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Samtidsarkæologi

udfordrer vores tids- og kulturarvsforståelse

I dette tema får vi præsenteret tre samtidsarkæologiske projekter, der er i gang netop nu. Med forskningsobjekter som modernitetens ruiner, atomaffald og havbåret materiale tager de med arkæologens viden, metoder og særlige blik fat i nogle af vor tids store udfordringer. Projekterne er samfundsrelevante. De udvider tænkningen, rykker ved vore opfattelser og kvalificerer diskussionerne. Fælles for de tre artikler er, at de udfordrer den gængse opfattelse af tid og kulturarv – og som konsekvens af dette lægges der op til, at måden, vi forvalter og kommunikerer kulturarven på, bør nytænkes. Alle arkæologer, der tør blive udfordret og inspireret, må bare læse temaets tre artikler.

Det er ikke sædvanen at tænke på kondemneringsmodne bygninger som kulturarv, men hvorfor ikke? I artiklen *I tidens fylde* behandler Tim Flohr Sørensen paradokset, som disse bygninger repræsenterer – mellem på den ene side den historie de kan fortælle om liv og samfundets udvikling og på den anden side behovet for at få disse ”øjebærer” fjernet. Ruinerne er på samme tid både fortid og nutid, under afvikling og tilblivelse. De falder udenfor kategori: Hus eller affald? Fortid, nutid eller fremtid?

Tiden er også omdrejningspunktet i artiklen *The Contemporary Archaeology of Nuclear Waste*, hvor Cornelius Holtorf og Anders Högberg diskuterer, hvordan vi kommunikerer med fremtiden. Projektet udspringer af et samarbejde med Svensk Kärnbränslehantering Aktieföretag, om hvordan man kan advare fremtidige generationer om atomaffaldets farlighed. I artiklen vises en model af, hvordan nutiden er nåleøjet, hvorigennem fortolkninger af fortiden bliver transformeret til forestillinger om fremtiden. Holtorf og Högberg foreslår, at vi i vores forvaltning af kulturarven ikke alene skal fremme en historisk bevidsthed, men også en fremtidsbevidsthed.

Radioaktivt affald er normalt ikke noget, vi opfatter som kulturarv, men det er det, og det vil det være i titusinder af år. Noget lignende gør sig gældende med de enorme mængder af plastaffald, der flyder rundt i verdenshavene. Det affald arbejder Bjørnar Olsen og Þóra Péturdóttir med i projektet *Unruly Heritage: Tracing legacies in the Anthropocene*. For dem handler det om at udvikle et anderledes kulturarvsbegreb – mindre menneskecentreret og mere altfavnende økologisk. I projektet vil de undersøge og måske redefinere nogle af vore centrale begreber i relation til kulturarvsforvaltningen: kulturarv, erindring, etik og beskyttelse. Selv om artiklen jonglerer med begreber, så tager projektet i allerhøjeste grad udgangspunkt i feltarbejde og materielle fund.

Vi påstår ikke, at de tre artikler er letlæste. De er hardcore teoretiske og rykker ved vore vante forestillinger. Men samtidig er de inspirerende og åbner for nye muligheder. Der er noget at hente for alle arkæologer i disse artikler. Læs, læs, læs.

Redaktionen

The Contemporary Archaeology of Nuclear Waste

Communicating with the future

The future will differ from what we are used to in the present. Yet in archaeology, the heritage sector and the nuclear waste sector, most assumptions do not build on an understanding of how the future will be different from today. Instead, planning is made as if key aspects of heritage and nuclear waste will not change significantly in the future at all. The present authors are both archaeologists with an interest in applying our academic expertise to challenges in contemporary and future society (Holtorf and Högberg, 2015a). Between 2012 and 2014 we worked on an interdisciplinary research project entitled *One hundred thousand years back and forth. Archaeology meets radioactive waste*. Based on results from this project, we suggest here that archaeologists and other professionals working in the heritage sector, as well as their institutions, should start thinking in more depth about the future. We suggest that heritage specialists should not only promote historical consciousness but also future consciousness. Both these forms of consciousness are essential for the ability to appreciate the interconnections between past, present and future.

Introduction: from contemporary archaeology to an archaeology of the future

Contemporary archaeology is committed to understanding the present and recent past from a cross-disciplinary perspective. In practice, contemporary archaeologists concern themselves not only with archaeological studies of the contemporary world but also with critical analyses of the socio-political contexts within which archaeology is practised in the current present (e.g. Graves-Brown et al 2013). There has also long been a willingness among contemporary archaeologists to engage with and intervene in present society, whether concerning contemporary waste management or concerning global injustice. The future has however seldom been an object of archaeological study (but see Holtorf and Högberg 2015a).

