next. I think that's something I'd be keen to
466 explore. Whether we do it or not it's a different question. But I think that is more the
467 area that we look at next.

468 Or I think there is a space for live content on social media to be more effectively
469 done by social media units. I mean part of the issue is often that you don't have
470 good internet access on sites, because you're in the middle of nowhere, which

471 doesn't help. [Identifiable Detail Removed]. But we're getting better at that internet
472 side of things, and as that gets better, I think there's going to be more potential to
473 do more professional and engaging livestreams.

474 I think you could almost create mini-TV shows live on-site with audiences influencing
475 that TV show and being able to structure their experience in real-time online. I think
476 it was done recently in Iceland, I think it was the archaeology there's run by their
477 government, and I think there was a recent example where they did actually strap a
478 GoPro to an archaeologist. Where they did strap a GoPro to an archaeologist's head
479 and people could literally control them. They could like tell them to jump, or to turn
480 left or turn right. Like a video game which is quite interesting.

481 *Interviewer:* *I think the thing that I find really fascinating is when you're talking about the fact*
482 *that physical events generate good engagement and digital events generate good*
483 *engagement. It seems that they're very equal in the way that you're speaking about*
484 *them. Do you think you would weight the feedback and the interactions you got from*
485 *digital content in the same way that you would for people attending a physical*
486 *event?*

487 *Mark:* [Pause]. I think it's difficult, I think it would depend on the quality of the experience.
488 So, how you would actually, how, and like, the metrics you'd need to measure that
489 quality of experience. So, I think you may be, you may get a lot, a lot more people to
490 a digital events because of capacity and that kind of thing. But you may have a
491 conversation at a physical event with someone that takes, that lasts 20 minutes and
492 the result of that is that person joins their local history society or a kid decides to do
493 archaeology at university, or like-. So, it's hard to, it's hard to measure that impact.

494 I think that ultimately what we want to do is we want archaeology to make people's
495 lives better in some way. And I think that digital can only go so far in doing that. I
496 shouldn't really say that as a comms specialist, but I think that you do need physical
497 interaction to make bigger changes to people's lives. We can make smaller changes
498 to peoples' lives online, but you can't do as much as if you were actually face-to-face
499 with someone. That's maybe a bit of a blue-sky answer, maybe, rather than
500 something tangible.

501 *Interviewer:* *I was thinking about the impact of your role involving social media to your life. Is this*
502 *something that you can switch off at 17:30 when you leave the office? Or does it*
503 *bleed into out of hours monitoring, out of hours thinking about that? Do you feel*
504 *supported? And you're digital wellbeing with your role?*

505 *Mark:* I try and keep a good balance, but my partner would probably say that I don't. I think
506 it's very difficult to switch off from social media. I do very, very little social media in
507 my personal life, if any, because I don't want to work on doing social media
508 campaigns all day and then come home and then at the end of the day, just switch
509 onto my Instagram.

510 I know that there are social media managers who I've worked with, who I've met
511 through various things, who have really great personal social media presences as
512 well. [Personal and Identifiable Discussion Removed]. I manage multiple different
513 aspects of communications of which social media is one important part, that's why I
514 try and switch off more in my personal life.

515 I think generally there is a temptation to check things and to see how things are
516 performing and I think there's a pressure in terms of vanity metrics on social media
517 for people that manage them. You're constantly chasing more. You're constantly
518 chasing more impressions, more engagement, more followers. And that's quite
519 exhausting after a while to be doing that.

520 And you worry about what if you had a bad month for social media content. That
521 doesn't reflect well on your work. [Personal Discussion Removed] That it is difficult, I
522 think. There are no good, good answers to it.

523 I mean the good thing about [Organisation] they do have really good mental health
524 support for all staff. [Details of Organisation Mental Health Support]. [Identifiable
525 Discussion Removed]. I think a lot of comms people and social media managers will
526 often struggle with mental health at various times in their career. And a lot of them,
527 it's also a field where you could be called upon at 10 o'clock at night for something
528 that comes out or you're also out in pubs and meeting journalists or talking to them
529 and that kind of thing. So, it's an easy place to spiral if you wanted to.

530 *Interviewer:* *Thinking a little bit more widely about your role in general. Is there anything that you*
531 *feel would help support you more with that role? Whether that was more resources,*
532 *more time, more training or anything like that?*

533 *Mark:* I think there needs to be a recognition that social media evolve so quickly. There
534 needs to be more time for people that manage social media to update themselves
535 with the latest things. It's all very well and good saying to someone, "Oh, we should
536 be on Tik Tok". Well, we've got to learn it. [Laughs]. It's a new skill we've got to
537 learn. That would be helpful.

538 That's not a criticism of [Organisation] because I think if I wanted to take training or
539 my team would need to take training, I can do that. So, it's not an issue. But
540 generally speaking, that's something that needs to be factored into any social media
541 role is the time to develop, to learn the new things that change. Twitter now looks
542 completely different to Twitter five years ago.

543 Instagram is probably the biggest example of change in terms of how a platform has
544 changed in terms of the content you can produce. I also think that one of the big
545 issues is that there are now so many different ways to produce content on social
546 media. In the olden days it was basically you could Tweet, you could post something
547 on Facebook, you could post a picture on Instagram. Whereas now you have Stories,
548 you have Reels, you have Live. There are so many more offers that you can do.

549 And what happens, a lot of the time, is that someone somewhere, usually someone
550 high up will see something and be like, "I saw so-and-so doing a Reel the other day.
551 Why aren't we doing Reels?". That can be quite difficult to manage when it's like
552 "Well there's only so many hours in the day". And now rather than doing three
553 different avenues, we're doing eight different avenues. It's not feasible.

554 *Interviewer:* *Is there anything else you think I should have asked you? Or that you'd like to discuss*
555 *about your role or about social media in archaeology?*

556 *Mark:* I think the main challenge to social media in archaeology is how do you break
557 archaeological social media out of its niche circles? We have a really great following

558 of people that are really engaged and like our stuff and comment on our stuff. But
559 very rarely are we able to break out of that circle and influence more mainstream
560 audiences potentially.

561 Obviously, we don't get ethnic diversity metrics in our analysis. But I think,
562 particularly in terms of non-white, non-university educated audiences. How can we
563 use social media to do that? In some ways, we are the victims of our own success.
564 Because the people that tend to manage social media in archaeology tend to be
565 white, middle-class, highly educated. We tend to write stuff that appeals to that
566 same audience.

567 If we went to break out of that, then we need to look at how to diversify
568 communications in archaeology generally in terms of the kind of people that we
569 have on our teams and that we support the right content really. And the types of
570 stories that we tell.

571 We very rarely tell stories that relate to colonialism or LGBTQ histories or other
572 history. We tend to talk about, and that's I think that's the symptom of archaeology
573 as well, things we can see. I think some archaeologists view ourselves very much as
574 outside of these debates. That we present the facts of what we find and that's it. But
575 we need to pursue more diverse stories to diversify our audience as well.

576 *Interviewer:* *That's great.*

1 **Interview Nine - Brendon**

2
3 Dr Brendon Wilkins is Projects Director, founder and Co-CEO of the ClfA Registered Organisation,
4 DigVentures.

5 *Interviewer: To start off with if you could really tell me about your main role at your organisation*
6 *and how social media really plays into that.*

7 Brendon: Sure. [Pause]. I'm the founder and Co-CEO of DigVentures. We're a collaborative
8 platform for enabling civic participation with archaeological research. We work in all
9 kinds of different formats and settings from what might be constituted as traditional
10 university-led field research to medium and large-scale development-led, or what
11 would be constituted as commercial archaeology in advance of planning.

12 We work across a whole range of different projects in that spectrum. But we also do
13 a vast amount of digital engagement and digital participation as well. We've
14 developed as a consequence, a whole suite of digital tools to enable participation
15 with archaeological research. Whether that's digital recording systems-

16 [Call Fails]

17 *Interviewer: How would you say that social media, what is your goal in terms of its use with your*
18 *organisation?*

19 Brendon: OK. We have an entirely different business model to any other organisation within
20 the sector. We have a crowd-based business model, we derive a proportion of our
21 income from the crowd. We work with partners and tender for work because of our
22 crowd. Our approach to social media isn't as a kind of "bolt on" to our
23 communications strategy, what you might say, outreach and education. It's an
24 absolutely integral part of what we do.

25 When we think about how other organisations use social media we're perplexed and
26 confused as to why they actually even bother with it. Because, although they may be
27 educational charities and have that in their constituted aims and mission, 98% of the
28 income of those organisations derives from other sources. It's got nothing to do with
29 people or civic participation. So how they're using that is extraneous to how they're
30 deriving income.

31 Whereas what we think about ourselves as a social enterprise is that our impact isn't
32 something additional to our business model. It's absolutely integral and part of our
33 business model. It's tied to our core revenue generating activities. It makes sense to
34 us to have social media and a team, an entire team, around that as part of that and
35 at the heart of that operation. It's almost like a virtuous circle. The more people who
36 hear about the work that we do, and the more people want to get involved with the
37 work that we do, the more income gets generated into the work that we do, the
38 more work we can do, the more people we can tell about the work we do, and so
39 on. And we grow our crowd accordingly.

40 Whereas if you look at how commercial or development-led archaeology functions
41 that's completely extraneous to how they're deriving and driving the income into
42 their organisations. Unless of course they're using social to target their client base of

43 developers as many do. You get these quite bizarre Tweets about how
44 archaeologists are managing risk and delivering value on time and on budget. Now
45 that's using social media in a way many businesses do to express the value of those
46 organisations to their key target client base.

47 We effectively use social media in the same way, except what we're trying to do is
48 bring people into our process and it just so happens that that's what our sector is
49 trying to do in terms of establishing its own public benefit and wider ambitions for
50 social impact.

51 *Interviewer:* *It seems that your social media channels are an equal part engagement, in terms of*
52 *you sharing the content and sharing the results of the work that you do, but also a*
53 *marketing tool, for want of a better term, to garner support and garner impact for*
54 *your projects financially.*

55 **Brendon:** Yeah. I think you can, we can [Pause]. We can get too cynical about this. And you
56 could say, "Yes, that's, that's purely self-serving and, and so on". But it's [Pause].
57 Anyone that approaches communicating in those channels cynically like that they're
58 not going to get very far.

59 This is about creating a conversation with a community and building a community.
60 Rather than saying, "Please give me some money", "Give me this. Give me that",
61 "Give me this. Give me that". It's like four gives and then an ask. And by the time the
62 ask comes around people don't feel sold at. You're not cashing in on a relationship.
63 But there's a very transparent and clear understanding that this is work that we're
64 producing as creative producers, and you can come along with us and help us and be
65 part of that whole creative act of knowledge production.

66 So, creating the culture around how you're trying to communicate through those
67 channels, it's really clear, it's really key and having a reason for doing it in the first
68 place. For instance, your own work at CAU and your publication in *Internet*
69 *Archaeology*. I felt that, which is great, and I reached out at the time as well and you
70 couldn't tell me because confidentiality and everything.

71 Our thing is that we don't have any hang-ups about that kind of thing. That's part of
72 our ethics and mission and values that that can't be part of our work. If that is a part
73 of our work, you tend to walk away or that's not a client that we would be happy to,
74 to engage with. But the part of that paper that was interesting was at the end,
75 where you talked about how it was bent out of shape because there wasn't a real
76 budget for it and senior management didn't quite get what it was that you were
77 trying to do. And that's not a fault of any individuals, that's a structural issue.

78 And the structure of the discipline and the marketplace means that those things
79 they're not valued by those teams because there's no reason for it. And I think
80 [Pause] we all need to be really honest about that. Because being honest about how
81 we procure and deliver our archaeology is the first step to really changing and
82 challenging and redesigning what it is that we do.

83 *Interviewer:* *[Pause]. You mentioned having a team based around the social component of your*
84 *work. Can you describe a little bit more about how many people form that team?*

85 *And is that the sole responsibility of those people? Or is it a split role in other*
86 *communications areas?*

87 **Brendon:** Sure. I'd say we probably have about five or so people in our team. About a third of
88 our team of 20 are dedicated to that in one way or another. [Pause]. Fifteen
89 community archaeologists and then a senior team of five or so. We have people who
90 are more field-focused but still community archaeologists and then we have people
91 who are more community focused but are still community archaeologists. And
92 everyone can dig a hole. And everyone can write it up but everyone has specific
93 areas of expertise.

94 This is an organisation where the majority, I mean it's nearly everyone's
95 responsibility to be part of this communicating. It's amplifying things that the rest of
96 the team have done or whether it's generating stuff themselves. It's not siloed in,
97 someone sat at the side who generally happen- [Pause].

98 And this I see in other organisations, [People] who generally happen to be fairly low
99 down on the totem pole but because they know how Twitter works or they've got a
100 Tik Tok that's their job. It's absolutely part of everybody's role and it's integral to
101 what we do. And it's valued because it creates value, however we choose to
102 measure it. Whether that's financially or whether that's through our other social
103 impact measures that we have.

104 *Interviewer:* *You've got quite a small organisation in terms of numbers, but it sounds like there's a*
105 *definite awareness across every single person that works in that organisation of the*
106 *importance that social media communication plays within your work.*

107 **Brendon:** Absolutely. We would typically [Pause]. This is also published as well so it's out there
108 to see, but Covid had a major impact on what we were doing. Over say the 2020
109 year our physical participation fell by some 75% but our digital participation grew by
110 some 3,100%. It went from say 2000 people a year joining us in the field and digitally
111 to 11,000. And then in 2021 that was a further 13,000 grew on site as well. And
112 we're now on track to grow that across this year as well. We've had this huge shift
113 towards digital as a result of the pandemic, as many of us have.

