A report to CIfA and summary of the results of an online Survey into the effects of Brexit on archaeology and archaeologists in the UK and EU (including recommendations for further action)

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With assistance from Jen Parker Wooding

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Summary

A survey devised and promoted by the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists to gauge opinion on the effects of the Brexit referendum vote was carried out between August and September 2016. This report summarises and reviews the results of the survey.

A question in the survey asked respondents to suggest topic areas where the Institute should initiate Brexit related discussions and negotiations. The 11 most frequently raised topics were:

- Freedom of movement
- Maintain collaborative projects and funding levels
- Maintain academic and research funding and the Erasmus student exchange scheme
- Supporting standards and professionalism of EU archaeologists working in the UK and UK archaeologists in the EU
- Lobbying for maintenance of EU environmental and heritage legislation in the UK
- Lobbying for maintenance of wages and terms and conditions, including H&S legislation, training and CPD
- Negative experiences
- Visas
- CIfA should not be involved
- Multi-disciplinary collaborations
- Pro-Brexit

A further question asked respondents for personal responses to Brexit. Answers to this question raised 22 separate areas of concern, some of which overlapped with the answers to the CIfA related questions. A number of conclusions are drawn from these responses

- There are a mix of views as to whether Brexit is a good thing or not
- Some archaeologists answered the questions based on personal impacts, others with a much wider view
- Apparently small concerns can sometimes mask deeper and more important worries
- Every comment is a valid concern

CIfA members may which to read it alongside the personal statement of the author, Kevin Wooldridge, which accompanies this report. This statement sets out his reaction to Brexit from the view of an archaeologist who currently works both in the UK and in the EU/EEA.

1 Scope of this review and summary

This review and summary is based on the results of an online survey devised and promoted by the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists into the effects of Brexit – the departure of the UK from the political entity of the European Union - on archaeology and archaeologists. The intent of the survey was to gather some primary data on and opinions from views of archaeologists who might be affected, either directly or tangentially, by the UK decision to leave the EU. The survey was not intended to be wholly objective or empirical, but in the main to establish whether there was a case for the Institute to be in any way concerned that departure from the EU might affect its members or its founding principles. To that end it was also hoped that the data gathered could help in guiding the Institute's immediate short term actions with regard to Brexit as well as developing a medium and long term policy.

That said it should be emphasised that the opinions expressed in this review are merely those of the author and are not intended to reflect or express the views of the Institute (which of course are more likely to be reflective and nuanced, than the authors prejudiced ramblings).

2 Background

A majority vote in a referendum held on 23rd June 2016 agreed the proposition that the UK should leave the political structure of the EU. The process for achieving this end required the UK government to give notice to the European Council through the procedures outlined in Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. This procedure once invoked would begin a minimum 2 year period of negotiation between the UK and the EU before a final 'divorce' came into force.

The council of the CIfA issued a statement on 7th July 2016 (fig 1). In the statement, they confirmed that the CIfA did not hold a formal position on the UK's membership of the EU, but reaffirmed its commitment to working with archaeologists from around the world in promoting professional and ethical standards. The statement concluded that the question of Brexit would be discussed in detail at the Institute conference in Newcastle in spring 2017 and at the EAA conference in August 2016.

In response to the statement of July 7th, I wrote to Peter Hinton on July 8th.

'Dear Peter

Many thanks for the ClfA statement on archaeology and Brexit. I realise that whilst everything is still in flux, it is difficult to be too specific, but hopefully the prompt issue of the statement has reassured many members that the Institute is aware of problems that might arise.

My own particular angst is regarding the future status of UK archaeologists, such as myself, who currently undertake work in other EU states. At the moment we benefit from the free movement of labour and the relative simplicity that allows when taking up research and excavation posts. It remains to be seen whether either the opportunities or the ease of access will exist post-settlement. I am guessing this is of equal concern for EU nationals currently working in UK archaeology and probably is also exercising the minds of many unit managers regarding future staffing requirements.

I wonder if the CIfA might be interested in collating opinions from members whose professional livelihood could be harmed as a result of Brexit, with a view to using the information (should the need arise) as part of a campaign highlighting the potential damage to the practice and standards of archaeology? I would be happy to act as a point of contact for UK archaeologists working in other EU countries'

As a result of my mail of 8th July, a dialogue began over the next month or so (including from the outset the involvement of Jen Parker Wooding), which proposed that a survey (hereafter described as the 'Attitudes to Brexit survey) seeking opinions from all sections of the profession (not merely just CIfA members) should be devised and issued as soon as reasonably possible. This dialogue resulted in a further statement from CIfA, on 11th August 2016. The original statement of July 7th was reissued with a covering notice announcing the imminent issuing of the attitudes to Brexit survey and including the following update;

'... CIfA has recently met with the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport and with civil servants to outline its concerns about the implications of the UK leaving the EU, namely that

- there is a need for the UK to retain its heritage legislation, much of which is rooted in EU directives and policy
- new funding routes must be put in place to compensate for the loss of EU programmes of support for research and agri-environment schemes
- negotiations to allow free movement of accredited, skilled archaeologists between the UK and the EU
 will be critical to both maintaining the sector's reputation as an international leader in archaeological
 practice and also to maintain the viability of the sector to meet demand, particularly that arising from
 large infrastructure projects.'



Archaeologists, the UK, Europe and the world: a statement from the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists

7 July 2016, for immediate release

Responding to archaeologists' strong feelings about the referendum on UK membership of the European Union, the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) wishes to emphasise its status vis-à-vis nations, states and unions.

CIfA is the leading professional body for archaeologists. Its accredited members have agreed to subscribe to the *Code of conduct* and to follow its Standards and guidance. This obligation applies wherever they live and work, as does their requirement to comply with all relevant legislation and regulations. CIfA therefore operates without national borders: it is not and never has been a UK institute. While the majority of its members practise in the UK, and the attentions of the Chartered Institute are hence focused there, a growing cadre is based elsewhere (we are distributed across 32 countries).

CIFA does not have formal position on the UK's membership of the European Union: that is a matter for the constituent parts of the UK and the EU to resolve through appropriate democratic processes. CIFA commends the thoughtful analyses of The Archaeology Forum and the Heritage Alliance of the potential impacts of a separation.

CIfA's Board of Directors has reaffirmed its commitment to working with archaeologists from around the globe to promote professional standards and ethical behaviour, to maximise the benefits that archaeologists bring to society. One of the great benefits that archaeologists offer is the power to help different people understand the great variety of cultures and traditions of humanity, to recognise how civilisations can thrive on cooperation and how conflicts can arise where cooperation is absent, and to realise how socio-economic problems are generated within societies as often as by outsiders.

