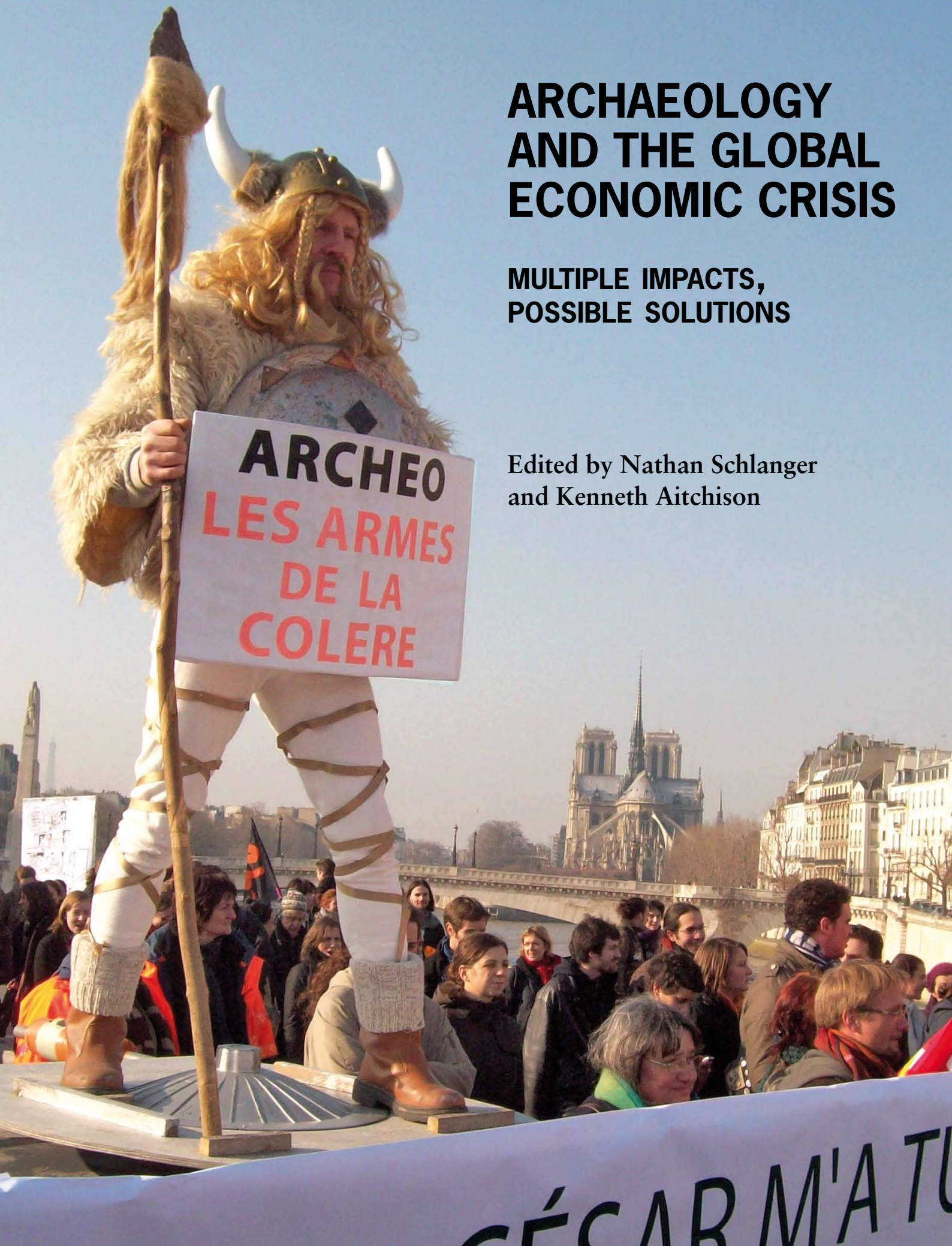


ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

MULTIPLE IMPACTS,
POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Edited by Nathan Schlanger
and Kenneth Aitchison



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Designed by Pascale Coulon

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Preface and acknowledgments

The texts presented here are extended and updated versions of the papers given at a session entitled “Archaeology and the global crisis - multiple impacts, possible solutions”, held on the 17th September 2009 at the 15th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) in Riva del Garda, Italy. As co-organisers of this session, we were particularly happy to see that over a hundred colleagues attended and took part in some lively discussions, where sober realism was mixed with hope and determination. The session furthermore benefitted from the friendly atmosphere and excellent organisation of the EAA meeting itself, as skilfully orchestrated by Franco Nicolis together with Martina Dalla Riva, their teams and sponsors.

Indeed the European Association of Archaeologists as a whole, so we feel, has amply fulfilled its vocation as meeting-ground and think-tank for professional archaeologists from Europe and beyond (<http://www.e-a-a.org>). We are grateful in any case that our session at Riva del Garda was sponsored – in an intellectual sense – by three EAA committees or working parties. One is the “Committee on archaeological legislation and organisation in Europe”, chaired by Christopher Young and Jean-Paul Demoule: the crisis and the structural changes that follow make the critical and comparative work of this committee more important than ever before. Further support was received from the “Committee on professional associations in archaeology”, chaired by Kenneth Aitchison, a committee that is acutely concerned with working practices in European archaeology and how they are being affected by the economic situation. The third and most recently created of these EAA groups is the working party on “ACE - Archaeology in contemporary Europe: professional practices and public outreach” (www.ace-archaeology.eu) – a European Commission ‘Culture’ programme funded network gathering a dozen of partners from across the continent to examine together the fields of practice and social dimensions of contemporary archaeology. In addition to the invaluable material support provided by the ACE network, many of its partners contributed their comments and insights to the preparation of the ‘Crisis’ session, and also through subsequent meetings in Thessaloniki (with our Aristotle University partner) and in Budapest (with our KÖH partner). In this volume, ACE partners have contributed the chapters on the situations in the Netherlands, Spain, France and Poland. Another relevant European initiative is the “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe” project (www.discovering-archaeologists.eu), a review of the archaeological labour market in twelve European Union states with the support of the European Commission ‘Leonardo da Vinci’ programme in 2006-2008. As data for the project were collected in 2007, at the height of the economic cycle, they give us very valuable information and insights for critical comparisons with the ongoing crisis situation.

Thanks are due of course to all the contributors to the session. As is frequently the case, not all the papers given there could be included in the present publication, for various reasons. This could be compensated, however, by a couple of new chapters which fit well with the volume's aims and coverage. We thank all the authors for working under a tight schedule, and for responding to several last minute requests. While the authors retain full responsibility for the contents of their contributions, it is us, as editors, who will have to be excused for any eventual typos, repetitions or misplaced hyphenations that may have remained during the accelerated production process of this publication.

KA would like to thank the following: Peter Hinton, Michael Dawson and Gerry Wait for commenting on draft texts, and all colleagues on the Committee for Professional Associations in Archaeology whose discussions contributed directly or indirectly to the genesis of this volume.

NS would like to thank friends and colleagues in the ACE network and at the EAA for their discussions and encouragement. Thanks are also due to INRAP, the lead-partner of the ACE network, and especially to the Cultural development and communication team for their advice and support in the preparation of this volume. The same goes to Pascale Coulon who so efficiently put together, at such short notice, the disparate files and images into the shape of a proper publication. The ACE coordination team, Sonia Lévin and Kai Salas Rossenbach, were as always here to improve and smooth things out, notably regarding the quadrilingual abstracts, which have been translated by Juliette Guilbaud (into German), by Kai Salas Rossenbach (into Spanish), and in some cases through the individual authors. Finally, special thanks to our publisher, Culture Lab Editions, for unwavering support.

Nathan Schlanger and Kenneth Aitchison
August 2010

1. Introduction. Archaeology and the global economic crisis

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This is probably the first multi-authored attempt to take a global, or at least international, look at the current economic crisis and its effects on archaeology. Archaeologists of course have always shown much professional interest in crises, even if only from a distance. There have been as we know many and varied crises throughout human history: natural disasters such as earthquakes, flash floods or droughts, or human-created famines, epidemics, and wars have all left tangible traces in the archaeological record, subject to much research and numerous interpretations. Economic crises for their part are probably more difficult to identify in the record: what can be found of the 1630s tulipmania speculative bubble in Holland, of the commercial blockades of the Napoleonic wars, or indeed of the Wall Street collapse of 1929? But while economic crises may be elusive to grasp as archaeological events and processes in the remote past, they are certainly impossible to miss when, as has been the case since 2008, they hit the profession at full force. Unmistakable as they may be, however, the effects of the current economic crisis on archaeology still need to be detailed, elaborated, and analysed – this, broadly speaking, is what the present volume begins to do.

At the onset, it has not seemed to us necessary to propose here any strict or even encompassing definition of the crisis. In the current context, everyone will readily gather that we are talking about this sharp economic recession that settled over much of the world, following a series of catastrophic financial events that began to unfold in the United States in 2007. The overexposure of many banks there in lending to ‘subprime’ borrowers led to an unprecedented financial shock to the entire economic system across the western world, which has continued – in differing forms – until the present day. Most contributors provide further details regarding their respective countries and sectors, including quantitative information and projections, without for that transforming their texts into macro-economic dissertations. In fact, alongside the sheer mass of data and numbers, it is striking to note just how rapidly has this notion of ‘global economic crisis’ become something of a collective representation, a shared syndrome, a fateful mantra that leaves much leeway for interpretation, extension or application. Without delving here too deeply into the socio-linguistics or semantics of the term ‘crisis’, the politics of its uses nevertheless call for comment. As it permeates both ordinary and professional discourse, this notion finds itself expediently and strategically employed: in the name of the crisis, sometimes by its mere mention, actions are legitimised, decisions are delayed, expectations are raised, plans shelved, procedures reconfigured, pills sweetened, plugs pulled and so forth.

So while the ‘crisis’ is emphatically here with us (at least for the foreseeable future) we really cannot take its presence and its implications at face value without some prior critical consideration or contextualisation. This applies to all of us in general, as citizens, as voters and as taxpayers, but also specifically to the fields of archaeology and archaeological heritage management that concern

us. Firstly, we need to remember that many different patterns and processes have been going on *before* the crisis. A truism this may be, we still need to acknowledge, however briefly and partially, that such antecedents help us set the crisis in perspective and better understand its impacts. That the countries described in this volume each have their different archaeological traditions, systems and configurations is something we all know – it can however be novel and illuminating to appreciate these differences through the singular prism of the crisis. Together with that, we need also to consider what goes on *alongside* the crisis. While the current events focus our immediate concerns, it would be far too easy for us – and indeed for our elected representatives, our political and economical decision makers – to refer and defer all choices and policies to the crisis. Alongside continuities or attempts to return ‘back to normality’ in heritage management, we can also expect some broad changes and reorientations to occur, which their instigators may claim to be simply accelerated, facilitated or indeed rendered inevitable by the crisis. This may well be so, but it is our responsibility, as the professionals directly involved, to remain alert and examine these changes for their worth on a case-by-case basis.

As can be seen, the crisis is indeed a complex matter, the impacts of which upon archaeology are likely to be multiple and far-reaching – on the practice of the discipline, on its practitioners, and ultimately on the knowledge we produce and disseminate about the past. Our guiding hypothesis (as presented at the EAA session that is at the origin of this publication) is that to a greater or lesser extent, all sectors of archaeology will ultimately be affected. This has led us to distinguish, with admittedly a certain degree of arbitrariness as well as overlap, between four major themes or impact areas. For each, we raise a series of issues or possibilities, which could, when substantiated, generate further thought and discussion.

– The first theme concerns the impact of the crisis on *research funding and priorities*. We would like to know whether the budgets dedicated to research (be they structural or project based, in universities or research bodies) have been affected by the crisis, in terms of available funding, evaluation criteria, types of projects selected, eligible expenditures, etc.

– The second theme, which has initially attracted the most attention for obvious reasons, concerns the impact of the crisis on *professional employment*. Here the issues are of employment, job security, recruitment and redundancies (notably in commercial archaeology). This in turn relates to the health and prospects of various archaeological employers, in both public and private sectors. A further issue concerns professional training and skills, by higher education institutions and by employers – and how they are to be maintained in times of crisis.

– The third theme, which proves perhaps too early to fully grasp, has to do with the impact of the crisis on *conservation and public outreach* policies. This concerns not only the fate of archaeological documentation and finds, as studied, curated and stored by field workers or by museums, but also that of the various activities (personnel, publications, exhibitions etc) which are aimed at communication and public outreach – at a time when the broader public’s interest in the past and its value may need to be reassessed.

– The fourth theme has to do with the impact of the crisis on *heritage management, policies and legislation*. In question here are the various structural, policy and legal modifications that follow from – or are amplified, accelerated, or alternatively delayed by – various official or governmental responses to the crisis. These include changes in the legal definition of ‘archaeological sites’, changes in

the intensity, monitoring, timing or funding of protective measures, the merging of heritage management institutions or their functions, the effects of economic ‘new deals’ and re-launch initiatives, etc.