114 But that happened, what I guess [Pause]. Why that happened is we didn't have a
115 quick pivot to digital and have to build something from the ground up when the
116 pandemic hit. We're already flying in that respect.

117 We have 100,000 social followers across four main channels, but very active. We
118 have a huge mailing list of some 35,000 and we have a solid subscriber base and a
119 solid visitor count to the website too. We were already doing many digital things, so
120 when it came to Covid hitting we could expand and lean into that rather than
121 frantically scrabble and try and do what we were doing in physical participation,
122 digitally. That wouldn't have been able to happen, to answer your question, if all of
123 the team weren't digitally and social media literate or couldn't understand how and
124 why that was of value. It's a key thing across everything that we do.

125 *Interviewer:* *Tinking about the creation of your content for your social channels, can you describe*
126 *that process a little bit more? Is it one- or two-people's responsibility? Or is it shared*
127 *amongst these five people quite evenly?*

128 Brendon: In our senior management team we have a director of engagement who leads that
129 team. And then we have onsite, we have a videographer, we have someone who's
130 responsible for evaluation and capturing the metrics around everything and then we
131 have a further two people whose job it is to create words, pictures, images and so
132 on.

133 That's happening across all different kinds of content it's not just social. There's stuff
134 that's going out on social, but otherwise social is being used to amplify stuff that we
135 might be doing, such as digital events or courses or video series that we're putting
136 out. There's a coherent strategy taken, looking at the next six to twelve months of
137 like, "What, what are we doing?", "When are we doing it?" on a sort of macro level.
138 And then each and every week, 'cause we all meet up, we talk about what's on the
139 cards, what's coming up so everyone's aware to either attend events or amplify
140 them or as we go through.

141 *Interviewer: You produce a lot of material that is very important to your digital engagement*
142 *platforms. Whether it's the video content, those video series. How do you view that*
143 *relationship between promoting that content on social media and can you see a*
144 *direct relationship between the promotion of that content and then people signing*
145 *up, following through? I'm guessing assessing and looking at those metrics is going*
146 *to be quite important.*

147 Brendon: Yeah, absolutely. The fundamental goal is to grow our crowd. And grow participation
148 around our events. Everything needs to be moving that need on. As we create
149 different forms of content, we know that's gonna have different bearings on that.

150 So, we use a Hero, Hub, Hygiene model which that originally derived through the
151 YouTube community. And while we have Hero posts or content that might take an
152 awful lot of organising. Several weeks to pull together. Whether that's a high-profile
153 event such as our recent event with the team that put the Stonehenge exhibition on
154 at the British Museum, might bring a couple of thousand people through to see that
155 event, many that sit outside of our traditional audiences but get excited by
156 something like that.

157 And then we may have Hub content, which is perhaps related to projects that we
158 run regularly. It might be a virtual site tour at Lindisfarne or one of our other
159 projects or perhaps something that we were contracted to do by a partner. And that
160 will bring in a smaller number but that's a more regular form of content that keeps
161 our community active and engaged. Keeps those people that we brought in through
162 the Hero stuff active and engaged.

163 And then the Hygiene post, which is more putting either content that's specific to
164 social channels. Or whether it's stuff on our website that's relatively easy and
165 "snackable" content.

166 All of those three things should mesh together into a coordinated strategy. And it
167 takes a lot of resourcing. And it takes a lot of thought and creativity and it's not a
168 one way "craft and blast" channel. But it's about creating a two-way conversation
169 with yourselves and your audience and community in a way that lets them in. And
170 keeping that going continuously throughout the year whilst we're in the field and in
171 post-ex is tough.

172 But it's a clear thing and we can absolutely see what that does in terms of growing
173 our audience to the point now where I think we have probably one of the biggest
174 online audiences for archaeology certainly in the UK, but possibly the world. I'm not
175 even sure. And our audiences is global as well.

176 *Interviewer:* *With dialogue and interactivity being quite core to your social media strategy, but a*
177 *lot of your audiences being international, how difficult do you find, with things like*
178 *time zones, being able to be responsive and interactive with those conversations?*

179 **Brendon:** If there is something very time sensitive and specific, for instance, the stuff that's
180 perhaps dark to what you see, behind the scenes, which is our courses. Within our
181 courses we have chat functions built into that. So people, our Venturers can talk to
182 each other within that or they can ask questions.

183 And we have a strong following in Australia and most of that happens at night
184 [Laughs]. So we signpost very clearly, "Look, we're going to be answering this from
185 this time to this time" so people don't feel that immediate panic if they can't do
186 something that they need someone on the other side of it to do.

187 The other aspect is that if we have [Pause]. We're a dispersed team and we're
188 relatively flexible in terms of how we work. If we know that we're spanning into the
189 evening with our events, 'cause often that's the only way if you want to actually
190 connect with people who work for a living, then where people then start the day
191 later or they claim [Inaudible] for that time. We're really flexible in terms of how our
192 working practices enable us to communicate digitally with the largest amount of
193 people possible. And it's just about redesigning how you work to make that happen.

194 *Interviewer:* *You're very active on a number of social media channels. Can you talk a little bit*
195 *more about the platforms that you use and if you distribute your time fairly evenly*
196 *across them? Or if you have a preferred platform that fits in with your organisation*
197 *more?*

198 **Brendon:** We have four main channels. Each of those has a slightly different character but
199 each has a sizable following. Facebook is probably one of the main channels for us
200 and we have about 65,000 followers on that. We track as well, in terms of the
201 metrics, how active those followers are.

202 We follow conversations and we monitor through the internal analytics how posts
203 are performing. We have closed groups as well, relating to different courses that,
204 that we run. We monitor the conversations around that. And we moderate all our
205 channels, really, really, really thoughtfully and carefully. Certain conversations just
206 disappear if anyone starts [Laughs] and we're completely unrepentant about that.
207 This is our job to create a safe space and we have documented policies on that for
208 everyone to see. So, Facebook is the main one.

209 Twitter, of course, we use very, very actively. We have about 20,000 followers on
210 there. Instagram would be the next one down. That's mostly the image-based posts
211 that we lead with. I'm not sure how many followers we have on there. Maybe about
212 8000 or so. And then YouTube for our video content, which is more or less a, a place
213 to host content, because we also have our [Pause]. We've designed a "Digflix" or

214 Netflix version of our website where we actually have all of our other video archived
215 in boxsets. So those are the main ones.

216 We have little things like Sketchfab or LinkedIn we barely use. But we have
217 experimented with those. Haven't quite gone Tik Tok, yet. [Laughs]. Could happen.
218 But we don't just try and start everything just because it exists. If we're going to take
219 on a channel, there's going to be an investment in it, some thought around how we
220 use it and the reason why. Why are we driving this channel?

221 If you look at the kind of content that goes on those channels there's some relatively
222 similar posts but they'll all be framed in a slightly different way. The way I think
223 about it is going into different rooms of a house or a party or whatever it happens to
224 be, full of different kinds of people. You'd still be authentically yourself and have the
225 same things to say but you'd modify how you did that, depending on who happened
226 to be in the room at the time. So that's how we think about those different
227 channels. That there are slightly different communities within them, and we just
228 tailor our messaging around that in a thoughtful way.

229 *Interviewer:* [Pause]. Sorry, it's really interesting, it's just one of these-. It's brilliant and I really
230 appreciate you talking to me. So-,

231 *Brendon:* No, no worries.

232 *Interviewer:* -sorry if I'm pausing to think, it's just giving me lots to contemplate.

233 *Brendon:* Sure.

234 *Interviewer:* I found it very interesting you saying earlier about particularly how you choose
235 clients and how you choose projects in terms of ensuring that there's going to be that
236 transparency and that clarity in the project that's going on. I was wondering if you
237 can maybe talk a little bit more about that? Because perhaps that's something that's
238 quite unusual within the wider development-led sector, in terms of a lot of
239 developers being very reluctant to share the information and being reticent,
240 particularly in sharing locations.

241 *Brendon:* Two that I can call to mind, two projects which exemplify this. One was the
242 Pontefract Castle Project and that's published in Internet Archaeology. And another
243 is the Earth Trust or Wittenham Clumps and that's coming into its final reporting
244 stage and will ultimately be published as well. And both of those are sizable
245 development-led contracts.

246 The Pontefract Castle is [Financial Figure] and Wittenham Clumps, so the Earth
247 Trust, that's about [Financial Figure] or so. They stand up against many other work
248 done by most other units. And what was really important to us as we initiated those
249 projects was really ensuring that on the client side that they were fully behind this
250 different model that we were proposing.

251 What our promise to them was that we would absolutely do the work that was
252 necessary in order to discharge the planning condition, and we would do that in a
253 cost-effective way. But we would also be able to do the other things which were
254 absolutely key and core to those organisations. And that's the broader social impact
255 and wider participation.

256 For the Pontefract Castle that was work that was funded by Historic England, it was
257 NPPF emergency funding. Pontefract Castle were redeveloping that site and visitor
258 attraction but found a completely unexpected medieval drawbridge in that process.
259 This then triggered NPPF emergency funding and HE were like, "OK, yes, you can
260 have this money. However, we want this broader impact. It's a public funder and we
261 want to actually see that". And they opened it up as a design competition.

262 Rather than being a "least cost wins" model, as most archaeology is procured, they
263 were like, "Yeah we need some efficiency. However, we also want to see some
264 additionality as well". And, in fact, the additionality is what's going to win this
265 project. So that was aligned with our values as an organisation and their values as a
266 client. It was always a good match.

267 With the Earth Trust, they were also redeveloping their site putting new routeways
268 in, a new skills and learning building, a new development there. And they are an
269 ecological, environmental charity. Their entire drive and reason for being is to
270 express and educate around the environment and to build a community around that
271 work. Not only that, but also their funder ultimately said, "Yes, you can have this
272 [Figure] or whatever to redevelop but we want to see this wider stuff happening".

273 Again we could approach that as a design competition and do the efficiencies over
274 discharging the planning condition, for all this additionality and that's what they
275 were buying. We weren't trying to layer in that additionality into those core costs to
276 discharge the planning condition. It was on top of, so we could create exciting
277 activities and participation and content all around the side and our client actually
278 wanted that.

279 Now when I think of what's wrong with [Sighs] British archaeology, really it comes
280 down to procurement. Procurement to me is where good ideas go to die. We layer
281 that into our procurement or we pass it to procurement professionals who can't
282 really see a value, other than the economic efficiency value. But all that does is
283 create a poor set of outcomes for archaeology work. Yes, we may well get our
284 fieldwork done and get a report published and everything. But really is that what we
285 want? What if archaeology could do more?

286 If we wanted to do more we've got to get that procurement side fixed. We don't
287 work with people who don't align with those values and we're very lucky to be able
288 to do that. We have different kinds of revenue that comes into the organisation and
289 different projects. We wouldn't go and work with ACME house builders who just
290 want the cheapest cost because it doesn't fit with our values as an organisation. But
291 we would work with the Earth Trust environmental charity who wanted to see good
292 work happen and we're able to do that.

293 I have published something recently in TA, The Archaeologist journal for ClfA about
294 procurement, about this to some extent, and mentioning the Social Value Act and
295 social value model, which I think could be one of the great hopes for archaeology.
296 Essentially, it means that anyone that has public funding, and wants to contract
297 something, above 50 grand has to think about this first and foremost and has to
298 enable VCSEs, as they're called. Volunteer, Community and Social Enterprises as part
299 of that planning process. There's every opportunity for archaeology, if it's procured

300 right, to do all of this stuff and do it really well. We just have to be a bit more sharp
301 shouldered around procurement and really advocate at that stage. The moment it's
302 gone into procurement, it's too late. It's all over.

303 *Interviewer: I find that really interesting that your organisation, in a way, whereas engagement*
304 *and communication is often seen as the add-on that becomes the first thing to*
305 *disappear into a contingency, you've reframed that, so it's one of the main outputs*
306 *that you're really focused on. And that mandatory technical report is still produced*
307 *as part of that process but that's just one of the outputs. Whereas the*
308 *communication of that process and that information is really your priority.*

309 **Brendon:** Absolutely. And we've been able to synthesise this into an evaluation framework
310 which measures both. That says, "OK. Yeah, we've got this contribution to
311 knowledge, if you will, the intrinsic value of archaeology". However, there's all these
312 other instrumental outcomes which are, each should be equal in the stature. And
313 that's the outcomes for participation and people involved and then broader
314 outcomes for the communities where the work takes place. And because we have
315 this as a framework we can then start to both design around those outcomes, but
316 also measure against our effectiveness against those outcomes.

317 It becomes a formative and summative tool and it's our gamble at least because we
318 put an awful lot of energy into this. But at some point there's going to be an
319 educated buyer around this that will be able to tell the difference between good
320 marketing and good impact. When I see a lot of organisations use social media
321 they're using it as good marketing. But are they really using it to drive a change in
322 the world and are they showing, or do they have any understanding of who they're
323 making that change for?