Both present authors are archaeologists with an interest in applying our academic expertise to challenges in contemporary and future society (Holtorf and Högberg 2015a). Between 2012 and 2014 we worked on an interdisciplinary research project titled *One hundred thousand years back and forth. Archaeology meets radioactive waste*. The project was a collaboration between Linnaeus University, Sweden, and the Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Company (SKB). As part of this project, we participated in several workshops as part of the project *Preservation of Records, Knowledge and Memory*

Across Generations of the OECD Nuclear Energy Agency in Paris, France (www.oecd-nea.org). We also presented and published several papers that broadened the perspective of the discussion carried out within the nuclear waste sector (e.g. Holtorf 2013; Holtorf and Högberg 2014a; 2015b), which was a major aim of the project. Since 2015 we have continued our collaboration with SKB in the context of the *Heritage Futures* project and its sub-theme on *Uncertainty* (2015-2019; www.heritage-futures.org).

Building on results from these projects, we suggest here that the future is an important research subject not only in relation to specific types of material culture like nuclear waste but for archaeology and heritage studies generally. In the field of Future Studies, most researchers share the understanding that the future will differ from what we are used to in the present (Miller 2011). Yet in the heritage sector and the nuclear waste sector, most assumptions do not build on an understanding of how the future will be different from today. Instead, society is planning as if key aspects of heritage and nuclear waste will not change greatly in the future at all (Högberg et al n.d.).

Nuclear waste as an archaeological topic

Worldwide, there are now some 300,000 tons of high-level nuclear waste, with an additional 12,000 tons being added every year (World Nuclear Association 2016). Currently, the favoured method for disposal of

this waste is in mined tunnels drilled into stable geological formations several hundred meters below the surface. The process of selecting appropriate locations for such deep geological repositories is now well under way in several countries. The goal is to isolate nuclear waste from the human world over very long time periods. It takes 100,000 years or more before high-level radioactive waste is no longer deemed dangerous for human beings. After the waste has been finally disposed of, we need to transmit information and knowledge over thousands of generations about the location, character and content of these large yet on the surface invisible, underground repositories (Holtorf and Högberg 2014b).

The two realms of heritage management and nuclear waste management share concerns with permanent and sustainable preservation, secure storage of material items, long-term memory keeping, and knowledge transfer to future generations. Both fields are characterized by a felt responsibility towards the future, which is manifested in a perceived duty not to leave a legacy harming or threatening future generations' quality of life, whether in the form of hazardous waste containing radioactive material that will survive for too long or in the form of valuable heritage that will not survive long enough.

Archaeologists are accustomed to long term perspectives and to managing human legacies as heritage. In heritage management, archaeologists work to preserve places, environments, and associated values and knowledge for future generations. In collections, they deposit and conserve portable objects and associated information securely for future use. Arguably, nuclear waste can be considered as a very particular kind of heritage of the future, deposited for the future in secure repositories – and at the same time providing information about our own society.

Previous applications of archaeology to questions about nuclear waste and the preservation of records, knowledge and memory have attempted to draw lessons from what has been successfully preserved to the present day. For example, the Pyramids of Giza or the stone circle of Stonehenge are often mentioned as monuments surviving from the past and containing ancient information and meaning for us to decode today (e.g. Kaplan and Adams 1986).

However, we would be cautious regarding the possibility of maintaining or recovering information, knowledge and meaning over very long timespans (Holtorf 2013). The example of European megalithic tombs shows how people's interpretations of meanings and significance has changed drastically over the circa 5,000 years of their existence (Holtorf 2000-2008). Indeed, many tombs were ignored for centuries, though sometimes re-used in imaginative ways, and often eventually destroyed. What had been preserved or recovered was, at best, the assumption that these monuments stemmed from a distant past beyond human memory and that people may once have been buried in them. These assumptions hardly constitute the kind of maintenance or recovery of relatively complex information, knowledge and meaning that is relevant in the present context of nuclear waste repositories.

This simple example illustrates that human information, knowledge and meaning of the past are always created in their present and situated in a larger social and cultural context. Archaeological knowledge does not derive from a position that transcends history, but reflects contemporary perceptions of past and future. These perceptions change over time. We cannot assume that in the future there will be any archaeologists at all who might be able to recover lost information, knowledge and meaning from the clues



Figure 1. Future archaeologists interpreting a disk with written information in an ancient script, presumably about a final repository of nuclear waste from the 21st century. Drawing by Stig Unge.

we leave for them. Archaeology emerged about two centuries ago and will not exist forever (Thomas 2004).

