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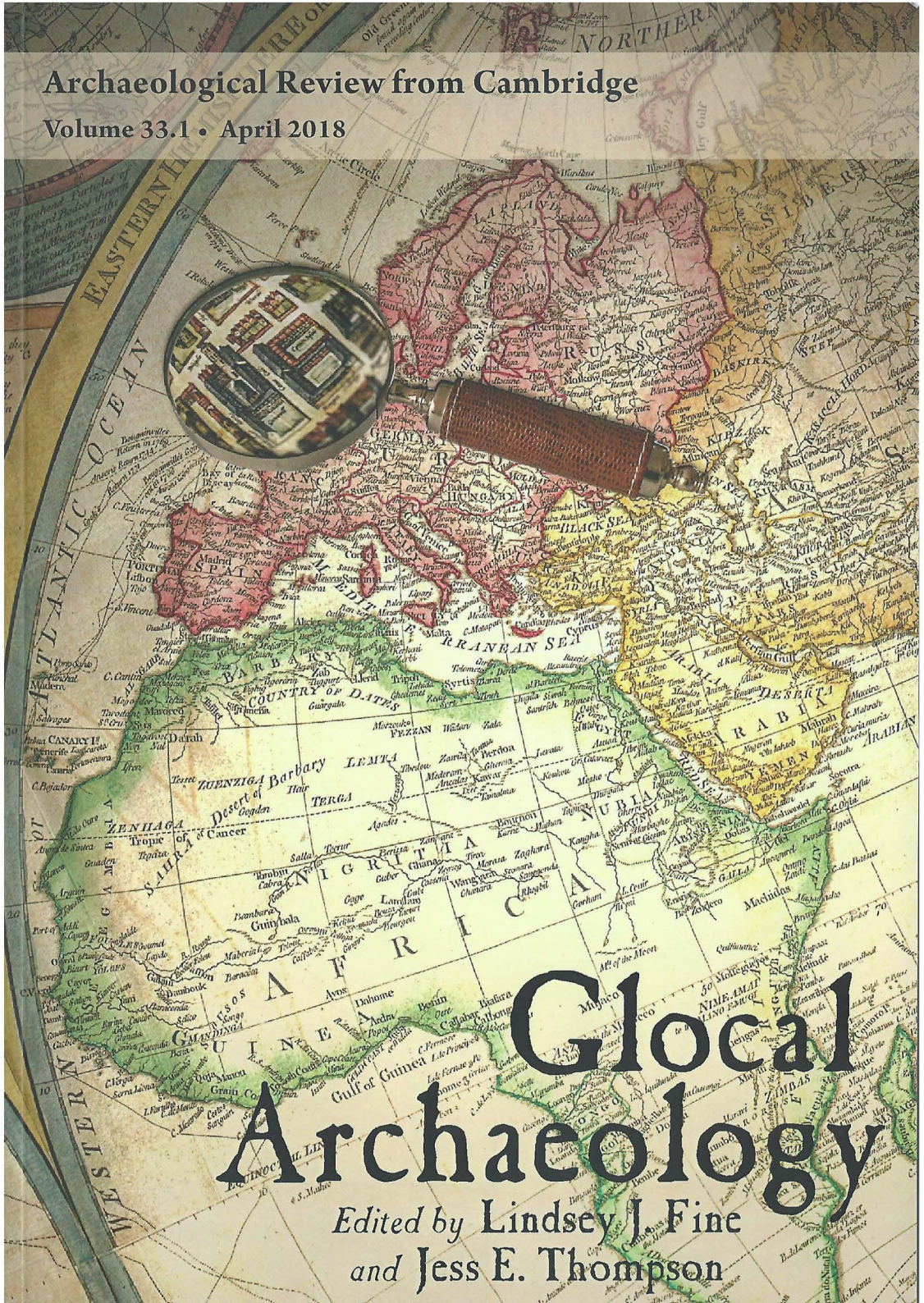

Glocal Archaeology

Edited by Lindsey J. Fine
and Jess E. Thompson

Discussion: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Glocalization

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Introduction

Editors: Glocalization is a growing area of research within the social sciences and humanities, yet its application to archaeology remains relatively overlooked. Acknowledging that this concept is worth examining in greater detail, we aimed to facilitate an interdisciplinary dialogue exploring its relative merits for archaeological research and practice. Given the origins of glocal theory within sociology, and its broad application across the social sciences and humanities more generally, scholars from diverse fields were invited to discuss its applicability to archaeology and heritage. We were pleased to find that scholars from archaeology, anthropology, sociology and heritage studies were eager to participate.