324 *Interviewer: And thinking about social media within more conventional development-led*
325 *contexts. Some of the biggest barriers and challenges there would be client*
326 *confidentiality, budgetary constraints, time. For you and your organisation which has*
327 *it very differently, what do you think your biggest challenges and obstacles are with*
328 *using those social media platforms?*

329 **Brendon:** [Pause]. I mean confidentiality is just a blight on our work as archaeologists. And I
330 think it should be a question of ethics. Signing up to confidentiality around a project,
331 I think, it makes a mockery of the whole endeavour, that's what I believe. I just
332 thought I'd- [Laughs].

333 I guess that's a starting point to reframe the question. This isn't really [Pause]. We
334 have a business model that doesn't see it as a hindrance or as a barrier or as a layer
335 of pain. We have a business model that sees this as an opportunity to open out what
336 we do. And in the opening out of what we do, to potentially create something quite
337 interesting and different of our archaeology of the work that we do. And it's a
338 redesigning down the barriers around the team, so that you can bring in different
339 kinds of expertise or experience.

340 So, we would think nothing of publishing or putting out on socials something that we
341 didn't understand that had just popped out of the trench and then trying to harness
342 opinion from anyone who happened to be paying attention. And that wouldn't be a

343 problem for us. And that is one example of just, how if you really thought about it,
344 we can completely redesign everything that we do.

345 Now there are caveats [Laughs]. Archaeology is, it's a unique thing that's quite unlike
346 anything else. It has very specific ethical issues around what we do and we wouldn't,
347 we're very clear on what we do with human remains. We don't push human remains
348 out there and, if we do, we put trigger warnings around human remains. [Pause].

349 We work in areas that are sometimes subject to looting or threat of damage by
350 malicious parties. So that might be a case where we would anonymise or redact
351 georeferenced data around social updates or our reports or what have you. Or if it's
352 stuff that's subject still to Treasure Trove or potential metal detecting, looting, we
353 might not even put that out onto socials at all until after the fact. And that creates
354 some difficulties because of course we may have 25 people a day coming through
355 our sites who might also want to take a snap and put it out on social straightaway.

356 There's an onboarding process around our participants about what is acceptable and
357 what's not acceptable. We have a dignity on site policy around what people should
358 say to each other and it also extends into our socials as well. It's really about
359 managing and designing around those challenges, rather than seeing them as
360 difficulties. I mean I don't envy you guys who do have to do this day in, day out with
361 house builders or what have you. We just don't have that issue and we choose not.
362 Thankfully, luckily, we're in a position where we can.

363 *Interviewer:* *And you have these social media channels that are hugely successful with huge*
364 *audiences and lots of comments, lots of engagement. How do you find that and your*
365 *team find that, on a personal level? Because social media, by its very nature is*
366 *always on. It's very difficult to do that as nine to five job.*

367 *Do you find a difficulty in terms of being able to switch off for your wellbeing? That*
368 *anytime you turn your phone on your effectively going to be potentially seeing*
369 *content and thinking, "Oh, I better just, you know, check in".*

370 *Brendon:* Yeah. I mean it is difficult. There is a line. I mean we've all been at DigVentures for
371 10 years and we grew out of a social mindset. But in that time social media has
372 changed as well. Twitter started out as this lovely garden of loveliness and I don't
373 think you could say that anymore.

374 We get it in equal-. There's far more people say very, very nice and constructive and
375 collaborative things on social media to us than say mean, undermining and negative
376 things. However those voices are often much louder and sit with you longer. And
377 learning how to tune those out or being unrepentant about blocking people like that
378 or removing yourself from those conversations is a really key thing.

379 But dispersed across the team it becomes much easier. We have a rapid troll
380 response team [Laughs]. We back channel as well. I mean we have active WhatsApp
381 groups within the organisation so if something happens there's about four or five
382 people ready to spring into action rather than it just being on one person's shoulders
383 and then them having to take that home with them. We mitigate around that. But
384 really, learning how to listen to all of the good and block out that tiny proportion of
385 bad is, [Pause], it's been a journey. And its journey, for me, I have it every day.

386 I had something happen the other day. It was a Twitter exchange, it's probably live,
387 you can still see it. Where [An Archaeologist] mentioned [An Archaeologist Quote]
388 about participation [Identifiable Detail Removed]. And then just underneath that
389 [User Details Removed] said [Positive Discussion of Organisation's Work]. And then
390 just under there, and someone else wrote something like [Sarcastic Criticism of
391 DigVentures]. And it was just some asshole being an asshole who has about 15
392 followers and it doesn't matter.

393 But you read that and you're like, "Who is this person?", "Why? What do they
394 mean?". And that's a really clear exchange, demonstration of someone saying
395 something really positive but all you being able to hear, or me being able to hear,
396 was the really negative thing from someone who doesn't matter. So having this a lot
397 can really bend you out of shape. It's active, working at tuning that out daily
398 sometimes. [Laughs]. Which is a key thing.

399 *Interviewer:* *And, you're an organisation and someone who's very aware of the value of this and*
400 *the importance of this. But within this is there anything that you feel would really*
401 *help or support you more at any aspect of this? Whether that would be additional*
402 *training? Or resources? Or peer support? Anything like this?*

403 *Brendon:* I think peer support is the thing. I mean everything changes continuously. You have
404 to be ahead of everything and I get a lot of inspiration from outside of archaeology
405 to see how things are working across the cultural suite and creative sector or other
406 places. And I think, "How could I bring that into archaeology?", "What would I have
407 to do to change that and apply that into our own unique petri dish".

408 There's no training for something that hasn't even happened yet. And so that's the
409 challenge. But I find archaeology Twitter-, I'm on various different Twitters. Museum
410 Twitter, Left Twitter, Digital Economy Twitter and so on. Archaeology Twitter has its
411 own subcommunity and it isn't a particularly joyful place. [Laughs]. I don't think
412 we're very nice to each other. We're not very collegiate or supportive of each
413 other's successes. And stone cold silent often when things aren't going great.

414 And this became really clear to me as I started my PhD in Museum Studies which is
415 across the road from the archaeology department but across space and time really
416 culturally. Because they're, every time everyone does anything supportive [Pause].
417 Anytime anyone does anything even marginally good, everyone rallies around to
418 support them. They're really vocally supportive of their work. And, and I was
419 completely confused and baffled by this at first and I didn't know what to make of it.
420 [Laughs].

421 But it's different. Different disciplines and different departments and different things
422 have their own culture and I don't think the one in archaeology is particularly good.
423 And I can't work out why we're so mean to each other, but we are mean to each
424 other. And that's translated into social media and that doesn't fill me with joy.

425 And I'm honestly not on it very much. I was a very early adopter of Twitter. I was on
426 from the early days. I've got like 8000 followers. But I have not put a follower on for
427 the last five years, because I don't use it anymore. And the reason I'm not on there
428 very much is because the tenor of the conversations go really dark, really quickly.
429 And I think if anything could be, if I could wave a magic wand over it, it would be to

430 make archaeology Twitter a nicer place. Where it's all agreeing to be cool with each
431 other.

432 *Interviewer:* *And lastly, as someone in an organisation that works very much with both physical*
433 *and digital spaces, how do you feel the, the interactions and dialogues and*
434 *conversations people have on your social media channels, how do you think they*
435 *compare as a form of engagement to the physical equivalent of people having that*
436 *kind of interaction in a physical space? Do you think they're quite comparable? Or do*
437 *you think those physical interactions will always trump the more virtual forms of*
438 *interaction?*

439 *Brendon:* It's something we work really hard at, trying to ensure that there's almost a parity
440 experience between digital and physical. And we once had a [Participant] join us
441 from [Country], who came over and [Participated In Organisation]. And one of the
442 things that I remember [Them] saying is that [They Were] really, really surprised
443 when [They] got to site because there was the same level of enthusiasm and
444 openness with our team and everyone on site, as there was on the social channels
445 and [They] thought, "Oh, that's just the socials".

446 And it's really important to us that we bring the two things across, that it was almost
447 like a seamless experience between the two. Many of the people who support our
448 projects never ever come to site. Or many of our prospective people come to site
449 are always, are in our digital community first. So really keeping that same values and
450 ethics and openness has to match back and forth between the two. Yeah. It's
451 completely seamless as far as we're concerned.

452 *Interviewer:* *And lastly is there anything that you think I should have asked you? Or is there*
453 *anything that you really feel that you'd like to talk about particularly relating to your*
454 *social networking aspects of your organisation?*

455 *Brendon:* I mean I'm really interested in your research. And I think it's a solid angle to come at.
456 My experience comes from commercial sector archaeology. [Personal Details
457 Removed]. I always wanted to create a model of archaeology that created more
458 value. But at each step up the ladder, I thought, "Ah, I'll just get that job, then I can
459 change things". "I'll just get that job, then I can change things". And I went all the
460 way to the top and realised that I could-, I still couldn't change things. And because
461 the problem is structural rather than personal or operational it's baked into
462 marketized archaeology.

463 I think what your research has to address that fundamental question. Is that what
464 we want? Do we want to use all these, this myriad of new tools around us that are
465 completely revolutionising industries left, right and centre, do we want to use that
466 just to communicate to do outreach and education? For it to be us and them. Or do
467 we want to use these new ways of mediating between each other in a way to
468 rethink, fundamentally, what it is that, that we do. And so I will be interested in
469 terms of how your research speaks to that question.

470 The other thing we talk a lot in our world about, impact washing in the same way
471 that you can have green washing for environmental, for organisations trying to
472 clothe themselves in green credentials but actually not changing fundamentally
473 what they do. Well, I think you can have the same thing here. Social media, and all of

474 that, because it's almost like a fig leaf. If that's what we're saying deals with our
475 social impact and we're not fundamentally changing what it is that we do then we're
476 just impact washing [Dog Bark, Inaudible]. So, I'll be also interested to see how your
477 research speaks to that as well.

478 *Interviewer:* *Well, I'm just gonna stop the recording before I forget.*

1 **Interview Ten - Victoria**

2

3 Victoria works in a management-level communications role at a ClfA Registered archaeological
4 company.

5 *Interviewer: Can you tell me a little bit about your role at your organisation and how social media*
6 *plays into that?*

7 Victoria: I'm the [Management Level Communications Role] [Identifiable Detail Removed]
8 [Laughs]. I do all the social media, and I've always done the social media for this
9 company. I have started it from the bottom and built it up, which has been
10 wonderful to see and also a good challenge. I also handle the website output. I don't
11 physically make the website. There's a brilliant website officer who does that for us.
12 I also do all of our press and publicity, the magazines and newspapers, radio. All that
13 stuff.

14 *Interviewer: It sounds like your current role is quite formal. You said that you started working on*
15 *the social media in the past. Was it always a formal part of your role or did you start*
16 *out in another area and then move into this?*

17 Victoria: Yeah. I started as a [Specialist Role]. And I'd done the social media for the company I
18 worked at before. Again, I'd informally said, "You need this. Let's do it", and they
19 thankfully said, "Yes".

20 I'd already got those skills and I came to [Company Name] and said, "We need to do
21 this". Get the stories out there so they tagged it on the side. It has very much over
22 [Number] years built up into a formal role. And it's always been an add on up
23 through [Senior Specialist Role] and all that stuff.

24 Just recently, finally, they've realised the value. Some of the team have realised the
25 value of needing someone who's just dealing with all of that. Because I can't do all of
26 that and be a [Senior Specialist Role] and line manage [Specialists] and [Engagement
27 Staff] as well. It's just too much for one person to do. I think they were paying me
28 too much in overtime really was probably their main concern [Laughs].

29 *Interviewer: Looking back to the genesis of the role you're working in now. When you think back*
30 *how many hours would you have been working on each of the different stages to*
31 *what you're working on now with social media? Has that changed quite*
32 *considerably?*

33 Victoria: Ooh, it's difficult because of [Specialist Role]. Obviously, it expands and contracts
34 based on the workload of the field team. You have to have quite flexible hours. And
35 the same would be of the digital engagement stuff. If we've got a really good site
36 that you want to be involved with, you've just got to be more flexible about being
37 out there and doing it like we've just done with [Project Name].

38 I think I've now got more time to [Pause] innovate on stuff. We've got the
39 [Identifiable Digital Engagement Removed]. Big projects like that that involve a lot of
40 time getting the team behind you. They involve a lot of staff conversations. And I'll
41 be able to go out more onto sites which I would never have been able to do if I'd got
42 [Specialist Role] projects to complete. I think I'm just using my time differently.

43 *Interviewer:* *And is this something that you're the sole social media content creator and*
44 *distributor? Or are there other people who have access to those channels as well?*

45 *Victoria:* It is me. It's just me and it's always been just me. Apart from when I've been off sick
46 or whatever. Because there have been times, and we should talk about that.
47 [Identifiable Detail Removed].

48 It's always been me, but I do [Pause] let people live Tweet from sites sometimes, if
49 they've got something like an outreach project that's really good. Because Twitter
50 really lends itself to having multiple little posts throughout the day and that's
51 something bitesize that people feel comfortable doing. Taking a photo, putting a few
52 words with it. And some people can be really clever and engaging and quite funny.
53 It's perfect and not too overwhelming.