Above all, archaeology shows the mobility of our species. We are all of migrant stock: some have travelled from choice and in hope, others from danger and in distress. All have left their mark on the environment; and researching that mark through archaeology shows how these new peoples flourished or faded, whether their cultures stayed separate, integrated and retained their heritage or were absorbed almost without trace. The knowledge of how societies have adapted to and benefited from interactions between peoples helps us understand why the world is as it is today and gives us privileged insights into how to handle some of the challenges and chances it faces. Those challenges are very noticeable in today's Europe, just as there have been magnificent examples of generosity and hospitality.

The job of work for archaeologists to do will be discussed in depth at ClfA's next annual conference: ClfA2017 Archaeology: a global profession, to be held 19 to 21 April 2017, at the University of Newcastle http://www.archaeologists.net/conference/2017. ClfA will also take an active role at the annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists later this year.

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3 Responses to the Attitudes to Brexit survey

The Attitudes to Brexit survey was open to respondents for approximately 2 months (September/October 2016). In that time a total of 309 responses were made and the initial responses collated and charted by Jen Parker Wooding (see Appendix 1 charts Q1-Q20). Much of the data contained within those charts is self-explanatory, but I will expand upon some aspects in the section 'Response to questions 1-18' below.

The second part of the response was free-text answers to questions 19 and 20. Question 19 asked respondents to suggest areas where CIfA could develop Brexit related policy and question 20 asked respondents for views on how they would personally be affected by Brexit. I have summarised these responses in the sections entitled 'What CIfA could do- responses to question 19' and 'How Brexit affects me – responses to question 20'.

3.1 Responses to Questions 1-18

Question 1 asked respondents about their nationality. Of the 285 respondents, 81% held a UK passport, 13% EU/EEA passport, 1.5% Rol passports and 4% dual nationality. It might be presumed that the 24 respondents who did not answer this question held non-UK/EU/EEA passports.

Question 2 asked respondents where they were currently based. I won't repeat the exact details of the breakdown, but suffice it to say that 86% of respondents were based in the UK and 14% elsewhere in the EU/EEA.

Question 3 followed on from the previous question and asked respondents about where they had mainly worked or studies. 80% had worked or studied mainly in the UK, 8% mainly in the EU/EEA and 2% elsewhere in the world. Nearly 10% of respondents had worked or studied equally in the UK and EU/EEA

Question 4 asked respondents over the length of their career, how long they had worked in their home country, in a EU/EEA country and elsewhere in the world. The response to this question effectively creates 308 unique responses and cannot be represented in a single chart.

Question 5 asked respondents whether they worked for a commercial archaeological undertaking or a non-commercial body, including academia, museums and government bodies. The split amongst respondents was almost exactly 50-50.

Question 6 asked respondents whether they had studied outside of their home country. Over 20% of respondents indicated they had.

Question 7 asked respondents who had responded positively to question 6 whether they had studied at undergraduate (33%) or at Post-graduate level (67%).

Question 8 asked 41 respondents who were currently students for how long they had studied in the UK, EU/EEA or elsewhere. As with question 4, this answer produced 41 unique responses which are not easily represented in a single chart.

Question 9 asked respondents whether in the future they would consider studying in a country other than their home country. 25% responded that they would.

Question 10 asked respondents based outside of the UK, whether they would in future consider studying in the UK. 7% responded they would.

Question 11 asked respondents whether on their current salary level, they would satisfy the visa requirement of earnings of £35,000 pa. Only 13% of respondents would.

Question 12 asked respondents currently outside the UK whether as a result of the Brexit result they would be more or less likely to work in the UK, in the EU/EAA or elsewhere in the world in future. For the UK, 3% said more likely, 21% less likely. For the EU/EEA, 20% said more likely, 7% less likely and for the rest of the world 12% said more likely, 4% less likely.

Question 13 asked respondents currently based in the UK, the same question as 12. For the UK, 24% said more likely, 31% less likely. For the EU/EEA, 40% said more likely, 24% less likely and for the rest of the world 35% said more likely, 12% less likely.

Question 14 asked respondents about the combination of considerations that had influenced their responses to questions 12 and 13. 50% stated that their decision had been based on a desire not to live in post-Brexit UK; 41% believed there would be a decrease in funding and opportunities in a post-Brexit UK; 38% said their decision would be influenced by family considerations; 31% by salary considerations and 19% stated other reasons.

Question 15 asked respondents about dependants. Only 44% of respondents admitted to having dependents, or which 38% were based here in the UK.

Question 16 asked respondents currently in receipt of EU funding what they thought about future funding levels. 30% believed that the referendum result would result in a decrease of funding over the next 2 to 5 years; 13% of respondents said that funding had already declined; and 1% believed that the referendum result had resulted in current EU funding being spent at an accelerated rate. A combined total of 10% of respondents believed that funding would be unchanged or even increase as a result of the referendum result. The largest number of respondents (44%) said the question was not applicable to their personal situation.

Question 17 asked respondents whether they believed that prior to the referendum, they had made the most of EU funding opportunities. 35% of respondents believed they had, but 53% believed they had not.

Question 18 asked respondents whether they were members of the ClfA. 245 respondents were corporate members and 22 were student members. 42 respondents were not currently ClfA members.

3.2 'What CIfA could do' - responses to question 19.

3.2.1 Q19: The UK government has yet to determine its negotiating objectives as it prepares its proposed exit from the EU. CIfA has made preliminary requests to the UK Government via letters and meetings, including (in the event of limitations to free movement) for provisions that allow accredited, skilled archaeologists from non-EU countries to work in the UK, and for equivalent reciprocal arrangements. What would you like CIfA to lobby for? Are you able to provide any good or bad examples of transnational working in the EU and beyond that could be used to make our arguments?

Question 19 invited respondents to suggest matters over which CIfA could lobby in response to the Brexit referendum. The full text of these responses is contained in the Excel dataset, but I have summarised the gist of the responses in a series of 11 subject headings. For the purposes of practicality, I have ignored suggestions that are clearly beyond the scope of CIfA powers e.g. 'hold a second referendum'. Each subject heading is accompanied by typical examples of responses. Importantly, the order of the following subject headings reflects the frequency and strength of each response i.e. the most frequent is 3.2.1.1, the least frequent is no 3.2.1.11.

3.2.1.1 Freedom of movement (40 responses).

'Free movement of labour for archaeologists. In my youth working in the EU and elsewhere in the world improved my understanding of archaeology enormously, exposing me to different approaches and site practice in countries that had a different legal framework to the UK. I think archaeologists in the UK will be poorer practitioners if they do not have exposure to how things are done in the EU or indeed the rest of the world and the mindset and regulatory changes that will go with Brexit will make it more difficult to gain that experience'.