This discussion took the form of a month-long collaborative writing project held online during February 2018. Questions were posted once a week for four weeks, with participants invited to share their thoughts and engage with one anothers' contributions. These questions were designed to explore four key issues surrounding the use of glocalization: definition, identification, methodology and future applications. In the first, we asked participants to discuss the semantics of glocalization and its various definitions, the strengths and weaknesses of the concept and its relation

to other theories in the social sciences. Following this, we questioned how boundaries are drawn around the 'local' and 'global' and, thus, how glocal phenomena may be defined and identified. Moving more firmly into the realm of archaeology, thoughts were invited as to how glocalization can be identified materially. Finally, we inquired as to the relevance of glocalization for the future of archaeological practice and heritage management.

The discussion, transcribed here in full, is divided into four sections, one for each question and its responses. All responses are prefaced with the authors' initials: James H. Barrett (JHB), Victor Roudometof (VR), Noel B. Salazar (NBS) and Susan Sherratt (SS). A final comment on the discussion was authored by Roland Robertson (RR) after the initial collaboration had finished. As you will note, the responses to these questions are broad and varying, and not always in agreement. While debate remains regarding this concept and its utility for archaeologists, there is clearly room for both further interdisciplinary dialogue on the local-global nexus and potential for researchers to productively apply glocalization within the fields of archaeology and heritage.

Defining the Glocal

Editors: We understand glocalization as the effects arising from the interaction between local and global phenomena, recognising the space for a dialectical relationship between these two scales. This is of interest to archaeological research which, at heart, seeks to understand the nature of human interactions over time. However, 'grand narratives' which have sought to explain large-scale processes such as the 'agricultural revolution' or Romanization, have often overlooked local variations. We wonder whether glocalization would be a productive way of examining processes such as these. Yet, as both the scholarly literature and the submissions for this volume demonstrate, there is no single definition for glocalization. Current interpretations include glocalization as the fundamental essence of globalization, a top-down subordination of the local, and an independent concept.

We ask, therefore, whether glocalization can be understood as a concept in its own right, and if it is possible to reach a more standardised definition.

Once defined, do you think glocalization can offer a useful heuristic tool for understanding the past? In what cases might we apply the glocalization concept successfully to archaeological research? What are its limitations? More broadly, how does glocalization relate to other theories currently used in the social sciences to examine such processes of cultural interaction (e.g., actor-network theory, assemblage theory)?

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VR: There are many different definitions of globalization and several interpretations of glocalization. I have attempted to provide an overview of such different interpretations or readings of glocalization in my recent book (Roudometof 2016). I believe that to date, there are nearly half a dozen such interpretations and that perhaps additional ones might develop in the future. Glocalization is certainly a heuristic tool for understanding the past. The specific issue of how the concept should be applied to archaeological research, though, is best left to the people in the field, as they are far more knowledgeable about their own field than outsiders.

Editors: We agree with your prediction that additional definitions for glocalization may emerge in the future, but we might question whether the coexistence of so many different definitions hinders our ability to apply this concept to specific research questions. If glocalization can be interpreted in a multitude of ways, how is it best applied? We are curious whether you could expand upon the definition that you find particularly useful, and under what circumstances you use it? Are there any conditions (e.g., social decentralization, political fragmentation) which must be met for it to be considered an appropriate framework?

SS: If, as it appears, there are several different interpretations of glocalization among social scientists, then perhaps archaeologists should be wary of adopting the *term* too enthusiastically. It is a rather ugly portmanteau, which, on first encountering, the uninitiated are quite likely to assume is either a misprint or some sort of phonological phenomenon. It is characteristic of the history of the social sciences over the last 60 years or so that, in their desire to be accepted as respectable academic subjects, they have developed their own exclusive and often rather mystificatory

forms of language, inventing new words and hijacking the meanings of others. The justification, that this gives a technical precision to whatever they happen to be talking about, seems to fail in the case of glocalization if indeed the case there is no agreement about its interpretation.

That said, the *general concept* that lies behind (and is indicated by the components of) the term—that is, the various effects arising from the interaction between local and 'global' phenomena—is not something that most people would have any quarrel with in the contemporary world. When it comes to the distant past, however, it rather depends on acceptance of the existence of what may be called globalizing phenomena in whatever time spans or geographical areas are at issue. There is currently considerable debate about this (see, e.g., Hodos 2017), and such debate seems very likely to continue. The complaint often levelled at 'grand narratives', that they overlook local variations, seems to me somewhat disingenuous since I very much doubt if anyone thoughtfully concerned with explaining large-scale transregional or transcontinental processes (including globalizing processes), is unaware that these have a very wide variety of different local effects and counter-effects. It is a question of the scale on which such explanations operate, and to take account concurrently of a myriad of localized effects of different sorts in the kind of detail the critics demand is not normally possible within the bounds of a single paper or even volume, although this does not mean that their existence is not acknowledged. In reality, I suspect the criticisms are not always simply a result of critics wishing to erect 'straw men' in order to knock them down and introduce their own more localized perspectives that they claim have been overlooked, but that, more fundamentally, these are attempts to regain the emphases on autonomous local or regional developments that were de rigueur at the height of 'processualism' in the 1960s and 1970s but which, in the eyes of some, have since been threatened by larger scale 'narratives'.