54 *Interviewer:* *Thinking about your role, you've mentioned previously a little bit about overtime. Is*
55 *this a role that involves a lot of out-of-hours monitoring and out-of-hours work? Can*
56 *you talk a little bit about that aspect?*

57 *Victoria:* [Laughs]. Yeah. It doesn't seem to be [Pause] as demanding at the moment. We've
58 just done the [Project Name]. You're there at the beginning of the day and you're
59 still finishing stuff at nine o'clock at night. But that's a pleasure and I don't have a
60 personal life, [Laughs], so it doesn't matter to me. I enjoy my job. But I guess if you
61 had lots of commitments you would find it really demanding to fit that in. [Pause].

62 In the past, it's been a lot of monitoring what people are saying and responding to
63 those comments. And we've had a lot of flak from other companies [Identifiable
64 Details Removed]. But it's all calmed down in recent years. [Pause].

65 If you enjoy the job as much as I enjoy it, I think you want to be on there checking
66 something at nine o'clock at night and seeing how well it did and going, "Oh, I can
67 answer that question for you, actually. Yeah, it's this" or, "You could go to this link
68 there". Or getting involved in a conversation with a museum on Twitter like you
69 actually want to do that. It doesn't feel like work and obviously it doesn't go on my
70 timesheet because I don't get overtime.

71 *Interviewer:* *You wouldn't say that there's necessarily an expectation from your organisation to*
72 *do that on a weekend or on an evening?*

73 *Victoria:* No, there's not an expectation. [Pause]. There's been a lot of pressure in the past
74 when I'm on holiday. But I think if I'm brutally honest, actually they'd say this
75 themselves, they don't really understand fully what I do. They're not going to tell me
76 I should be doing it differently. They'll talk to me about why something might have
77 happened and I'd help them understand that.

78 From the top down, no one's demanding that I do something a certain way. They're
79 not that kind of organisation. They'll have a chat about it. They're not very
80 hierarchical in that way. I don't find them to be. I'm quite outspoken, so maybe
81 that's why [Laughs].

82 *Interviewer:* *Thinking more broadly about your organisation. What do you think their main goal*
83 *for their social media channels is?*

84 Victoria: It's been what I've told them it's going to be. Because they've said they don't know
85 what it is. And I've said, "Well, what do you want from it?". And they said, "Well,
86 you're going to need to tell us, because we don't know how it works". Which has
87 been at times freeing but also a bit intimidating. Ultimately their goal is just to reach
88 more audiences and more diverse audiences to share the archaeology, to educate
89 people about archaeology, to engage people in archaeology. That is always, no
90 matter what conversation you have, their driving force.

91 We would like people to know more about archaeology. To learn. To teach. That is
92 their ultimate aim. [Identifiable Detail Removed] and that is what they use it for.
93 That's why none of it is marketing. It's not, "Oh, aren't we great, because we've been
94 here doing this". Very little of it is. Sometimes you want to show off the team. The
95 team want people to know what they're doing and that's fair. But the majority of the
96 content is about this nice thing we found and then gently putting some educational
97 content in there. So people are learning but it's fun.

98 *Interviewer: It sounds like you have quite a lot of autonomy in shaping the content that you're*
99 *presenting. It sounds very much that you're focusing on that engagement, outreach*
100 *component.*

101 Victoria: Definitely. I do have autonomy. I've always had autonomy. I'm very fortunate in that
102 I've got very trusting managers. [Pause]. One of them did say to me, "If you leave,
103 we don't have social media because you are it". Which isn't true. Someone would
104 pick it up and do a great job of it. But it is my personality. I understand what they're
105 saying. I do have complete autonomy. I still need to talk to project managers and
106 talk to clients. But it is very much about the engagement and outreach. One hundred
107 percent.

108 *Interviewer: What sort of platforms do you focus on? And do you distribute your time quite evenly*
109 *across those? Or do you have platforms that you maybe invest more time on and*
110 *prefer?*

111 Victoria: We use Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube. [Identifiable Detail
112 Removed]. We've also got Tik Tok but we don't use it. It's just saved there. Tik Tok's
113 a bit of a funny one. People sort of throw it out like, "Oh, we should have Tik Tok"
114 and you're like, "That's a great idea. What would you like it for? What do you want it
115 to do for you?" And no one could really answer the question. So, we haven't gone
116 there yet. [Identifiable Details Removed].

117 We focus on Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn, definitely. We've got
118 YouTube, partly because it's good for hosting videos that go on the website and
119 because we like to put [Content] on there. We should have more [Content] but
120 there's been a bit of an issue. [Identifiable Detail Removed]. It's just those four, the
121 YouTube on the side and the website.

122 *Interviewer: And of those four main social media channels, is there one that does particularly well*
123 *for you? That you've got a really big following on there? Or are all of them*
124 *performing quite well?*

125 Victoria: They're all performing quite well. LinkedIn gets a lot of engagement, which is a bit of
126 a shocker. Maybe it's a bit of light relief to see some archaeology. Yeah. Really

127 pleased with LinkedIn. Partly because the whole sector needs to recruit
128 archaeologists. If people are enjoying what we're putting out hopefully they want to
129 come work for us.

130 All of our following is organic. I know some organisations have paid to get followers
131 and they've got some huge Twitter following. And then they get really low
132 engagement because they aren't real followers. I'm quite proud that all of our
133 followers are real followers, within reason. But I think they're all doing quite well.
134 They're all operating above the industry standard high engagement level. They're all
135 operating above that. Which is great. People like the content. I think they're doing
136 pretty well.

137 *Interviewer:* *And when it comes to the content that you put out on those channels, do you create*
138 *bespoke content for each of those individual channels? Or do you create a single*
139 *piece and then that goes out on all four channels but is perhaps tailored a little bit?*

140 *Victoria:* I create one thing and share it across all four. Twitter has obviously got to be
141 different because of the characters that you can use. Sometimes I do stuff on
142 Instagram that's a bit different and can be a bit more fun. Sometimes, like Twitter
143 with the live Tweets, you'll get stuff on Twitter that you don't get anywhere else and
144 I have to make a composite post that goes out on the other [Channels] at the end of
145 the day or the week or whatever that project demands.

146 Largely I try to get something out every day. Don't look over the last week, it's been
147 terrible, I've been on holiday. [Laughs]. I try to get something out every day and so
148 that is something like twenty bits of content in a week. So, I just repeat it. But we've
149 got different audiences on each of the different platforms. Although some people
150 follow us everywhere a lot of the different platforms have different audiences, so I
151 hope they're not feeling too much repetition.

152 *Interviewer:* *With your audiences do you have a sense of who they are? And do you feel that they*
153 *are pretty consistent across the different platforms? Or do you feel that each*
154 *platform has a slightly different demographic or different audience character?*

155 *Victoria:* They've got different demographics. And you can definitely tell when something's
156 going to go down well on a different platform over another. And you can put slightly
157 different jokes on different ones. Maybe I do tailor them slightly. Definitely an older
158 audience on Facebook. A more professional audience on Twitter. You get a lot more
159 of the [Archaeological Professionals] and very informed amateurs on Twitter.

160 And Instagram is definitely a lot more chilled out. A bit younger. At the moment,
161 we've got this [Specific Bizarre Artefact, Identifiable Details Removed] and I know
162 that if I put that on Instagram everyone's going to have a good laugh at it. But if I put
163 it on Twitter about four people would engage. We've definitely got different
164 interests.

165 *Interviewer:* *Do you get the sense that a lot of these people have an existing interest in*
166 *archaeology? You mentioned professionals and amateurs on some of those*
167 *platforms. Do you feel that it's a bit wider than that? You're going outside of the*
168 *archaeology bubble a little bit?*

169 Victoria: [Pause]. It's difficult to be factual on that because the stats I have don't reveal that
170 kind of information. Although when I put out a promoted post to maybe share [An
171 Archaeological Event] I'm going to go for people who have an interest in
172 archaeology. So, I'm probably targeting those people. Well, I am. [Pause].

173 I think we've got a reasonable mix. But I think most people are going to have at least
174 an interest in archaeology, otherwise they wouldn't be following us. There are
175 definitely people where you occasionally go and look on a profile and you think, "Oh,
176 you're not in any way related to archaeology. So, it's cool that you're following us".
177 Family and friends of people who volunteered or work for us or who already follow
178 us, they then start following. So, there is definitely an audience of people who
179 weren't otherwise interested in archaeology.

180 I think the main group's going to be amateurs. Informed and uninformed amateurs,
181 interested in archaeology, but in no way connected to it professionally. And then we
182 do probably have a chunk of people who are professionals. And staff past and
183 current. We've also got a lot of re-enactors. [Pause]. They're quite vocal. [Pause].
184 Yeah. [Laughs].

185 *Interviewer: Do you get a sense that there's an internal benefit to the social media for the*
186 *organisation? In that people that work for you are actually using that to find out*
187 *about what's going on in the company? Do you find their names popping up in liking,*
188 *sharing and commenting?*

189 Victoria: Definitely. I've had emails, even just recently, people saying, "Well I'm on this site in
190 [Region] and it was really great to be watching all the updates from such-and-such a
191 site. I've loved it". And you think, "Oh, it's nice that you actually took the time to
192 even email me and say that". So, that's great.

193 Definitely people saying [Internally] that they loved seeing the stats of what we
194 achieved and what went out. Comments in meetings of people saying "Gor, did you
195 see that on the social media?". I always try to [Do] that more, because with the
196 increase in staff numbers and the way that it's difficult to contact the field team I
197 want people to see what we're all doing within the organisation. It's nice for them.
198 It's motivating for them. It also means they send in more content, which means I get
199 to share more stories. But to see that everyone's doing great work in your company
200 is motivating. It's nice to be part of that, isn't it?

201 *Interviewer: I'd love to find out more about your content creation process. It sounds like you're*
202 *home office-based quite a bit. But you mentioned you actually get out onto sites as*
203 *well. Can you talk a little bit about that process?*

204 Victoria: Yeah. [Pause]. It's quite an organic process [Laughs]. We're trying to make it more
205 structured, but it's an uphill struggle. What would be ideal is if every time there was
206 a project that looked like it was going to be productive, I could immediately get in
207 contact with clients and talk to them or meet. The project manager would
208 immediately notify me that this was going to happen, and I could have it on my
209 radar, I've got a schedule, like [Scheduling Software]. I've got that so that me and my
210 team can see what's going on. But that's not what happens. It's quite far down the
211 list of priorities for most people. [Pause].

212 At the moment I rely on networking internally, goodwill, people being excited about
213 something, people just sending me a picture and saying, "I found this nice
214 [Artefact]", and me being like, "Great! What else have you got? Maybe we can turn
215 it into a whole story" and then finding out its actually a really exciting site. And then
216 we get something out of that. And that then becomes talking to project managers
217 and hopefully clients if I'm allowed to. And deciding how much you want to make of
218 it. I mean, is it just one small thing that you found? And that's really interesting, we
219 can tell people about flint. Or is it that you've got a whole great site and we want to
220 do an article and, maybe several articles, and give people some more in-depth
221 information that they can go and research and look at. So, it's a little bit tailored.

222 *Interviewer:* *It sounds a little bit like there are various challenges associated with producing this*
223 *content. Can you talk a little bit more about perhaps some of the challenges or the*
224 *barriers that you encounter when you're doing this role?*

225 *Victoria:* Yeah, there are a lot of challenges and a lot of barriers. It's been a long struggle to
226 get where we are now and to do it well. I think it's going well. The stats suggest it's
227 going well.

228 There's a lot of reluctance and worry that if stuff goes out online, something terrible
229 is going to happen. There's going to be a PR crisis, or the client will be upset and
230 angry, and they won't want us to work for them again. Or we'll say something we
231 shouldn't have done, or there'll be a security crisis, or someone will go and find out
232 where the site is, even though we haven't even given a county, and they will go and
233 nighthawk. There's a lot of fear. And that takes a long time to build trust with people
234 and get them to understand that's not going to happen. It's going to be OK.

235 *Interviewer:* *And when you say fear is that internally? Is that with your managers, project*
236 *managers, senior managers? Is it from the client directly?*

237 *Victoria:* It's all of those. The more junior members of the team, particularly the field team,
238 they worry that they're going to get in trouble. That if they send something and they
239 shouldn't [Pause]. I have to keep educating on the mechanisms that you send me
240 stuff and then it's my responsibility if it goes out or not. That buck stops with me. If
241 it's wrong, it's my fault, not yours. They are a bit worried that if they let on that
242 there's something exciting then they'll somehow be in trouble, which they won't be.
243 That's appalling.

244 Then we've got managers who are great and are just like, "Yeah, great. Let's get it
245 out there. Hi [Victoria], this is the client. You have a chat. This is going to be great".
246 Then we've got the ones who just hate social media. You know? The old school, "We
247 don't want to share anything. What's the point? We made a monograph that no one
248 will read. So, that counts doesn't it?" You might read it, I suppose, if you're doing
249 research. Lucky you. We've got the, "This is already stressful enough. I'm negotiating
250 a budget and if I throw this in as well the clients are going to be annoyed" project
251 managers.

252 And we've got clients who just say, "No. This is already tricky enough. There's loads
253 of hassle at planning. I don't want to say we found any archaeology". Which isn't
254 necessarily the best way to handle it.

255 On the other side of that though we have got clients who are just overjoyed and
256 really want to do it, and quite often get it for free. So that's even better. They want
257 their name on it, they'll write an article. We've got some really nice PR people that I
258 work with who are excited to talk about it and share the stories and just go, "Yeah,
259 [Victoria] whatever. You do what you need to do. Just tag us in". I've got some really
260 good relationships with clients, with PR and a lot of the project managers. A lot of
261 the younger project managers are a lot better at this. I guess it is their generation.

