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The public benefit of archaeology during an era of financial austerity: three British case studies from the commercial, university, and museum sectors

1. Introduction

This paper looks at the way in which funders of archaeological projects and planning policies in a British context have impacted the public accessibility and sustainability of archaeological work in an era of shrinking budgets since the financial crisis of 2007-8. Three case studies have been chosen to reflect the main areas of archaeological activity within Britian during the period 2008 to 2023: the commercial archaeology sector, the university archaeology sector, and the museum archaeology sector. Each example looks at who the funders of the project were, what they expected as public benefit, and how this impacted on the aims, sustainability, and outcomes of each project. The article concludes with how sustainable these approaches are in the post-COVID pandemic financial environment of the 2020s.

2. New Bailey Prison and the Developer-funded Archaeology

The New Bailey Prison project is a typical example of a larger-scale urban redevelopment project of the 2010s, running to multiple construction phases over several years, with commercial archaeology undertaken at each stage of the construction process. It lies on the western bank of the River Irwell in the city of Salford, near the edge of Manchester city centre in Greater Manchester, North West England. Until 2010, the majority of the site was a public car park with a large multi-storey office block of the 1970s to the south-east and a series of smaller offices, also of the 1970s, adjacent. The area underwent redevelopment in the 2010s as part of the Salford Central regeneration scheme, promoted and

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funded by Salford City Council and English Cities Fund (ECF), the New Bailey Prison site being managed by Muse Developments. Between 2013 and 2020, Salford Archaeology, a commercial archaeology unit based at the University of Salford, undertook archaeological investigations on the site of the former prison, excavating around 40% of the site (Reader, Nevell 2015).

Following changes to British national planning guidance in 1990, the vast majority of professional archaeological work in Britan has been done through the commercial sector. This is based upon the implementation of planning conditions applied and overseen by local government-funded planning archaeologists. The latest version of this planning guidance for England is the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). This advises that the importance of known or suspected archaeological sites should be assessed where they are threatened by development, and that any remains should be protected, either through sympathetic planning or, where appropriate, through archaeological excavation and record. Planning advice on archaeological sites and historic buildings is given through local authority staff. In the case of Greater Manchester this is provided by the Greater Manchester Archaeological Advisory Service (GMAAS). This local authority funded planning unit provides recommendations for an appropriate response to securing archaeological and heritage interest during development schemes, monitors any fieldwork that is carried out, and provides quality control of the resultant dataset and reports (Fletcher 2020, p. 57).

Between 1990 and 2007 the number of professional archaeologists working in Britian rose from c. 1500 to 6,865, with more than 4000 pieces of individual work being done by this sector in England alone during 2007 (Aitchison, Rocks-Macqueen 2013, p. 19; Darvill *et al.* 2019, pp. 38-40). The financial crisis of 2007-8 led to a recession of construction work, a drop in archaeological commercial activity, and redundancies of archaeological staff. This reduced the British professional archaeological workforce to 4,792 by 2012. Since then, the number professionals has steadily increased, reaching 2007 levels in 2020 just before the pandemic hit. However, local Government cuts throughout the 2010s reduced by a third the number of planning archaeologists working in English local government. Furthermore, these numbers have not increased during the 2020s (Aitchison, Rocks-Macqueen 2013, pp. 19-22; Landward Research 2020, p. 1).

Such projects could be found in the bigger cities of Britian, from Glasgow and Liverpool to Birmingham and London. In 2006 a redevelopment agreement between English Cities Fund and Salford City Council for the £650 million Salford Central scheme was signed. This signalled the creation of the city's biggest regeneration project since the transformation of Salford Quays in the 1980s. With a focus on revitalising the run-down Chapel Street and New Bailey area after decades of neglect and under-investment, the scheme formed the heart of the 50-hectare Salford Central Development Framework, which was adopted by Salford City Council in 2009 (Gregory, Miller 2015, p. 48; Fletcher 2020, p. 56).



Fig 1. An aerial view of the developer-funded excavations of the New Bailey prison site, Salford, Greater Manchester, 2013. Reproduced with the permission of Suave Aerial.