In short, my answer is that glocalization, as a *general concept*, can easily be understood, but that any standardized definition that goes beyond the general is quite certainly impossible, and its value as a heuristic tool is therefore confined to what should, in any case, be fairly obvious. In addition, I question the wisdom of using a term which can be perfectly well expressed in more immediately comprehensible language.

NBS: The difficulty we have in defining glocalization is linked to the fact that it is a meta-concept that incorporates (at least at the linguistic level), two other concepts: globalization and localization. To understand what the process of glocalization may mean, we first need to agree what exactly we mean by globalization and localization (and global and local). Despite this semantic difficulty, glocalization has caught on (and has been resemanticized) in fields as diverse as marketing, economics, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, geography, urban studies, area studies, tourism studies and also beyond academia. So, whether we like it or not, there must be something about this neologism that attracts people.

As an analytical concept, glocalization helps people grasp the intertwining of the 'local' and the 'global' by highlighting the extent to which the former is in many respects part of, and simultaneously occurring with, processes of globalization, and not necessarily an opposite trend. Importantly, the root form of glocalization (localization), is the foundation for the word. In other words, everything starts with the local, which forms the basis of interaction. The 'g', what is global, enjoins the local to create a 'glocal(ized)' entity. The 'g' fused onto the word localization graphically captures the melding process of interpenetration.

Glocalization—the patterned conjunctions that shape localities, and by means of which shape themselves—suggests equal attention to globalization and localization (local differentiation), existing in a complex, two-way traffic. As such, it may be a fitting term for the intertwined processes whereby new boundaries are created between local and global orders, and both the global order and the local gain strength. However, while the glocalization concept provides us with an attention-grabbing analytical perspective to study the intertwining of globalization and localization (and the in-between levels of regionalization and nationalization), it does not provide us with a decisive theory explaining the human mechanics behind these processes.

JHB: Given that glocalization covers a broad semantic range, I think the key is to begin any specific study with a definition of the term. It can be valuable shorthand for the dialectic that exists between the global and the local. Glocalization encapsulates the tendency for local expressions of distinctiveness to become pronounced in contexts of increasing interconnectedness—rather than in relative isolation. Thus, the unique material culture of many island communities is as much a result of extensive maritime interaction as of difficult access. This counter-intuitive idea is uniquely illuminated by the concept of glocalization, although ultimately drawing on Barthian notions of the construction of ethnic boundaries. In the 'real world' of archaeological interpretation, it helps provide clarity in cases of superficially contradictory evidence. In the Viking Age, for example, there is evidence for both an extremely widespread expansion of related cultural phenomena (art styles, artefact types, etc.), and of highly localized variants (Abrams 2012; Price 2016). Emphasizing one or the other, we could argue about whether the Viking Age ever existed as a meaningful phenomenon or unit of analysis; people have done so (e.g., Svanberg 2003). Glocalization allows us to recognize that efflorescences of local practices are likely responses to universalizing tendencies, rather than the opposite.

The concept is equally important at a methodological level. Many studies of large-scale interaction, especially trade, employ the methods and/or ideas of social network analysis. Sites and regions that share artefact types or stylistic attributes are interpreted as being more strongly linked within a network. This seems commonsensical, but in practice glocalization phenomena can make the material culture of highly networked societies very different from the groups with whom they are in contact. So we see, for example, that early Viking-age Scandinavians rarely used the western European coins they acquired as plunder, at least not in their original form (e.g., Garipzanov 2005). Conversely, Islamic coins—acquired at a sufficiently tenuous distance—were used as whole and fragmentary objects (Kilger 2008). There are other ways to describe phenomena like this. We might say, for example, that there was a pagan rejection of the Christian iconography typical of western European coinage. However, glocalization has the merit of being both concise and of cross-cultural relevance. Thus,

the term can aid communication, unlike many neologisms which are of course notorious for inhibiting it!

VR: My view is that there are implicit and explicit definitions of glocalization that have been developed from within the lenses of various interpretations or perspectives, ranging from cosmopolitanization theory (Beck 2006) to world society theory (Meyer et al. 1997) and grobalization theory (Ritzer 2004). This shows the relevance of the notion for researchers coming from diverse perspectives. Obviously, they see something that requires naming and explanation in order to use glocalization in their work. My own work is a way to improve upon this range and I have criticized the limits of past interpretations. It is an attempt to improve upon the uniform or common features of the concept, while deliberately leaving much space open to researchers from a variety of disciplines to appropriate my work as they see best.