 $'Allow\ accredited,\ skilled\ archaeologists\ from\ non-EU\ countries\ to\ work\ in\ the\ UK,\ and\ for\ equivalent\ reciprocal\ arrangements'$

'I think there are lots of examples of British archaeologists working in other EU countries, our skills are highly regarded and these opportunities should remain'.

'All commercial archaeological organisations rely on non-UK archaeologists as part of their workforce. Post-Brexit must not challenge this reliance on excellent colleagues who just happen to have been born in a different part of Europe'.

3.2.1.2 EU collaborative projects, including buying into research programmes, maintaining levels of EU funding post-Brexit (21 responses)

'We need to work continue to work with European partners in skills sharing and best practice, we need to be able to work collaboratively on funding bids with EU partners'.

'Continued access to and participation in EU-funded cultural programmes. My main work and research interests lie in Orkney and Shetland - where many significant projects are EU partnership projects and EU-funded. I am also very concerned about the impact on our universities, which currently attract so many foreign students and research collaborations'.

'The company I work for will likely move operations out of the UK dependent on the results of Brexit negotiations. At that point I would be made redundant. It is also likely that Brexit will reduce the availability of work for the company I work for'.

'A government commitment to replacing the funding that we're going to lose as a result of Brexit. There should be joined-up lobbying between all in human and natural heritage. We should protect our intangible heritage as we do our tangible heritage (the much-vaunted 'otherwise' than signing the UNESCO convention or signing it). The Netherlands' have many excellent examples of transnational working with their former colonies (mutuaal erfgoed - mutual heritage). But what we might lobby for, what we might suggest, is largely dependent on the Brexit vision - is it Norway, Canada, or something completely different

3.2.1.3 Academic and research funding, collaborative projects and the Erasmus scheme (16 responses)

'Continued access to EU research funding (Horizon 2020 and beyond) is essential. Whilst government have pledged to ensure current projects can be completed, this is of little comfort to those of us currently developing projects for funding in the next 2-3 years. If such access cannot be guaranteed it is critical that government creates a funding regime in which archaeological research can be funded at an equivalent or higher level to what is currently offered. Protection of EU students is also extremely important, as is an ability for skilled graduates to remain in the country, particularly within the heritage sector'

'Ability for non-UK persons to work in UK Universities, non-UK specialists to be able to work in UK and easily undertake specialist analysis on UK-derived material. Continuing access to joint programme with EU countries'.

'People doing research on British Archaeology, i.e. spending their time and resources on giving the British public part of their history should not be placed restrictions on for working or doing research in the UK'

'I worked for an organisation Grampus heritage who provided graduates and undergraduates with archaeological excavation experience across Europe which was funded by the EU (through the Erasmus scheme). Now with the Brexit this is unlikely to happen, which means they will no longer be able to gain experience or shared knowledge of archaeological experiences in a cross exchange of information across Europe. How are we to improve if we stay in our little bubble or if we don't gain experience of other countries'.

3.2.1.4 Supporting EU archaeologists working in UK archaeology and UK archaeologists in the EU, archaeological standards and professionalism in UK and EU (14 responses)

'Both EU and non-EU archaeologists working in the UK keep British archaeology culturally diverse and discussions about methodology and archaeological knowledge active. Archaeologists with a culturally open mind are more open to new ideas which inform the way we look at our own heritage. Said heritage is connected to the rest of Europe in terms of material culture, history, ideology etc. and should be studied in collaboration, rather than in separation'

'The main issue is the one that you highlight. We have come to rely on skilled archaeologists from Europe, and many friends and colleagues have made the most of opportunities to work in EU countries. It would be a tragedy if this could not continue'

'Keeping British archaeology open and welcoming to staff from overseas and particularly Europe. These staff make a relatively significant proportion of available British archaeological field staff and consultants, of which few are currently employed at the rates that meet the stated threshold'.

'As a UK Citizen working in a European country (Ireland), I generally feel uncertain and anxious about what effect Brexit may have on my position here - the apparent lack of (I don't even know what word to use here!) any coherent vision of how the exit may function is the most frustrating and alarming. I am greatly heartened to see the CIfA making this effort to gather relevant data towards gauging a response and making plans for what is needed and desired and I'll do everything I can to assist'.

3.2.1.5 Lobbying for maintenance of EU environmental and heritage legislation in the UK (12 responses)

'The maintenance of EU environmental legislation and the implementation of future EU environmental directives into UK Law. The continued access to European funding programmes. The continued full participation in legal frameworks to assist in combating cross border heritage crime and the trafficking of artefacts'.

'Protection for historic buildings- see the example of Prospect Mills, Thornton, where an arson attack has allowed a company to clear the remains of Prospect Mills into flattened ground. The mills have a special significance to the local population as a number of them worked in the mill or knew people who did. It contributed to the landscape of the area in a positive manner and was an example of the industrial heritage of West Yorkshire as the former wool capital of the world'.

3.2.1.6 Lobbying for maintenance of wages and terms and conditions, including H&S legislation, training and CPD (10 responses)

'A more sensible minimum salary requirement is one concern that applies outside archaeology as well. It's completely unrealistic for most jobs'

'We need to work continue to work with European partners in skills sharing and best practice, we need to be able to work collaboratively on funding bids with EU partners, Rights at work eg: maternity rights for women need to be protected'.

'exchange programmes for CPD'.

3.2.1.7 Negative experience (8 responses).

'Only had bad experiences working with EU nationals on sites'.

'Recruiting overseas to fill a skills shortage or offering real opportunities is acceptable. Taking advantage of skilled people by importing them from poorer countries to keep salaries low is unacceptable to me'.

'There are enough skilled, British passport holding archaeologists already present in the UK and the CIfA should lobby for a range of benefits (including wages) for these people. The 'Brexit' question is irrelevant'.

'Give English nationals priority. Getting help from overseas is the opposite of what Brexit achieved, at the moment'.

'End use of foreign workers in British archaeology - here only for money'.

3.2.1.8 Visas (7 responses).

'The £35000 visa threshold is impossible for young archaeological workers'.

'I would like CIFA to lobby against the minimum salary for UK working visas'.

'Lowering the salary requirements for visa requirements - I've never met an archaeologist earning £35K and it would seriously damage our profession to not be able to employ EU citizens'.

3.2.1.9 CIfA should not get involved (5 responses)

'I think the CIfA should be very careful to distinguish between the political opinions of its members and its remit as a professional organisation'.

'I don't think you should waste your time lobbying. There are much more important issues you should be dealing with'.

3.2.1.10 Multi-disciplinary collaborations (2 responses).

'I would like the CIfA to team together with representatives of other field sciences (geology, botany, entomology, etc.) to lobby for some form of recognition/exemption of these professions, regarding the fact that transnational collaboration is essential to skill acquisition and progress within such fields'.