Acquiring the derelict land in this area and then clearing it was a lengthy process, slowed by the financial crisis of the period 2007-8. Planning and Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) inquiries meant that earth-moving works did not commence until 2012 on Chapel Street, followed by the first phase of the New Bailey Prison site, the largest of the redevelopment plots, in 2013 (Gregory, Miller 2015, pp. 48-49; Fletcher 2020, pp. 56-57).

The excavation work at New Bailey Prison was spread over five redevelopments plots and seven years (2013-14, 2018, and 2020). It was carried out in accordance with a series of Written Schemes of Investigation (WSI) produced by Salford Archaeology and approved by the Greater Manchester Archaeological Advisory Service (GMAAS), the local archaeological planning advisors for the city region. The overall archaeological strategy for the site, as laid down by an archaeology planning condition, called for the interpretation of the remains on site and the publication of the five excavations in a single research monograph, public tours, and a community excavation. English Cities Fund used the external hoardings of the first three phases of redevelopment to show images of the excavations to tell the story of the prison as part of the wider public engagement strategy.

The proposed regeneration of the Chapel Street area of Salford offered a rare opportunity to excavate a prison which was arguably at the forefront of reform during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The primary figure in this was John Howard, who published his influential work, *The State of Prisons*, in 1777. Very prisons surviving from this initial wave of prison reform in the late 18th century in Britain (Brodie, Croom, Davies 2002, pp. 29-53). Manchester was the second largest urban area in Britain at the end of the 18th century. However, it lacked the governing infrastructure to cope with the booming population, which grew from around 22,000, in 1773, to around 100,000 in 1801, driven by the mechanisation of the cotton spinning textile industry and the development in the city of steampowered spinning (Nevell 2008, pp. 63-67; Nevell 2017, pp.1-3). The building of New Bailey Prison with room for more than 1700 inmates marked a first step in controlling the population of this new industrial town.

Construction of New Bailey Prison began in 1787 and it opened to prisoners in 1790. The original prison was built on a radial plan with a courthouse for the Hundred (the ancient administrative area within which Manchester lay) and the entrance to the prison. It expanded several times to the west and north of the original building, primarily between 1816 and 1827 before being closed in 1868. Shortly afterwards, the buildings and land were sold to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company who demolished the buildings and converted the site into a Goods Yard in 1871. This continued to operate into the second half of the 20th century, being closed in the early 1970s. The site was then redeveloped with several office blocks built over the footprint of the prison.

The project aimed to recover the layout and phasing of the prison contributing to the study of 18th and 19th century British prisons, and addressing questions of gender separation and prison work life (Brodie, Croom, Davies 2002, pp. 54-60; Casella 2007, pp. 2-3). The remains provided an opportunity to refine ideas about the phasing, use and functionality of different parts of the prison and uncovered key structural elements (boilers, heating and drainage features) not recorded on this site in the documents and seldom investigated in a British context from this period.

The community engagement side of the project was seen as an add-on, focussed on the earlier years of the project for maximum publicity. The main community activities were a community excavation, tours, promotion on site hoardings in 2013, a popular article in 2015, and media and television exposure from 2013 to 2020. By 2018 public engagement had been reduced to public open days, whilst no public engagement was possible during the COVID lockdowns of 2020. Furthermore, the final monograph of the excavations, which finished in 2020, reflecting the stop-start nature of the redevelopment site and the impact of COVID on professional archaeology staffing, still awaits publication.

3. Dig Greater Manchester and Community Archaeology

Dig Greater Manchester (DGM) was a large archaeological community engagement project operating within Britain during the years 2011 to 2016. It was designed to widen participation in heritage within the Greater Manchester region of North West England through three primary research aims: by examining the significance and impact of community archaeology; by studying the practice of community archaeology; and by exploring the archaeology of industrialization in the Manchester city region (Nevell 2019, pp. 77-79). In the mid-2010s Dig Greater Manchester was one of the largest community engagement projects in Britain, engaging 1588 adult volunteers, 2409 open day visitors, and 3406 school children, producing two conferences, two major publications, an exhibition, and an archaeology festival which closed the project in 2017 (Nevell 2019, pp. 77-80; Nevell, Redhead 2015, pp. 32-33, 110-111; Thompson 2015, pp. 151-152).