262 *Interviewer:* *Drilling down into those client perspectives, would you say that there's been a shift*
263 *towards more positive clients or to more negative clients who don't want that? Can*
264 *you talk about the ratio of the perspectives that you encounter?*

265 *Victoria:* It'd be difficult for me to know, because as the role is developed I've had access to
266 more clients. So, I might be inclined to say, "Oh, yeah, they're getting more
267 positive". But it's just that I've been on the receiving end of more clients and that
268 they were always going to be positive, but project managers didn't want to go there.
269 [Number] years ago they didn't want to even have that conversation. [Pause].

270 We have a policy in our contract that it states that we have the right to anonymously
271 release content. It's taken a long time for me to get it in there, but it is in there. And
272 I am still having strongly worded conversations with people, I'm a [Management
273 Level Communications Role] they are my fellow managers, about the fact that we
274 don't legally have to have their permission because they signed the T's and C's. They
275 gave us their legal permission. Anonymously, not identifying their sites. You could
276 say that they are okay with it because they've signed it. [Pause].

277 The ones that I speak to are usually receptive to anonymous. Always like, "Yeah, fine
278 if you don't identify the site. No worries". Then you've got a slightly fewer people
279 who will say, "Yeah, that's cool. The county name is fine". Slightly fewer people who
280 say, "Yeah, you can name us and, and give the county name thing". And then slightly
281 fewer people will say, "Yeah, let's write an article together. That'd be great. Plaster
282 our name all over it. Here's our logo. That'd be awesome". So, it's bit of a scale, I
283 think. Which is fine.

284 *Interviewer:* *Do you think it is almost getting to speak to the right person at a client that's part of*
285 *that issue for you? It almost sounds like there's a bit of an internal barrier within your*
286 *own organisation that they're focused on talking about the minutia of how to get the*
287 *site done. It's a construction manager talking to an archaeological project manager*
288 *rather than you necessarily talking to a marketing person or someone who's the*
289 *relevant person with that client.*

290 *Victoria:* Yeah. I think it's essentially that. My manager [Identifiable Details Removed] [They
291 are] obviously very vocal in meetings that I need to be able to speak to clients and
292 get over the middleman who are focusing on getting their fieldwork done. They've
293 got priorities and they need to do those. They don't need to do what I'm doing. I can
294 go around them and go to PR and get my job done.

295 But there is definitely reluctance in [Their] equivalents in the different roles across
296 the company to let that happen. And fairly spurious explanations as to why that
297 can't happen. Like it will undermine the fieldwork project management. Which is
298 ridiculous, because they are not the only person who speaks to a client ever. Yeah,

299 there is a reluctance, and I'm finding it difficult to clearly understand what that
300 reluctance really is. What's driving that? Is it just a pernicious worry? But they
301 haven't got any basis for themselves? Or is there one specific reason? I can't find
302 that out yet, but I'm working it.

303 Something happened fairly recently where we didn't get a direct line of contact,
304 which meant that something did go wrong which I would've just taken back to
305 [Senior Management] and gone, "Right. This is, yet again, an example of why it is
306 that we need to be able to have a direct route of communication. And I am going to
307 have another meeting with them, and we are going to sit and talk about it". Because
308 it needs to change.

309 *Interviewer: Have you perhaps got an example of a positive site or a particularly positive working*
310 *relationship with a client that you could maybe discuss? And perhaps one that was*
311 *less positive where you had this difficulty with confidentiality?*

312 Victoria: I've got far more clients who are great to work with. We've got [Company Name],
313 they're brilliant. We've got [Company Name], they're brilliant. [Company Name],
314 they're brilliant. There's one in [Region], they're great. Anything we've done with
315 [Company Name], they're great. A lot of independent clients are usually quite good
316 fun.

317 *Interviewer: Do you find a correlation between the sector that the client works in and the*
318 *reluctance? So are maybe house builders or quarries more reluctant than local*
319 *authorities? Is there anything like that you could perhaps identify as maybe that*
320 *reticence being specific to certain fields?*

321 Victoria: I think it can be specific to the development itself. So, house builders, for example,
322 can be great about one site. So [Company Name] can be really good to work with.
323 But then, if they've got one that's contentious, then they shut down everything
324 which I understand to an extent. It's very much for them, I think, about the
325 individual development. Quarries are normally quite cool. [Identifiable Details
326 Removed].

327 *Interviewer: And in those situations where there's more reticence. It's never the case that then*
328 *you could potentially use the archaeology as a good PR opportunity for an unpopular*
329 *development? Is that something that is just completely shut down, because they just*
330 *don't want to take the risk? Or is that something that maybe people actually see the*
331 *benefit of using the archaeology as an olive branch to locals?*

332 Victoria: It's mixed. It does depend on whether or not I actually get to speak to somebody.
333 Because it can be used in that way. Which sounds sort of manipulative, doesn't it? It
334 benefits them but it also benefits us. Because ultimately, we do want people to see
335 the archaeology. So, we do have to work with them on what their targets are to get
336 that out.

337 Companies like [Company Name] obviously, organisations like [Company Name] are
338 interesting. [Identifiable Details Removed]. [Company's PR Staff] are one hundred
339 percent just using the archaeology to make it look like they're doing good stuff. So,
340 although they've got loads of security checking and layers and layers of hoops you
341 have to jump through, they do ultimately want to get it out. They are using it as

342 positive PR. It very much depends on the organisation, perhaps how they're set up
343 internally, whether or not they're facing lots of backlash, and if they want to utilise
344 it.

345 Interviewer: *In terms of creating social media content that you're working with, is there a quite*
346 *high degree of oversight in the cases where you can discuss things? Are people*
347 *reading every single social media post that you're going to put out before you do it?*
348 *Or are there parameters that you agree that you will work within? Like anonymity?*
349 *Or do you have carte blanche? If a developer says, "Yeah, social media is fine, go for*
350 *it".*

351 Victoria: It depends. So day-to-day I just create content and it goes out. And I'm given the
352 autonomy to do that. [Pause]. When we've got a client directly involved, some of
353 them if you've got a good working relationship like [Location] at the moment with
354 [Individual, Organisation]. I want to work with [Them] we want to talk about the
355 web article content or whatever. But [They] don't want to read every single post.
356 Very few people want to do that. They'll want to read a web article and then I
357 generally say the social media post will be based on the content of the web article.

358 There's nothing different that's going into the social media post. And that's because
359 quite often I write the social media post about eleven o'clock at night, and I don't
360 want to be sending that to someone. I want to just make it happen and schedule it,
361 and then it's done. I'm not going to say anything that's going to shock anyone. Why,
362 would I do that? That would just be professional suicide. And I don't want to upset
363 anybody. We just want to get stuff out.

364 It's very, very rare that people want to read the actual social media posts. Very rare.
365 I'd say once a year. But web articles, big content, then they want to read that. Which
366 is fair because a lot more can go wrong with an article.

367 Interviewer: *You have scenarios where clients, it's budgeted in, it's part of your conditions or*
368 *contract that you're going to be doing this work. That work is funded. What about*
369 *other sites where there might not specifically be funding directly in the budget for*
370 *that project? Is your role slightly resourced by a general thing? You're not like, "Oh,*
371 *there's this amazing thing. But I don't have the time or the resources to actually be*
372 *able to talk about this on social media"?*

373 Victoria: The majority of my role is unfunded. The majority of what I do [Identifiable Details
374 Removed - When Taking on The Role I Ensured There Was Adequate General
375 Provision In Place] I'm not in control of whether or not project managers put
376 outreach in their budget when they negotiate with the client. So, if I'm not there to
377 say how much time I need on something, I can't be held accountable if I don't hit
378 that target. I said it's either I'm free for all [Projects], or it's nothing. I'm not doing it.
379 They need to get better.

380 What we're doing at the moment is looking at my timesheets and seeing who was
381 able to put outreach, which project managers put outreach into their tender or into
382 their negotiation. It's helping inform senior management how badly we need to get
383 better at putting outreach into our tenders and into our negotiations, because we're
384 really bad at it. So I'm using it as a mechanism, I'm afraid to highlight what needs to
385 change.

386 Interviewer: *Thinking about your colleagues and the internal perspectives within your*
387 *organisation of your role, do you find differences in how younger staff members*
388 *versus older staff members perceive your role? Or with different levels, so field*
389 *archaeologists versus management versus senior management versus specialists? I*
390 *was wondering if you could talk about that and the different attitudes that you've*
391 *encountered doing digital engagement?*

392 Victoria: There's lots of different people. I think field archaeologists generally are really
393 positive about getting stuff out there and almost get a bit narky when they don't
394 have something nice to represent their [Projects], and they feel [Another Project] is
395 getting more stuff put out than they are. [Laughs]. Which is good, a little bit of
396 internal competition. They're very positive. They're great.

397 Project leaders tend to be great and I've got some cracking project leaders who like
398 to take photos or photogrammetry or whatever. And that's not just the field team,
399 that's [Specialist Department] or [Specialist Department].

400 Management is mixed. They're exceptionally busy. [Pause]. Obviously, I can't say
401 that they're really great at it if they're not putting it in their tenders and the
402 negotiations. But they're usually willing to let it happen. Some of the old boys are
403 great. We've got a couple of onsite old boys who love it and want to share stuff.
404 Some of them are terrible.

405 The specialists get stressed because they think it needs to be like a report and it's
406 going to take all their time. And they've had to learn that actually no one's going to
407 read that. They [Audiences] just want to know how was it used, why might the
408 person have done this two thousand years ago? What is it? That's probably all they
409 can handle. And we can write an article if it's really interesting.

410 Once they've got their head round that, they're like, "Oh, great. OK, that's nice" and
411 the main challenge is getting people to look at the human story because we're so
412 used as professionals to writing these reports in a specific, quite dry way. But no one
413 actually is interested that it was found thirty centimetres down in the second fill. I'm
414 not. If I start to get bored, it's not going out there. It's getting people to look at the
415 human aspects of the story that we can then tell. That's the important bit.

416 Interviewer: *Does it almost feel like a little bit of your role is winning the hearts and minds of the*
417 *people you work with to invest in doing this?*

418 Victoria: Yeah, I've spent years doing that. [Laughs]. And having strong conversations with
419 senior management.

420 Interviewer: *And do you think that this is just a people who are unfamiliar with this? It's not part*
421 *of the typical status quo of how development-led archaeology works. Because that's*
422 *the case it's people that like to carry on in the way that it's always been done. Do you*
423 *think that's one of the reasons for these attitudes? Or do you have any ideas about*
424 *why that might be?*

425 Victoria: I think for some people it's extra work. Or it's perceived to be extra work. It's an
426 extra negotiation they don't feel comfortable with or they don't understand. They
427 don't really know how to have it. Or they don't want to upset a client. Or they've got

428 a difficult person they're dealing with and it's just one extra stress that they don't
429 want to put in. I think some people don't understand it and don't see the benefit.

430 I do a lot of things like we have a [Internal Communications]. So, I [Discuss] what
431 we've achieved and how many people that we reached. When we did the [Project]
432 for two weeks we reached maybe half a million people. Suddenly people were like,
433 "Oh my God. We've reached half a million people?". "Yeah, we reached them. Did
434 you not read the stats? Oh, no? Great".

435 I do share that information and that is working. I am struggling to find out ultimately
436 what the real deal is. It is unfunded at the end of the day, mostly, isn't it? Well, it
437 doesn't make money, and it is a hard sell.

438 There's a bit of lying to ourselves in commercial archaeology, pretending that it's
439 being done benevolently for the betterment of heritage. But they're businesses,
440 whether or not they're charitable organisations. They are businesses. [Pause]. I'm
441 not making anyone any money. Certainly not now I'm [In Engagement Role]. That's
442 quite a hard sell. [Pause]. Everyone's got targets. [Pause]. There is still that fear, that
443 worry that something will go out that will upset someone. We don't work for the
444 UN. No one's going to die.

445 *Interviewer: Do you think it's not something that people perceive as being part of their role as an*
446 *archaeologist, really?*

447 Victoria: I don't find that in my company but I certainly worked [Identifiable Details
448 Removed]. When we did [Work on Past Collaborative Project] we were meant to be
449 doing social media and videos and it was all horrendously complicated and they
450 were really demanding [Detail Removed] to work with. So [Identifiable Details
451 Removed] we've not done any at all.

452 [Discussion of Non-Company Individual Archaeologist Encountered in the Past]
453 [Individual Was] literally vocal about the fact that [They] don't see what the point is
454 in sharing this with the public. This should be highbrow, and only shared with other
455 academics. And I'm just gobsmacked. I don't find that in my organisation, but I've
456 certainly encountered that.

457 *Interviewer: You mentioned before that you pay quite a bit of attention to your social media*
458 *metrics. Is that something quite informal that informs the content that you create?*
459 *Or is it more formalised in that you're producing reports for internally or for clients?*

460 Victoria: I use it to help work out what's gone well. But you usually know what's going to go
461 down well before you put it out, ideally. I have monthly reviews and I make reports,
462 [Internal Company] end of year reports. I do all the formal reporting and always
463 have done. And I've got strategic targets as well.