3.2.1.11 Pro-Brexit (2 responses)

'Just to get on with it! Delays are damaging'.

3.3 'How Brexit affects me' - responses to question 20.

3.3.1 Q20: How do you feel about Brexit? What is your opinion? What are your experiences of the impact of free movement of labour/migration on the workplace, and the attitudes towards 'experts'? How do you anticipate that Brexit would impact you personally and those close to you, as well as, generations to come?

Question 20 invited respondents to comment on how they felt personally about Brexit. As with the answers to question 19, the full text of these responses is contained in the Excel dataset, but I have summarised the gist of the responses under a series of 23 subject headings. Each subject heading is accompanied by typical examples of responses, but unlike question 19, these headings are in alphabetic rather than frequency order. All opinions are clearly important to the responder and therefore valid.

3.3.1.1 Archaeology informs about history

'British prehistoric (and more recent) archaeology shows continued links of trade and immigration/emigration between these islands and the European continental landmass. There will have been periods of insularity over those millennia but we have to do all we can to keep that reciprocal flow of people and ideas as free as we can be. Archaeology is the prime discipline for showing this in action and we have a duty to ensure that we 'the experts' tell it like it is!'.

3.3.1.2 Brexit could benefit our careers

'Too many local archaeologists are currently unemployed, they should be considered first and foremost'.

3.3.1.3 CIfA

'I would like CIfA to lobby the government to ignore the outcome of an advisory referendum given the potential and actual further cuts likely to fall upon the heritage and culture sectors as a perceived 'soft target'. The current government has already effectively killed the nascent renewables industry, something which had a direct and measurable effect on those archaeological units who work with them. The elevation of several prominent right-wing politicians as part of the post-Brexit settlement will seemingly only accelerate this process. I have also experienced the direct loss of work as a knock-on of organisations cutting peat restoration projects in advance of a dearth of future EU funding. There are further issues with Brexit that are of indirect practical application seemingly, but the body-blow to those of us who hoped against all visible evidence that Britain was tolerant, outward-looking and inclusive has been hard to recover from. The UK feels a darker place than it did'.

'I'm going back to add that perhaps ClfA should be campaigning again to ensure that we have a well-balanced and in depth history curriculum, and for the national curriculum to be reinstated for all schools, including Academies, and that critical reading should be the most important part of education! Sorry, rant over'.

3.3.1.4 Collaboration

'After the initial shock has passed I feel sadness and despair. I haven't yet felt the impact of the outcome of the vote. I do feel that the result may have sent a message that we are unwilling to work with others, don't want to be part of a team and don't appreciate all the EU has done. The media negativity and spin angered me, particularly the disregard for expert opinion. I feel ashamed to be 'British' right now, as a result of the 'leave' outcome and the aftermath reported by the media (increased reports of racism) plus the actions of politicians this summer'.

'Personally I think Brexit has wrecked my future chances of working with colleagues abroad, being able to apply for research grants (there will be more pressure on UK sources now the EU support has gone!) and it makes people in this country look like a bunch of selfish, narrow minded, xenophobic idiots!'.

3.3.1.5 Colleagues

'Devastated. I have always considered Europe to be an extension of my home country, the door to which now feels as though it is being closed. Some of my EU colleagues (archaeologists) have suffered racist abuse since the vote and are now considering leaving, particularly since their wages are now worth much less than they were. The company I work for has employs large number of EU citizens and their positions would be particularly hard to fill (unless the economy completely nosedives, in which case there won't be many jobs left anyway!'

'I hope to see a continued involvement of continental colleagues here in Britain, but movement the other way is inhibited by problems of language. The decision to restrict language teaching in British schools is possibly more important'.

'There may also be a further shortfall in available staff as foreign workers become less inclined to stake their future in British archaeology due to both uncertainty about future prospects and even, to our great discredit, due to feeling unwelcome'.

3.3.1.6 Comments critical of Brexiteers

'People are stupid basically'.

'Deeply disappointed, I would rather trust an expert than a politician. Confirmed to me 52% of electorate would make short planks look bright. We have lost our place in the European community and the chance to preserve the future of our children. The EU was founded on the belief that an economic union is the best option for preventing war across the European continent. The EU is hardly likely to give the UK a favourable exit deal more likely a punitive one given that it needs to preserve what's left of the EU. We lack the expertise in negotiation which would make Brexit a success and we have 50 years of legal assimilation to undo in two to three years. Would personally sign up for European citizenship tomorrow rather than be associated with this ignorant little Englander culture. We are finished as any form of power in the world anyway and are reverting to a second world back water off the coast of Europe. We are stuffed!'

'Turkeys voting for Christmas'

3.3.1.7 Disaster, Catastrophe, Devastated, Depressed, Mistake, Mortified

'I am devastated, I think the public has been tricked yet again into voting against its own interests and I am so sad that this country has demonstrated its xenophobia on such a scale. I am perfectly happy have freedom of movement and non-EU immigration because we are lost without them'.

'Potential disaster for the EU.'

'It's a disaster'.

'I feel devastated we are leaving!'.

'Anxious, saddened, disappointed at possibly loosing good colleagues and friends'.

'Depressed. there is a strong need for experts to consider how their messages are communicated'.

'Mortified'.

3.3.1.8 Diversity

'I feel it is a negative decision and could have a huge impact on archaeological practice, especially reduction of diverse employment. Units are already suffering with lack of staff, so this can only hinder things further'.

3.3.1.9 Economics and archaeology

'For archaeology in the UK outside of London Brexit will mean a slow down due to economic uncertainty and lack of investment and incentives by government to attract investment to the regions of the England and other nations of the U.K. In Scotland, the uncertainty is compounded by a second referendum on independence which will cause yet another slowdown in the construction sector and thus in archaeology in what is already a fragile economy. The south of England is the most robust market for archaeology in the UK at the moment while the other regions are susceptible to the full shocks and fall out of Brexit'.

'Concerned about the long-term effects on commercial archaeology in UK, due to economic slowdown or recession, and must guard against any cutting of vital red tape being used as economic stimulus. Loss of EIA regulations would transform UK commercial archaeology into something unrecognisable and would see significant losses to the industry'.

'Potential very significant implications exist for British archaeology through the possible knock on effects on the British economy, particularly inward investment in construction, infrastructure and particularly housing and renewables'.

3.3.1.10 Education and training

'I am concerned that future generations won't get the opportunities I did through the Erasmus programme, that the staff shortages in the industry will be exacerbated if we can't recruit from the EU freely or that people choose not to move to or stay in post-brexit, and that the regulatory regime will change leading to less protection of the historic environment and therefore a loss of employment opportunities'.