Historical developments over time, including the history of academic knowledge, are hardly ever predictable, but full of unexpected changes. Information, knowledge and meaning from the past cannot be transmitted reliably in the long term. Besides challenges of physical accessibility, which may be solvable under the right conditions, there are challenges of understanding and meaning that are much harder to address (Figure 1). Nevertheless, archaeology can offer valuable insights about the way in which future societies will make sense of remains of the past, including the future past that is the current present.

Making sense of pasts and futures

The way humans make sense of pasts and futures in the present is important for how they understand themselves and the present time. In Figure 2 we illustrate how processing of the past and the future in the present can be understood. Society exists in the present, in its *Now*. Assumptions about different futures create different perceptions of the future in the present. The *preferred future* is what different stakeholders would like to happen and therefore

varies between individuals and communities. The *probable futures* are what will likely happen. Since the probable futures are not one but many futures, it is likely that several stakeholders can agree on them. *Plausible* and *possible futures* are what could happen respectively of what might happen. These are not specific futures but rather possibilities deriving from certain detectable trends and movements in the present.

In analogy with the future, various interpretations about the past create different perceptions of the past in the present. Within the wide and almost infinite spectra of things which have taken place in the long-term history of *possible pasts*, i.e. what today can be interpreted out of all events having taken place as well as what we imagine having taken place over time, a selection is made of *plausible pasts* and a *preferred past*.

The point is that these pasts all have to be processed in our present, the *Now* in Figure 2. As sand in an hourglass has to flow from one container to another through a narrow passage, time is constantly flowing through an ever changing present. By passing through that narrow passage, the needle's eye comprising our present, the past is transformed into various assumptions about the future, i.e. future scenarios.

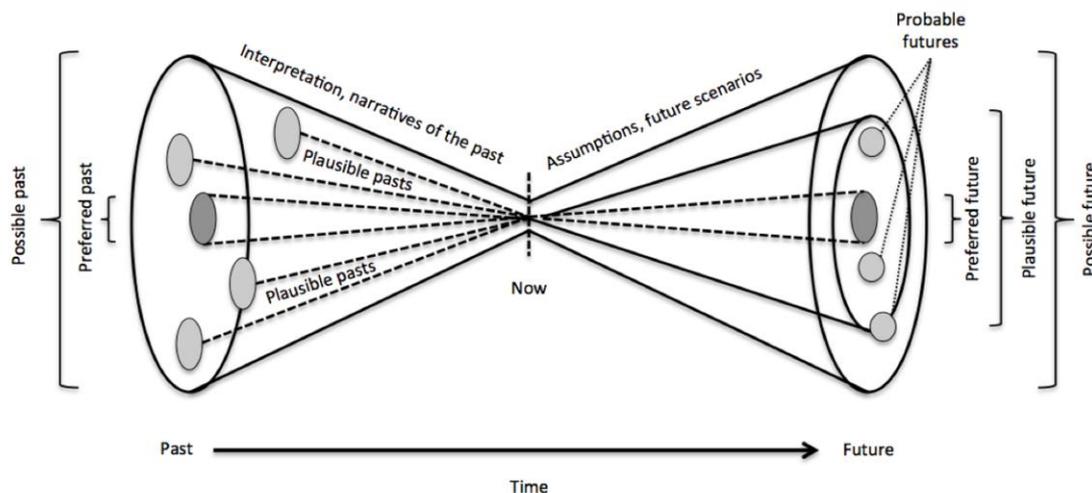


Figure 2. Schematic illustration of how interpretations of the past are transformed through the needle's eye of *Now* into assumptions of the future. Crucially, this is a “rolling now” constantly moving along the axis of time as the future becomes present and the present becomes past.

Figure by Anders Högberg, inspired by graphics of Stephan Magnus

(<https://adventurefuture.wordpress.com/2012/04/16/six-rules-of-forecasting/>) and Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby (2013:5).

As we move the needle's eye of the *Now* along the timeline in Figure 2 back into the past or forward into the future, the shape of the figure will always stay the same. Every past and future present has specific limits and possibilities on how people understand their specific *Now* in relation to their interpretations of the past and their assumptions about the future.

We argue, therefore, that it is by understanding changing perceptions of past and future, and indeed of change over time more generally, that archaeology allows us to make better decisions concerning the sustainable preservation of information, knowledge and meaning in a long-term perspective.

Based on this argument, we suggest that future societies will want to, should be expected to, and need to make their own decisions about sites associated with nuclear waste. They will, after all, have their own perceptions of past and future resulting in their own preferences in a future *Now*.

We need to recognise that future societies will make their own decisions and that they will have their own views not only of the past but also of the future. To facilitate this process responsibly and in the long term we need to engage each present, keeping a variety of safe options open.