With different degrees of detail, the contributors to this volume have addressed these four themes, providing the reader with an in-depth comparative picture of the multiple impacts of the global economic crisis on archaeology. In the case of archaeology in the United Kingdom, the themes in question are actually dealt with in several papers: mainly employment-related issues by Kenneth Aitchison in his chapter and in annex I, research and higher education by Anthony Sinclair, and matters pertaining to legislation and heritage management by Roger Thomas in annex II. In other cases, the contributors have touched on all themes in their papers: Arkadiusz Marciniak and Michał Pawleta for Poland, Nathan Schlanger and Kai Salas Rossenbach for France, and more succinctly James Eogan for Ireland. Most contributors have focused on a particular sector, broadly speaking that of archaeological heritage management. This is either because, in comparison with the other impact areas, the evidence was particularly rich or topical in that sector – as in the paper by Monique van den Dries, Karen Waugh and Corien Bakker on the Netherlands, and that by Eva Parga-Dans on Spain – or because there were useful quantitative or qualitative leads to follow, as did Asya Engovatova for Russia, Eszter Bánffy and Pál Raczky for Hungary, or Jeffrey Altschul for the United States.

Whatever the case, this volume as a whole focuses mainly on matters relating to archaeological heritage management. Interestingly, this focus is conveyed through a range of largely overlapping terms used by the contributors: many talk of ‘preventive archaeology’, and others mention ‘rescue archaeology’, the ‘industrial sector’, ‘commercial archaeology’, ‘cultural resources management’, ‘developer-funded’, ‘compliance driven’, and indeed ‘professional’ as distinct (?) from ‘academic’ archaeology. We considered it important, as editors, to respect this terminological variability, which in some cases reflects some real conceptual or even ideological differences, but which also rests on a common underlying basis – which can be conveyed by the relatively clear and neutral term of Malta archaeology. This common orientation towards archaeological heritage management is of course related to the areas of competencies and interest of the contributors themselves, but even more so to the fact that it is at present at the archaeological forefront of the current economic crisis. Building on national legislations that have been reinforced over the past 20 years – themselves based on the Council of Europe’s 1992 ‘Malta’ or ‘Valletta’ European Convention for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (see http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Archeologie/default_en.asp) as well as the ICAHM – ICOMOS 1990 Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (<http://www.icomos.org/ica hm/documents/charter.html>) – archaeological heritage management has been a continuously growing sector in terms of economic activity, employment and productivity – one that risks now feeling the full force of the crisis. It is also a sector that captures some of the social and political choices surrounding our attitudes to our heritage and to the past, as Jean-Paul Demoule indicates in his opening paper, and as Nathan Schlanger re-examines in the postscript.

Two additional comments to conclude this introduction. First, it might be pertinent to reiterate here the usual disclaimers. Rather than obtain formal, authorised statements, our aim here has been to gain a sense, qualitative or quantitative, of

the stakes and the problems areas raised by the crisis. All the contributors to this volume, whether they come from academia, the commercial sector, or state bodies, are certainly knowledgeable about the situation prevailing in their countries, but they do not pretend, and nor are they expected, to present anything like an official, sectorial or national viewpoint.

Next, as we noted at the onset, this volume represents something of a first. But it may well not be a one-off. Provided that sufficient interest and goodwill can be found, we envisage the publication – perhaps in a year's time, for the next EAA meeting in September 2011 – of a second volume in which information will be updated and commented on, and of course new countries, sectors and impact areas represented and analysed.

Please do contact the editors if you are interested in contributing to this publication and its aims.

2. The crisis – economic, ideological, and archaeological

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1 Introduction

Since its creation more than a decade ago, the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) has served as a useful forum for debating different understandings of the organisation of archaeological heritage management across Europe. This has been one of the tasks taken on by the EAA sponsored “Committee on Archaeological Legislation and Organisation in Europe” and this is also one of the goals of the EC funded ACE project, “Archaeology in Contemporary Europe”. This EAA session and the publication that ensues is therefore highly appropriate for raising and summing up some of the broad issues, economic, ideological and archaeological, brought to the fore by the current global crisis.

2 Two world views

Broadly speaking there are in Western philosophy two contrasting concepts of society. In the Anglo-Saxon ‘common law’ tradition, society regulates itself, either, following the optimistic version of Adam Smith, through the operations of a “hidden hand” or, in the more pessimistic versions of neo-Darwinism, socio-biology and economic liberalism in general, by means of the ‘struggle for life’. For the American economist Nobel prize winner Milton Friedman, for example, “the State is not the solution, but the problem”. This principle seems to have been abandoned in a matter of hours at the beginning of the recent economic crisis, in October 2008.

For the other tradition, mainly in continental Europe, it is the state, in its role as the expression of the community of citizens, which organises and regulates social life. Up until the 1980’s in many parts of western Europe, most of what concerned the general interest – such as education, a large part of culture, as well as transports, energy, post and telecommunications, and indeed banks and insurance companies – were the responsibility and the property of the state, that is to say of the community of citizens. It was only during the 1980s that this state of affairs was put in question, essentially for reasons of ideology rather than economic inefficiency, and without a real public debate.

As for archaeology: in the second model, it is the nation state that takes charge of the protection of archaeological heritage, either through a state archaeological service or through dedicated public bodies. In the first model archaeological heritage is treated as merchandise or a service. Commercial archaeological companies are at the service of their clients, the developers, with only the postulation of some ‘code of ethics’ to ensure quality control within the overall framework of the free market economy. It should be noted that the term of ‘developer-led archaeology’, as sometimes used in Anglo-Saxon countries (and in translations into English) is

in this respect misleading. In reality, it is not the developers who originated the protective measures such as preventive or rescue archaeology, but rather it is the community of citizens, as expressed through the state, its laws, regulations and policy guidances. It is the state which decrees that archaeological remains need to be studied prior to their destruction. The seemingly innocent term of ‘developer-led’ in this sense reveals wider conceptions of heritage management.

It should be remarked that there has never been anything in the nature of a public debate or consultation within the European Union regarding these two different economic and political approaches. For instance, it is possible to imagine and bring into being a common European public service in such fields as railways, postal services or electricity provision – just as there now moves towards common European airspace, or, more topically, a common banking supervisory mechanism. Such an approach was never really considered. In almost every field of economic and social life, the option of a generalised commercial competition was the one taken, as if as a matter of course. The advantages of such generalised commercial competition, as claimed by the likes of Adam Smith and Milton Friedman, were supposed to result in lower prices and better quality, on the premise that people will choose to buy the best products at the lowest prices. This has not really been the case, for several reasons.

3 Half a dozen reasons for questioning the benefits of economic competition

– *First*, as shown by the Nobel prize winner for Economics, Stiglitz, the “hidden hand” of the market would work only if people had complete information regarding merchandises and services. But it is never the case: people often chose the degree of information they feel they need, and they can also very easily be manipulated regarding the information they have access to.

– *Second*, supposedly competing companies often engage in agreements of various sorts, verging on illegality. Such deals between mobile phone operators or between roads and infrastructure companies have recently occurred in France, for example.

– *Third*, commercial companies and their shareholders prefer immediate concrete benefits to long-term investments – as can be seen with privatised railway companies.

– *Forth*, regarding archaeology, the notion of competition is often seriously misunderstood. It so happens that developers do not set out to buy the best possible archaeology, that is, the most securely dated and documented interpretation of, say, Early Bronze Age occupation in a given region of Northern Italy, as could be provided by the best archaeological operator. Developers simply want, following the regulations in force, their grounds to be cleared of archaeological remains as quickly and cheaply as possible. Economic competition in the field of archaeology has therefore nothing to do with scientific competition: it is simply an incitement to excavate for the lowest possible costs, as unfortunately can be observed every day. Scientific research is of course also subject to various calls and grants, many of them highly selective and competitive, emanating from national and international bodies. But the criteria for choosing between competing proposals have little if nothing to do with the lowest possible costs, and much with the research project proposed by the bidding departments or laboratories, and their record of excellence and delivery. Private sector research does of course exist, but

it thrives mainly in economically rewarding domains (such as medicine, weapons, food, transport) where quality can be directly controlled and enforced, and where research has mostly applied rather than fundamental objectives.

– *Fifth*, the ‘Code of Ethics’ is a noble notion that may be relevant or applicable in some (possibly Protestant) countries of Western Europe, but is it not pertinent, to be realistic, in many parts of our continent and in much of the world. Such a code supposes in fact a shared commitment to strong scientific control, which does not seem to be the case, for example, with the first attempts at introducing commercial archaeology in France.

– *Sixth*, as a final point to return to our preoccupations with the current global economic crisis, it is clear that the effects of such a crisis on commercial companies, in any economic or cultural field, are quite different and more challenging than is the case with public bodies operating under the guarantee of the State.

4 A case study : the introduction of commercial companies to French archaeology

As we all know, and as we can further appreciate from the analyses and details provided throughout this volume, the effects of the current economic crisis on archaeology are serious indeed. Many colleagues in private companies have lost their jobs, and there is also a risk that much scientific data and documentation will definitely disappear – just like the professional expertise generated over the years. We have, of course, to express our feelings of solidarity with these jobless colleagues.

I would like now to take up as a test case the example of France, where commercial archaeology was introduced only in 2003 (see also Schlanger & Salas Rossenbach, this volume). Over the years, France had accumulated serious delays in matters of archaeological heritage protection. One of the reasons was that for long archaeology did not play much of a role in the construction of national identity: the country’s ‘noble’ ancestors were rather the Greeks and the Romans, and the Louvre, with all its rich holdings in these domains, contains almost no finds recovered from the French soil. It was only in 2001, some time after the Malta convention was ratified, that the parliament passed a law which installed the ‘polluter pays’ principle and which created a national research institute in charge of preventive archaeology, INRAP, which took charge of evaluations and preventive excavations across the country in collaboration with the universities, the CNRS, the ministry of culture and the archaeological services of various towns and counties. For my part, I have participated in the drafting of the law, and I served as INRAP’s first president from 2002 to 2008 (see Demoule 2002, Demoule & Landes 2009).

The sudden generalised application after 2001 of the ‘polluter pays’ principle to all development projects across France led to numerous reactions, especially in regions where preventive archaeology had hitherto been poorly practiced. These reactions coincided with the arrival of a new conservative majority in power. Resentment against preventive archaeology in general focussed on the 2001 law, and the parliamentary majority decided in 2003, among other amendments to the law, to open archaeology to commercial competition.

Presumably made under the expectation that excavations costs would be reduced, this decision was clearly ideological in its motivations. It certainly had no scientific justification: the scientific community as one vigorously protested this decision, through demonstrations, petitions, newspaper articles and so forth.

Internationally, the EAA board issued a declaration whereby, taking into account the traditions in each country, the French system of preventive archaeology was perfectly coherent. At the same time, the European Commission in Brussels received complaints regarding the 'state organisation' of French archaeology – and then rejected them (2 April 2003) on the grounds that it was the sovereign right of each member state to set the organisation it saw fit in the field of culture. Thus, for the member states of the European Union, there is absolutely no compulsion to introduce commercial competition in archaeology.

In the first years following the 2003 amendments, there was little competition to be seen from commercial companies, who had to obtain a licence from the ministry of culture in order to operate. From 2007, however, this competition begun to be increasingly felt, to the extent that it represents now something like a third of archaeological excavations undertaken in the country. It should be stressed that in France archaeological assessments or diagnostics prior to excavations can only be carried out by public bodies, for the most part INRAP or the licensed services of towns or départements (counties). The legislator sought here to avoid the risks, observed in quite a few countries, of private companies, under pressure from their commissioning developers, having so little luck at findings archaeological remains at all. For the same reasons, private archaeological companies in France cannot be directly linked to developers, even if some attempts are being made now to bypass this rule. Of the twenty or so private companies now licensed to operate in France, two are foreign (Swiss and English). At least one company, having applied highly reduced costs, went into bankruptcy and raised the fate of the excavated finds and related documentation (see annex II, in this volume; for some UK advice in this matter).

The introduction of commercial competition in French archaeology has had a number of effects, including several that were not anticipated. Excavation costs, to begin with, have not actually seen any significant reduction – which at least shows to the developers that the rates practiced by INRAP were in no way excessive. Together with that, the defects of the system are becoming apparent. For example, there are known cases of private companies which, having won their contract by proposing lower prices, went to the developer to renegotiate and increase the price on the pretext that the evaluation did not fully reveal the extent and complexity of the area to be excavated. In other cases, some private companies simply ceased excavating as soon as the limit of their revenues was reached, while others applied far more summary (and cheaper) methods than initially commissioned. The reactions of the French ministry of culture have been variable. By law, its services are responsible, in each region, for prescribing excavations, for issuing permits to the operators, and for controlling the quality of their work. In some cases, the regional services welcomed and even encouraged the arrival of private companies, which made it possible for them to increase the number of participants and retain power and importance. As well, their level of scientific exigency towards private companies is often reduced, in comparison with INRAP standards. A paradoxical situation was also observed where one state service unduly favoured a private company at the expense of another state service, INRAP.

Another harmful consequence of this ideologically promoted commercialisation has undoubtedly been the fragmentation of the archaeological process. Before then, the methodology for excavations and for the recording and analysis of archaeological finds could be defined in a homogenous way by INRAP. With the array of participants now in existence, it is possible to find different parts of

the same archaeological sites excavated by different operators following different methodologies, making any coherent synthesis impossible. It is clear that this system of commercial competition, however desirable it was to some for political and ideological reasons, will have to be considerably reconsidered also in scientific terms as soon as circumstances allow.