'Can see the commercial sector being hard pressed to keep up to positive progress in increasing training/taking on trainees as work is already being put on hold and some jobs fallen through due to the vote'.

3.3.1.11 European unity

'I think this is a huge step backwards and is damaging the positive side of a unified Europe'.

3.3.1.12 Family

'I very greatly regret Brexit; whatever its undoubted faults I am a strong EU supporter with strong believe in the value of both economic, social and political European union. My partner is Irish; I have in the past worked in Europe (Norway) as an archaeologist and greatly valued the experience of working alongside and learning from others - archaeologists & non-archaeologists from across N Europe. In Scandinavia, 'experts' were well regarded'.

'Saddest day of my working life. I was in Belgium the night of the referendum and still can't quite believe that the UK voted to leave the collegiate atmosphere and wider family that I was enjoying'.

'Devastated by the result! My partner is French, so we are uncertain about our future and where we will be able to live, I don't speak any foreign languages, so am unsure how easy it would be for me to get an archaeology job outside the UK. Potentially I will have to choose between staying with my career in the uk or my partner in a different country. There is also the issue of a potential decline in construction, and therefore commercial archaeological work, post Brexit...so I might become unemployed anyway!'.

3.3.1.13 Free movement

'Potential impact on free movement will make Britain a less culturally diverse place, close avenues to collaboration in European projects, will alter (and significantly reduce) skilled archaeological work force'.

'I am disgusted. Free movement of people within the EU has been of great benefit to the UK but the benefits have not been distributed equally thanks to the policies of successive right-wing governments. The attitude of many of those who voted Leave was ignorant and prejudiced while others naively accepted the misleading arguments of the Leave campaign. The impact of leaving the EU (if the government proceeds with leaving, which is still in some doubt) will take many years to fully emerge but I expect that quitting the EU will have a very negative effect on the country, not only economically but also socially, culturally and politically. I now plan to emigrate back to my country of birth as soon as it is feasible to do so'.

3.3.1.14 Futures and Alternative Futures

'I strongly campaigned to vote in and feel that Brexit would be an utter nightmare to the future opportunities of the UK, it will impact archaeology negatively'.

'Bitterly disappointed, likely to have negative ramifications for several generation'.

'Desperately worried about the future - not just professionally, but in every respect. I believe this is a massive backward step. I feel European and want my children and grandchildren to be part of Europe and all that it offers. I detest the xenophobia that has risen to the surface against some of our European friends and neighbours, especially eastern Europeans. I believe a world which disregards the views of experts is a dangerous world. The Referendum was called for petty political reasons in the Conservative party, and proved to be a massive misjudgement'.

3.3.1.15 Good Idea!

'I supported Brexit. It was a vote against the rotten establishment, austerity, the super-rich and an anti-democratic EU (see impact on Portugal, Spain, Ireland and particularly Greece). The EU does not allow free movement - 'Fortress Europe' has contributed to the deaths of tens of thousands of migrants. Brexit could reduce the effects of the programme of austerity on me and my family'.

'Very positive. I would like to see UK citizens given priority for archaeological positions and a less precarious employment situation for those citizens. Britain has a unique archaeological industry unlike any other country in the world which attracts labour from outside the UK. However, it is unfair on British citizens trained as archaeologists to not only compete for employment with fellow citizens but the EU and the rest of the world with the consequent impact on wages and job security'.

'As a highly skilled professional that has failed to get a proper job, let alone one that I can use my skills and experience, these past 8 years, I welcome Brexit. I hope that with less influx of EU workers there will be job opportunities for me personally and also that it might bring an end to zero-hours contracts which only benefit employers and not employees'.

'I am glad we have left the EU and eventually will not be subject to their ludicrous laws and I envisage we as a nation will forge our own path, as we have always done. Brexit for me is not about racism, but about creating our own freedom and most of the current legislation will simply accommodate under our terms and not Brussels'.

3.3.1.16 Intellectualism and expertise

'Absolutely gutted. Ashamed to be English. Terrified by the rejection of expertise in all forms. Depressed by the rise of Little England attitudes and concerned about the rise in hate crimes. Worried about the future economy and concerned about my pension (from the Civil Service scheme so tied to the pound) and my now increasingly remote plans to retire abroad'.

3.3.1.17 Internationalism

'Brexit is bad as it will limit the possibilities and potential opportunities of both UK and EU archaeologists and make sharing of knowledge and funding harder as I would expect there to be more red tape'.

'I voted remain and I feel Brexit is a step backwards. Archaeology should be multi vocal and can only lose from closing borders'.

'Having spent many years building up professional friendships and connections with colleagues in the EU I was mortified by the vote, a disgraceful retrograde step. I won't go on'.

3.3.1.18 It's probably our fault

'Pretty miserable, to be honest. I thought society was on a trajectory to becoming more open, more tolerant, more collaborative. Pretty gutted that what I thought was a vocal reactionary minority turns out to be a majority. And coming to terms with the fact that archaeologists have fallen down on the job, really - we should have been more vocal in challenging the isolationist nostalgia. Ultimately I hope things will continue on a more open trajectory, but I'm increasingly worried they

won't. Even if they do, at what cost? And how much damage will this vote have done? I fear for the intellectual and social environment in which my son is growing up'.

3.3.1.19 Let's wait and see eh!

'Brexit' is not an issue for either me or my colleagues and the issue of free movement of labour and attitudes to 'expert knowledge' do not affect us in any way. 'Brexit' will not impact on either myself, my colleagues nor my family. The CIfA would do well to focus on the need for promoting the significance of UK archaeology in general to the wider British public, thereby increasing the discipline's relevance. If the CIfA believes it can assess a 'Brexit' impact for 'generations to come' then it is clear that their management personnel (as well as Mr Kevin Wooldridge) are more deluded as to their importance than I first presumed. It is patently clear that the organisation is in need of significant re-focus in this regard'.

'So far there has been little impact on the people who work for the company that employs me'.

'In the final analysis it will make less difference than we think. All the things the academics are worried about happened before we were members of the EU and Universities and companies will still employ who they want to. It was not a good decision but it's one we have to live with. Had the margin been equally the other way, the remain campaigner would be saying it was final as well. The failure was on the part of the politicians running the remain campaign who failed miserably to engage, thinking threatening and frightening people would work. From what I could see it made folks more belligerently anti'.

3.3.1.20 Scotland

'The survey does not capture my own strong post-Brexit preference, which is to work as a Scottish and EU citizen in UK. Some way to go before that happens though'.

'The current disaster that is the UK and Brexit result will hopefully give a second chance for Scottish Independence giving a positive boost for the people of Scotland and all future generations freed from the shackles of idiotic Westminster governments'.

3.3.1.21 Specialisms

'I think it is dangerous to propagate the idea that specialist opinion is worthless'.