Identifying the Glocal

Editors: We have noticed that in much of the research on glocalization, the boundaries drawn around the 'local' are implicit. This elision of discussion surrounding exactly how the 'local' is defined in specific research could create difficulties for the application of this concept by other researchers. Indeed, this trend is also clear in some of the contributions to this volume, where authors have found it difficult to explicitly define which phenomena are synonymous with 'local' and 'global' processes in the past. We wonder if it is possible, in Latourian terms, to open up these black boxes. In your research, how do you define the 'local', the 'global' and, therefore, the 'glocal'? Are these qualities innate, are they boundaries that you create, or are they in some ways defined by your research question?

As an example: Cambridge could be considered a local context, but so could Cambridgeshire, or southern England. Does the scale of your research, or the particular phenomena you study, therefore affect your definition of the 'local'?

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SS: Of course 'local' is relative. How could it be otherwise? It can mean anything from a single site (in archaeological terms), to a whole region or area (again, variable in size), and anything in-between. What is 'local' needs to be defined (and made explicit) according to the research question. Scale of research alone need not affect the definition of 'local', but the study of particular phenomena may. Incidentally, when dealing with the pre-modern world, 'global' need not literally mean global.

NBS: Undeniably, the local is constructed in contradictory ways; it is always the social and historical product of movement, interaction and exchange. Localities, however defined, are best conceived of as articulations with, effects of, or dynamic responses and resistances to, 'outside' forces. Multilocal production processes and assemblages have become the rule and locating historically- or geographically-fixed centres and peripheries is getting ever more difficult. While much of the literature on the local-to-global nexus finds local factors critical of the diversity of globalization processes, few authors notice that 'the local' itself has multiple faces when it is globalizing. It interacts with global processes not in a unified way, but in multiple ways.

Disentangling the complex local-to-global nexus through ethnographic fieldwork has become the heart of anthropological analysis. Concepts such as glocalization have invited us to rethink ethnography's 'conventional scale', treating the local as a space contained or encompassed by larger spaces. The main ethnographic advantage of rethinking the local, via a conceptual tool such as glocalization or otherwise, is the possibility of reclaiming some of the questions that the conventions of scale ordinarily preclude.

Glocal ethnography, as I termed it in my monograph *Envisioning Eden* (Salazar 2010), simultaneously focuses on the macroprocesses through which the world is, albeit unevenly, interconnected, and on the way subjects mediate these processes. I define glocal ethnography as a fieldwork methodology to describe and interpret the complex connections, disconnections and reconnections of local-to-global phenomena and processes. This is achieved by firmly embedding and historically situating the in-depth study of a particular sociocultural group, organization or

setting within a larger (and, ultimately, global) context. The stress is on the local, but that local is embedded in, and dependent on, larger contexts.

Glocal ethnographies incorporate the two major ways to address the conundrum of scale. First, they scale vertically ('scale up') by providing close-grained studies of how a single locale is connected locally, nationally, regionally and globally. Vertical scaling can also include a multitemporal (longitudinal or historical) dimension. The second strategy included in glocal ethnography is to scale horizontally ('scale out') by including more than one locale in the analysis. This latitudinal approach is better known in anthropology as 'multi-sited ethnography'. Multilocal or multisited research might not actually be an adequate description as many places are somehow linked or networked to each other.

It is important to remember that the local, the global and the glocal are analytical concepts that scholars use, with varying degrees of success, to make sense of the places they study and the processes that shape (or have shaped) these places. However, the explanatory power of these concepts is largely dependent on the complexity of the context. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, these concepts do little to explain the agency behind the structural processes at hand.

VR: I fully concur that the issue of the 'local' is currently a lacuna in scholarship. In my most recent work, I have deliberately excluded the 'local' from consideration in order to actually finish the manuscript. Obviously, one solution is to maintain that 'global' and 'local' are relative to each other. There are other solutions as well. Different approaches—ranging from socio-spatial interpretations to world society theory or cosmopolitanism—interpret and decode the 'local' in markedly different ways. But I do not believe that the 'local' and the 'local' alone is a black box any more than the 'global' or the 'glocal'.

JHB: For me, glocalization is about a dialectic—opposing universalizing and differentiating processes that constitute each other. Thus there need not be a boundary or border between them. Having said that, the dialectic itself, between the 'global' and the 'local', can unfold at very different scales. Like other aspects of identity, it is fractal and nested. Therefore,

the global, to agree with Susan, need not always be sweeping in its spatial extent, and certainly doesn't have to include all of the Earth's hemispheres. To paraphrase Wallerstein's (1993) description of a world-system, globalization and glocalization are about relational interactions that create worlds, not just about developments that covered the world. In prehistory and the Middle Ages, universalizing versus local social oppositions were sometimes constructed in very small worlds. One might consider, for example, pagan reactions during the Christianization of kingdoms around the North Sea in the early Middle Ages. Yet of course these kingdoms also came into being within a larger 'global' canvas, vis-à-vis Frankia, Byzantium, etc.