The fact that the future will differ from what we are used to in the present is rarely disputed. Yet most assumptions made today in both the nuclear waste sector and the heritage sector fail to build on this (Holtorf and Högberg 2014a). Instead, planning processes imply that key aspects of heritage and nuclear waste will not change greatly in the future. According to new research this tendency to assume a likeness of present and future corresponds to the way people, as individuals, “expect to change little in the future, despite the fact that they have changed a lot in the past” which in turn “bedevils their decision-making” (Quoidbach et al. 2013:96).

We cannot be certain that heritage will always be valued as a source of historic information or as a symbol of a collective past, nor that the various heritage objects and landscapes we preserve will be appreciated by future generations for the stories they can tell about the past. We cannot know for certain how or if future generations will perceive, use and

receive benefits from heritage. Many, if not all, heritage objects have been reinterpreted regularly during the time of their existence (Holtorf 2000-2008). Indeed, the very notion of a heritage worth preserving in systematic fashion for the benefit of future generations has only existed for a few hundred years. Like archaeology, contemporary conservation ethics do not stand outside history but are firmly situated within it. By the same token, the notion of heritage is undoubtedly part of our history and thus, part of the future human heritage in itself (Holtorf 2012).

We cannot be certain either that nuclear waste will always be seen predominantly as hazardous waste posing a threat to humanity, nor that its radioactivity or other physical properties, will always be its most significant property (Maxwell 2016). New technologies may allow using nuclear waste to generate further energy or for other purposes, making this waste a resource (Strandberg & Andrén 2009). Although radioactive substances can be very dangerous, for example when they enter the food chain or are used in dirty bombs, the locations of their storage or disposal do not have to be seen forever as areas of deadly threats but may, given time, be transformed into altogether different things. This is not to deny or ignore real dangers posed by radioactive material to future generations but more to look at these dangers in the present from a different perspective on their possible future context. Who would have thought back in the late 1980s that the area around the destroyed reactors at Chernobyl in the Ukraine, in places still radioactive, would become something of a nature reserve, and that Chernobyl, Three Miles Island and the Nevada Test Site might be discussed in terms of wilderness values (Kruse and Galison 2011)?

David Lowenthal (1995:393) argued that “nothing is less likely than a plausible future”. But how do you make plausible plans for an implausible future? The analogy with heritage suggests that the best we can do is to make sure that certain important information is preserved for one or perhaps a few generations longer. After that the content and importance of any information will have to be re-evaluated and re-formulated in a process of continuous translation into new contexts in which our nuclear waste may acquire new meanings and uses. This means that information, knowledge and meaning is repeatedly made relevant in ever new rolling nows in the future (as illustrated in

Figure 2). Arguably, the best chance to have an impact on the long-term, is thus to create conditions under which knowledge will be kept alive in the short and medium terms of two to four generations ahead (Holtorf and Högberg 2014c). For example, if appropriate information would not only be stored in archives but also be referenced in collections and museums of heritage (art, history, technology...) the probability might be higher that future generations will perceive a need to re-evaluate and re-formulate this information so that it will enter even those institutions that will eventually succeed our archives and museums.

Re-interpretation and indeed change of information, knowledge and meaning over time is not a problem to be eliminated but a basic condition of human development over time which we need to understand and take on board. We have to allow for future *Nows* to create their own knowledge to act upon. This way of looking at communication with the future does not focus on the fact that information and knowledge may be lost but builds instead on our knowledge of future human beings as creative and innovative creatures able to generate information, knowledge and meaning that we cannot even imagine today.

Conclusion:

from historical to future consciousness

The assumptions made today about the meaning of heritage and nuclear waste in the future can be seen as ways of making sense and “domesticating” the future in the present. Invariably, they tell us more about how we think in our own present than what will actually occur in the future. That only makes it more interesting and more pertinent to ask about such issues now.

Archaeologists and other professionals working in the heritage sector as well as their institutions should start thinking in more depth about the future (see also Högberg et al n.d.; Högberg and Holtorf forthcoming). Which future(s) are we working for? What are our aims concerning those futures? How can we be confident that our work will make a difference for the better? In order to understand how archaeological heritage can be part of that response we need to go beyond, for example, bemoaning the fact that some sites will be negatively affected by rising water levels (Barthel-Bouchier 2013). Instead, we need a thorough discussion of plausible futures, probable futures, preferred futures and indeed ‘unpreferred’ futures and how archaeology, heritage, and the past may be useful resources in making a positive impact in that future. We have much to learn from the existing discussions in the nuclear waste sector (Holtorf and Högberg 2014b).

We suggest that archaeologists should not only promote historical consciousness but also future consciousness: both forms of consciousness are essential for the ability to appreciate the interconnections between past, present and future. The continuing discussions about long-term communication strategies concerning final repositories of nuclear waste can provide archaeologists with much-needed inspiration.

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Tema: Samtidsarkæologi

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*Fagfællebedømt artikel

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