'Free movement is essential to maintain an adequate specialist skills base. Brexit has now redefined our traditional neighbours and colleagues as the 'other' which is already causing planning difficulties'.

'Against Brexit, for many reasons. Don't think it will affect my work as a freelance specialist, but I am concerned about the impact on the archaeological profession as a whole. I have worked alongside archaeologists from EU and non-EU countries, and would like that to continue'.

3.3.1.22 To be EU or Not EU

'I feel sad to lose European citizenship -however, i think that there could be long-term positive consequences in terms of reducing wealth inequality via a lot of short and medium term economic pain, i feel that freedom of movement has been very positive for the profession'.

'it's all a terrible idea to leave the EU. I'm gutted about it'.

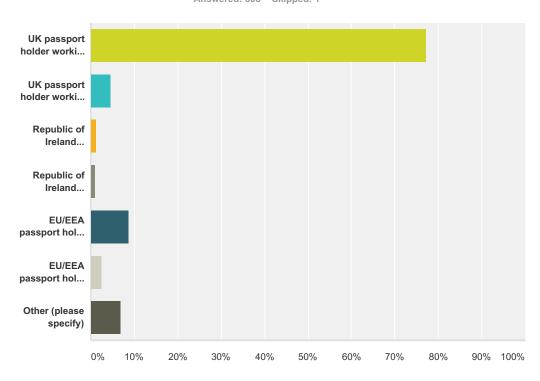
'I am saddened by it. It will probably stop any possibility of me being able to work in Europe. While I have worked for many years in other areas, I am at the beginning of an archaeological career, and I feel I have missed out on the chance to use EU schemes to get funding and to work with other EU nationals as I develop my career. Therefore, I would imagine this will have a negative effect as I start my archaeological career at a time when I am being cut off from the wider academic community'.

4 Conclusions

- 4.1 The initial CIfA response to the June 23rd referendum result was prompt and appropriate. The statement issued on July 7th, at least in my opinion, helped to reassure members that the Institute recognised the referendum result could and would have consequences for the practice of archaeology and the status of archaeologists both in the UK and also in the EU/EEA. The August 11th update to the initial statement, detailed initial steps that the Institute had taken to engage with the Secretary of State and civil servants at DCMS and outlined areas of concern that had been raised.
- 4.2 The Attitudes to Brexit survey initiated in late August 2016 sought the views of the wider archaeological community on issues connected with Brexit with the aim of developing a cohesive Institute policy to take forward into future negotiations. At a very basic level it sought to create a profile of the 'archaeologist' type affected by Brexit. At the time of closure 309 respondents had completed the survey.
- 4.3 The responses to survey questions 1-18 allow for the construct of a 'typical' archaeologist likely to be affected by Brexit. Except that there does not appear to be a single stereotype. The respondents cover a whole range of roles, of experience ranging from a few months to more than 30 years, based in locations both inside the UK and EU and outside as well. That could be argued as both a strength of the survey, demonstrating that a diverse representative range have responded or as a weakness, making it difficult to satisfy a majority with simplistic and easy remedies.
- 4.4 The replies to question 19 are directed squarely at the Institute and its attempts to formulate a coherent policy line on Brexit. I will say nothing more on the subject other than to repeat the most frequent suggestions. These suggestions should be seen in light of the negotiation aims already being followed by the Institute and announced in the statement dated August 11th 2016.
 - Freedom of movement
 - Maintain collaborative projects and funding levels
 - Maintain academic and research funding and the Erasmus student exchange scheme
 - Supporting standards and professionalism of EU archaeologists working in the UK and UK archaeologists in the EU
 - Lobbying for maintenance of EU environmental and heritage legislation in the UK
 - Lobbying for maintenance of wages and terms and conditions, including H&S legislation, training and CPD
 - Negative experiences
 - Visas
 - CIfA should not be involved
 - Multi-disciplinary collaborations
 - Pro-Brexit
- 4.5 The replies to question 20 cover 22 separate subject areas, many of which overlap with considerations expressed in the answer to question 19. There is nothing more to be added here other than to recognise the following.
 - Not every respondent is necessarily opposed to Brexit
 - Some archaeologists regard Brexit as a personal attack, other see it in a much wider landscape
 - Apparently petty concerns can sometimes mask deeper and more important worries
 - Every comment is a valid concern

Q2 Are you currently:

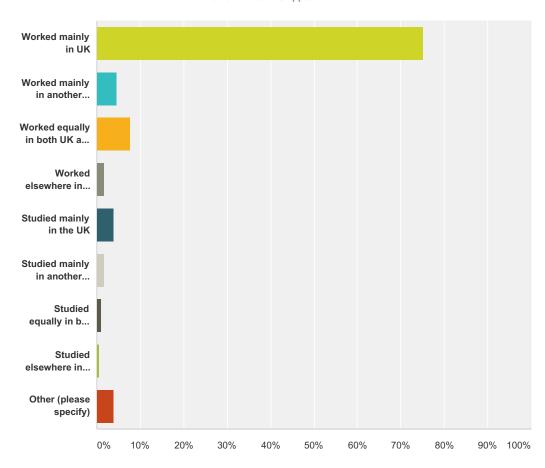
Answered: 308 Skipped: 1



Answer Choices	Responses	
UK passport holder working in UK	77.27%	238
UK passport holder working in EU/EEA country	4.55%	14
Republic of Ireland passport holder working in UK	1.30%	4
Republic of Ireland passport holder working in RoI or EU/EEA	0.97%	3
EU/EEA passport holder working in UK	8.77%	27
EU/EEA passport holder working in EU/EEA	2.60%	8
Other (please specify)	6.82%	21
Total Respondents: 308		

Q3 To date have you:

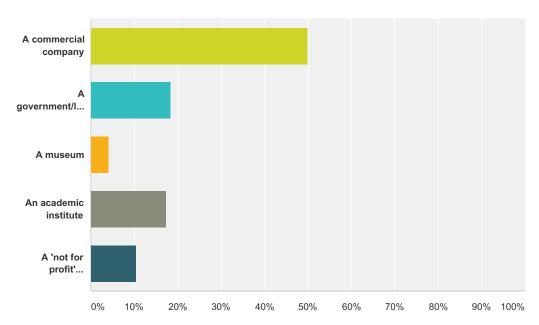
Answered: 309 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
Worked mainly in UK	75.08%	232
Worked mainly in another EU/EEA country	4.53%	14
Worked equally in both UK and EU/EEA countries	7.77%	24
Worked elsewhere in the world	1.62%	5
Studied mainly in the UK	3.88%	12
Studied mainly in another EU/EEA country	1.62%	5
Studied equally in both UK and EU/EEA countries	0.97%	3
Studied elsewhere in the world	0.65%	2
Other (please specify)	3.88%	12
Total		309

Q5 Would you describe your current employer as:

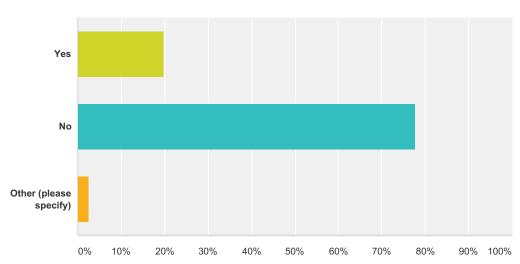
Answered: 267 Skipped: 42



Answer Choices	Responses	
A commercial company	49.81%	133
A government/local government agency	18.35%	49
A museum	4.12%	11
An academic institute	17.23%	46
A 'not for profit' organisation	10.49%	28
Total		267

Q6 Have you studied in another EU/EEA country other than your home country?