464 *Interviewer: And does any of that reporting go back the client. For example, where it's been*
465 *budgeted in do you produce something as part of that feedback to them?*

466 Victoria: We use it for tenders, "If you would like a project like this, you'll see that you'll reach
467 this number of people and get this sort of positive response". So, they can see what
468 they might want to buy into. I've not yet used it at the end, "Oh, by the way, you've

469 reached this many people". That's a really cool idea, actually. That's a really nice
470 thought. I will be doing that going forward. [Laughs]. Thanks.

471 *Interviewer:* *A big part of social media is responsiveness, and those dialogues. You've already*
472 *mentioned that you spend quite a bit of time commenting and responding to users.*
473 *Can you talk a little bit more about that process? And is it generally quite positive?*
474 *Do you have strategies or policies towards dealing with some negativity that you*
475 *get?*

476 *Victoria:* It's on the whole, positive. Or people are asking, they seem a bit narky. But you think
477 it's just the Internet, so maybe you've just not come across very well. The ultimate
478 strategy is to be polite and engaged. Sometimes I'm a little bit cheeky. Sometimes
479 people need that and that is our online personality to be fair.

480 The re-enactors can be a little bit tricky. Sometimes they're right. Sometimes I've
481 worded something a bit clumsily, and I think, "Yeah, I can see why you've taken that
482 opinion on board. Let me explain myself better. I've not worded that quite well".
483 And that's fair enough. I find that if you do respond and say, "Well, actually, it's this".
484 Quite often, people don't often bother to respond because some people do just
485 want an argument. My policy is engage and have a conversation about it. Don't
486 leave it. Don't ignore it, and don't just get rid of them.

487 Recently I did have someone [Identifiable Details Removed] who was being a bit of
488 an arse and I'm afraid I blocked him as he was being rude [Identifiable Details
489 Removed]. And I don't ever really block anyone, because I don't think that's not
490 educational in itself, is it? We're trying to create a community and blocking people
491 doesn't create community. We should be confident in what we've put out. I should
492 be confident with what I've put out, and therefore be able to have a conversation
493 about it. And if I can't, I'm doing something wrong. But there are some people who
494 are just there to be negative. For the first time in about [Number] years, I had to
495 block someone.

496 *Interviewer:* *And thinking about the support that you have. If any negativity did arise or*
497 *something controversial happened is there a mechanism in place, because you as the*
498 *only person doing this you're quite vulnerable? Do you have anything that's in place*
499 *there that could provide you with back up, whether that's your management or are*
500 *there any formal documents in place that give you a layer of help should you need it?*

501 *Victoria:* [Pause]. I'm not sort of talking about crisis PR or anything like that. I'm just talking
502 about day-to-day interactions. Everyone knows me very well and knows that I try to
503 operate with integrity. If something's gone wrong, it's not intentional. I will call the
504 specialist teams and see if they've got a response that's useful and constructive and
505 helpful and educational. That's usually my first port of call to make sure that we've
506 got it right. Sometimes we don't.

507 We put out something about [Identifiable Details Removed]. Someone had got that
508 wrong through three layers of QA of an article and we had to say, "We're really sorry
509 we fucked that up. We're really sorry, we're wrong". And that's OK. And handling
510 that stuff in that way is OK. It's OK to say openly and publicly, "We're really sorry,
511 you're right. We've got that wrong there". I tend to go to my manager and say, "Oh,
512 my God! There was a negative experience. I just want to explain it" and [They] go,

513 "Yeah, OK. Yeah, I saw that. And I saw your reply and I know that it's fine". Or [They]
514 say, "That person looks like they're being a complete knob. Do you want to block
515 him?". [Laughs]. They're less stressed about it than I am because I like to get it right.

516 There isn't any formal paperwork to relate to day-to-day interactions on the
517 Internet. It's more based on the fact that we all know each other.

518 *Interviewer:* *Social media's your day in, day out. Have you found that's affected your own*
519 *personal use of social media? Do you use it less in your own personal life because it's*
520 *what you're doing day-to-day? Do you have any thoughts on that?*

521 *Victoria:* I don't have a Twitter account because that is a hellhole. I don't want to be
522 anywhere near it. [Laughs]. I had to persistently, you know the trends down the
523 side? I would constantly say I'm not interested in Johnny Depp and Amber Heard. I
524 don't want to know about it. And it still pops up. I don't care. I don't want to be on
525 Twitter in my personal time.

526 I get accused of not getting back to people quickly enough over stuff because I'm
527 like, "I don't want to communicate". [Laughs]. I've communicated all day. I'm doing it
528 now. [Identifiable Detail Removed]. I tend to spend a lot of time outside [Laughs]. I
529 think it's a really bad habit you can get into it, isn't it? Being on social media. So, I
530 tend to try and do it for work only.

531 *Interviewer:* *You don't find yourself sitting at eight o'clock in the evening thinking, "Ooh, I'll just,*
532 *better just check-in on the work social media page to see if anyone's messaged us or*
533 *left any comments"? It's not something that creeps into your-*

534 *Victoria:* -I used to have a really bad habit of it. I used to be appallingly bad and be on it all
535 the time. It's a very perceptive question. I've just had a holiday. I never go on holiday
536 either. It's probably the first time that I've gone on a holiday and not taken my work
537 phone with me. I did still check every morning to make sure the scheduled content
538 had gone out, but I didn't look at any of the comments. I was very good. [Laughs]. So
539 yeah, it's terrible. [Pause]. Because I like it, it doesn't feel like work. I do want to
540 check it all the time.

541 *Interviewer:* *Did that lead to a little bit of a situation, if you hadn't checked it for ten days, or*
542 *whatever, when you came back, were you suddenly a bit like, "Ooh, I'm gonna have*
543 *however many dozens of notifications flashing at you when you logged in". There*
544 *wasn't any apprehension about that?*

545 *Victoria:* I did make sure that Monday was a right off, because I knew I'd have 130 emails in
546 my inbox and all the notifications and comments to go through and stuff like that.
547 But that's my job. So, that's OK.

548 *Interviewer:* *In terms of the pandemic, have you noticed any impact on your social media content,*
549 *either in terms of its creation or in its reception? Now things are returning to a more*
550 *normal state I was wondering if you had any observations on how that's had an*
551 *impact on your role?*

552 *Victoria:* Do you mean content during the pandemic?

553 *Interviewer:* *Yeah. Did your role suddenly get a lot more attention because of the nature of*
554 *engagement going from physical to digital? Did you suddenly find your audiences*
555 *were going through the roof because people were at home and a captive audience?*

556 *Victoria:* *Yeah. [Identifiable Details Removed]. It was really stressful because I didn't have*
557 *much content. A lot of people got furloughed, especially in the [Specialist] team. But*
558 *I was kept on, partly because I was still doing the social media and they said it's*
559 *important this keeps going, so you're not allowed to. Being furloughed would have*
560 *been great, but I wasn't allowed.*

561 *And then I suddenly discovered that I was putting this stuff out and every day I'd be*
562 *getting messages saying, "I really look forward to your post every day", "Every day I*
563 *want to see what [Content Is Posted]", "Oh, you've really kept me going", "I'm*
564 *reading this with my coffee and in my pyjamas and thanks so much, it gets me out of*
565 *bed every day". And I was like "Oh. My. God. I have got all the pressure of these*
566 *hundreds and thousands of people waiting for [Content] every day". [Laughs].*

567 *There was a lot of pressure. It was a lot of stress realising that all these people were*
568 *stuck in their homes and they were looking to the Internet to get them through each*
569 *day. And I was one of the things that was getting them through the day. And I was*
570 *going through the archive, thinking, "What archaeology have we got? Who's still*
571 *working that I can ask questions of to get information to put something out"?*

572 *When do you wind that down? Because the pandemic didn't really end it. It hasn't*
573 *ended as such. It's quite strange. There was no cut off of "Right. That's it. We're all*
574 *free again now". I mean there kind of was, but there kind of wasn't. So, I was like,*
575 *"Do we want to-?" It was complicated and a lot of stress and pressure that I didn't*
576 *expect to be supporting people's mental health through stuff in the ground.*

577 *Interviewer:* *Do you think that shift to digital made people realise the potential of social media a*
578 *little bit more? I'm guessing as an organisation you do physical engagement. Did the*
579 *relationship with that change? Or did it bring it close together? Do you have any*
580 *thoughts on that relationship between the more traditional physical outreach that*
581 *archaeologists tend to do and these newer, digital channels?*

582 *Victoria:* *Possibly. On the basis of the stats and me constantly sharing what we are achieving,*
583 *the company already had a good idea of what it was managing to do. I mean we had*
584 *me and [Identifiable Details Removed]. I don't feel that they haven't invested in me*
585 *and in the social media. [Pause].*

586 *It's a good vote of confidence that they kept me out of furlough. So that was*
587 *obviously already in [Senior Management's] thinking. [Senior Figures in the*
588 *Organisation] obviously watched the social media, and they certainly sent their*
589 *feedback that they were pleased that it was still going out and that it was*
590 *brightening peoples' day. So possibly on that level. [Pause].*

591 *You asked me earlier about audiences, and I think something that I did notice was*
592 *there was a massive drop in interactions whenever people started being able to go*
593 *out, properly "out-out", again. And whilst I was like, "That's a bit difficult for me", I*
594 *was very pleased because I was like, "Yeah, I think we're all a bit sick of staring at*
595 *screens, and we just need to get outside again".*

596 And I've also noticed this year in holidays that first weekend of and week of the
597 school holidays, it was like you just hit a brick wall, and no one was looking at
598 anything. Something that would have got two hundred interactions, a video that
599 would have got two hundred likes got about five. You're like, "Woah!" I know you
600 want to be with your families, but could you just pop a like for a second before I get
601 fired [Laughs].

602 It was really nice to see that people were just leaving that behind and going outside.
603 I think people have taken their personal time and their holidays really seriously post-
604 pandemic and I have seen an impact. Yeah.

605 *Interviewer: In terms of video versus images. Video is a more time-intensive process to produce, in*
606 *the literature it produces a lot more engagement. Is that something that you find?*
607 *Do you have a preference for doing video or perhaps for doing images? What works*
608 *with the time you have? Can you talk a little bit more about that sort of media basis*
609 *for your social media content?*

610 *Victoria:* Yeah. I'm going to throw a spanner in the works. I don't find it takes too long to
611 make video. In fact, the stuff I did for [Project] is literally just done with a GoPro on
612 InShot, have you ever seen InShot? Just on a phone and I mean it probably didn't
613 look like they take that long, but they don't take that long. But they're not meant to.
614 They're meant to look like you did them on site, right? [Pause]. I probably need lots
615 more video stuff. But they don't get as much engagement as the images.

616 *Interviewer: That's really interesting.*

617 *Victoria:* I know. I keep reading everywhere, "Video is massive", "Everyone's into video", "Get
618 more video content". And I'm like, "I would do but I'm not actually getting that much
619 engagement from it". [Laughs]. On Instagram people really like it. Facebook
620 probably could take it or leave it. Twitter's alright. LinkedIn's fine. Probably
621 Instagram's the one. I don't find I get masses of engagement from video. It might be
622 my videos are shit. That could be why. Maybe they don't like the content. But I'm
623 not finding it. If we put [Longer Form Video Content] out on YouTube, they do great.

624 *Interviewer: You mentioned about issues around sick leave or when you're perhaps absent from*
625 *work that you wanted to talk about a little bit more.*

626 *Victoria:* Yeah. [Referring to Presentation Author Gave on Research] you said that you did this
627 three-month study and that the archaeology companies don't reply to many of their
628 comments. And I was like, "Oh my God! That is such a lie!" [Laughs]. "I need to talk
629 to this man". Because I respond to, or interact with, every comment. Even if it's just
630 to like it, or to give them an emoji or whatever. I respond to everything. I take it
631 really seriously. And then I looked at the timeframe. [Identifiable Details Removed
632 but Research Timeframe Coincided with Period of Interviewee's Sick Leave]. So, my
633 core colleagues had to try and pick up my job, basically out of nowhere. [Identifiable
634 Discussion of Sick Leave Removed].

635 *Interviewer: That must put a lot of pressure on you in your role, that effectively you are this entire*
636 *role. It's quite interesting that the staff had to pick up that role and that makes me*
637 *think a little bit more across the organisation, do you think that that would be*
638 *something that would benefit your organisation, having other people within there*

639 *that had a little bit of training or a little bit of experience, that could take some of*
640 *that pressure off you?*

641 Victoria: It depends who you are. Doesn't it? I'd like to have more input from, say specialists.
642 I've got a couple of [Colleagues] at the moment, they've just started doing this. It's
643 really nice to see. I've got this, "I thought maybe we could do it like that", or "I've
644 seen this and I wondered if we could do one". "Ah, yeah, we can. That's great. Let's
645 do that together". More of the organised people in my teams, the company's teams
646 coming to me and saying, "Oh, I saw so-and-so did a video on osteology. And I want
647 to do one great". Great. I'd love that.

648 I've got five days a week to do social media, website, press and publicity. That's a lot
649 of time. It's a lot of time to do that job. I don't feel that I need backup on it in that
650 way for resource reasons. But I'm really pleased to see members of the company
651 buying into it, wanting to share their stuff that they've seen in their day-to-day job,
652 in the way that they would like to have it put out on social media.