Glocal Methodologies

Editors: So far, there appears to be general acknowledgement in the utility of glocalization to describe the dialectic which exists between the local and the global—in theory, at least. What appears harder to pin down, however, are the social processes underlying this framework. As has been discussed, there are ways to investigate the process and effects of glocalization (i.e., through Noel's glocal ethnography), but it is more difficult to interpret *how* this has happened—materially and socially—and precisely where agency is located. As James has touched on, material culture is especially important for understanding this process, and even more so in societies without surviving texts. What methods can we use to investigate the material correlates of glocalization and distinguish them from other processes, particularly when responses to the local-global nexus can be multifaceted?

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VR: This question relates to my research into world or global history. I wish to point out the importance of the *lenses* through which social processes are interpreted. In social-scientific research, it is *not* the social processes that underlie the framework. Had that been the case, there would be far less disagreement among social scientists. Rather, it is the meta-theoretical lenses (i.e., 'conceptual presuppositions') that underlie the interpretation of social processes. The overwhelming majority of meta-theoretical lenses

offer what I have referred to as 'modernist' readings, which privilege the West or construct 'the West' or 'Western modernity' in opposition to 'the rest'. In *Globalization and Orthodox Christianity* (Roudometof 2014), my objective is to destabilize these readings—and I do that by demonstrating the manner in which long-term interactions and relationships (inclusive of antagonistic rivalries) have contributed to both the formation of distinct branches of Christianity as we know them to be in the world today, and the formation of glocal hybrid forms that relate religion to culture in markedly different ways. In my reading, the two main branches of Christianity (Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity) are the products of their historical encounters or interactions; their growing apart is a matter of multilayered factors over the *longue durée*. Subsequently, the features and formats of Orthodox Christianity are the consequence of cross-regional and cross-cultural flows or translocalization, and not as products of diachronic development flowing out of an internal 'essence' implicit within the faith itself. When it comes to interpreting the past, archaeology might be in a far more difficult position than the historical human sciences. But, as the entire Black Athena controversy illustrates, its models are shaped by intellectual currents. In this regard, intellectual conversations about these issues might be relevant to the field.

SS: The questions about where agency is located and what methods we can use to investigate the material correlates of glocalization seem to me virtually unanswerable in general terms as a result of their apparent demands for specificity, and any answers will again depend very much on the specifics and scales of particular research questions. For instance, Joseph Maran's (2011) paper on the emergence of Mycenaean culture as a phenomenon of glocalization, which is a plea for agency on the part of elites living on the Greek mainland vis-à-vis those of Crete in the mid-second millennium BC, concerns a fairly large geographical zone in which the particular locations of such agents are not considered in detail. The material correlates are wide and varied, ranging from pottery, iconography, writing systems, jewellery and weapons, to religion, gender roles and the perceptions of mainland elites regarding their Cretan counterparts and their culture. The underlying mechanisms of 'globalization' (confined in

this case to the southern half of the Aegean), are increasing intercultural contacts and intensifying exchange.

On the other hand, my own 2010 paper starts on a much smaller scale with the specifics of certain types of Levantine objects, and of damaged or partial objects probably robbed from East Mediterranean tombs found in the Early Iron Age cemeteries at Lefkandi. It then ties these in with accumulated Greek perceptions of Phoenicians and a growing sense of collective Greek identity that can be detected in the Homeric epics, probably around 700 BC. Here the agency lies in Lefkandiot and wider Greek responses to encounters with eastern (whom the Greeks called Phoenician) traders. These traders are, at least in retrospect, seen as dishonest spivs, with whom Greeks find themselves in increasing commercial competition in the following centuries, and in relation to whom they increasingly define their own identity. The method, in this case, is a combination (some might say fanciful) of material objects and literary ideology, both of which require their own source criticisms and some appreciation of context.

I agree with much of what Victor says, not only on the question of conceptual presuppositions (I suspect one can only see glocalization if one is looking for it, and to do this one needs some concept of the 'global', at whatever scale or in whatever aspect of human activity), but also especially in the matter of multilayered factors over the longue durée, and of cross-regional and cross-cultural flows. Glocalization, in whatever form, cannot be traced without at least some time depth and, like most phenomena, is unlikely to be a simple and uncomplicated matter. Finally, archaeologists are indeed (like everyone else), influenced by intellectual currents, but I do not see what can be done about this except to acknowledge it. We could learn a lot from how the historical sciences approach these matters. However, for the most part, prehistoric archaeologists lack the clues or assistance provided by texts.