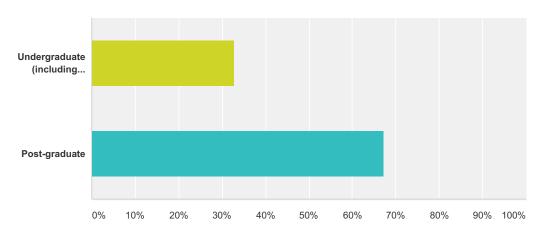


Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	19.74%	61
No	77.67%	240
Other (please specify)	2.59%	8
Total		309

Brexit Questionnaire

Q7 If Yes, did you study as:

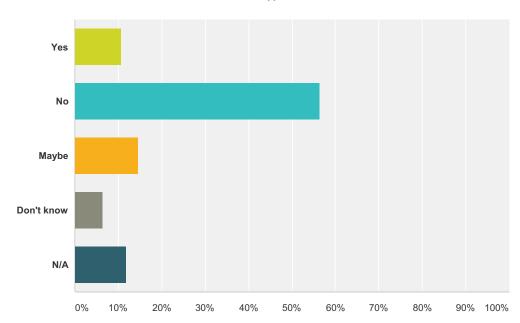
Answered: 67 Skipped: 242



Answer Choices	Responses	
Undergraduate (including Erasmus)	32.84%	22
Post-graduate	67.16%	45
Total		67

Q9 If you're based in the UK, are you considering a future studying in an EU/EEA country other than your home nation?

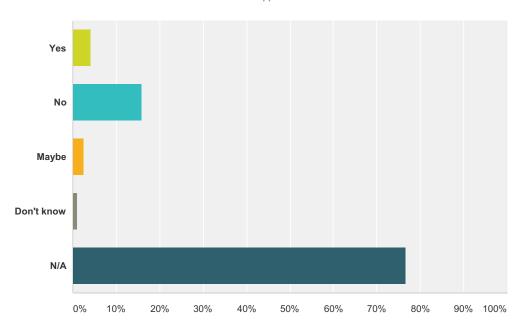
Answered: 293 Skipped: 16



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	10.58%	31
No	56.31%	165
Maybe	14.68%	43
Don't know	6.48%	19
N/A	11.95%	35
Total		293

Q10 If you're based in the EU/EAA (outside the UK), are you considering studying in the UK?

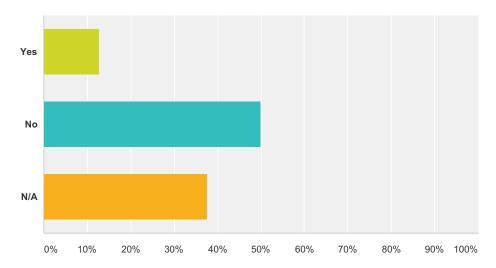
Answered: 196 Skipped: 113



Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	4.08%	8
No	15.82%	31
Maybe	2.55%	5
Don't know	1.02%	2
N/A	76.53%	150
Total		196

Q11 To obtain a UK working visa for non UK/EU/EEA passport holders there is currently a minimum salary requirement of £35,000 per annum. If you were required to obtain a working visa for the UK would your current salary be sufficient to satisfy this condition?

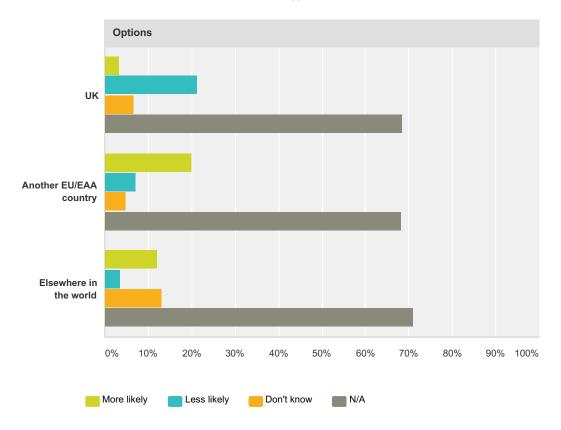




Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	12.64 % 34
No	49.81% 134
N/A	37.55% 101
Total	269

Q12 For those currently outside the UK, has the UK referendum result made it more or less likely that you would want to work in the UK, another EU/EAA country or elsewhere in the world?

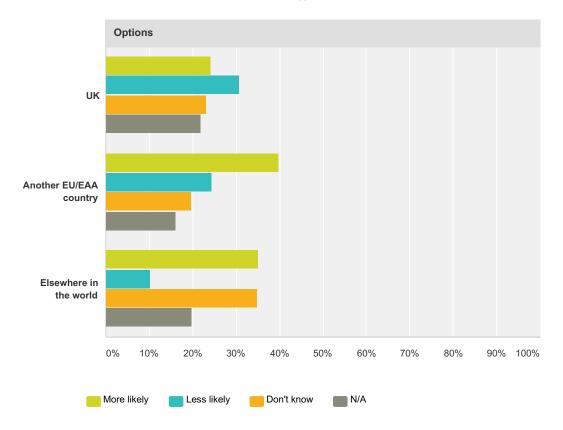
Answered: 91 Skipped: 218



Options					
	More likely	Less likely	Don't know	N/A	Total
UK	3.37%	21.35% 19	6.74%	68.54% 61	89
Another EU/EAA country	20.00% 17	7.06% 6	4.71% 4	68.24% 58	85
Elsewhere in the world	12.05% 10	3.61% 3	13.25%	71.08% 59	83

Q13 For UK based members,has the UK referendum result made it more or less likely that you would want to work in the UK, another EU/EAA countryor elsewhere in the world?