653 *Interviewer: Thinking about the press or traditional media aspects of your role. Do you think that*
654 *there's considerable differences in how traditional press coverage of some of your*
655 *material is versus social media updates?*

656 Victoria: In what way?

657 *Interviewer: Do you think there's different values ascribed to that? For example, if you were doing*
658 *a site that was covered in a national newspaper. Do you think that would be better*
659 *received by the people within your company than a post on social media that would*
660 *potentially be seen by the same number of people and you would have that*
661 *conversation, likes and comments from that?*

662 Victoria: Yeah, I think that's a fair question. When I put the data together for the press
663 interactions, whether or not it's national BBC is more important than if it went out
664 on [Regional Media Source], and I suspect they want to know if it's national BBC
665 because that's really exciting.

666 Whereas as you say, a social media post might have reached the same number of
667 interested parties but that's just another social media post. I think there's a feeling
668 like social media is, not trash, but disposable. It's here and then it's gone. Whereas if
669 it was on the BBC website, that's the BBC. It went in The Telegraph, "Oh, yeah, so-
670 and-so the [Senior Member of Organisation] saw that on Sunday morning when they
671 were having their breakfast", that's really impressive.

672 *Interviewer: But in turn, does that give you more social media content by linking through to those*
673 *media stories online as well?*

674 Victoria: I don't tend to do that, no. I did try it for a while, but people were like, "Yeah, we've
675 already seen it, because we saw it when you put it out. Why would we want to go
676 and read the BBC article?" and I'm like, "Yeah. Fair play. Why would you? I wouldn't"
677 And then it just us saying, "Oh, aren't we clever. We got on the BBC website. Aren't
678 we great?" It's a bit, egotistical.

679 What I think is interesting is putting prominence on, "Did that go into a national
680 newspaper?", "Was it on the Radio 4 news?". That being more important than, "Did

681 it go out in [Regional News Source]?" . When the people who read it on [Regional
682 News Source] might actually be a lot more engaged and interested and excited
683 about it than the people who listen to it on Radio 4? Just because it's a bigger
684 broadcast doesn't mean it reached more interested people. And that's the problem
685 with engagement. Reach and engagement are different things. Very much so.

686 *Interviewer:* *Is there anything else that you think I should have asked you? Or that you would*
687 *really like to discuss relating to social media and archaeology or your particular role?*

688 Victoria: I think we're in a really odd place. Because there's a few of us, doing it with no
689 direction. We're just trying it and seeing if it works, and what works and what
690 people want to see. And doggedly saying, "This needs to be done" and then,
691 sometimes, having a massive crisis of confidence and thinking, "Does it? Does it
692 need to be done? Is this the right thing? Should this be my career?" [Pause]. It's a bit
693 of an odd thing.

694 *Interviewer:* *Have you ever had any formal training? Where your organisation has said, "Right,*
695 *here's some marketing, social media training course that you can go on". Or*
696 *anything like that? Or is it that over the time that you've been doing this role you've*
697 *been learning through experience, through trial and error, through what you've seen*
698 *elsewhere?*

699 Victoria: I've been learning through experience and trial and error. And seeing what other
700 people have done in different sectors and thinking, "Oh, that's nice I'd like to do
701 that".

702 *Interviewer:* *I think we're at the end. Unless there's anything else you specifically wanted to*
703 *discuss?*

704 Victoria: There's one more thing I would like to say, which is that I've spoken to others in
705 other organisations about the stuff they're doing on social media and publicity and
706 stuff in general and the struggles that they've faced, and how they're doing it. But
707 what they've said to me is they've got similar problems. They're similarly putting
708 stuff out there and going, "Is this, is this working? Is this useful?"

709 But they were also facing the same internal issues of getting people to give them
710 content, to allow content, to let them talk to clients. And that's including things like
711 senior managers at [Organisation Details Removed]. [Identifiable Details Removed].
712 And chatting to [Other Archaeologists in Communication Roles] and they've all got
713 the same issues. And it's odd that we can't crack it. We run archaeology. We don't
714 work for Coca-Cola. We each own our own organisations and yet we don't seem to
715 be able to crack this. Getting the content out there and I'm not quite sure why.

716 *Interviewer:* *I'll stop the recording.*

Appendix E: Tables

Cifa ROs	Number of Posts	Avg. Post per Month	% Posts Relating to Company	% Posts Containing Image	% Posts Containing Video	% Posts Containing Ext. Links	% Links to own website/SNS	% Posts Facebook Shares	% Posts Facebook Shares Other Companies	% Shares with Comment	% Posts Events	% Non-Company Events
Company 1	156	26	100	78.8	7.1	55.8	74.7	17.9	75	25	5.8	11.1
Company 2	151	25.2	98.7	92.1	1.3	30.5	52.2	2.7	25	100	1.3	0
Company 3	135	22.5	99.3	86.7	1.5	42.2	56.1	16.3	54.5	72.7	3	25
Company 4	119	19.8	97.5	94.1	3.4	31.1	54.1	31.9	36.8	97.4	12.6	0
Company 5	117	19.5	88.9	92.3	4.3	45.3	90.6	3.4	100	100	3.4	0
Company 6	109	18.2	100	98.2	1.8	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 7	104	17.3	97.1	83.7	9.6	23.1	33.3	12.5	84.6	76.9	4.8	0
Company 8	98	16.3	100	97.7	1	75.5	83.8	8.2	62.5	0	8.2	25
Company 9	89	14.8	98.9	91	0	38.2	85.3	5.6	80	80	0	0
Company 10	82	13.7	96.3	74.4	0	29.3	41.7	8.5	42.9	71.4	15.6	7.7
Company 11	70	11.7	95.7	90	8.6	35.7	60	28.6	65	40	5.7	25
Company 12	67	11.2	98.5	86.6	4.5	40.3	77.8	34.3	100	60.9	0	0
Company 13	67	11.2	98.5	95.5	0	16.4	54.5	40.3	100	40.7	17.9	33.3
Company 14	52	8.7	98.1	100	0	25	76.9	11.5	50	100	5.8	66.7
Company 15	44	7.3	100	88.6	2.3	38.6	76.5	4.6	100	100	0	0
Company 16	44	7.3	79.6	86.4	0	75	18.2	15.9	100	57.1	4.6	100
Company 17	42	7	97.6	95.2	2.4	33.3	71.4	14.3	33.3	83.3	19.1	0
Company 18	40	6.7	65	57.5	0	80	0	7.5	100	33.3	0	0
Company 19	38	6.3	97.4	86.8	13.2	81.6	87.1	2.6	100	100	0	0
Company 20	36	6	100	83.3	5.6	25	44.4	33.3	100	66.7	0	0
Company 21	35	5.8	100	88.6	0	71.4	96	0	0	0	0	0
Company 22	35	5.8	100	88.6	5.7	65.7	78.3	4.4	100	100	4.4	0
Company 23	29	4.8	93.1	96.6	3.5	20.7	33.3	3.5	100	0	0	0
Company 24	27	4.5	88.9	63	18.5	70.4	47.4	31.6	100	50	0	0
Company 25	26	4.3	96.2	100	0	23.1	0	7.7	100	100	0	0
Company 26	22	3.7	100	77.3	0	50	27.3	0	0	0	0	0
Company 27	20	3.3	100	80	5	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 28	20	3.3	100	90	5	50	50	0	0	0	10	0
Company 29	17	2.8	70.6	94.1	0	29.4	0	52.9	100	100	17.7	0
Company 30	15	2.5	60	80	6.7	60	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 31	15	2.5	13.3	86.7	0	93.3	7.1	0	0	0	0	0
Company 32	12	2	100	100	0	0	0	8.3	0	0	0	0
Company 33	10	1.7	90	100	0	10	0	20	100	50	0	0

Appendix Table 1: Cifa RO Selected Facebook Data

Cifa ROs	Total Likes/ Reactions	Avg. Likes/ Reactions per Post	% Posts with Likes/ Reactions	Total Shares	Avg. Shares per Post	% Posts with Shares	Total Vis. Comments (excl. Page replies)	Avg. Vis. Comments	% Posts with Comments	Total Page Replies/ Comments	% User Comments with Page Replies
Company 1	7346	47.1	100	1022	6.6	85.2	193	1.2	41	12	6.2
Company 2	14655	97.1	100	1534	10.2	90.1	569	4.5	80.1	118	20.7
Company 3	5013	37.1	100	882	6.5	77	160	1.2	43.7	14	8.8
Company 4	388	3.3	84.9	33	0.3	21	28	0.3	10.9	10	35.7
Company 5	30832	263.5	100	3084	26.4	94.9	1757	15	90.6	425	24.2
Company 6	2958	27.1	100	109	1	38.5	86	1.2	25.7	7	8.1
Company 7	1389	13.4	99	352	3.4	77.9	92	0.9	38.5	8	8.7
Company 8	4628	47.2	99	901	9.2	80.6	134	1.4	32.7	3	2.2
Company 9	877	9.9	95.5	126	1.4	48.3	79	0.9	33.7	22	27.8
Company 10	1172	14.3	100	465	5.7	83.8	58	0.7	28.1	2	3.5
Company 11	1220	17.4	100	375	5.4	64.3	87	1.2	35.7	20	23
Company 12	1170	17.5	98.5	112	1.7	44.8	46	0.7	35.8	0	0
Company 13	2403	35.9	100	315	4.7	64.2	66	1	38.8	2	3
Company 14	996	19.2	100	195	3.8	84.6	35	0.9	34.6	12	34.3
Company 15	1449	32.9	100	134	3	65.9	62	1.6	61.4	10	16.1
Company 16	953	21.7	100	234	5.3	59.1	31	0.8	27.3	2	6.5
Company 17	514	12.2	100	112	2.7	69	20	0.2	16.7	4	5
Company 18	414	10.4	100	185	4.6	97.5	45	1.2	47.5	3	6.7
Company 19	363	9.6	100	92	2.4	76.3	20	0.6	23.7	2	10
Company 20	2227	61.7	100	372	13.3	77.8	56	1.6	47.2	0	0
Company 21	447	12.8	97.1	75	2.1	60	23	0.7	22.9	0	0
Company 22	1262	36.1	100	236	6.7	91.4	30	0.9	31.4	0	0
Company 23	416	14.3	100	35	1.21	34.5	23	0.8	31	1	4.4
Company 24	908	33.6	100	94	3.5	96.3	8	0.3	26	0	0
Company 25	712	27.4	100	88	3.4	88.5	30	1.3	46.2	3	10
Company 26	703	32	100	130	5.9	68.2	24	1.1	45.5	1	4.2
Company 27	427	21.4	100	45	2.3	60	19	1	45	1	5.3
Company 28	330	16.5	100	112	5.6	90	21	1.1	45	5	23.8
Company 29	146	8.6	88.2	19	1.1	33.3	6	0.4	23.5	0	0
Company 30	50	3.3	100	8	0.53	33.3	0	0	0	0	0
Company 31	4	0.27	20	1	0.1	6.7	0	0	0	0	0
Company 32	152	12.7	100	38	3.2	75	17	1.4	58.3	4	23.5
Company 33	162	16.2	100	10	1	40	10	1.1	60	1	10

Appendix Table 1: Cifa RO Selected Facebook Data cont.

Cifa ROs	Total Emojis Used	% Posts With Emojis	Av. No. Emojis	Total Hashtags Used	% Posts With Hashtags	Av. No. Hashtags	Total Tags Used	% Posts With Tags	Av. No. Tags
Company 1	34	10.9	2	605	66	5.9	82	35.9	1.5
Company 2	48	24.5	1.3	665	98	4.5	54	28.5	1.3
Company 3	2	0.7	2	514	78.5	4.8	59	27.4	1.6
Company 4	1	0.8	1	26	10.9	2	140	68.1	1.7
Company 5	89	37.6	2	83	63.2	1.1	38	26.5	1.2
Company 6	100	83.5	1.1	14	2.8	4.7	1	0.9	1
Company 7	75	30.8	2.3	217	55.8	3.7	46	25	1.8
Company 8	101	37.8	2.7	114	67.3	1.7	80	50	1.6
Company 9	1	1.1	1	1	1.1	1	42	34.8	1.4
Company 10	11	13.4	1	11	12.2	1.1	29	25.6	1.4
Company 11	3	4.3	1	167	48.6	4.9	64	32.9	2.8
Company 12	0	0	0	36	22.4	2.4	79	64.2	1.8
Company 13	5	4.5	1.7	0	0	0	47	37.3	1.9
Company 14	6	11.5	1	139	73.1	3.7	2	1.9	2
Company 15	54	34.1	3.6	40	61.4	1.5	0	0	0
Company 16	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6.8	1.3
Company 17	6	11.9	1.2	24	16.7	3.4	12	23.8	1.2
Company 18	4	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 19	0	0	0	34	42.1	2.1	20	39.5	1.3
Company 20	16	22.2	2	31	44.4	1.9	9	25	1
Company 21	1	2.9	1	44	54.3	2.3	4	11.4	4
Company 22	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	28.6	2
Company 23	1	3.5	1	96	93.1	3.6	1	3.5	1
Company 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 25	0	0	0	6	15.4	1.5	5	11.5	1.7
Company 26	0	0	0	1	4.6	1	0	0	0
Company 27	5	20	1.3	0	0	0	9	30	1.5
Company 28	0	0	0	3	15	1	20	50	2
Company 29	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.9	1
Company 30	4	26.7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 31	1	6.7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 32	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16.7	2
Company 33	0	0	0	2	10	2	1	10	1

Appendix Table 1: Cifa RO Selected Facebook Data cont.

