Public Heritage in an Age of Decline.

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Abstract

Government policy during the 1980s attempted to re-appraise the role of the Public Sector in the UK. The result, from successive Administrations, has been a general 'down-sizing' of Public Sector functions, a trend which seems set to continue. Most heritage activities now produce records of some sort or could benefit from their efficient exploitation. Despite the growth in resources and influence of heritage activities during this period, the development of heritage records will be increasingly affected by a declining resource base. This paper suggests that managers of heritage records will need to explore similar 'end-game' strategies to those employed by declining private sector industries to thrive during a period of substantial change. It explores the role of management in securing policy support and resources for the heritage within the Public Sector and the importance of expanding public interest as we approach the new Millennium.

1 Background

1.1 The public sector as an industry in decline

"Every major industry was once a growth industry. But some that are now riding a wave of growth enthusiasm are very much in the shadow of decline. Others which are thought of as seasoned growth industries have actually stopped growing. In every case the reason growth is threatened, slowed, or stopped is not because the market is saturated. It is because there has been a failure of management."

(Levitt 1975)

The Public Sector in Britain is in decline. The paper will develop an explicitly economic framework to examine, on the one-hand, implications for the information strategies of the heritage sector in general, and to examine issues which will be relevant to those bodies involved in the use, generation and curation of records of the historic environment. Most heritage activities involve the creation of records of one sort or another. In the last fifteen or so years, there has been massive growth in the creation of 'heritage information' as a result of the application of information technology.

The application of analytical business models and techniques to heritage management may be unfamiliar territory for CAA, and their relevance to information systems and technology may not be at first apparent. However, it is argued that without a proper appreciation of trends influencing public sector policy, the functions underpinned by information strategies will find difficulty in maintaining or expanding their resource base.

The starting point for this paper suggests that public administration is as susceptible as the private sector to cyclical changes. The cycles tend to be longer term, without the more volatile changes characteristic of many private sector industries nonetheless there are discernible trends which are largely being ignored by the heritage community, a service industry still predominantly funded through the public purse.

As archaeologists studying the past, it is common to warn against viewing human evolution as a form of linear progression, with each successive society in some way improving on its predecessor. However, recently, there seems to be an assumption that support for archaeology (and the historic environment in general) will continue to increase, building on the platform of government heritage policy founded during the 1980s.

By contrast, the overall level of investment in the public sector is reducing and has been doing so for some time. Public Sector financing has steadily declined over the last two decades (e.g. utilities, transport, creation of executive agencies) while assets of the remaining Public Sector have also been sold (council housing, MoD property). The rising cost of welfare on demand is already forcing rationing of access to areas which were once given to all as of right (for example, certain types of medical care). In consequence, many of the social objectives of governments of all political persuasions are having to be re-considered. Since 1979, the total number of jobs within the Public Sector has been cut by a quarter (figure 1).

![Public Sector Employment, 1980 - 1995](image)

Figure 1 - Source: OECD Finance Ministry, 1997

It is an axiom of the public sector that there are never enough resources to go around. Whereas the private sector is in general concerned with maximising demand for products, the public sector is often engaged in regulating demand, so
that scarce resources can be 'stretched' as far as possible. Perhaps this is in part responsible for the inward-looking attitude of the profession.

It has become fashionable to describe our current era as an 'information age'. The quest for ever increasing access to information is a major driver within many industries while the process of providing information has spawned several industries in itself. And yet, for the vast majority of the public, access to heritage information is quite limited and is frequently 'packaged' as a manipulated image of a past few professionals would acknowledge ever existed. While heritage attractions have risen to great prominence in the last fifteen years, the actual work of those involved in the heritage still remains in most areas quite obscure. It is argued that well managed information strategies can assist in offsetting this trend, by making the heritage more accessible, interesting and relevant to justify continued public investment.

The first major attempt to quantify the archaeological resource - David Fraser's seminal paper 'England's Archaeological Resource' (Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments 1984) presaged the importance of quantified information on the heritage in the development of policy. It formed a significant part of the argument for English Heritage's Monument Protection Programme (Darvill et al 1987), a long term re-evaluation of statutory protection for archaeological monuments. Previously, many heritage policy initiatives had been undertaken in something of an information vacuum. This paper suggests that information is a vital resource not only for the preservation of the historic environment, but also for its full enjoyment.