5 Towards a coherent approach to European archaeology

In a recent issue of the journal *World Archaeology*, dedicated to ‘Debates in World Archaeology’, Kristian Kristiansen wrote a paper entitled “Contract archaeology in Europe: an experiment in diversity” (Kristiansen 2009). Comparing the different systems of preventive archaeology in operation, Kristiansen regrouped them into two main categories – those of statist (or ‘socialist’) inspiration, and those of ‘capitalist’ obedience – and concluded that the former offered the best guarantees of scientific quality and communication. With the crisis, it becomes all the more timely for us European archaeologists to come and think together, especially within the EAA, on what could be the more relevant kinds of organisations for European Archaeology. Decisions need not be taken of course in the immediate future. But we have to put on the table all the current problems, make them explicit and debate them together.

The crisis shows us that, following twenty years of growing economic and commercial deregulations, the ‘hidden hand’ of the market has somehow lost its touch, and seems not to work, at least not in any simplified form. Without the massive state interventions of the states of the Western world, the economic situation would have been even worse. Closer to our concerns, there is ample scope to reconsider the value of the ideas that cultural heritage might be just a merchandise, and archaeology a commercial service to be provided.

More specifically to the discipline, recent research in methods and theories have focussed on the conditions in which archaeological reasoning and hypotheses – such as ‘post-processual’ or ‘critical’ theory – were being generated. However, as archaeologists, historians and indeed social scientists, we need also to be critical and reflexive regarding the *concrete* structures and institutions within which archaeological research is conducted, concrete conditions which cannot be separated from the archaeological discipline as a whole.

To find a source of optimism in the economic crisis, it can be expected that the new programmes devised in France and in other parts of Europe to encourage the economy will lead to large scale state investments in such public works as roads, railways or other infrastructures programs, which in turn will create more jobs for preventive archaeology – and generate new knowledge about the past. Be it as it may, the complex situation emerging from the global economic crisis was not expected, and could well have serious and long lasting effects on archaeological heritage management and scientific research. Such bodies as the EAA can take a leading role in the ensuing debates, and it is our collective responsibility as citizens and as professional archaeologists to take part and to contribute.

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3. The impact of the recession on archaeology in the Republic of Ireland

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1 Introduction

This paper provides a brief overview of the organisation and structure of archaeology in the Republic of Ireland; it assesses the impact of the recession on the practice of archaeology in Ireland and will attempt to consider the prospects for the future. The Republic of Ireland is an interesting case study as the sustainability of the economic model that supported archaeological activity has been challenged by the global banking crisis and a domestic economic downturn. This has led to a collapse in the amount of archaeological work being commissioned from private sector archaeological consultancies and a consequential steep rise in unemployment among the archaeological profession in Ireland.

The paper is written in a personal capacity and should not be seen as an expression of the views of the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland or its members.

2 Organisation and structure

Archaeological services in the Republic of Ireland are provided by a state-supervised private sector. This model of organisation was effective and adaptable in the face of the unprecedented economic growth experienced in the country in the era of the so-called “Celtic Tiger”. The construction projects stimulated by this economic growth led to the completion of thousands of excavation projects annually and the employment of large numbers of archaeologists, particularly in the private sector.

The emergence of a private sector in Irish archaeology was not the result of an explicit policy but was a response to the requirements of developers, initially public sector development agencies and later private sector developers, for archaeological advice and excavation services in the late nineteen-eighties. Its emergence was facilitated by a general reluctance of state bodies or universities to get involved in the direct provision of archaeological services to mitigate the archaeological impact of proposed developments and the insistence by the relevant statutory bodies of the application of the “polluter pays” principle. These actions associated with the transposition of the European Union Environmental Impact Assessment directive into Irish law in 1989 and the placing the national Sites and Monuments Record on a statutory footing (as the Record of Monuments and Places) in 1994 created a market for archaeological services.

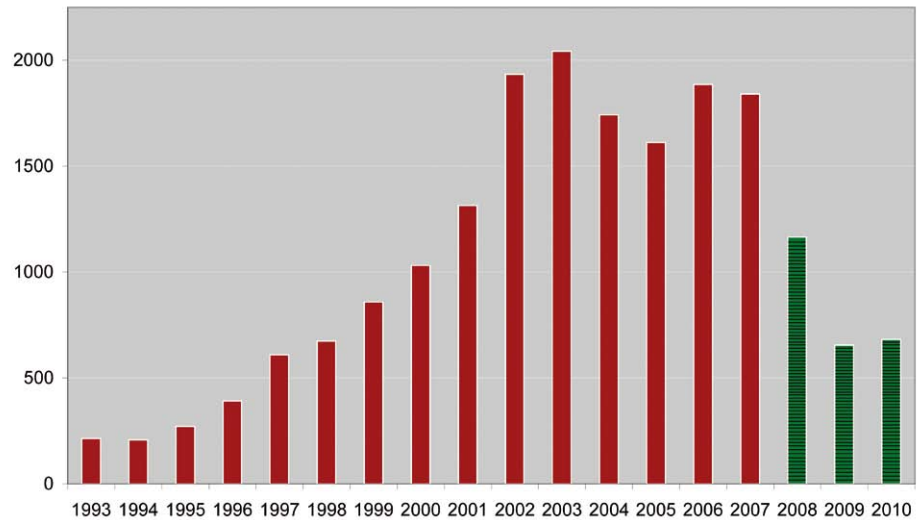
3 Scope of private sector activity

Archaeological services to the public and private sectors are generally provided by commercial companies and sole traders. The services provided by these companies generally include archaeological assessment and evaluation, archaeological excavation and post-excavation services. Assessment of the scope of commercial

archaeology in the Republic of Ireland is hampered by a lack of data and research.

Anecdotally the most significant aspect of the archaeological business in Ireland is the provision of excavation services. Archaeological excavation can only be carried out with a permit granted by the Minister for Environment, Heritage & Local Government in accordance with the provisions of the National Monuments Acts (1930-2004). Summary reports on each excavation have to be published in the annual *Excavations Bulletin*. Research suggests that more than 90% of the excavations carried out each year are in response to the requirements to comply with development consents (Eogan 2008). As these excavations are generally carried out by archaeologists operating in the private sector the *Bulletin* is a good proxy for the health of the commercial archaeology in Ireland.

Fig. 1. Annual totals of excavations reported in the *Excavations Bulletin* (red); annual totals of archaeological excavation permits issued by the Dept. of Environment, Heritage & Local Government (green) [data for 2010 are a projection based on the first 10 weeks of the year].



These data reveal (Fig. 1) that between 1995 and 2002 the numbers of archaeological excavations carried out grew by an average of 30% per annum, between 2003 and 2007 the numbers of excavations stabilised at a level above 1,500, with annual fluctuations in the order of +/- 15%. Data provided by the Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government show that the number of excavation permits issued in 2008 was 37% less than in the previous year and that there was a year-on-year reduction of 44% in 2009. In real terms the level of archaeological activity has reduced to levels last seen by the profession in the late 1990s. Projections for the current year suggest that there might be slight increase in the number of excavations carried out.

This growth in archaeological excavations impacted on employment levels in Irish archaeology. Research carried out as part of the “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe” project in 2007 has shown that commercial archaeological companies employed 974 staff in the Republic of Ireland (McDermott & La Piscopia 2008, 20 ff.). Follow up surveys by the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland in 2008 and 2009 suggest that the reduction in excavation activity has led to a consequential reduction in employment levels in the private sector where employment fell by 80% in the two years following the collection of the “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe” data (Eogan & Sullivan 2009; Eoin Sullivan pers. comm.).

It is difficult to make an assessment of the scale and scope of the private sector in Irish archaeology as, apart from employment surveys, no research has

been undertaken. National Roads Authority data reveals that sixteen different archaeological companies have won contracts to provide archaeological services on national road schemes in the last 15 years. One area where data can be collated is in tender submission for public sector contracts where in accordance with European Union procurement rules companies are required to provide information on their turnover and staff numbers to demonstrate their competence to undertake the contract being tendered for.

Data available to the author shows that between 1999 and 2006 the self-reported levels of employment in companies tendering for projects in the south-eastern region rose from an average of 84 to 161. In the corresponding period average annual turnover increased from €0.81 million to €6.94 million. At face value these figures suggest steady growth in terms of employment and revenues. However, they figures only tell part of the story as an examination of the employment statistics at individual company level show that over this period there were large annual fluctuations. Similarly, analysis of the self-reported turnover figures show that companies experience large fluctuations in the order of -40% to +200% year-on-year. These figures suggest that for companies tendering to provide archaeological services to mitigate the impact of major road construction projects, the archaeological industry is a challenging one where on-going commercial health and the ability to provide employment for archaeological professionals is dependant on winning at least one large contract on an annual basis.

4 Discussion

The Republic of Ireland is a small open economy. Over the past fifteen years there was significant growth in investment by the public and private sectors. Private sector investment was largely in property and was driven by low interest rates, the availability of credit, a stable macro-economic environment, high levels of employment and high levels of consumer spending. Public sector investment was facilitated by booming tax receipts (mostly so-called transaction taxes) and a structured approach to investment through seven-year National Development Plans.

The global economic crisis has hit Ireland particularly hard because of the specific local conditions. For the archaeological profession the impact has been compounded as since 2007 archaeological works have been completed on many of the significant motorway projects; this coincided with the reduction in investment in private sector development projects due to the global economic downturn and banking crisis. The collapse in tax revenues has meant that the public sector has not been in a position to invest in other public projects that might require archaeological services. The impact of the recession can be seen in the reduction of about 66% in the number of archaeological excavations being carried out and a drop of 80% in employment levels in the private sector. At least one established archaeological services company is being wound up and a second company has sought protection from their creditors in the courts.

The impact of the recession on the private sector in Irish archaeology has been deep; however, the figures have to be seen in the context of the profession having gone through a period of unprecedented growth and expansion over the previous ten years. This is, of course, cold comfort to those colleagues who have lost their jobs or whose income has been substantially reduced. However, it should be

acknowledged that the “Celtic Tiger” years were good for archaeology in Ireland; not only did it provide employment opportunities for professional archaeologists but it led directly to the generation of significant new data. Unlike much of Western Europe up to the late twentieth century the Republic of Ireland had a largely rural character, a low population density and an economy based for the most part on the export of primary agricultural products, principally meat and dairy products. The form of agriculture practised was low-intensity and did not require large-scale mechanisation. Apart from the construction of canals and railways and some limited industrialisation, Ireland was not generally affected by the nineteenth century industrial revolution. The last fifteen years witnessed the type of urban, industrial and infrastructural developments that many other countries went through in the middle of the twentieth century. However, in the case of the Republic of Ireland this economic expansion took place in the context of a developed regulatory framework and an adaptable professional archaeological structure that was able to respond to the scale of development to ensure that all significant archaeological impacts were appropriately mitigated.

The challenges for the years ahead are manifold. Firstly, the profession must lobby to ascertain that the legislative and administrative structures are in place that will ensure that development in the future is subject to the same level of archaeological assessment as took place before and during the boom; it would be easy for some policy makers to argue that, in the changed economic circumstances, this level of archaeological assessment was a hindrance to future economic development. The Minister for Environment, Heritage & Local Government has received government approval to draft a new National Monuments Act that is intended to provide a more efficient and streamlined legislative framework for the protection of archaeological heritage in the twenty-first century and to provide for greater recognition and protection for archaeology (including landscapes) under planning legislation. Historically the administration of archaeology in the Republic of Ireland has been underfunded at central and local government level, and in the current climate the likelihood of securing additional posts is low – nevertheless, there may be scope to re-deploy some public sector staff to new areas of responsibility. A logical legislative framework and an efficient and responsive administration will ensure the optimum level of protection for the archaeological heritage and will benefit the profession as a whole.

Secondly, the data generated through the compliance-driven excavations has to be secured and made available for future study. The provision of secure long-term storage for archaeological artefacts and archives has been a perennial problem. The National Museum of Ireland has recently acquired a lease on an 18,000 m² building which is being fitted out as a Collections Resource Centre, the National Monuments Service will sub-let part of the building for the storage of the “paper” archives from excavations; therefore for the first time there will be a single location containing archives from excavations.

Thirdly, the free exchange of data between the different sectors in the archaeological profession has to be maintained and fostered. Unlike some other countries the degree of co-operation between the academic and commercial sectors in Irish archaeology has been close; the academic sector has also taken a close interest in seeking to develop the profession as a whole (University College Dublin 2006, Royal Irish Academy 2007). This data generated from compliance-driven archaeology during the years of the “Celtic Tiger” has re-invigorated academic research and has opened up many new avenues of investigations. Already a number of

innovative projects have sought to harness the knowledge value of the flood of data that has been produced over the last fifteen years, to integrate it with existing data sets and to revise existing narratives incorporating this data. Much of this work has been enabled through funding provided by the Heritage Council through its archaeological grants schemes and through the Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme (INSTAR) (<http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/archaeology/research-funds-grants/instar-web-archive/>). This work is particularly important, as it demonstrates to policy makers and the public that the money spent on archaeology in the context of development, yields data that can be transformed into knowledge through analysis, which then enables us to refine our understanding of how society developed on the island over the past ten millennia.

Discoveries made during the last decade and a half have been exhibited in the National Museum of Ireland and local museums and this has heightened to awareness and understanding of archaeology nationally and locally among the general public; the National Roads Authority also has been particularly successful at disseminating information at a local level. Funding for this sort of research and dissemination can be particularly vulnerable in straightened economic times, and while budgets to the Heritage Council have been cut over the past two years it has been possible to maintain these programmes.

Undoubtedly the global economic crisis has had a significant impact on the archaeological profession in Ireland. The challenge now is to ensure that the significant benefits that accrued in the previous period of growth are consolidated so that when conditions improve we are in a position to provide the archaeological services that society requires and to continue to contribute to the building of an awareness of our shared national and European heritage.