JHB: If one starts from the assumption that glocalization is a dialectic between interconnectedness and (often self-conscious) local distinctiveness, then one useful methodological approach is to differentiate style and provenance. For archaeologists this is increasingly possible

for both inorganic and organic artefacts. Typological classifications and qualitative considerations of aesthetics can be compared with artefact sources inferred using archaeometric and biomolecular techniques that are becoming less and less destructive. Imported raw materials may be used to create local expressions of identity, or local raw materials may be transformed to create the illusion of association with distant sources of power—as in Helms' (1988) *Ulysses' Sail*. Of course, this kind of fundamental comparison is archaeological bread and butter. It is often done to very good effect, even if we sometimes struggle to escape the lingering dichotomy between theoretical and scientific archaeology. Actor-network theory and, more generally, the bundle of ideas that qualifies as New Materialism (e.g., materiality, material affordances, symmetrical archaeology, entanglement) has helped make this work fashionable as well as empirically rewarding. With style and source delineated, the potential methods of meta-analysis are then limitless. The creation of network graphs using open-source software like Gephi is one of many possibilities. There is much to be said for traditional qualitative interpretation, and the growing diversity of computational modelling approaches will probably also outlive the hype of initial novelty.

Glocalization and Future Research

Editors: In a 2017 report by the British Academy, Barker et al. (2017: 15) note that "Archaeological research influences contemporary society through discussions concerning heritage, identity, politics and gender", and that:

> One crucial realisation shaping much archaeological research derives from the post-colonial perspective of the late 20th century, that archaeology is practised today in the context of contemporary concerns and power structures. Western archaeologists, from multicultural societies, realise that they have to be aware of the political implications of what they do and for whom they appear to speak. Global archaeology can be undertaken through a series of covenants between people from a variety of backgrounds and cultural or political interests, but working out such covenants demands respect and care. (Barker et al. 2017: 13)

Therefore, if "local archaeology is locally relevant, but it is invariably enmeshed within broader movements of people along with their materials and organisms" (Barker et al. 2017: 13), we ask what impact the concept of glocalization might have on modern archaeological practice and heritage management. Can glocalization offer an effective mechanism for addressing current challenges facing the discipline (e.g., diversity and inclusivity), as well as within the social sciences and humanities more generally? For example, does acknowledgement of the tensions between local and global perspectives affect the identification, excavation and conservation of sites of cultural significance? Can it encourage wider engagement with local communities? In short, what, if any, future potential or impact do you believe glocalization has for the humanities and social sciences?

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VR: I do not think that the issue should be one of formulating a *project*, that is, something to mobilize individuals towards a future goal or objective. Rather, it is more about grasping existing realities. The political implications of archaeological work are well known, as is the use of the past for crafting contemporary identities. For example, let me refer here to a recent Internet hoax (i.e., Giotis 2014). In 324 BC, Alexander the Great is said to have taken an oath at the city of Opis in the presence of 9000 of his troops. According to the supposed 'oath', Alexander told his troops that he refused to distinguish people according to their skin tone or whether they were barbarians or Greeks. Alexander's presumed proclamation of a cosmopolitan vision is of course pure fiction, as there are no sources that corroborate the story or the text of the oath that is circulated online. The important factors here concern the emergence of the myth of the oath, the actors who played a role in its proliferation, the broader social and cultural context in which the story has gained popularity (fake news environment, Internet, etc.), and the specific timing of the hoax, which coincided with the archaeological excavation in Amfipolis in Greek Macedonia and the recent influx of thousands of immigrants into Greece. The reception and dissemination of this hoax was therefore entwined with all the related problems and concerns that the influx of immigrants into Greece has raised, inclusive of the rise of the extreme-right party 'Golden Dawn'. It is an interesting case because it concerns an effort to showcase a global or

cosmopolitan vision of Greek identity by invoking the legacy of Alexander the Great, one of the world's principal actors of historical globalization. It is also an attempt to refute localist (anti-immigrant, nativist) sentiments among the Greek public by de-legitimizing them via Alexander's oath. Diversity and inclusivity are noble sentiments, but the story itself demonstrates how one can get carried away.