The implications of these trends may be analysed through reference to the political, economic, social and technological (PEST) developments in the sector.

2 The PEST environment

2.1 Political

Although the membership of CAA has been innovative and explored a wide range of approaches to the exploitation of computer technology, as this celebration of 25 years admirably shows, it is all too frequently inward looking. While members enjoy the latest Bayesian statistic or marvel at the elegance of a database design, there is rarely a look outwards at the sorts of influences which structure and guide our profession. This myopia is symptomatic of the wider heritage community.

Political influences in the heritage sector have had a major impact on the character of archaeological work in particular since the 1980s, and the conservation movement in general. New Public Sector capital projects are encouraging investment from the private sector (for example, through the Private Finance Initiative, introduced in 1994). Both of the major political parties are committed to reducing the cost of public spending.

By contrast, there is also a greatly enhanced environmental awareness, with conservation (of both ecology and the built heritage), with 'Green Issues' and sustainability seen as key elements of environment policy. The 1980s saw a major change in thinking on approaches to historic conservation, culminating in the issue of Policy Planning Guidance Notes 16 covering archaeology (DoE 1990) and 15 (DoE 1994) covering the built heritage. These formalised the principle of developer-funded archaeological recording, generating large volumes of new fieldwork and information.

Local government has emerged as a key focus for the implementation of conservation policy. With the support of English Heritage during the 1980s and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) during the 1990s, the combination of local Sites and Monuments Records and curatorial advice provides the core framework for the local management of the historic environment.

Recent Government policy has stressed public access to information held by public bodies (e.g. the Code of Practice on Open Government, Cabinet Office 1996). The Department of National Heritage (now the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, DCMS) have placed considerable importance on increasing quality and wider access to the RCHME's records and archive. This has also emerged as a key theme in a statement of co-operation on Sites and Monuments Records jointly signed by the RCHME, EH and the Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (forthcoming, 1997). An overview of the political environment governing the strategic development of heritage records in the last fifteen years is provided in Clubb and Lang, 1996.

The number of organisations exerting influence on heritage records from within the sector is tending to increase and the 'internal' political landscape is becoming increasingly complex. They include national bodies such as English Heritage, CADW and Historic Scotland, the Royal Commissions, national and local museums, local government Sites and Monuments Records, curatorial heritage managers and more recently the Archaeology Data Service (ADS).

Professional organisations have developed an increasingly strong membership and voice (e.g. the emergence of the Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA) as a general professional body for archaeology alongside specific professional bodies such as the Association of Conservation Officers (ACO) and Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGGO)). The number of Private Sector archaeological units and individual consultancies has grown appreciably, and an increasingly vocal voluntary sector, including the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) and a significant body of projects supported through the Heritage Lottery Fund such as the Defence of Britain project, recording Second World War defensive structures, the Public Monuments and Sculptures project, a proposed project to record churches and related projects covering biological and ecological records.

Taken overall, the heritage sector is quite decentralised. There are considerable overlaps of function and, in some areas, a lack of clarity of roles.
2.2 Economic

Economic cycles have an effect on heritage records. The growth in the leisure and tourism industries (estimated to be worth £26 billion) has been fuelled by the maintenance of a vibrant historic environment. Foreign visitors frequently cite this as a major reason for visiting Britain. Affluence has tended to increase demand for heritage activities, fuelling the growth of heritage attractions during the 1980s (Hewison 1987). There is now a significant commercial market for aspects of the past, ranging from living history ‘experiences’ such as Jorvik to merchandising based on period items, such as the Past Times stores.

Economic influences also include the impact of cyclical patterns within the construction industry, which in turn affect the discovery of new information and impact on the units undertaking fieldwork and the curatorial staff processing applications for development.