The project was funded by the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) with Blackburn and Darwen, and additional support was provided by the University of Salford. Each of the eleven local authorities agreed to funding an equal share of the cost, thereby reducing the overall budget impact on any one single local authority. This increased the project's financial viability. Additional support from local businesses and charities came in the form of volunteer time and materials, not monies. A small professional team of four archaeologists oversaw the delivery of the community project, based within the Centre for Applied Archaeology at the University of Salford, with the help and assistance of the Greater Manchester Archaeological Advisory Service (Nevell 2022, pp. 1-2).

In July 2009 the National Audit Office published a document entitled Promoting Participation within the Historic Environment and in December 2009 the Public Accounts Committee published a report, also entitled Promoting Participation within the Historic Environment. Both were highly critical of English Heritage's and the DCMS' approach to widening heritage participation and called upon local volunteer groups, charities, and local authorities to 'identify the historical stories in your areas'. The aims of the Dig Greater Manchester project were to designed to address some of these issues (Thompson 2015). The project also built upon the successes of previous community engagement programmes in the Manchester city region, such as the Tameside Archaeological Survey, 'Dig Manchester', and other Heritage Lottery Fund-supported community heritage projects undertaken during the 1990s and 2000s (Bell 2009; Garrett 2009; Hearle, Hearle 2015; Nevell 2015; Thompson 2007).

In order to make the project accessible to as many people as possible, opportunities to participate were made available to individuals with learning disabilities and other special needs. Specifically, the project worked with the Manchester Learning Disability Partnership (MLDP) from 2011 to 2013 to provide ac-



Fig. 2. Dig Greater Manchester community excavations at the late medieval Radcliffe Hall, Bury Greater Manchester, 2012. Copyright Dr Michael Nevell.

cess to people with learning difficulties on the first four evaluation excavation sites. MLDP, however, had to withdraw from the project due to having their budget cut. Adult participants feedback was recorded in detail, whilst 66 lectures and 116 training workshops across 11 local authorities in the region were undertaken (Nevell 2022, pp. 2-3).

The significance and impact of the project was recorded in a structure manner. The community impact data was captured through specifically designed feedback questionnaires, one-to-one interviews with adult volunteers, one-to-one interviews with disability volunteers, and the input of psychology researchers from the University of Salford. The results provide data on how archaeology engagement activities can help to build communities and break down barriers, but also highlight areas where the project could have been improved. An in-depth study of the personal impact of the project was undertaken by psychologists from the University of Salford using five focus groups with 24 participants, all of whom had volunteered for Dig Greater Manchester. The focus groups aimed to understand how experiences of participating in digs and exploring local heritage modified, strengthened or initiated identification with place and community; thus moving from individual levels to social levels of identity. The findings offered insight as to the ways in which people make sense of their own - and others' place-based social identities as a result of participating in community archaeological digs (Coen, Meredith, Condle 2017, pp. 212-213).

Finally, exploring the impact of industrialisation across the Manchester city region was done through excavating eleven sites in Greater Manchester and one in Blackburn and Darwen Council. The dig sites were chosen using criteria agreed in 2009-10 with the local authorities (Thompson 2015, pp. 151-152). Each site had to be on council-owned land, one site per authority, with access to public transport, and within wards with below-average incomes for that local authority. These criteria were designed to encourage access to the project from a wide socio-economic spectrum. The locations chosen for the project contained mostly Post-medieval and Industrial period sites. They included one army barracks (Hulme Barracks in Manchester) (Nevell 2020, pp. 75-78), one farmstead (Wood Hall in Stockport), two late medieval manor house sites (Etherstone Hall and Radcliffe Tower in Bury) (Nevell, Nash, Cattell 2016), and seven 18th and 19th century factory owner's mansions (Balderstone Hall, Blackburn, Chadderton Hall, Cheetham Park, Hart Hill and Longford House) (Nevell 2019, pp. 78-79).

Dig Greater Manchester was entirely funded through the eleven local authorities participating in the project, although the University of Salford also provided logistical support. This meant that its aims could be targeted to the perceived needs of the communities within which the excavations were taking place. However, the model of multiple local authority support for such a large community engagement project has been impossible to replicate on this scale in the regional since 2016. This was a direct consequence of local government budgets cuts to arts, community, and heritage services. The project has, though, left a legacy of trained volunteer participants who have gone on to take part in community archaeology projects in other areas of the city region including Castleshaw, Holcombe, and Worsley.