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4. United Kingdom archaeology in economic crisis

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1 Introduction

Archaeological practice in the United Kingdom is essentially a private sector activity, undertaken by commercial companies on behalf of private and public developers. One direct consequence of the global economic situation has been a downturn in the UK construction industry, which began in the summer of 2007 and sharply accelerated in autumn 2008. This decline in construction work directly led to job losses in archaeology.

Following a change of UK government in May 2010, economic policy for dealing with the crisis has switched from the previously held Keynesian approach which sought to refloat the economy through public investment to a set of policies which aim to reduce the national budgetary deficit by cutting state spending. This change in strategy is now directly impacting upon research funding and employment and skills.

2 The boom years and the link to construction

Following the publication of governmental guidance on the treatment of archaeology within the spatial planning system in England in 1990 (PPG 16), archaeology became a material consideration within the planning system. Put simply, this means that the presence or potential presence of archaeological remains on a site where development was proposed would affect whether or not permission would be granted for that development.



It became very rapidly accepted that developers would fund investigations to assess or evaluate sites to identify the extent, degree of preservation and quality of archaeological sites to support their applications for planning permission, and that if needed they would subsequently fund excavation and recording as either

a condition of or an agreement upon their permission to develop being granted. Archaeology had become part of the sustainable development agenda – archaeological remains were recognised as an environmental resource, and if they were to be impacted upon, the polluter would have to pay to mitigate against the damage they were causing.

Within a few years, this system had been replicated in the other constituent parts of the United Kingdom, and the archaeological sector grew at a rapid rate, supported by a housing market that showed rising prices every year from 1992 to 2007. Over this time, housing represented approximately 65-75% of all new construction. In the ten years from 1997, economic growth was maintained not only through the housing boom (and a credit boom that serviced this) but also through large-scale investment in public services.

In 1997-98, approximately 4425 people were working in UK archaeology (in all archaeological roles, not just in development-led fieldwork). By 2007-08, this number had risen to 6865, an increase of 55% over ten years. At this time, two in every three archaeologists worked in field investigation and research roles, and 93% of all archaeological investigations were initiated through the spatial planning process.

3 The downturn hits contractors

In the summer of 2007, in the very week that the employment data for the UK in 2007-08 was being collected through the “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe” project (see www.discovering-archaeologists.eu), the first signs of the oncoming economic crisis became apparent. The ‘credit crunch’ of 2007 meant that August 2007 marked the peak of the housing boom, and the amount of work being done by archaeology’s clients began to slowly decline.

In the autumn of 2008, the effects of the current global economic crisis suddenly and seriously impacted upon commercial archaeological practice in the United Kingdom. Small- and medium-scale development was effectively halted when the global economic crisis deepened severely to the accompaniment of numerous bank bailouts, rescues and nationalisations.

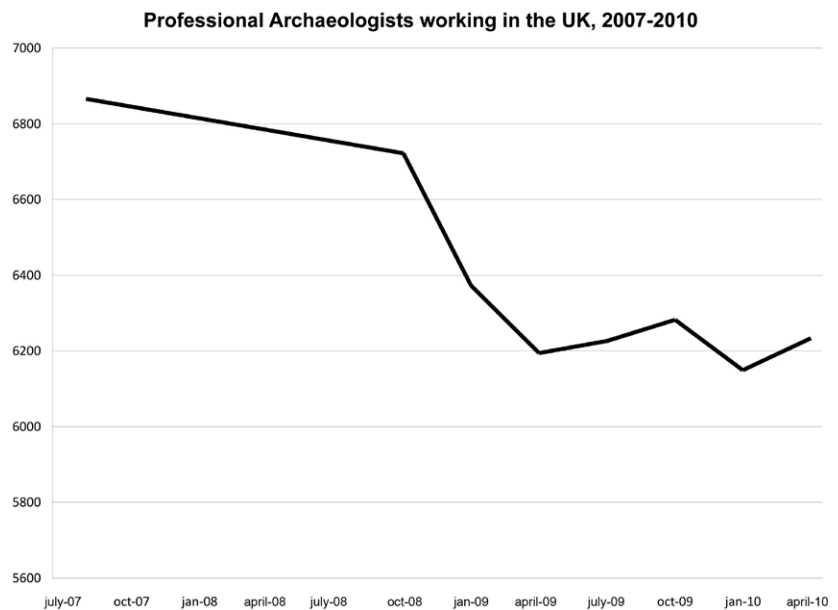
The effects of September and October 2008 immediately led to hundreds of archaeologists losing their jobs and several archaeological companies going out of business.

Since then, the Institute for Archaeologists has been gathering data on the effects of the crisis upon archaeological practice since the start of 2009, reviewing labour market indicators and business confidence every quarter.

By March 2009, 650 jobs had been lost – the equivalent of 1 in every 6 field-workers’ jobs. This represented about 10% of all the jobs in the entire archaeological sector.

There was a certain level of recovery in the sector during the summer of 2009, but by March 2010 the numbers in employment had returned to the low levels of one year before and archaeological businesses remained uncertain about the future effects of the economic situation. The situation is volatile, and business confidence is low.

Using average salaries and employment levels as indicators, it can be estimated that approximately £148m (€179m) was being spent by developers in 2007-08. By 2009-10, this was likely to have dropped to around £130m (€157m).



4 Heritage management, policies and legislation

The short-lived recovery in the number of archaeological jobs in the summer of 2009 was fuelled by capital investment by the state. A number of planned major roads projects were brought forward as the government deliberately sought to spend on infrastructure to boost the economy, but this was a temporary measure which had ended even before the change of government in May 2010.

The government guidance on archaeology in the planning system in England, PPG 16, which was in many ways the trigger for the growth of archaeological practice during the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century was replaced in March 2010 by *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (PPS 5). This document was not produced in response to the economic situation – it had been in development for approximately eight years – and it will lead changes in archaeological practice. It allows for a greater degree of selectivity in which sites will be investigated, with emphasis being placed upon a site's significance and with a more proportionate level of information needing to be provided by the applicant for planning permission before an application is decided.

PPS5 should have been accompanied by a new law on the historic environment, but this was prevented by the economic crisis. The *Heritage Protection Bill* was dropped from the government's list of proposed legislation in December 2008 as the scale of the economic problems overshadowed all other matters, and then it did not find its way on to the legislative agenda for the final Parliament before the May 2010 general election.

The *Historic Environment (Amendment) Scotland Bill* was introduced to the Scottish Parliament on 5 May 2010, with the intention of harmonising and consolidating legislation in Scotland. This is not related to the economic crisis, but it has to ensure that it does not bring additional cost implications for national or local government.

The number of applications to study archaeology at universities in the UK (which had previously been rising) fell from a peak in academic year 2006-07 until 2008-09, but then (in common with the total number of applicants for all subjects) rose significantly in 2009-10 and again in 2010-11, in response to the eco-

conomic climate as more people sought to enter higher education as an alternative to the uncertain workplace. However, applications to study archaeology were much lower than the aggregate increase for all subjects (the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service identifies that overall applications to universities rose by 23% for the 2010-11 intake, but for archaeology by only 2%).

5 New government and cuts

The Conservative-led government that took office in the UK in May 2010 immediately sought to cut governmental spending in almost all areas. The first direct effect on archaeology and the historic environment has been in the annual budget of English Heritage, the national agency for the historic environment in England, which was cut by £4.8m (€5.8m) in June 2010, an immediate 3.6% reduction of the grant-in-aid received from the state. The Government has already warned that this may be cut further during this year, and future funding for this agency will be determined following the Comprehensive Spending Review in September 2010.

This cut has led English Heritage to reassess current spending on research and priorities, and this has meant that several training initiatives have been stopped.

The amount of money being granted by the state to universities has also been severely curtailed. These cuts, which were first announced late in 2009, can be aggregated up to a total of £900m (€1,080m) across all universities by 2013, and are expected to impact most heavily on staff numbers.

Similarly, the local government settlement through which local authorities are funded will be revised from April 2011, and this will undoubtedly be greatly reduced. This will have the effect of threatening archaeological advisers' posts within local government, which will then directly impact on the local authorities' abilities to manage development proposals which might affect archaeology.

The government is now also no longer in a position to fund as many infrastructure projects (and the associated archaeological work) as previously. The Department for Transport's budgets were cut by £683m (€822m) in May 2010, cancelling or deferring three major roads projects and reducing the railway network's budget.

6 Conservation and public outreach

The economic crisis has had relatively little visible effect upon conservation and public archaeological outreach in the UK so far, although there has been one very high profile casualty of the current Government's spending cuts – the funding for the new Stonehenge Visitor Centre was withdrawn in June 2010.

7 Conclusions

The United Kingdom's archaeological profession was the first in Europe to fully embrace the competitive, free-market model. This greater exposure to market allowed the sector to grow larger than in any other European state before the crisis and the crash, which then meant that more people were exposed to its effects than in any other state.

Because of the professional structure in the UK, it is in the area of professional employment and skills that the effects of the economic crisis have been felt most keenly, as this was a direct, primary consequence of archaeology's clients reducing spending.

The second wave of the crisis is now affecting archaeological practice outside the commercial sphere – in universities, national and local government, as research and development funding is cut. This has been compounded by political decisions that are aggravating the immediate impact of the crisis, although this is done in the hope that they will, over time, ameliorate the situation.

The archaeological profession in the UK is suffering in the present economic climate. It has grown with the market and now has to shrink with the market, but twenty years of experience of how to operate successful businesses means that entrepreneurial attitudes and real business skills have become embedded within the profession. These are the skills and attitudes that are being relied upon to maintain archaeology's position within the process of sustainable development.

5. The end of a golden age? The impending effects of the economic collapse on archaeology in higher education in the United Kingdom

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1 Introduction

Quite by chance, the most recent audits of the two archaeological sectors in the United Kingdom – the professional, commercial or developer-funded, and the academic – were conducted at the very moment when the economic crisis begun to surface (with the ‘collapse’ of the Northern Rock bank in the autumn of 2007). For the professional sector this survey was Institute for Archaeologists’ Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence (LMI) survey for 2007-8 (Aitchison and Edwards 2008); for the academic sector it was RAE 2008, the sixth Research Assessment Exercise undertaken by the four UK higher education funding councils. Both surveys paint a picture of Archaeology in 2007 in better health than ever before. Indeed, such was the strength of the profession in these two surveys that it is tempting to describe the last decade (roughly 1998-2007) as a golden period for archaeology in the UK.

The economic collapse has already dramatically changed this picture of health for the professional sector in the UK. In the academic sector, its effects have not yet been directly felt, but it is possible that the collapse will instigate a deeper and longer lasting set of changes than elsewhere, because they may fundamentally alter the current drivers or incentives for higher education institutions (HEIs) and academics in departments of archaeology. These changes will occur over the next ten years and grow out of a number of present tensions that are already identifiable. These include the effects of rising tuition fees on students’ perception of the difficulty and value of higher education (HE), falling application numbers, a concern with employability, increased competition for academic posts and the wages and working conditions in the professional sector of archaeology.

Even though these tensions are of long standing, it will be the current economic crisis and its direct impact on the future funding of HE that will instigate change. Since the changes have not yet started it is only possible at this moment to outline the factors that will cause change and the possible change scenarios that might occur. In order to make sense of these, I shall set out the current situation of archaeology in higher education, as well as the basic principles that organise and fund this level of education in the UK. It is important to remember throughout that HEIs in the UK are independently funded and managed organisations; they are also intensely competitive one with another in the UK, and increasingly with other HEIs internationally. The policies and actions they follow are driven by how they can effectively increase their funds and profits, and enhance their reputation and competitive edge.

2 Archaeology in UK higher education, 1997-2007

Between 1997 and 2007, there was a considerable degree of renewed economic investment in the UK HE sector; archaeology, in common with many disciplines, enjoyed a considerable period of growth. This led to an increase in the numbers of academic archaeologists educated and employed; the numbers of students¹, and new departments were created to teach archaeology in universities. Assessments of teaching and research quality completed in this decade reveal a record of excellence in both areas in the UK.

There is no official record of the number of staff by discipline in UK universities. The evidence, however, from the IfA's LMI survey, the RAE 2008 returns, and institutional websites (for departments not submitted to the RAE 2008), makes it possible to say that there were more than 600 individuals employed for the purpose of teaching and research in archaeology in UK Higher Education 2009². Looking back over the previous decade, using the three IfA LMI surveys for 1997-8, 2002-3 and 2007-8 (Aitchison 1999, Aitchison & Edwards 2003, Aitchison & Edwards 2008), and the institutional submissions to the UK's Research Assessment Exercise for 1996, 2001 and 2008 (RAE 2010a, 2010b, 2010c), we can observe a steady rise of more than 35% in total staff numbers engaged in teaching and research (Fig. 1). The age spread and gender balance have remained roughly constant over this period with the average academic archaeologist still being male and in his forties (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1. Numbers of academic staff in archaeology in UK Higher Education.