Since the 1980s, the Public Sector has been encouraged to adopt the practices of the Private Sector. In parallel, it has been an axiom of Government that profitable Public Sector functions should be privatised. Hence there has been a trend towards the identification of potential Public Sector functions which can be hived off to the Private Sector and pressure for Public Sector bodies to become more efficient through progressive reduction (in real terms) of public funding (though public expenditure on the heritage has increased substantially over the last 15 years and has received a further boost in the last two through the operation of Lottery funded projects).

Organisations are increasingly needing to be “flexible systems” which can respond effectively to rapid changes in the external environment. In the last ten years, the heritage world has become much more volatile. For example, the development of the voluntary sector and the influence of capital projects funded via the Lottery is creating a significant number of new national databases. These in turn have implications for other organisations, both local and national, in accessing and using the information. The onset of the ‘flexible organisation’ is presenting new challenges in most areas of the workplace.

The general trend towards realising year on year efficiency savings is placing increased reliance on information technology to support functions, and requiring multi-skilling from staff.

2.3 Social

In the last fifteen years, there is evidence to suggest that public consciousness of the heritage has increased substantially. Reporting of heritage stories has increased within the broad sheet press, including a number of high profile planning cases (e.g. the Rose Theatre), and a number of television programmes covering heritage themes capture increasingly large audiences (for example, the ‘Time Team programme now regularly reaches audiences of over 3 million’).

There is a widespread acceptance of the philosophy of continuous education, (the ‘learning society’), which has lead to increased demand for heritage/conservation-based education. The activities of learning and education are now widely acknowledged to be worthwhile pursuits in their own right. The changing demographic profile with earlier retirement and increased leisure time provides a receptive market for consumption of heritage products.

The ‘Millennium factor’ will change public perceptions of the past. The growth of ‘heritage as nostalgia’ in the 1980s may be more pronounced than the Fin de Siècle phenomena experienced in the late nineteenth century. If heritage is to continue to appeal, it will need to recast itself to emphasise new discovery and to harness exciting information technology to promote new ways of seeing the past. In 2001, the majority will be looking forward to a new age of discovery and of new information. Unless the presentation of the past is adjusted to take this into account, it may fail to continue to appeal.

Although the longer term interest in funding heritage projects through the Lottery is difficult to judge, it has the potential to provide a major re-vitalisation of participation in the heritage through the voluntary sector.

2.4 Technological

Increased public familiarity with information technology has raised expectations for the delivery of heritage information. Looking back, the early years of computing in archaeology scarcely look like the ‘white heat of technology’ famously forecast by Harold Wilson, more closely resembling an amber glow. But we are moving towards a point in time when a combination of technology convergence and greatly improved price performance can be harnessed together within a coherent information strategy rather than through the ad hoc investment of individual organisations to provide information to a mass market. In terms of heritage records, the technological trends which are likely to be most influential will include telecommunications and increased emphasis on wireless transmission, the progressive and seamless merging of text, spatial, visual and audio media into applications, improved data searching and processing of data and increasingly ‘natural’ forms of interaction with computers (e.g. through voice activation).

The rise in usage of the Internet has opened up a significant opportunity for delivery of on-line heritage information via public access points and home computers. The Internet seems set to become a commonplace technology in the home. National initiatives such as the National Land Information Service (NLIS) are under development to exploit the integration of spatial, text and imaging datasets.

3 Analysis

In the light of this background, it is possible to start to explore the potential strategies open to organisations in order to maintain stasis in an increasingly complex and difficult world. A useful framework for analysis is the SWOT Matrix, which sets out an internal and external model of the environment within which an organisation or sector exists (see figure 2). For the individual organisation, this suggests that those who succeed in using their internal strengths in exploiting environmental opportunities and neutralising environmental threats, while avoiding internal
weaknesses, are more likely to gain competitive advantages than other kinds of organisation. In applying this to the broad area of heritage records, this is of course a generalised model, and does not necessarily equate to the specific condition of any particular organisation.

FRAMEWORK

The grid suggests that the principal strengths of the discipline are an ability to be innovative, (for example, in the use of new technology, in the re-definition of the subject matter, such as the recent growth in industrial, military and maritime records); expertise (an ability to record, explain and interpret the past), the development of a professional approach (though an area where considerable further development is necessary) and possibly one of its strongest assets, the dedication, enthusiasm, intelligence and motivation of the vast majority of those involved.