4. Industrial Heritage Support for England project and industrial museums

The Industrial Heritage Support (IHS) for England project was established in 2012 with the aim of improving the capacity, operating practices, and long-term sustainability of heritage sites preserved as heritage attractions and open to the public, and to support third sector organisations and voluntary groups working in this area. Based at the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, in the West Midlands of England, most of the funding for the project comes from Historic England, the statutory body for heritage in England. Additional funds have come from the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust and project-specific grants from organizations such as the Association for Industrial Archaeology.

England's industrial heritage is a key part of Britian's story and a primary link to the origins of the modern world. Industrial heritage and archaeology sites are a major educational, leisure and tourism asset, but also present long-term conservation challenges coupled with serious concerns over their future sustainability and long-term viability (Palmer, Nevell, Sissons 2012, pp. 30-38). Industrial



Fig. 3. Industrial heritage sites preserved and open to the public in England as recorded in 2008 prior to the start of the Industrial Heritage Support project. Copyright Dr Michale Nevell.

heritage and archaeology sites have featured prominently on Historic England's (HE) Heritage at Risk Register, since the state body began collecting such data in the 1990s. The project was a response to two English Heritage (now Historic England) reports (PLB Consultancy 1998; Cossons 2008) that identified 606 industrial heritage sites in England which have statutory protection and which are interpreted to, and accessible by, the public, run by 400 organisations. These reports noted that there was no dedicated support to aide in preserving and running these sites.

The industrial sites identified included a wide range of designated assets and many of the key sites within England's six industrial themed World Heritage Sites, with over two thirds of the 606 preserved industrial heritage sites identified in 1998 and 2008 managed either by small to medium sized charitable trusts or by local authorities.

The IHS project has developed three strands to support and analyse the industrial heritage sector within England. Firstly, it runs a series of ten regional industrial heritage support networks. Meeting twice a year (online and in-person), these are designed to bring people and organisations together to explore common topical themes, exchange bets practice, and discusses successes and problems.

The project supports and promotes best practice in the sector through two dedicated project websites, social media sites (Facebook, X/twitter and Instagram) and LinkedIn. These also network members to share stories and member news for free, ask for immediate or long- term help and promotes news and images of their sites. As part of this promotion of best practice, the project also runs two free on-line seminars each year on topics such as the impact of climate change and heritage crime.

Finally, the IHS for England project also gathers data on the state, conditions and resilience of industrial heritage sites. This is done through the networks, one-to-one site visits and through specific research themes.

A rapid online survey by the IHS project in the summer of 2021 showed that in terms of the type of organisations running these sites, the largest group was formed by sites run by charities or trusts (44%), followed by local authority run sites (18%), accredited museums (15%), business (14%) and voluntary run and private sites (9%). The biggest change since the 2008 survey (Coisson 2008) has been a decline in number of sites run by local authorities (down from 25%) and a rise in the number of sites run by charities and trusts. This appears to be a direct result of local government cuts since the financial crisis of 2007-8.

The IHS project has also gathered data on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the industrial and wider heritage sector during 2020-22. A survey by the Association of Independent Museums (AIM) indicated that although visitor numbers recovered in 2021, these visitor numbers were still down over 40% compared to 2019 levels (AIM 2022). Furthermore, the Museum Development Networks annual museum report for 2021 (MD 2022), covering 765 museums, noted that overall 33% of English museums did not open in the period 2020 to 2022, with a 74% fall in volunteer hours, whilst only 39% of these sites received Culture Recovery Fund grants.

Data gathered by the IHSO in 2020 and 2021 in online network meetings shows that the industrial heritage sector in England was worse hit than the wider sector. Over 470 jobs were lost across industrial heritage sites between March 2020 and December 2021, and only 132 (33%) organisations out of the 400 industrial heritage groups running such sites applied and received Culture Recov-

ery Fund grants (UK Government COVID support grants) – these tending to reflect the larger more established sites. Furthermore, 50% of industrial heritage sites did not open in this period. An online survey of 70 Industrial Heritage sites by the IHS project in the autumn of 2021 indicated a significant backlog of maintenance due to COVID lock down and reluctance amongst some volunteer staff to return post-lockdown, mostly due to the age profile. However, the same survey indicated that there had been a significant improvement to online resources for the public, although from a low base. The number of sites offering these resources doubled from 5% in early 2020 to 10% in mid-2021.