NON-ROs	Number of Posts	Avg. Post per Month	% Posts Relating to Company	% Posts Containing Image	% Posts Containing Video	% Posts Containing Ext. Links	% Links to own website/SNS	% Posts Facebook Shares	% Posts Facebook Shares Other Companies	% Shares with Comment	% Posts Events	% Non-Company Events
Company 1	149	24.8	100	89.9	10.1	57.7	96.5	2	100	100	0	
Company 2	51	8.5	98	90.2	7.8	9.8	80	15.7	75	62.5	3.9	0
Company 3	25	4.2	92	88	8	12	0	68	100	23.5	0	
Company 4	22	3.7	72.7	100	0	0		0			0	
Company 5	21	3.5	42.9	52.4	19	14.3	0	52.4	100	0	0	
Company 6	61	10.2	16.4	93.4	1.6	67.2	2.4	27.9	100	0	0	
Company 7	18	3	27.8	94.4	0	11.1	100	0			0	
Company 8	14	2.3	100	100	0	50	0	7.1	100	0	14.3	0
Company 9	14	2.3	100	78.6	7.1	21.4	33.3	21.4	100	66.7	0	0
Company 10	14	2.3	100	78.6	7.1	57.1	0	14.3	100	100	0	
Company 11	12	2	100	100	0	50	0	0			0	

Appendix Table 2: Non-RO Selected Facebook Data

Non-ROs	Total Likes/ Reactions	Avg. Likes/ Reactions per Post	% Posts with Likes/ Reactions	Total Shares	Avg. Shares per Post	% Posts with Shares	Total Vis. Comments (excl. Page replies)	Avg. Vis. Comments	% Posts with Comments	Total Page Replies/ Comments	% User Comments with Page Replies
Company 1	2245	15.1	100	309	2.1	67.1	88	0.6	28.9	14	15.9
Company 2	344	6.7	90.2	125	2.5	47.1	14	0.3	17.6	0	0
Company 3	363	14.5	96	37	1.6	40	25	1	40	0	0
Company 4	351	16	100	0	0	0	19	0.9	22.7	0	0
Company 5	39	1.9	66.7	13	0.6	61.9	1	0.1	4.8	0	0
Company 6	663	10.8	100	119	2	59	30	0.5	49.2	0	0
Company 7	107	5.9	100	15	0.8	61.1	9	0.5	27.8	5	55.6
Company 8	144	10.3	100	9	0.6	50	1	0.1	7.1	0	0
Company 9	228	16.3	100	60	4.3	71.4	6	0.42	21.4	0	0
Company 10	107	7.6	92.9	3	0.2	14.3	0	0	0	0	0
Company 11	405	33.8	100	70	5.8	83.3	46	3.8	91.7	3	6.5

Appendix Table 2: Non-RO Selected Facebook Data cont.

Non-ROs	Total Emojis Used	% Posts With Emojis	Av. No. Emojis	Total Hashtags Used	% Posts With Hashtags	Av. No. Hashtags	Total Tags Used	% Posts With Tags	Av. No. Tags
Company 1	20	6.7	2	1898	94	13.6	92	34.2	1.8
Company 2	0	0	0	310	78.4	7.8	10	17.6	1.1
Company 3	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 4	10	36.4	1.3	0	0	0	19	81.8	1.1
Company 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Company 9	0	0	0	9	7.1	9	4	28.6	4
Company 10	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
Company 11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix Table 2: Non-RO Selected Facebook Data cont.

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Blog Promotion	272	11.6	Blog Post	231	9.9
Event Promotion	737	31.4	Blog Archive	5	0.2
Publications	76	3.2	Vlog	36	1.5
Company Promotion	335	14.3	Site Tour	102	4.4
Finds/Artefacts	256	10.9	Talk/Lecture	130	5.6
Specialist/Post-Ex	81	3.5	Course	68	2.9
Excavation/On-Site Update	298	12.7	Community Excavation	159	6.8
Media Coverage	171	7.3	Attendance/Activities	278	11.9
Humour	35	1.5	Book/Monograph/Chapter	31	1.3
Non-Archaeology	33	1.4	Reports	25	1.1
Other	50	2.1	Resources	20	0.9
COMBINED			Collaboration/Partnership	88	3.8
			Product/Service	38	1.6
			Job Advert	45	2
			Awards	8	0.3
			Staff/Appointment	37	1.6
			Details/News/Information	119	5.1
			Artefact Description	220	9.4
			Guess/ID Find	17	0.7
			Staff/Processing	19	0.8
			3D Models	26	1.1
			Illustration/Reconstructions	37	1.6
			Analysis/Science/Post-Ex	18	0.8
			Staff/Working	227	9.7
			Archaeological Feature	45	1.9
			Weather/Conditions	26	1.1
			Local Coverage	66	2.8
			National Coverage	60	2.6
			International Coverage	45	1.9
			HUMOUR	35	1.5
			NON-ARCHAEOLOGY	33	1.4
		OTHER	50	2.1	

Appendix Table 3: Combined Dataset – Primary and Secondary Content Coding

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Blog Promotion	221	11.4	Blog Post	191	9.8
Event Promotion	649	33.4	Blog Archive	4	0.2
Publications	65	3.3	Vlog	26	1.3
Company Promotion	306	15.7	Site Tour	95	4.9
Finds/Artefacts	214	11	Talk/Lecture	112	5.8
Specialist/Post-Ex	56	2.9	Course	68	3.5
Excavation/On-Site Update	243	12.5	Community Excavation	119	6.1
Media Coverage	108	5.6	Attendance/Activities	255	13.1
Humour	28	1.4	Book/Monograph/Chapter	22	1.1
Non-Archaeology	28	1.4	Reports	23	1.2
Other	25	1.3	Resources	20	1
CIFA ROs			Collaboration/Partnership	82	4.2
			Product/Service	38	2
			Job Advert	41	2.1
			Awards	7	0.4
			Staff/Appointment	33	1.7
			Details/News/Information	105	5.4
			Artefact Description	184	9.5
			Guess/ID Find	13	0.7
			Staff/Processing	17	0.9
			3D Models	25	1.3
			Illustration/Reconstructions	15	0.8
			Analysis/Science/Post-Ex	16	0.8
			Staff/Working	180	9.3
			Archaeological Feature	38	2
			Weather/Conditions	25	1.3
			Local Coverage	49	2.5
			National Coverage	40	2.1
			International Coverage	19	1
			HUMOUR	28	1.4
			NON-ARCHAEOLOGY	28	1.4
		OTHER	25	1.3	

Appendix Table 4: Cifa ROs – Primary and Secondary Content Coding

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Blog Promotion	51	12.7	Blog Post	40	10
Event Promotion	88	21.9	Blog Archive	1	0.3
Publications	11	2.7	Vlog	10	2.5
Company Promotion	29	7.2	Site Tour	7	1.8
Finds/Artefacts	42	10.5	Talk/Lecture	18	4.5
Specialist/Post-Ex	25	6.2	Course	0	0
Excavation/On-Site Update	55	13.7	Community Excavation	40	10
Media Coverage	63	15.7	Attendance/Activities	23	5.7
Humour	7	1.8	Book/Monograph/Chapter	9	2.2
Non-Archaeology	5	1.3	Reports	2	0.5
Other	25	6.2	Resources	0	0
NON-ROs			Collaboration/Partnership	6	1.5
			Product/Service	0	0
			Job Advert	4	1
			Awards	1	0.3
			Staff/Appointment	4	1
			Details/News/Information	14	3.5
			Artefact Description	36	9
			Guess/ID Find	4	1
			Staff/Processing	2	0.5
			3D Models	1	0.3
			Illustration/Reconstructions	22	5.5
			Analysis/Science/Post-Ex	2	0.5
			Staff/Working	47	11.7
			Archaeological Feature	7	1.8
			Weather/Conditions	1	0.3
			Local Coverage	17	4.2
			National Coverage	20	5
			International Coverage	26	6.5
			HUMOUR	7	1.8
			NON-ARCHAEOLOGY	5	1.3
		OTHER	25	6.2	

Appendix Table 5: Non-ROs – Primary and Secondary Content Coding

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Discussion	595	17.9	DISCUSSION	595	17.9
Tagging	583	17.5	Compliments	364	10.9
Praise	494	14.8	Individual Tagging	322	9.7
Interpretation	353	10.6	Jokes	312	9.4
Humour	337	10.1	EXCITEMENT/AWE	282	8.5
Excitement/Awe	282	8.5	Content Questions	247	7.4
Questions	275	8.3	Tagging with Discussion	231	6.9
Thanks	131	3.9	User Interpretation	207	6.2
Negative Comments	94	2.8	Guess/Speculation	146	4.4
Support	94	2.8	Congratulations	130	3.9
Other	69	2.1	NEGATIVE COMMENTS	94	2.8
Foreign Language	25	0.8	SUPPORT	94	2.8
COMBINED DATASET: 3332 Total			Event Thanks	70	2.1
			OTHER	69	2.1
			Content Thanks	61	1.8
			Multiple Tagging	30	0.9
			General Questions	28	0.8
			Memes/GIFs/Images	25	0.8
			FOREIGN LANGUAGE	25	0.8

Appendix Table 6: Combined Dataset – Primary and Secondary Comment Coding

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Discussion	554	17.7	DISCUSSION	554	17.7
Tagging	556	17.7	Compliments	308	9.8
Praise	454	14.5	Individual Tagging	26	0.8
Interpretation	341	10.9	Jokes	222	7.1
Humour	313	10	EXCITEMENT/AWE	126	4
Excitement/Awe	276	8.8	Content Questions	328	10.5
Questions	250	8	Tagging with Discussion	141	4.5
Thanks	125	4	User Interpretation	200	6.4
Negative Comments	85	2.7	Guess/Speculation	288	9.2
Support	93	3	Congratulations	25	0.8
Other	63	2	NEGATIVE COMMENTS	276	8.8
Foreign Language	25	0.8	SUPPORT	224	7.1
CIFA RO DATASET : 3135 Total			Event Thanks	26	0.8
			OTHER	57	1.8
			Content Thanks	68	2.2
			Multiple Tagging	85	2.7
			General Questions	93	3
			Memes/GIFs/Images	63	2
			FOREIGN LANGUAGE	25	0.8

Appendix Table 7: Cifa ROs – Primary and Secondary Comment Coding

Primary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts	Secondary Category	Number of Posts	Percentage of Posts
Discussion	41	20.8	DISCUSSION	41	20.8
Tagging	27	13.7	Compliments	14	7.1
Praise	40	20.3	Individual Tagging	4	2
Interpretation	12	6.1	Jokes	9	4.6
Humour	24	12.2	EXCITEMENT/AWE	4	2
Excitement/Awe	6	3	Content Questions	36	18.3
Questions	25	12.7	Tagging with Discussion	5	2.5
Thanks	6	3	User Interpretation	7	3.6
Negative Comments	9	4.6	Guess/Speculation	24	12.2
Support	1	0.5	Congratulations	0	0
Other	6	3	NEGATIVE COMMENTS	6	3
Foreign Language	0	0	SUPPORT	23	11.7
NON-RO DATASET : 197 Total			Event Thanks	2	1
			OTHER	4	2
			Content Thanks	2	1
			Multiple Tagging	9	4.6
			General Questions	1	0.5
			Memes/GIFs/Images	6	3
			FOREIGN LANGUAGE	0	0

Appendix Table 8: Non-ROs – Primary and Secondary Comment Coding

Number of Page Responses to Comments per Content Coding Category

Primary Category	Combined	CifA ROs	Non-ROs
Discussion	101	95	6
Tagging	11	11	0
Praise	46	43	3
Interpretation	145	145	0
Humour	57	55	2
Excitement/Awe	24	24	0
Questions	122	120	2
Thanks	29	28	1
Negative Comments	14	13	1
Support	13	13	0
Other	15	13	2
Foreign Language	3	3	0

Total	580	563	17
Total Comments	3332	3135	197
Percentage	17.4	18	8.6

Appendix Table 9: Combined Dataset – Number of Page Responses to Comments per Content Coding Category

Number of Comments that started Threads

Primary Category	Combined	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
Discussion	135	124	11
Tagging	141	136	5
Praise	55	49	6
Interpretation	163	161	2
Humour	71	64	7
Excitement/Awe	31	30	1
Questions	155	147	8
Thanks	36	34	2
Negative Comments	26	25	1
Support	15	15	0
Other	14	13	1
Foreign Language	7	7	0

Total	849	805	44
Total Comments	3332	3135	197
Percentage	25.5	25.7	22.3
Avg. No. Comments per Thread	1.7	1.8	1.4
Avg. No. Thread Participants (Excluding Orig. Commentator)	1.2	1.2	1

Appendix Table 10: Combined Dataset – Number of Comments that started Threads

Number of Threads with no Page Responses/Involvement

Primary Category	Combined	ClfA ROs	Non-ROs
Discussion	34	29	5
Tagging	130	125	5
Praise	9	6	3
Interpretation	18	16	2
Humour	14	9	5
Excitement/Awe	7	6	1
Questions	33	27	6
Thanks	7	6	1
Negative Comments	12	12	0
Support	2	2	0
Other	0	0	0
Foreign Language	4	4	0

Total	270	242	28
Total Comments	3332	3135	197
Percentage	8.1	7.7	14.2

Appendix Table 11: Combined Dataset – Number of Threads with no Page Responses/Involvement