Its weaknesses, as noted above, are a tendency towards introspection. The sanction of the professional peer group is commonly viewed as far more important than reaching a public audience. It lacks a unity of purpose (logical connections between organisations and activities are often limiting or missing, resulting in much duplication and waste); partly as a result of this, there has been limited investment, particularly in IS infrastructure and data quality for heritage records, to secure a wider information base and there is often a poor awareness of how or why planning for the longer term is desirable. This is exacerbated by the largely short term nature of funding. In turn, this fosters transient employment contracts, and is rarely conducive to investment in professional development.

There are a number of opportunities which may be harnessed towards securing future funding. The key issue is maintaining public focus and interest. It is not sufficient to state that the recording, understanding and conservation of the past is a facet of civilised society, contributing to a greater good. There must be direct popular engagement and why it is valuable in terms which government and society will countenance (for example, the concepts of conservation will become marginalised, with the onset of a forward looking vision in the new Millennium. For the strategic development of the individual organisation, the Ansoff Matrix provides an analytical framework for business outputs (whether products or services) (See figure 3). This presents a matrix based on products/services and market penetration. The first quadrant offers options for current products in present markets: do nothing (stay exactly as you are), partial or total withdrawal, consolidation through taking positive steps to retain the organisation's position, and market penetration, aimed to actively increase market share. The second quadrant examines new markets for present products, through market development (for example, bringing an existing product to a new market segment). The third quadrant explores product development for existing markets, through product or process innovation and the fourth, diversification. This may be in a related industry (e.g. a field excavation unit developing an educational CD ROM series about archaeology) or an unrelated industry (a field unit marketing project management services to the construction industry). Both are high-risk strategies.

The Organisational Perspective

In addressing the organisational decisions represented by the Ansoff and SWOT Matrices, heritage organisations will need to avail themselves of management expertise. Having successfully broadened and integrated the discipline into new areas (such as the planning system), professionals within the heritage arena are having to explain what they do and why it is valuable in terms which government and society will countenance (for example, the concepts of accountability, performance indicators, value-for-money and marketing). As Cooper has noted (1995), archaeologists now
face a choice between leaving management to external professionals (as experienced in the Health Service) or to bring management techniques explicitly within the profession.

In tandem, the profession as a whole will need to mature and become far more co-operative, for its greater good. Part of this process is about learning to understand what the public and professional market actually wants from it (rather than the current set of ‘products’, assumed to satisfy public needs and wants), who are the stakeholders and what influences they will bring to bear. Additional to the understanding of the market, the management process can help to identify and understand the unique contributions and strengths individual organisations may make towards it.

Core competency analysis is designed to explore the key things an organisation does well, to ensure it can continue to survive. Core competencies of an organisation are the activities, skills and linkages or combination of these which provide the key to a company’s performance and which others would find difficult to replicate. Core competencies do not reflect market or product variables but are vested in an organisation’s resources such that these can be employed effectively in the market place. Although these are generally applied in a commercial context, there are useful lessons to be drawn in their application within the public sector (whether within individual organisations, or in examining the heritage sector as a whole).

The concept of core competency may seem obvious, but it is often misunderstood. It is often taken to refer to activities which companies perform. In fact, core competencies are those areas which significantly differentiate the company from its competitors (either through the application of particular expertise, cost efficiency, or exploitation of unique assets). For example, an archaeological unit’s core competency is unlikely to be based in an ability to excavate per se, since this is something numerous organisations can do. However, a unique understanding of the archaeology of a particular region, an acknowledged specialism in particular types of site or capacity to handle very large projects may all be core competencies of archaeological units. Cooper (1995, p.83) presents a five-tier model of the environments within which an archaeological section of a county council operates, each with different needs of customers and stakeholders requiring specific competencies.

Information systems can play a crucial role in supporting these. As pressure to achieve gains in efficiency intensify, it is ever more necessary to be critical of their balance and health. A useful model for examining information systems represents these from the perspective of an organisation. Figure 4 illustrates the forces affecting information systems within an organisation, and suggests these are broadly in balance (symmetrical quadrants within a circle).