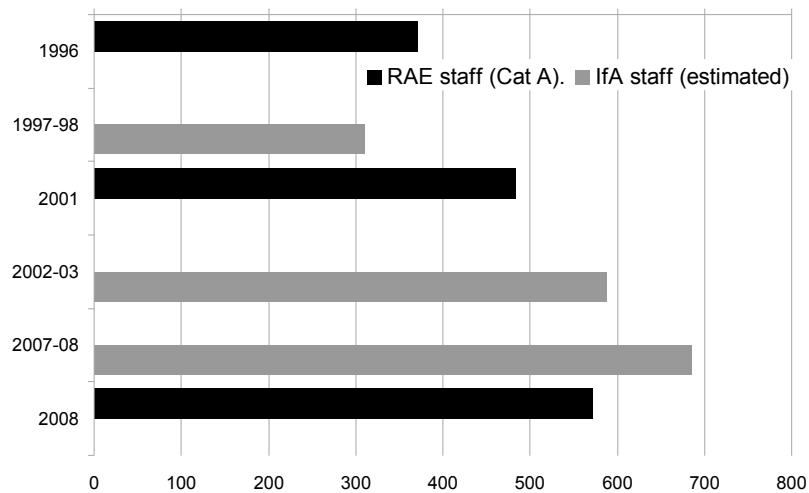
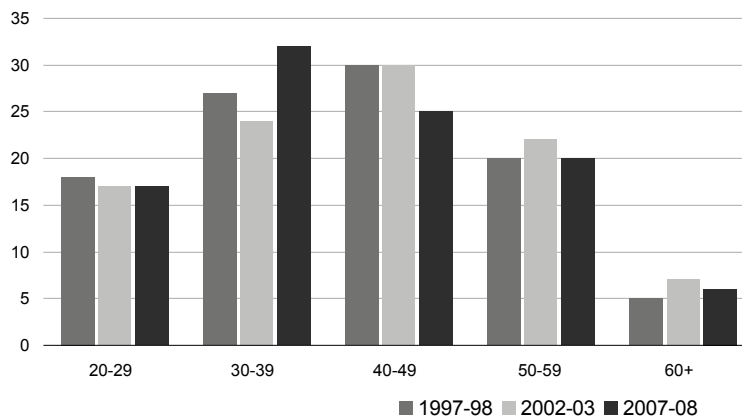
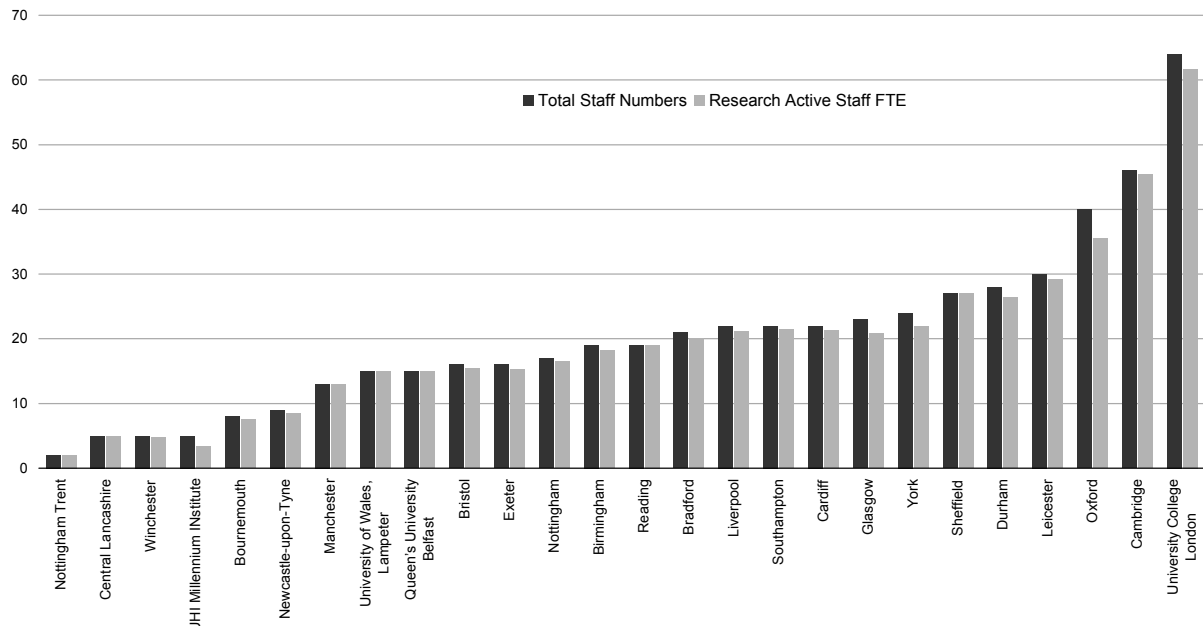


Fig. 2. The age profile for UK archaeologists in Higher Education.



These 600 and more academic staff are spread amongst approximately 30 institutions offering places where students can take a degree in archaeology as a single honours subject. Additionally there are a few other institutions in which students might study Archaeology as a significant component of either joint-honours degree programmes or degrees in related subjects such as Classics. In contrast to many other countries in Europe, archaeology departments in the UK are large in size (Collis pers. comm. June 2006 Conference on Teaching and Learning in Archaeology 2006, Liverpool.). Although a small number of archaeology departments have fewer than 10 full-time staff, many have more than 15 full-time teaching/research staff, with the largest having 64 full time staff (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Staff & research active staff numbers in UK departments (RAE 2008).



From outside the HE sector, the activities of teaching and research seem inseparably interwoven. Indeed many in the university sector would argue that what constitutes the 'higher' element of HE is the fact that students learn about their disciplines in an active research environment and from teachers who are themselves undertaking basic research. This is often phrased as 'research-led teaching'. Be that as it may however, a significant feature of the UK HE system is a separation between research and teaching: as activities with different processes of funding and assessment of performance. And just as finance and assessment largely determine the student's experience and her actions in HE, so do the same factors shape and drive the perceptions and activities of individual academics and institutions.

3 The funding and assessment of teaching in higher education

The money that institutions receive for teaching is determined nationally. This comprises a sum of money paid by government (via the national funding councils) for each student as well as tuition fees paid by students themselves. At a national level, the number of HE student places that can be funded is set by government, and institutions must agree on the number of students that they will teach with the funding councils. Within institutions, there are annual student number targets set

per discipline area. In the period from the mid 1990s up to 2007, there was a drive to increase student numbers in HE, and humanities and arts departments were able to increase their student numbers significantly, with subsequent employment opportunities available to them in an enlarging service economy³.

The money from the funding councils is allocated according to the costs of teaching a full-time student following a specific discipline for their degree. The disciplines are grouped into funding bands according to the form of teaching involved. In England and Wales the highest sum is allocated to the band which groups the medical sciences. This is followed by the sciences and engineering, then the laboratory/fieldwork-based social sciences (including geography and archaeology) and finally the library-based humanities and arts (including history, english, classics). In Scotland, however, archaeology is in the lowest band, and students are funded at the same level as english, history and other humanities.

Additionally, in the UK, students have contributed financially to their HE for more than ten years. Between 1998 and 2006, students were required to pay an annual tuition fee of up to £1250 (means-tested against parental income). In 2006 this was changed into a variable but capped fee, with the exact amount set by individual HEIs for each of their degree programmes⁴ up to an upper limit of £3,225 per year (2009-10)⁵. With very rare exception, however, all universities now charge all students the same, uppermost fee. In practical terms, students take out student loans to pay for their tuition fees, that are offered to students by the Student Loans Company - a public-sector organisation⁶. The money to fund these loans is provided up front by the government; graduates repay these loans at reduced levels of interest once they are earning more than £15,000 *per annum*. Any outstanding loan repayments are (to be) cancelled after 25 years.

For HEIs, teaching income is largely capped at a national level. There is little opportunity to increase this income and the only 'penalty' for HEIs is when they accept more students than the places they have been funded to provide. The only other route to increase teaching income is to attract foreign students for whom student places are not capped. HEIs are, therefore, keen to attract such students⁷, and seek to improve their reputation (largely in terms of their research reputation) on the one hand, and, recently, to develop links with foreign universities that might lead to a steady stream of foreign students coming to the UK 'mother' institution later on in their degree.

Between 1991 and 2001, teaching in UK universities was assessed through an exhaustive performance review organised on a subject by subject basis with every department visited and assessed by independent, discipline-specific inspectors. For archaeology (assessed between 1999 and 2001), the overwhelming majority of departments were judged to be 'excellent' in their teaching. The considerable level of resource invested in preparation for these national subject performance reviews led to a modification of the process so that teaching reviews are now conducted periodically within universities in a 'light touch' manner, though with some external contribution. In the UK, therefore, funding for teaching is also not directly affected (either up or down) by the assessment of teaching quality. It is assumed that this will be achieved in an HE market place through the (non-)application of students to particular HEIs and degree programmes. Currently, however, the number of applicants for student places is greater than the number of funded places available.

Finally, the UK has also benefited from the creation of a series of subject-focussed teaching support centres (originally called the Learning and Teaching

Support Network) that are part of the Higher Education Academy. Funding comes from the national higher education funding councils, and, to a small extent, from institutional subscriptions. The Subject Centres work to enhance teaching at a disciplinary level by recognising that individual academics more often than not see themselves as members of a discipline, not as teachers in higher education per se; academics are more likely to engage with individual discipline specialists when sharing and developing best teaching practice rather than with education specialists. The Subject Centres organise conferences and workshops on teaching issues, they produce publications on themes such as the enhancement of employability skills and approaches to assessment; they also fund pedagogical research. Archaeology is supported by the Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology (www.heacademy.ac.uk/hca). The Subject Centres appear to be unique to the UK.

4 The funding and assessment of research

It is unquestionably research that has had the greatest impact on those universities where archaeology is taught. In contrast to their teaching income, however, individual HEIs can significantly increase their income that derives from research, through the receipt of individual research grants (from the UK research councils) awarded to individual academics and research teams, and just as importantly on the basis of the outcomes of the most recent research assessment. These factors are ones that university leaders feel that they can directly influence; they have, therefore, introduced detailed processes to support (and monitor) research grant bids and research assessment outputs and submissions at departmental and individual level. Departments of archaeology (along with Classics and Ancient History) are usually located in the 'traditional universities' (institutions that were recognised by charter before 1992). These universities now largely defined themselves as research-intensive institutions; their research ratings are often advertised as an indicator of institutional quality to potential students, especially those from abroad.

Research grants are highly sought after by HEIs, since they now pay not only the direct expenses for undertaking research, but also the full costs of staff time when working on the research projects, and the indirect costs of supporting a project of research within the HEI (these include running costs for rooms and equipment, the costs for the provision of central services to researchers, etc). They are fully economically costed. Within the humanities and social sciences, the receipt of a research grant can now bring in large sums of money (£200k - £500k), but since the research councils for this area have the lowest level of funding, the success rate for research grant applications is very low. In the humanities and social sciences, therefore, success in the assessment of research quality through the publication of high-quality research outputs is all the more important.

Archaeology departments have been remarkably successful in the Research Assessment Exercises. Until the 2008 review the published research rating given during the RAE was at a department level as a whole. From RAE 2008, however, the research assessment rating was extended down to individual outputs and, therefore, individuals. In the last exercise, RAE 2008, more than £70 million pounds was raised by departments as income for archaeological research (between 2001 and 2008), and of the publications submitted, more than 50% of these at every institution were assessed as being either 'world-leading', 'internationally

excellent' or 'internationally-recognised' in their quality (Fig. 4). Moreover, during this same period, postgraduate research student numbers have increased enormously (Fig. 5), with 745 students completing their doctorate, and another 240 students completing a research masters (MPhil, MRes) between 2001 and 2008.

Fig. 4. Research quality for UK departmental outputs (RAE 2008).