Whilst parts of the industrial heritage and archaeology sector in England are supported by their own themed bodies, such as the Heritage Railway Association, the Canal & River Trust, and the Wind and Watermills section of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), the Industrial Heritage Support project remains the only overall public strategic initiative in this industrial heritage museum sector. This is a major strength of the project. However, as the funding for the project covers a single post, based at the Ironbridge Bridge Gorge Museum Trust, it is vulnerable to future grant cuts.

5. Conclusion

During the period 2007 to 2023, developers, local authorities, museums, and universities all acknowledged a public benefit in supporting a variety of community archaeological work from excavations to recording standing buildings and managing finds collections. However, the case studies presented in this paper show that the success of such approaches is frequently seen as a short-term aim, often centred on project grants and publicity.

Embedding meaningful community archaeology engagement needs strategic planning and longer-term support in order to survive in a post-COVID pandemic financial environment. Thus, undertaking archaeological work on construction sites within Britian is only a statutory requirement for sites with national protection, such as those scheduled or listed. The majority of commercial archaeological work is therefore done through local planning conditions for which national planning guidance is provided by the UK Government and the devolved national Parliaments. Having public archaeology as part of this process relies on the local planning archaeologists, whose numbers have declined by a third since 2007-8.

Furthermore, the planning system in Britain, especially in England, relies upon developer-funded archaeological work being done through such planning conditions. Public archaeology engagement is usually a secondary consideration with the work undertaken to varying standards. This is why the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists recently launched an online Archaeology and Public Engagement Toolkit, funded by Historic England, in order to promote a more sys-

tematic approach. The main target audience for this guidance is those who commission community archaeology projects and/or engagement activities (see: https://www.archaeologists.net/toolkits/community-archaeology/1-1_archaeology-public-engagement).

Finally, the Industrial Heritage Support for England project shows how a small amount of consistent support, nationally, can have a larger, positive, long-term impact on a particular heritage sector, in this case the 400 organisations running preserved industrial heritage sites interpreted and open to the public.

While investment in public archaeology projects can be seen as a positive local engagement, there is an urgent need to continue to support such projects in the long term, and to encourage improved practice in delivering such projects. Unless public archaeology engagement is actively promoted the increasing pressures on funding and organisational sustainability across the commercial, museum, and university sectors will lead to a decline in the number of public archaeology initiatives in Britian over the rest of this decade.

Abstract

This paper looks at the way in which funders and planning policies in a British context have impacted on the public accessibility and sustainability of archaeological work in an era of shrinking budgets. Taking three cases studies from the period 2008 to 2023, it looks at who the funders of each project were, what they expected as public benefit, and how this impacted on the aims, sustainability, and outcomes of each project. It concludes that whilst developers, local authorities, and universities all acknowledge a public benefit in supporting a variety of archaeological work, the success of such approaches is frequently seen as a short-term aim, often centred around publicity. The sustainability of such approaches, especially financial sustainability, needs strategic planning and longer-term support in order to be sustainable in a post-COVID pandemic financial environment.

Keywords: community, museum, commercial, budgets, developer.

Il presente lavoro analizza il modo in cui i finanziatori e le politiche di pianificazione territoriale hanno influito sull'accessibilità al pubblico e sulla sostenibilità dell'archeologia nel un contesto britannico in un'epoca di austerità. Prendendo in esame tre casi di studio relativi al periodo 2008-2023, si analizzano i finanziatori di ciascun progetto, le aspettative in termini di beneficio pubblico e come questo ha influito sugli obiettivi, sulla sostenibilità e sui risultati di ciascun progetto. La conclusione è che mentre i committenti, le autorità locali e le università riconoscono i benefici pubblici dell'archeologia, il successo di questi approcci è spesso visto come un obiettivo a breve termine, di frequente incentrato sulla pubblicità. La sostenibilità, in particolare finanziaria, di questi approcci necessita di una pianificazione strategica e di un sostegno a lungo termine per essere sostenibile in un contesto economico post pandemico.

Parole chiave: comunità, museo, archeologia 'commerciale', bilanci, committenti.

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