The above example is clearly evocative of glocality. In our daily lives, we face the challenge of being torn apart by local and global impulses or fusing the two into a synthesis. Glocalization is the process whereby social actors negotiate the tensions between local and global—and that goes for the identification, excavation and conservation of sites of cultural significance. In this process, professional archaeologists are an important constituency, but only one of the constituencies involved. The State, local communities, international organizations, and so on, are important stakeholders, too. Archaeology partakes in what the late McNeill (1986) refers to as 'mythistory', and that means that the field is continuously involved in a conversation with the rest of the humanities and social sciences. The 2017 report echoes clearly a globalist sentiment, and that can easily be framed against local priorities. For example, in A *Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*, Herzfeld (1991) enquires into the conflict generated at the Old City of Rethymnon on the island of Crete, when the actions of the State and state agencies are perceived as opposing the locals' priorities. Conservation is seen through different lenses by the two groups, and that is quite telling.

SS: Again, I find myself very much in agreement with Victor. Whatever archaeologists do can be seized on by particular groups for contemporary political ends, and there is usually very little that we can do to prevent this. In the old days it was our culture-history interpretations which frequently gave fuel to groups seeking to extend their contemporary identities far back into the past, and it is still at work in genetic research—for example in Golden Dawn's use of a recent paper on DNA analysis (see Lazaridis et al. 2017), which they interpret as proof that modern Greeks are descended from Minoans and Mycenaeans with a minimum of later adulteration. The danger is that if we deliberately set out to find and document the workings of glocalization as some sort of thematic project with either a

local or 'global' audience in mind, we risk taking sides on one modern political extreme or the other: either supporting the autonomous and potentially subversive agency of ancient locals who may be seen as the ancestors of modern groups with a grievance against modern forms of globalization (or even against a distant national capital); or perpetuating the self-serving global rhetoric of institutions such as the British Museum in their justification for holding on to the likes of the Elgin marbles. This is perhaps another reason for choosing our sets of vocabulary judiciously in archaeological discourse. While in the former case it may encourage wider engagement by local communities, we should not (and often do not) need such a theme to foster such engagement. Local communities are often very ready and eager to engage without any encouragement of such a patronizing nature, and it is sad that in some countries, especially in the Mediterranean, they are officially discouraged from doing so because of antiquities legislation and paranoid fears of looting.

Globalization and glocalization in the past are current preoccupations which will no doubt fall victim to changes in intellectual fashion some time in the near or further future, so that any future potential for, or impact on, the humanities and social sciences, let alone particular communities, will have its limits. I am old enough to have seen a lot of different intellectual currents come and go, in archaeology as in other disciplines, and I really do not believe that we need take any one of them too seriously as the last word in archaeological objectives. The past is rich enough to accommodate almost any issue we want to investigate.

NBS: While it is certainly important to be aware of how global processes influence local realities and vice versa, taking only this dynamic relation into account would be a rather simplistic rendering of the complexity of 'complex societies'. In my own work on cultural heritage, I have shown how 'the local' and 'the global' are just two levels at opposite points of a continuum that also contains 'the national' and 'the regional'. In Salazar (2016), for example, I illustrate ethnographically how the interaction between these various scales works out very differently in two neighbouring World Heritage properties. So, no, glocalization is not a cure-all concept or approach.

The quote from the British Academy report on archaeology points also to another challenge. While 'the local' has never been entirely homogeneous, in many localities today it is more heterogeneous than it was before (and in urban contexts it is often 'superdiverse'). This reality affects every aspect of life, including the way we practice archaeology. Local archaeology is not necessarily relevant locally if 'new' locals do not feel in any way connected to the heritage involved. In my own research, I have been very interested in understanding how the increasing diversification of societies impacts upon the meaning(s) of heritage. The role of pluriversal heritage interpretation appears to be crucial.

For the discipline of archaeology, this implies that more dialogue is needed, not only with the 'locals' around excavation sites, but also with the (diversified) home base of the archaeologist and with relevant stakeholders at national, regional and global levels. We need to be aware of the often-conflicting significance of heritage and where the archaeologist is positioned in this complex web of meanings. This points to the necessity, now more than ever, for collaboration and interdisciplinarity. If glocalization, as a concept, process or attitude, helps us to move archaeology (and the social sciences and humanities in general) in this direction, then we should all embrace it.

JHB: As archaeologists we occupy and contribute to a powerful yet complicated mental space between intangible heritage narratives and an only partly-knowable past. Both are important. The former can empower indigenous and disenfranchised groups (a very good thing) as well as oppressive populist intolerance (a very bad thing!). On the other hand, a partly-knowable and evidence-based past is also out there. Improving our understanding of it, warts and all, can contribute both to the co-production of constructive community narratives, and the undermining of dangerous myths such as primordial national origins.