The model represents the internal and external forces on information systems from an organisational perspective. The central (light grey) quadrants of the circle represents the internal forces of the organisation. These are the organisational culture, its management, bureaucracy and politics. All influence the information systems. From a technological perspective, these might be considered as hardware, software, telecommunications and databases. The external ring (dark grey) represents the external influences on information systems, some of which may act as drivers for change. These are the complexity of the world within which the organisation operates; the resources which are available to the organisation; and turbulence, the volatility of the environment within which the organisation operates. Current trends are towards increasing complexity and more sophisticated demands, pressure on resources (though taken overall, expenditure on the heritage has significantly increased in the last fifteen years) and greatly increased volatility. The recent local government review provides a good example, affecting not only local government organisations, but also the efficacy of national heritage policies.

![Ansoff Matrix](image)

**Figure 4 Ansoff Matrix**

From a technological perspective, the equivalent external influences might be capacity, compatibility and change (i.e. whether the systems are still meeting organisational needs). In the idealised model, the organisation is in balance (represented by the symmetry of the concentric circles). In practice, many of the organisations responsible for compiling heritage information have failed to harmonise their IS with the organisation, or its corporate objectives. In a recent survey of IT managers (Daniels 1994), the two main long-term concerns were stated to be achieving effective integration of IT with corporate objectives and meeting project deadlines in terms of cost and time. The commitment and involvement of senior management continues to be the critical factor in building strategic information systems.

**4 Future opportunities**

In developing the future market for heritage information, it is not only the direct consumers (i.e. the interested public and those professionally engaged with the heritage) that must be considered. Much of the value in heritage information is not inherent in the raw data, but in its combination with other data sets in ‘value-added’ products. For the planning profession, this might be the inclusion of statutory information as part of an environmental planning service. In a tourism context, it might be the ability to include heritage attractions, and supporting information as part of a service to potentially high-spending consumers.
An important recent development in this respect is the National Geospatial Data Framework (NGDF). The National Geospatial Database is, at present, largely a theoretical construct, developed by a consortium of bodies in which the most prominent are the Ordnance Survey and the Association for Geographical Information. It is attempting to provide a common framework for the integration of data sets from different suppliers to enable exploitation of spatial data for different purposes, on the assumption that collectively, data will be far more valuable than the sum of the individual sets. It should provide a framework to encourage the growth of applications based on an increasingly information-rich society.

The National Geospatial Data Framework is not a physical database nor is it ever likely to be. It is best described as a virtual database or framework enabling all those involved - government bodies, data brokers, software vendors, service providers and many potential customers - to benefit in a future where the needs for data in often novel combinations will grow, but the developments are likely to be unpredictable in detail. It will therefore require data standards, data access, collaboration and creating an environment for business opportunity. Integration implies a high-level framework to facilitate the linking, combining and widespread use of the many geospatial data sets collected, maintained and held by different organisations.

There are a number of existing examples of NGDF-type applications including the Bristol Land Registry Pilot, NLIS lead by Her Majesty’s Land Registry (HMLR) and the equivalent in Scotland, SCOTLIS, the Intergraph GeoMedia Service (a consortium of data providers using Intergraph GIS technology on the World-wide Web). Similar developments are underway by most of the leading GIS vendors.

There is currently a considerable gulf between the realisation of such potential applications and the reality of the current state of heritage information. One of the most ambitious attempts to link related data sets from different information suppliers, the Monuments at Risk Survey (MARS) project, experienced considerable difficulties in dealing with variable data structures, units of record and data quality (Darvill 1995a).

Thus far, discussion has focused on professional curatorial concerns. A thorough analysis of the response of heritage practice within academic institutions is beyond the scope of this paper, though it is worth noting the general success of many academic institutions in adjusting to the changing environment of the 80s and early 90s (in a wide range of disciplines, both related and unrelated to heritage). In this respect, it is worth noting that the organisation selected to undertake the MARS project on behalf of English Heritage was a University institution.