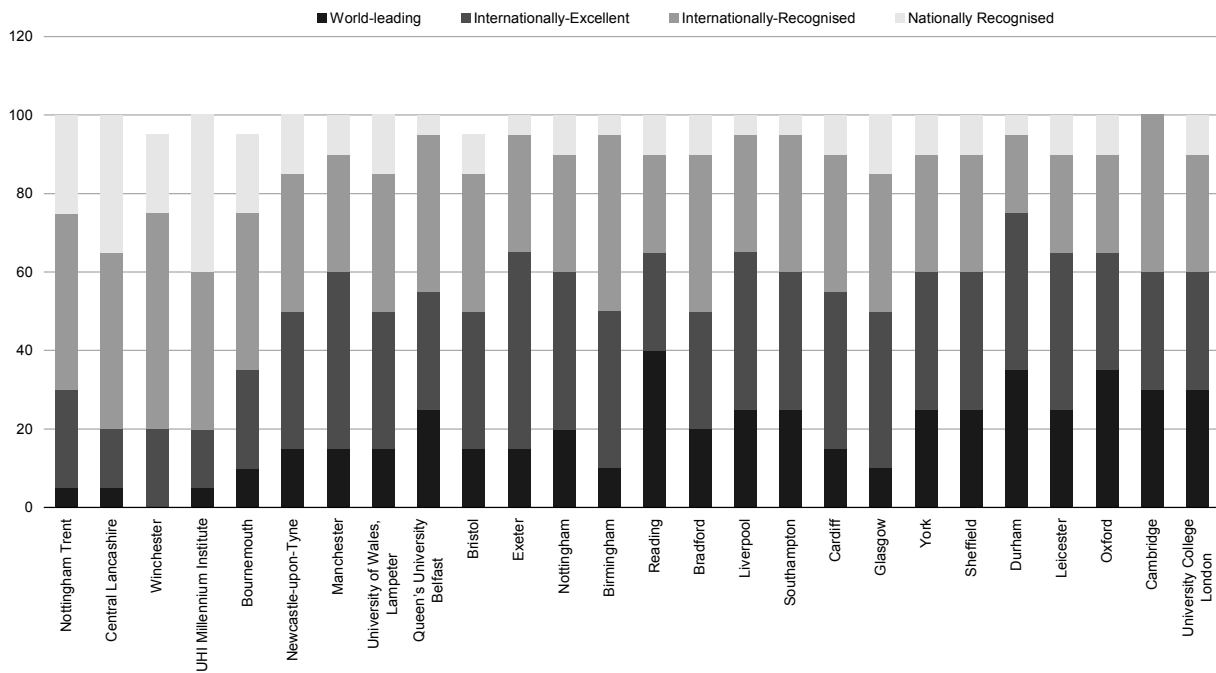
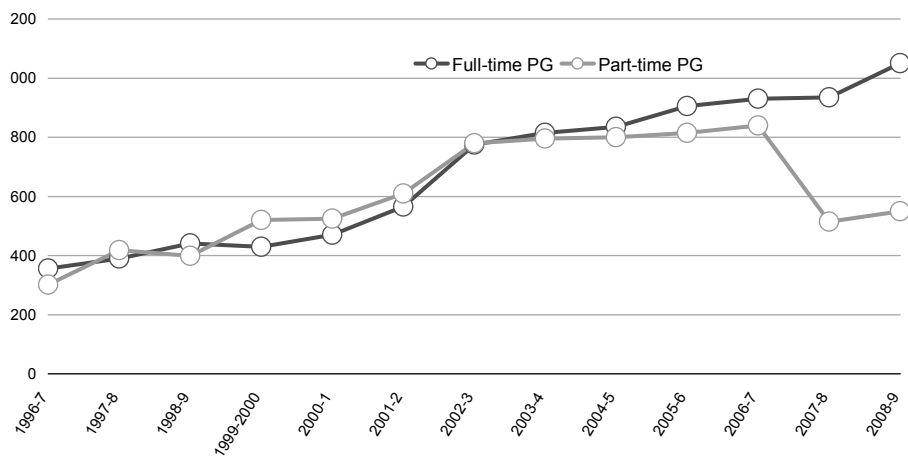


Fig. 5. Number of postgraduate students in archaeology.



Archaeology departments in the UK, therefore, have blossomed in this research assessment driven environment, and they have expanded and modelled themselves over the course of twenty years as units for whom success in the next RAE has been the dominant driver. Success, at a departmental level, in this environment requires the production of research outputs that can be recognised as being of world-leading or international quality, ideally paid for through research grants received from recognised research councils or funding bodies. These outputs take the form of peer-reviewed publications that might be articles in high-impact journals, or monographs (not teaching texts); between 1990 and 2008, archaeological peer-reviewed journals increased in number, and doubled in output to meet this publication need (Sinclair 2009). For individuals to get employment in academia,

they must demonstrate proof of present and future research quality (as measured in publications and grant income), and competition for such positions is now extraordinarily high⁸. In the last audit, RAE 2008, almost all full-time academic staff (in archaeology) were classified as research active for RAE assessment (Fig. 3). Once in post, individual success (if measured by promotion) is usually perceived as resulting from the quality and quantity of one's research outputs, and prior to the last two RAEs, there has been a thriving 'transfer market' (and promotions to assist retention) between institutions for individuals perceived to be valuable RAE assets.

The drivers related to research rather than teaching, therefore, are by far the strongest in the vast majority of universities with departments of archaeology. They directly affect practice at a departmental level, govern success in the acquisition of academic posts, and, significantly, they are also perceived to affect directly the promotion of individual within institutions. Teaching is undertaken, and often delivered well, but it is research that drives change. As a result, academic archaeology has followed a specific trajectory in the last fifteen years, that is quite different to that followed by professional, developer-funded archaeology; and this has led to a wide gulf separating these two different forms of practice. Much, if not most, of the archaeological fieldwork and publication that results from developer-funded archaeology would not be recognised (within an RAE), as "research of world or international quality", the standard to which all RAE publications aim⁹; and archaeologists in higher education have become progressively removed from this developer-funded work, and knowledge of its findings¹⁰. Moreover, archaeological fieldwork projects run by academic archaeologists, and funded as research projects, are driven by their RAE submittable, potential written outputs (usually derived from extensive post-excavation analysis and interpretation), with the result that the field skills of academic archaeologists are also not the same as those of employed in developer-funded archaeology. In such different worlds, there is consequently little opportunity for individuals to move between the academic and professional employment sectors, especially at a senior level. The result is that the vast majority of senior staff in either archaeological sector have little practical knowledge of the driving factors and organisational structures that shape work outside their own area of academia or professional field archaeology.

5 The impact of the economic crisis on higher education

In the professional archaeological sector, the impact of the economic crisis on employment and skills has been both immediate and readily apparent since the beginning of 2008 (see Aitchison in this volume). These impacts can also be related directly to the economic crisis itself: the effect of a significant reduction in the level of development-related construction that generates most archaeological activity undertaken by private contractors. In higher education, the effects of the crisis have been significantly less visible up to the middle of 2010¹¹. There is also a much slower pace of change in educational (public sector) institutions than in the private (professional) sector. This is due to the continuing intake of students, and the (usually) long-term employment contracts for academic and non-academic staff¹² that makes it difficult to reduce staff numbers¹³, and the use of public finance by the previous Labour government, to support the national economy.

Within academic archaeology, however, one clear exception can be seen in the rapid effects of the crisis on university-based archaeological contracting units. Like their counterparts in the commercial sector, these companies have had less work during the crisis; unlike their private competitors, however, universities impose high overheads on these units which makes them less competitive, whilst the financial accounting systems in universities make it less easy for the income from one project to support work related to another. Moreover, as noted above, the publications of these units do not make much impact within the RAE driven HE sector. In the last two years the units at Sheffield, and Manchester have been closed down in their host institutions¹⁴; others are under close scrutiny. The closures of these units will further widen the gulf of knowledge between institutions and the professional archaeological sector. It is possible, however, that archaeological contract work may survive in the universities to the extent that it can take the form of a specialist post-excavation service that may lead to research assessable outputs, or in the form of 'consultancy', especially for foreign governments, where the international expertise of UK-based academics may help.

The next casualty of the economic crisis in academic archaeology is likely to be the Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology (along with the other twenty three Subject Centres). The Higher Education Academy is funded directly by the funding councils who have already stated that the Higher Education Academy will see its level of funding reduced by at least 30% in the next three years. The structure of the HEA must change and it is more than likely that the Subject Centres will be reduced in number, with perhaps a range of disciplines brought together within a unit dedicated to the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Beyond this the picture is not yet clear. Writing in the spring of 2010, it is evident that higher education sector is about to experience a huge reduction in the level of public funding that it receives (from August 2010), caused by the need to reduce the large public deficit developed during the crisis. It has been estimated that this drop in financial support from the public purse will be as much as 25% over the next three years (Universities UK 2010a: 13). This reduction will affect both the level of direct grant support to institutions to pay for teaching and research, as well as the money available to the research councils available for research grants. In addition to a reduction of funding level direct to higher education institutions and researchers, both government and institutions believe that the current tuition fees system is unsustainable; for government the upfront costs of providing the money for student loans are too high¹⁵, whilst institutions claim that the current level of tuition fees needs to be raised so that, along with other sources of income, universities can recover the full costs of tuition (Universities UK 2010a:21). Moreover, the higher education budget will not be protected from cuts, unlike that for earlier years education. Higher education is still a relatively restricted form of education in the UK¹⁶, and both government and institutions have consistently argued that the possession of a degree increases the average lifetime earnings of graduates¹⁷. A university education is, therefore, to an individual's own benefit, and should be paid for. In November 2009, an independent review of higher education funding and student finance (the Browne Review) was launched, to report by September 2010. It is widely assumed that this review will recommend that tuition fees should be raised from their current level, and possibly uncapped (allowing universities to charge any level of tuition fee that they feel the market will allow). It is also assumed that the review will recommend changes to

the current student loans system, to reduce the costs of these loans to government. This might mean that the tuition fee s loans would be paid back with market rates of interest, or perhaps provided by private banks rather than the government-backed, Student Loans Company¹⁸.

With these changes in mind it is possible to make a number of predictions about the actions and expectations of government, institutions and students based on current practices in UK higher education. It seems likely that:

Government (via the funding councils and the research councils) will;

- reduce the HE budget,
- target some HE funding towards those subject areas that are of national importance for the provision of essential skills¹⁹,
- expect universities to ensure that all students graduate with the ‘necessary skills’ able to secure employment in graduate level jobs,
- expect universities to provide a high quality of student experience (measured by student satisfaction rates in national surveys),
- target research funding for research to universities that are most successful as research institutions, and to areas / projects that will most clearly benefit the national economy.

Institutions will;

- look at their current costs and make cuts where necessary / possible,
- maximise their current research and teaching strengths in the STEM subjects and support their future development,
- emphasise and attempt to enhance the quality of the student experience at their own institution,
- become more efficient in teaching students, with greater use of e-learning, and other more structured forms of self-directed learning by students,
- raise extra teaching-related income by reaching out to wider students catchments through the recruitment of foreign students (especially non-EU students) on campus, by increasing the development of greater distance-learning provision to recruit students who are based off campus, and by offering CPD provision to employers,
- generate extra income through research outputs (largely in the form of intellectual property) and paid consultancy,
- recruit new staff / replacement staff more carefully to support their longer term strategic aims defined by projected teaching need and research income generation.

Students will;

- have to pay more in tuition fees for their higher education,
- decide whether higher education is a worthwhile investment for their future, based on absolute need (medical training for example), future employment and predicted salary according to degree programme followed and institution attended, degree of parental support, institutional support where available,
- expect a clear enhancement of their employment prospects after graduation, and choose their degree course, and university with this in mind,
- have clear expectations about the quality of their student experience at university,
- seek to reduce their overall costs (tuition fees, maintenance costs, and lost income) where possible through paid work or residence at home.

At a local, institutional level the effects of the economic crisis upon individual departments of archaeology are much more difficult to predict. Every university is autonomous, and can adapt in its own way depending on its currently perceived strengths and future prospects. There are however, a number of nationally identifiable trends in archaeology that can be identified and these will determine the range of the longer term effects of the crisis.

6 Possible trends ahead

A serious problem for archaeology is the declining number of applicants for degree programmes. From the early 1990s until 2000, the number of applicants for archaeology degree courses in archaeology increased markedly (Fig. 6). This was almost certainly a result of both a national policy to increase student numbers in higher education combined with an increased exposure to archaeology itself caused by television programmes such as *Time Team*, and *Meet the Ancestors*. From 2000 onwards, whilst institutions have been able to fill their places in archaeology (or within the schools of faculties within which archaeology exists), they have done so from a much smaller number of applicants (Fig. 7).

Fig. 6. The number of male and female students studying archaeology (V4** degree codes).

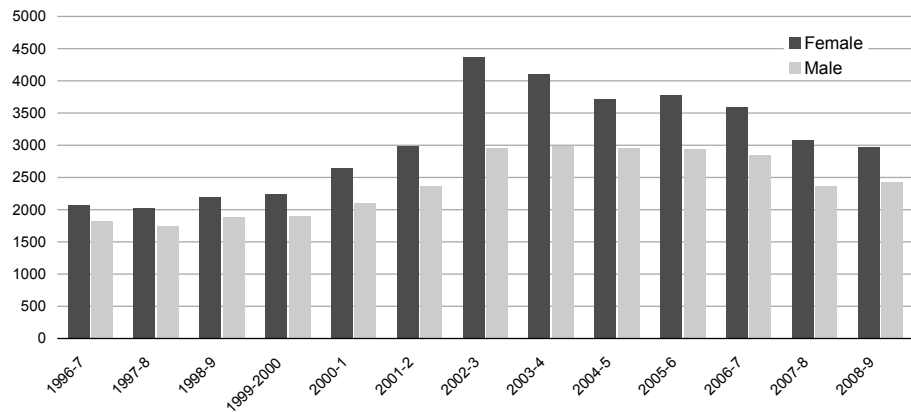
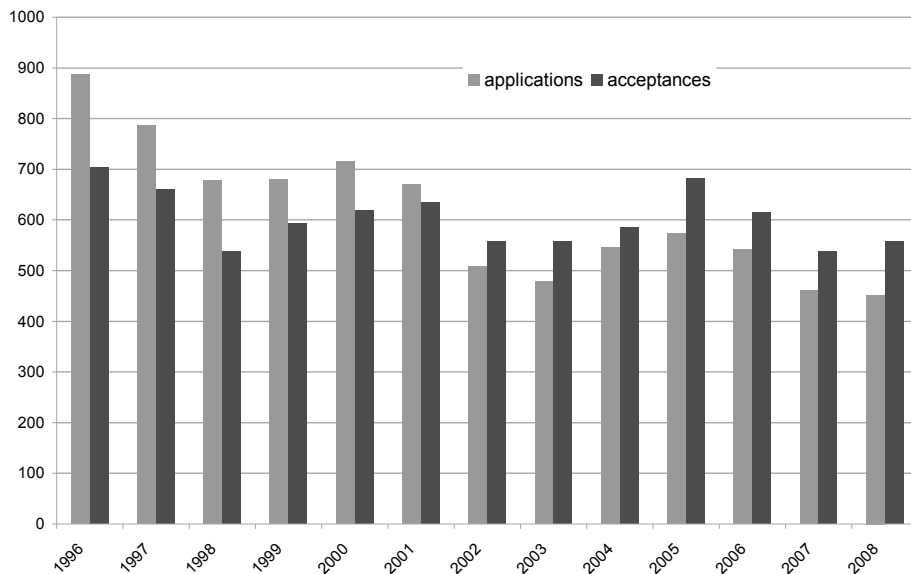


Fig. 7. Numbers of applications and acceptances to archaeology degrees (V4** degree codes).