How does glocalization fit into this social, political and scientific landscape? It is relevant to past and present, and can be both positive and negative. In part it provides an understanding of the modern dialectic between globalizing and local agendas, the cyclone of which is sometimes shockingly fuelled by our stories of the past. Sensational responses to

ancient DNA studies are a good example. The adoption of Viking-age and Medieval symbolism by the far right is another. Thus, in the present, we need to be surprisingly careful about how we articulate what we discover. At the same time, the shifting scale of agency that is recognized by the glocalization concept can be confidence-inspiring. Research at every level is important to stakeholders, be it 'big data' projects with profound implications for global food security[1] or backyard excavations (Lewis 2017) to raise the aspirations of children from local schools with low recruitment to further education (examples from recent work by British colleagues). Overall, the idea of glocalization provides one of many useful, albeit sometimes treacherous, bridges between the past and the present. In terms of its lessons for 2018, the all-pervasiveness of interconnectedness and mobility in history and prehistory (even when material culture first seems to show the opposite), is a powerful message that we need to convey successfully.

Concluding Remarks

RR: In general, I find the idea of applying concepts concerned with glocalization to archaeology very exciting, even though I, myself, am by no means a specialist in the latter discipline. Having said this, I want to emphasize strongly that the idea that application of the glocalization concept to archaeological research is best left to archaeologists is a little disappointing. Since I am strongly committed to the idea of transdisciplinarity in the largest sense possible, I tend to think that no subject or topic is automatically excluded from any research or research proposal. I also wish to state at the outset that I find the statement that glocalization is a "rather ugly portmanteau", disturbing. I say this largely because the term has by now, with considerable success, been applied to a growing number of disciplines, or disciplinary areas, such as anthropology, geography, history, sociology, sport, business, religion, tourism, gender studies, media, culture and many others. Moreover, as is clear from the discussion above, a number of these have been linked to archaeology. For this reason, I find the articles included in this volume very promising

[1]TIGR2ESS Project: Transforming India's Green Revolution by Research and Empowerment for Sustainable food Supplies. PI: Cameron Petrie, University of Cambridge (https://tigr2ess.globalfood.cam.ac.uk/fps/FP4).

intellectually and am particularly impressed with how fully cognisant they are with the type of work suggested by the glocal perspective.

I should, however, concede that it was not so long ago that the word glocal was indeed heavily disparaged. This was certainly the case in British newspapers as recently as 2013 when, for example, we find Anna Hart stating in *The Guardian* that the concept of the glocal is "the barbaric marriage of global and local" (Poole and Hart 2013). She also states that she has no idea what it is supposed to mean and refers to it as "nebulous tech-speak". This, she said, is useful only for the "the most uninspired and desperate keynote speakers". Not unrelated to this is my own experience when I first used the word globalization in public during a meeting of the British Sociological Association in the early 1990s. At the time, my use of this 'dangerous' word was met with scorn by a few in the audience.

Now, however, we find that globalization is not merely one of the most commonly used words in academia, but that its use has increased *vastly* in newspapers and media more generally throughout the world. Yet these days it usually has a negative connotation and, to this extent, has lost most of its *analytic* utility; it has become part of everyday discourse, rather than a mainly academic-intellectual term. Moreover, the concept of glocalization, and theories thereof, have been applied in a number of countries, including, Japan, Italy, UK, USA and Mexico, among others. Journals with titles including glocalization or glocality, or even the local and the global, are also appearing, while institutes or departments specifically devoted to this theme are being developed. To put it more strongly, the topic is now high on the academic agenda.

Yet, in recent years, the connection between the local and the global has become increasingly problematic; this is because of the growing complexity of life in general, and the increase not only in connectivity, but also in global reflexive consciousness. I therefore find the introduction of the fairly recent concept of grobalization into the general discourse concerning glocalization and globalization entirely unnecessary, although the work of Ritzer (2004), who introduced the term, has contributed very significantly to the ongoing debate. Here I must emphasize that I do not find the micro-macro distinction at all useful. Moreover, I find the suggestion

that the 'local', is currently a lacuna in contemporary scholarship very puzzling indeed. In fact, I would go so far as to say that social science in general is *replete* with ideas conveying the local—neighbourhood, village, locality, community, and so on. Today, one finds what might well be called the global celebration of the local! In other words, the local has now been globalized. Surely this draws attention to the intimacy of these two words or, better yet, concepts. In fact, the celebration of the local has become a major feature of so-called contemporary populism in many parts of the world, if not all regions. To put this another way, how can the local be excluded from any kind of scholarly, let alone everyday, consideration?

In the book, *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon*, Gluck and Tsing (2009) argue that words change worlds and worlds change words. This is very appropriate with respect to this volume, not least because it implies that the relationship between the local and the global changes from region to region and has different meanings in different historical contexts. My thinking is that the concept of the glocal is not only ubiquitous but that it can and should be applied to humankind in a long-historical sense. In other words, it is part and parcel of everyday life. Therefore, portmanteau, neologism, or whatever negative characterization is offered, the topic of glocalism seems unlikely to disappear.

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