Answered: 280 Skipped: 29

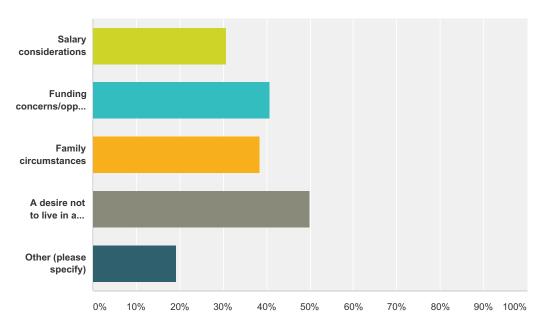


Options					
	More likely	Less likely	Don't know	N/A	Total
UK	24.25% 65	30.60% 82	23.13% 62	22.01% 59	268
Another EU/EAA country	39.85% 106	24.44% 65	19.55% 52	16.17% 43	266
Elsewhere in the world	35.16% 90	10.16% 26	34.77% 89	19.92% 51	256

Brexit Questionnaire

Q14 Which of the following reasons did you consider in your answer to Q.12 or 13?

Answered: 287 Skipped: 22

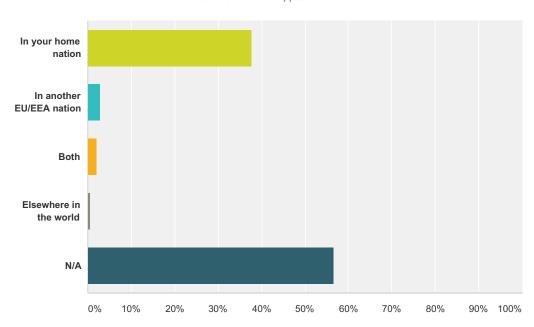


Answer Choices	Responses	
Salary considerations	30.66%	88
Funding concerns/opportunities	40.77%	117
Family circumstances	38.33%	110
A desire not to live in a post-brexit UK	49.83%	143
Other (please specify)	19.16%	55
Total Respondents: 287		

Brexit Questionnaire

Q15 Do you have dependents?

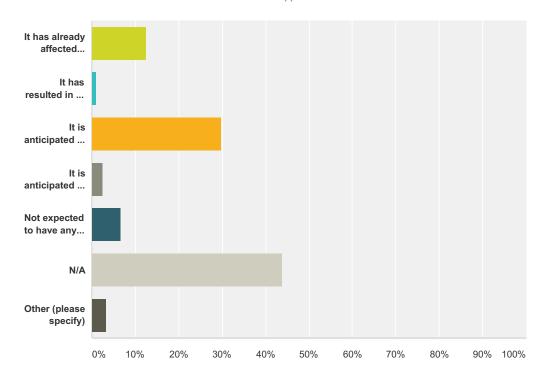
Answered: 302 Skipped: 7



Answer Choices	Responses	
In your home nation	37.75%	114
In another EU/EEA nation	2.98%	9
Both	1.99%	6
Elsewhere in the world	0.66%	2
N/A	56.62%	171
Total		302

Q16 If your work depends upon EU funding for research, tourism & development, agrienvironment schemes or EU cultural programmes – what has been or is the anticipated impact of the Brexit vote?

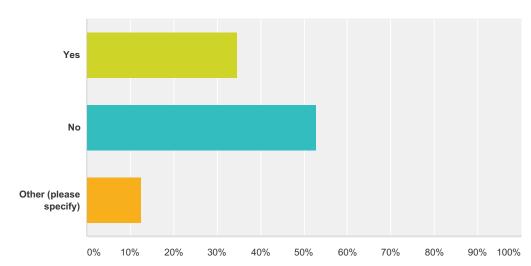
Answered: 271 Skipped: 38



Answer Choices	Responses	
It has already affected funding and/or the viability of planned programmes	12.55%	34
It has resulted in an accelerated programme to spend budgets up	1.11%	3
It is anticipated to impact negativelyupon funding programmes within next 2-5 yrs	29.89%	81
It is anticipated to impact positively	2.58%	7
Not expected to have any impact	6.64%	18
N/A	43.91%	119
Other (please specify)	3.32%	9
Total		271

Q17 Do you regret not having made the most of potential professional and funding collaborations prior to the UK referendum result?

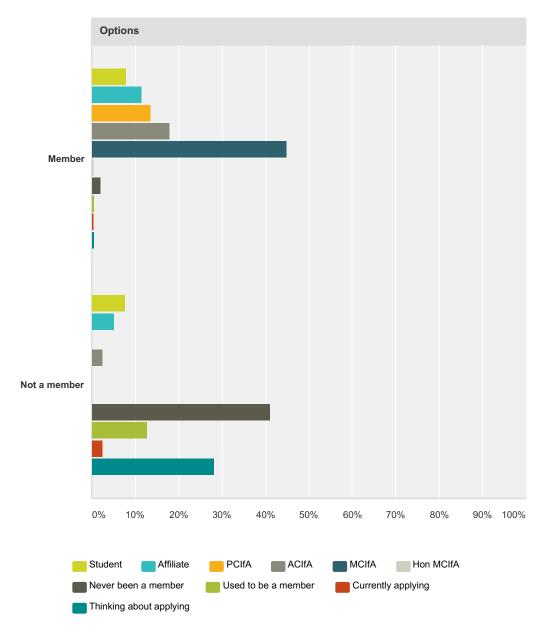




Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	34.72%	100
No	52.78%	152
Other (please specify)	12.50%	36
Total		288

Q18 Are you a member of the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists?

Answered: 307 Skipped: 2



Options											
	Student	Affiliate	PCIfA	ACIfA	MCIfA	Hon MCIfA	Never been a member	Used to be a member	Currently applying	Thinking about applying	Total
Member	7.89%	11.47%	13.62%	17.92%	44.80%	0.36%	2.15%	0.72%	0.36%	0.72%	
	22	32	38	50	125	1	6	2	1	2	279
Not a	7.69%	5.13%	0.00%	2.56%	0.00%	0.00%	41.03%	12.82%	2.56%	28.21%	
member	3	2	0	1	0	0	16	5	1	11	39

Brexit Questionnaire

Q19 UK government has yet to determine its negotiating objectives as it prepares its proposed exit from the EU. ClfA has made preliminary requests to the UK Government via letters and meetings, including (in the event of limitations to free movement) for provisions that allow accredited, skilled archaeologists from non-EU countries to work in the UK, and for equivalent reciprocal arrangements. What would you like ClfA to lobby for? Are you able to provide any good or bad examples of transnational working in the EU and beyond that could be used to make our arguments?

Answered: 164 Skipped: 145

Brexit Questionnaire

Q20 How do you feel about Brexit? What is your opinion? What are your experiences of the impact of free movement of labour/migration on the workplace, and the attitudes towards 'experts'? How do you anticipate that Brexit would impact you personally and those close to you, as well as, generations to come?

Answered: 243 Skipped: 66