The reasons for this decline are multiple. It seems likely that the (reduced) television presence of archaeology no longer attracts the extra applicants it once did. The relative absence of archaeology as a common subject of study pre-higher education, means that students must be prepared to 'make a leap of faith' in studying a subject they have no direct experience of, and therefore cannot predict their potential degree level success / future employment potential. Finally, students, parents, and careers advisors worry about future employability since they do not clearly understand the knowledge and skills that are taught in archaeology in HE, and when it is also clear from web sources that getting a job in archaeology is both competitive, often poorly paid and usually short-term.

At the moment, there is demand for perhaps as many as 250,000 more university places than there is available funding²⁰. Even though the number of university applicants and enrolments in England rose following the rise of tuition fees in 2006 (Universities UK 2010b), this will surely change if there is a significant increase in tuition fees. A recent survey, commissioned by the Sutton Trust, has shown that 80% of 13-15 year old children state that they are likely to go to university; but, if tuition fees increase to £5,000 per annum this percentage drops to 67%, at £7,500 per annum it drops to 45%, and at £10,000 the figure is just 18% (Sutton Trust / IPSOS MORI 2010). Student place capacity may then outnumber potential student numbers, and the competition for students will become intense. In addition to falling undergraduate student numbers, we should also expect to see a significant reduction in postgraduate student numbers. In the past decade the numbers of doctoral level students, the research income per staff member and the research ratings of archaeology departments, by comparison with other departments in the arts and humanities, sheltered archaeology departments from the effects of falling student numbers. At the moment archaeology departments are producing very many more students with doctorates than can find academic positions. Without the prospect of an academic career, there is much less likelihood that students will want to continue onto doctoral level study.

With lower student numbers, and with a lower research grant income for archaeology departments, it will be very difficult for them to maintain their current staff numbers. In the immediate future it is likely that we shall see the posts of retiring staff left unfilled, or 'transferred' to other disciplines with buoyant student numbers; this will leave some specialist areas uncovered, requiring staff to teach outside their current range. According to the most recent LMI survey approximately 7-8% of academic staff in archaeology were within 5 years of retirement in 2007 (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: Tables 34 & 35). If the reduction continues we can expect redundancies to occur.

Would a reduction in the number of archaeology graduates be a problem? Even though the professional-commercial and academic sectors have largely acted independently of each other in the last twenty years, reduced student numbers and staff in universities will have repercussions in the professional sector. In the UK, a career in professional archaeology requires a university degree²¹, even though in all previous labour market surveys, employers have commented that archaeology graduates were inadequately trained for employment in professional archaeology (usually lacking field skills experience, specialist skills in areas such as desk-based assessment, as well as a real understanding of the professional archaeological sector). Moreover, many archaeologists leave professional field archaeology after just a few years to pursue other career paths. This is not a problem at the moment: there are more archaeology graduates than posts and there is room for labour

movement. It has also been argued that the production of many more archaeology graduates than the actual number of employment places has had a damaging effect on the professional sector because of the surfeit of applicants for even the lowest paid jobs (Aitchison 2004). A reduced archaeological graduate output, resulting in a closer alignment between the number of archaeology graduates and places in the labour market for professional employment would appear to be no bad thing.

Unfortunately this assumes that enough archaeology students will still seek a career in archaeology – which might no longer be the case. In the UK, the perceived reputation of the university at which you study is important: the same children interviewed for the Sutton Trust's survey (2010) noted that they would not necessarily choose the cheapest degree programmes, but evaluate the perceived income advantage conferred by studying at different universities. At the moment, the starting wage in archaeology is not as high as that available to new graduates in many companies²². Yet, archaeology, as noted above, is largely taught in the traditional universities commonly perceived by students, parents and many graduate recruiters to offer a better standard of education than the new (post-1992) universities, and therefore a greater graduate potential. These older universities will almost certainly charge the highest tuition fees. It is very possible that a career in professional archaeology, following a degree at a traditional university, would look remarkably unattractive without a significant increase in wages to help pay off the debts incurred. This problem can only be exacerbated if the current loans repayment system is changed as well. If the overall number of archaeology graduates decreases, private contractors may no longer be able to entice new graduates into the profession.

Within the traditional, research-intensive universities, a new set of drivers developing on the current language of transferable skills and employability could soon have greater influence than those created by the old RAE process (at least within disciplines in the humanities and social sciences), even if the research drivers will almost certainly not be forgotten. The large majority of archaeology graduates in the traditional universities (those without sufficient parental financial support to pay for the majority of their higher education) will need to seek employment that can both pay off the costs of their education as well as offer them a reasonable standard of living. To find these jobs these graduates will need to sell their transferable employability skills. Institutions will be keen to emphasise transferable skills within the curriculum in order to meet the demands of government above and students below and maintain their student income. The research-intensive institutions that (currently) offer archaeology degrees will also need to show that their graduates can find employment in well-paid sectors. With a reduction in the overall number of graduates in the UK, graduate employers will further target the graduates from universities with a high quality reputation.

Archaeology graduates with well-taught numeracy and IT skills could become quite attractive and sought after, and Departments of Archaeology will need to revise their curricula accordingly to emphasise these skills so as to maintain student numbers.

If the above prediction is correct, departments of archaeology will need to maintain and ideally increase undergraduate numbers on archaeology programmes of study, whilst archaeological employers will need to develop new relations with universities through which to train and develop the next generation of professional archaeologists. A number of possible ways in which this might occur can be suggested.

Departments of Archaeology will need to;

1. properly highlight and develop the large range of transferable skills that they believe are present in an archaeological education, as set out in the Qualification and Assessment Authority's subject benchmark statement for Archaeology (QAA 2007). In particular the skills for IT, data handling and numerical literacy, and teamworking, as well as business and customer awareness (which might be taught through an understanding of professional archaeological practice) are all important transferable skills identified as essential to graduate employability by the UK's Confederation of British Industry (CBI 2009) and which enable archaeology to stand out from other humanities degrees.

2. to emphasise the scientific side of their discipline, as a means by which young people might be attracted into developing careers in science. This would allow a 'rebranding' of archaeology as an 'applied science'.

3. (in the new universities) concentrate on teaching for professional archaeology, allowing the traditional universities to go their own way. This would build some links between higher education and employment, and might be attractive to students if the tuition fees in these universities were lower.

Archaeological Employers could;

4. increase significantly the wages of professional field archaeologists to make such posts attractive in the context of the new cost framework for higher education.

5. recruit their labour force from other countries where the costs of an archaeological education will be less of an individual financial burden

6. open up professional archaeological employment to those without a degree in the subject. The NVQ in Archaeological Practice would then provide the framework for training and continuing professional development for these 'apprentices'. This, however, transfers the responsibility for archaeological training to other providers not yet in existence, or to employers in the form of apprenticeships.

The current system of archaeological training could be

7. transformed to forge a new working relationship in which students would balance work in contracting firms whilst at the same time studying for a degree in archaeology. Some of the credit (assessment) for the degree would then be given to work-based learning. Although there is already an NVQ in Archaeological Practice, within which credit is already gained for work-based learning, a degree from a traditional university is likely to be a more attractive qualification for such students since it would offer future employability skills beyond one sector of employment. This would be of interest even to students not planning to continue into professional archaeology since work experience itself enhances employability.

In sum, whatever happens, there can be little doubt that we are entering a very significant period of change in which the economic crisis and the need to reduce public spending might dramatically transform the relationship between commercial and academic archaeology for the coming generation.

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Notes

can be found on the BBC website (available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/3013272.stm>). For official information use the UK Governments own DirectGov website (available at: <http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/UniversityAndHigherEducation/StudentFinance/index.htm>)

6. Since 1990, students have also had to pay the costs of their own maintenance whilst in higher education. Maintenance loans are available to students from the same student loans company for this purpose, though payable immediately after graduation and with interest.

7. This is especially the case for students coming from beyond the European Union; the tuition fees for these students are the highest.

8. In two recently advertised sets of academic positions, the University of Liverpool received more than 230 applicants for a one position (though widely defined in research/teaching remit), whilst the University of Bournemouth received more than 140 applications for posts quite tightly defined in teaching/research areas. Many of these applicants have years of research experience and output after the completion of their PhDs.

9. Only a very small number of staff in archaeological field units based in universities are entered into the RAE.

10. This has also not been helped by the fact that much of this developer funded work has remained unpublished as grey literature.

11. The one visible change to date has been the removal of government tuition fees support for students studying degrees that are equivalent of lower in level to a qualification that they already hold. This has effected support for students retraining for a new career, and two institutions in particular that have particularly attracted this type of student because of their use of distance learning (the Open University) or 'after hours' teaching (Birkbeck College).

12. I do not include the numerous fixed-term teaching-related appointments often to facilitate a period or research leave for academic staff.

13. Most universities have already been offering 'voluntary severance' schemes to reduce the numbers of their more highly paid staff, though few staff from within the academic community in archaeology seem to have taken up this option.

14. Part of the old Manchester University Field Archaeology Unit is now based at the University of Salford. See note 2 for more details on these university-based units.

15. In a recent interview published in the Guardian newspaper, the minister for Higher Education, Mr David Willets – the current Minister of State for Universities and Science – described the current funding system for higher education in the United Kingdom as "unsustainable", and "a burden on the taxpayer that had to be tackled". (The Guardian, 9th June, 2010; available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/jun/09/david-willets-students-tuition-fees>).

16. The most recently published figures, for the academic year 2007-8, show an average participation rate in Higher Education of 43% for English students aged between 17 and 30: balanced at 38% for males and 49% for females (DIUS 2009).

17. In 2007, a research report commissioned by Universities UK and completed by Price Waterhouse Coopers estimated that a graduate on average receives a premium of £160,000 over a lifetime (Universities UK 2007: 5). This figure, however, varies significantly according to the occupational area that the graduate enters; it varies from a premium of £340,000 for graduates in Medicine and Dentistry, to £51,549 for a graduate in the Humanities to just £34,949 for a graduate in the Arts. Significantly, these figures do not take into account any of the costs of higher education, or any 'lost' earnings that might have been accrued whilst a student.

18. The idea of a graduate tax to pay for HE is consistently rejected because of the large immediate-term costs of moving to such a system, and the fact that it would introduce an hypothecated tax.

19. Science, technology, engineering and mathematics (usually called the STEM subjects) have already been identified as nationally important skills areas deserving of enhanced support. (DfBIS 2009: 12)

20. Professor David Green, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, has given this estimate in an interview with the BBC on 26th May, 2010. (Report available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/10156398.stm>)

21. The most recent Labour Market Intelligence Survey indicates that of 141 individuals returned in their survey who were both employed in archaeology and below the age of 30, all but two individuals hold a university degree or higher qualification (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: Table 42).

22. The average starting salary for a graduate is £25,000 in the UK (Association of Graduate Recruiters – Winter Survey 2009. Cited in Xperthr HR online employment intelligence. At: <http://www.xperthr.co.uk/blogs/employment-intelligence/2010/02/graduate-starting-salaries-to.html>. Consulted on 6th July 2010.), whilst the average salary for all archaeologists in the UK is £23,310 (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: 13)

6. Commercial archaeology in Spain: its growth, development, and the impact of the global economic crisis

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1 Introduction

This paper presents an overview of the impact of the global economic crisis on the Spanish archaeological sector. This study is a part of a broader initiative to analyse and systematise information on this sector, under a research theme entitled “The Socioeconomics of Heritage” of the Heritage Laboratory, a department of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). In this context, we have been developing an empirical study in the new market generated in the 1990s connected with Spanish archaeological heritage management, with particular attention to the emergence, structure and development of this market sector, examining the relationships between the actors and institutions involved in the generation of knowledge and innovation processes. To promote better knowledge of this sector, the present study analyses and discusses the current situation of archaeology in Spain and the effects of the global crisis. While we still lack sufficient quantitative data to fully identify the consequences of the crisis, we have developed a methodology to identify or measure these effects.

2 Overview of the Spanish archaeological sector

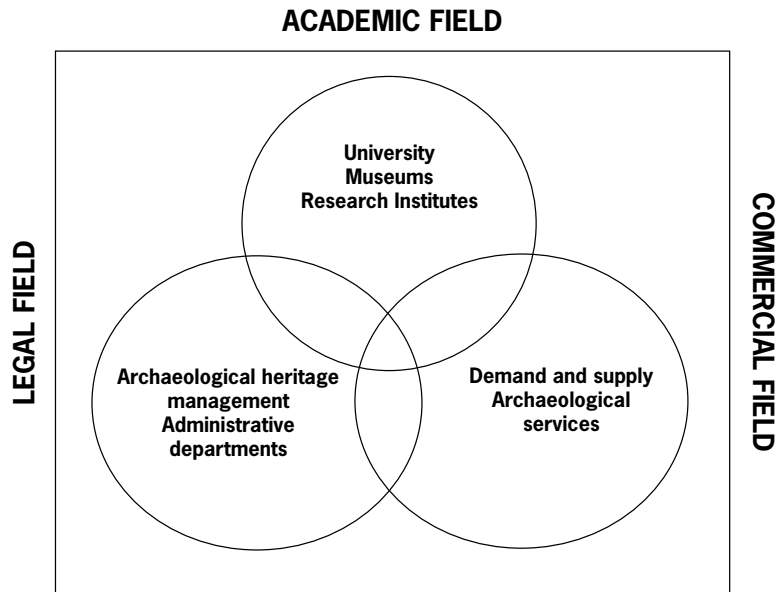
The Spanish archaeological sector is composed of heterogeneous agents with different interests and objectives that are classified in three main fields: the legal (or regulatory) field, the academic field and the commercial field. These fields involve different types of agents and organisations that are connected with the processes of archaeological management, as can be seen in Fig. 1.