Despite demonstrating an aptitude for managing change, as Cooper (1995) has noted, there is comparatively little discussion on the application of management models and techniques to the heritage sector from the academics than the professional camps. Discussion of their relevance to the Public Sector and information strategies is an even more rarefied category. The areas explored in this paper have attempted to stimulate debate on the role of management within the discipline, with examples of techniques which can be applied to assess the position of organisations in relation to one another and in terms of the sector as a whole. Effective control of information, both in terms of systems and content is a key area for the continued survival and success of their core functions.

The relative success of organisations performing similar functions (whether cultural resource management within local authorities, field units or national organisations is not entirely a matter of serendipity. In many cases, it is a reflection of managerial competence. While the growth of what is perceived to be a ‘management culture’ in archaeology, (notably thorough the incipient rise of project management in relation to field archaeology) is sometimes seen as detrimental to the profession, it is surprising that there has not been more discussion of the nature and quality of management skills and techniques required. In a discipline so heavily reliant on educational and knowledge-based skills, the paucity of managerial training within the heritage sector is a cause for serious concern. While many future archaeologists may only require passing familiarity with business management, (Darvill 1995b), if this skills gap remains, senior managers operating in the public sector will increasingly be brought in from outside the profession.

5 Conclusion

“....many businesses today face problems in their use of our wonderful technology so serious that they threaten to jeopardise [their] bright future...key to [the] solution is the foundation of comprehensive strategy for the development of information resources.....”

Allan, B 1982

“We are in danger of drowning in our own data ..... continuous enhancement .... is splendid but it will not work unless we also have continuous enhancement of indexing ..... professionalism in archaeology is hardly in doubt ..... what I am asking for is professionalism in information retrieval .....”

Lavell, C 1985

These two quotations, (both from papers nearly fifteen years old) crystallise two of the major challenges faced in exploiting information technology for heritage records. On the one hand, is the question of persuading heritage organisations, both individually and collectively that strategic planning for information systems is essential to their individual well being and to the long term survival of heritage concerns. On the other, that the ability to retrieve information in a manner usable and useful to the end user assumes knowledge of customer needs, data quality and an infrastructure capable of serving them. This requires a sufficient degree of vision and willingness to rise above short term considerations.

There is a analogy drawn by Peter Senge in The Fifth Discipline [Senge 1990] in which he discusses the impact of dropping a live frog into a pan of boiling water. Senge suggest that, in this instance, the frog will hop out immediately. But if the frog is dropped into its more familiar...
environment of cold water and then the temperature is gradually raised, the frog is cooked without it even noticing. This is because a frog only responds to rapid changes in its environment. This process is precisely what is happening in the heritage sector, through a lack of strategic direction and a general failure to harness information to maximum effect. Many in the heritage community behave in this way, not recognising the changes in their environment until they are undone by them.

For most IS professionals, the ‘Millennium Time Bomb’ is the prospect of information systems failing in the year 2000 due to the formatting of date functions. For those engaged in the information strategies for the heritage sector, the Millennium Time Bomb may be quite different. It will be the realisation that we have failed to keep the public in touch with and interested in their past or secured the confidence for continued public investment towards its exploration and enhancement.

Notes

1 A single product - the Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady sold over 2.6 million copies in thirteen languages, with £75 million worth of merchandised products based on the book.

2 (e.g. the Council for British Archaeology Defence of Britain Project, recording monuments associated with the First and Second World War).

3 The programme explains archaeological discovery and issues faced by professional archaeologists in an accessible format. It attracts an audience of over 3 million viewers.

4 For example, the growth of Romanticism in art, design and literature, the Gothic Revival in architecture, the Pre-Raphaelite Art movement.

5 This includes remote access via Internet, multi-media and modern graphical user interfaces for end-users of heritage databases.

6 e.g. the National Land Information Service pilot as an application of the National Geospatial Data Framework. Such initiatives enable information to be made available to other bodies. Listed buildings could be made available to estate agents, on-line conveyancing facilitated between solicitors and HM Land Registry.

7 Although there was a brief vogue for ‘Public Archaeology’ sessions in the early to mid 80s, there was little consideration of the management expertise required to achieve some of the high-minded ambitions discussed.

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