The **legal (or regulatory) field** is made up of government institutions that have responsibilities regarding archaeological heritage at international, national, regional and local levels. These institutions carry out three basic activities: regulation, heritage management and commissioning of archaeological services.

The **academic field** includes research bodies, universities and museums; these institutions carry out activities linked to the conservation, production and transfer of archaeological knowledge.

As for the commercial field, business activities are carried out by organisations offering archaeological services to clients, such as government institutions and the construction sector

Fig. 1. Main agents and fields in the Spanish archaeological sector.



3 General description of Spanish commercial archaeology

3.1 The emergence of a new activity

In the early 1980s a series of major historical events marked a turning point in the understanding, protection and management of Spanish heritage in general, and of archaeological heritage more specifically. The first significant event was the publication of the Spanish Historical Heritage Law in 1985 to ensure the protection and preservation of the country's heritage. A series of requirements for the protection and management of heritage assets were subsequently developed to compensate for the absence of control mechanisms during the years of urban expansion in the 1960s. The second major event was related to the transfer of competencies from the central government to the regional governments between 1979 and 1983. After the publication of the Spanish Constitution (1978), a model based on the territorial structuring of seventeen regions was implemented, each with legislative autonomy, executive powers and administration through elected representatives. Each of the seventeen Spanish regions then developed their own approach for managing and regulating the historical and archaeological heritage, and for ensuring the adequate conservation and correct use of these assets.

The implementation of these new requirements meant that the regional authorities had to regulate any activity liable to affect archaeological heritage. This of course increased the workloads of these bodies, given their numerous other activities in terms of urban planning and public works developments. These regional administrations also lacked the necessary human and financial resources to assume these new responsibilities. Until the publication of the Spanish Historical Heritage Law (1985), archaeological works were conducted at the expense of the urban development, without planning or control. Most interventions were carried out with limited resources, relying on the goodwill of archaeologists linked in some way with the universities. However, following the implementation of the Law and the transfer of responsibilities for heritage matters to the regions, the demands led to the creation of a sector based on archaeological services. The regions began to outsource archaeological heritage management work to professionals in the field,

while maintaining the role of monitoring and controlling this work. A new labour market began to emerge, connected with archaeological heritage management. Based on the regional guidelines of cultural heritage laws and management, companies were structured and gradually gained experience, diversifying their services and creating value, building a labour market in which cooperatives, businesses and self-employed professionals settled into a new sector: commercial archaeology.

3.2 Defining commercial archaeology

It is difficult in Spain to define the archaeological profession and the learning process involved in this activity, given the absence of specific university degrees in archaeology. Actual archaeological operations are carried out by individuals, who are referred to in professional terms as ‘archaeologists’. This definition is considered to refer to graduates in history who specialised in prehistory and archaeology, or to individuals who are able to justify their skills in archaeology through professional experience. Not all graduates in history and prehistory will be archaeologists, but to count as an archaeologist it is necessary to have completed these studies. This definition seems then to leave out those who have entered the archaeological profession through their own learning process. Commercial archaeology is “an activity generated in relation to Archaeological Heritage, when a correct control of this heritage calls for specific actions to be carried out that are generally developed as part of a contract, providing a specific service and charging for it” (Criado Boada, 1996).

The services offered by archaeological companies, as requested by enterprises, government agencies and private clients, include the following:

- *Documentation services*. These activities are related to recording, cataloguing and producing inventories of cultural heritage and archaeological sites to be protected.

- *Intervention services*, involving a series of activities carried out on the archaeological heritage with archaeological methodology. For example, in a building project that may affect archaeological resources, the archaeological company has to estimate the consequences of these actions, and then take steps to control or rectify the possible damage, always under the supervision of government agencies (culture, urban and /or environment departments). Funding for these intervention activities comes mostly from government agencies and from private companies, whose development projects threaten to destroy or damage archaeological sites.

- *Enhancement services* or museum projects. These activities are designed to render knowledge about the past accessible in different social contexts. Following intervention work on the threatened archaeological heritage, these valorisation activities should begin to give meaning to cultural resources, so as to penetrate the market mechanism and generate social profitability (Criado Boada 1996a, 1996).

- *Consultancy services*, including advisory activities, training and procedures related to archaeological assets that require field expertise.

- *Cultural diffusion services*, involving activities connected with the knowledge society and / or resources related to archaeological heritage management.

4 Designing a methodology for assessing the impact of the crisis on Spanish commercial archaeology

Upon the above background, a methodology was devised for characterising the structure and size of the Spanish archaeological sector, and the impact of the crisis on it.

At the onset, it should be remembered that in Spain there are no official sources of systematised data on the archaeological sector. This makes it difficult to carry out a scientific study of this topic, as much time and resources are required in order to gather the primary data. This dearth of information is also related to the lack of empirical studies on this sector, and to the absence of a binding definition of the archaeological profession. The results presented in this paper can therefore only be an estimation.

To collect quantitative and qualitative data on the size, structure and development of the Spanish archaeological sector, I designed a survey-based methodology. The empirical research phase was carried out in two sequential parts.

The first part is based on **qualitative** assessments. Information was collected from secondary sources and from exploratory interviews.

- Secondary sources, including archival material and publications on archaeological heritage management and on commercial archaeology. In addition to Spanish sources, comparisons were made with other countries engaged in commercial archaeology (United States and United Kingdom).

- Exploratory interviews were carried out with various actors in the Spanish archaeological sector, including commercial companies executives, university professors, researchers from public research bodies (CSIC), heritage managers in regional governments, and archaeological associations.

The second part is based on **quantitative** assessments. This included gathering primary socioeconomic data through:

- The creation of a database of archaeological companies in Spain. A total of 273 such companies were identified. Generally speaking, it is estimated that around 2,358 people were working for archaeology companies in Spain during 2008; this number includes 457 business owners and their 573 full-time contract employees, and a further 1,328 employees with part-time contracts.

- The drafting of a questionnaire sent to all the 17 regional archaeological heritage departments in Spain, to collect information on the structure and the work of these departments.

- An initial survey dedicated to archaeological companies in Spain is being carried out. Official letters have been sent to the companies included in the database, to inform them of the project and the questionnaire. These companies were subsequently contacted by phone and informed that they could respond to the questionnaire through a webpage.

In order to estimate the impact of the crisis on archaeological activity, the following dimensions are considered to be important:

- Data on the volume of archaeological activities over the past few years (2006-2009) will make it possible to analyse the growth of archaeological activity during this 'critical' period.

- Quantitative information on market sales and investments in the last few years (2006-2009) in the private sector. This survey, undertaken through the questionnaire, was finished in November 2009. Information was obtained for 212 of the 273 cases registered, representing a high level of response, at around 78%.

- Quantitative data on the evolution of the employment market in archaeology during this period (2006-2009).

- Qualitative information on the effects of the crisis on commercial archaeology, including opinions, attitudes and behaviours.

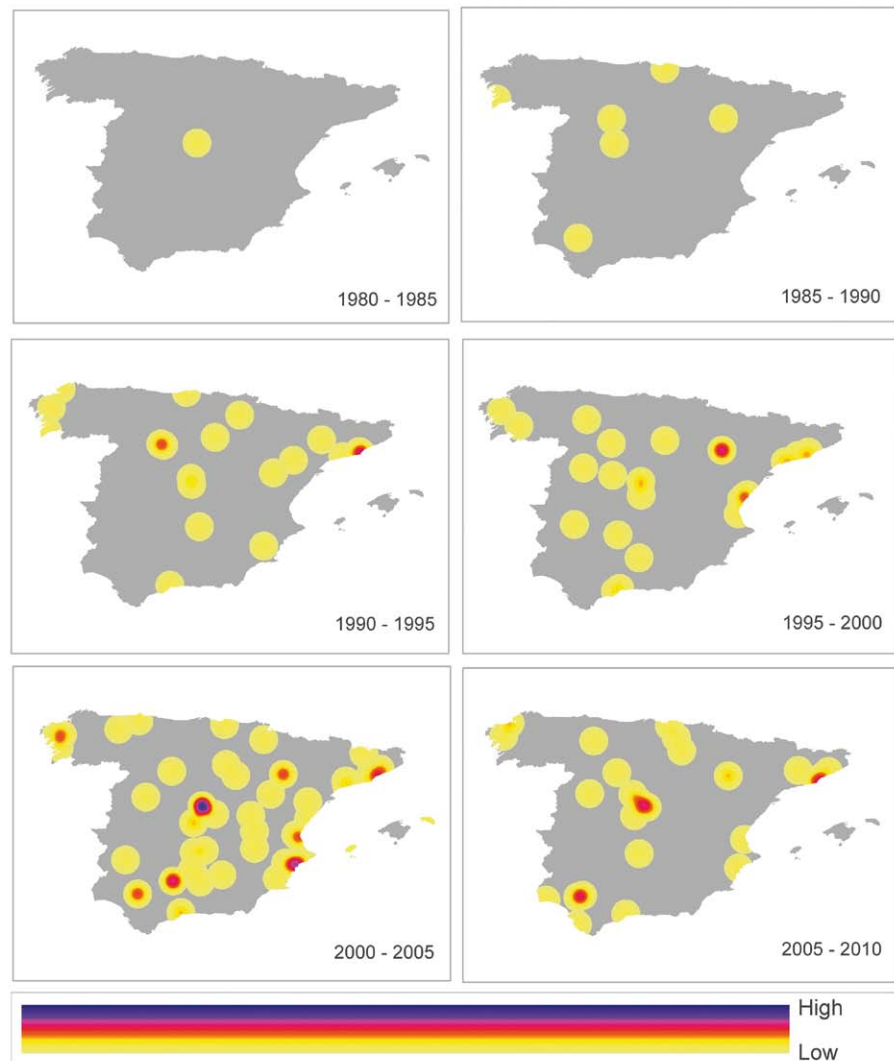
As already indicated, the methodology presented here should make it possible, despite the lack of formal and systematised data on the Spanish context, to estimate the effects of the crisis on the archaeological sector.

5 The impact of the crisis - some preliminary results

In presenting these initial trends regarding the effects of the crisis, it is important first of all to review the structure and size of commercial archaeology.

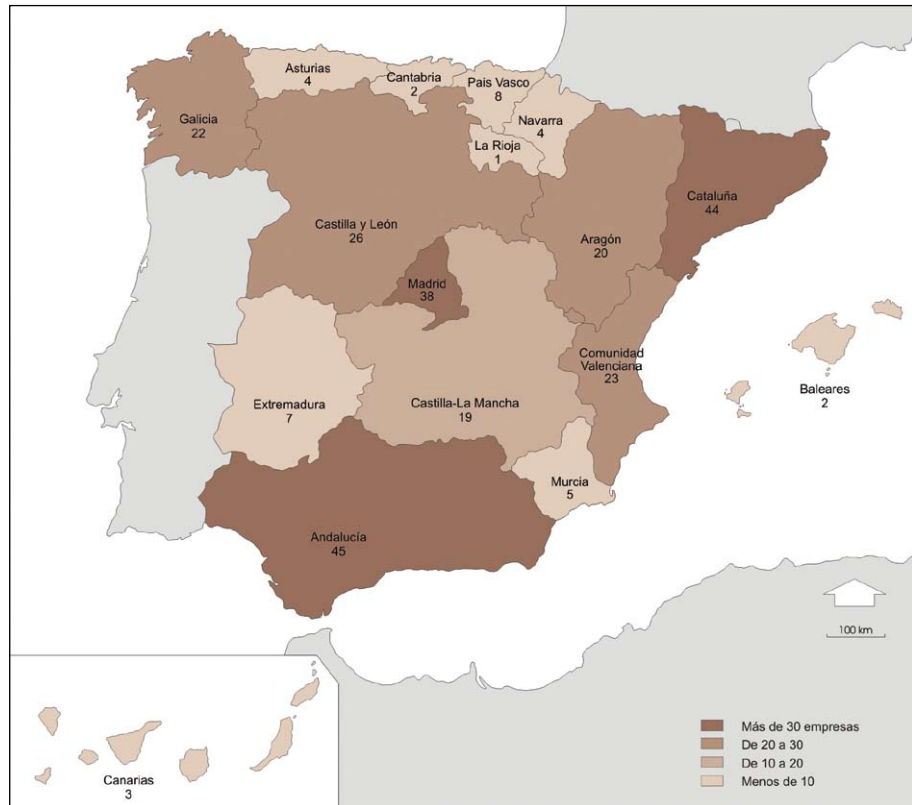
The development of the Spanish archaeological sector, as we know, took off in the early 1990s, after the Spanish Heritage Law (1985) had attributed competencies in archaeological management to the 17 regions, each with their own legislation. This 'boom' from the 1990s onwards can be seen in Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Dates of creation of archaeological companies (by region).



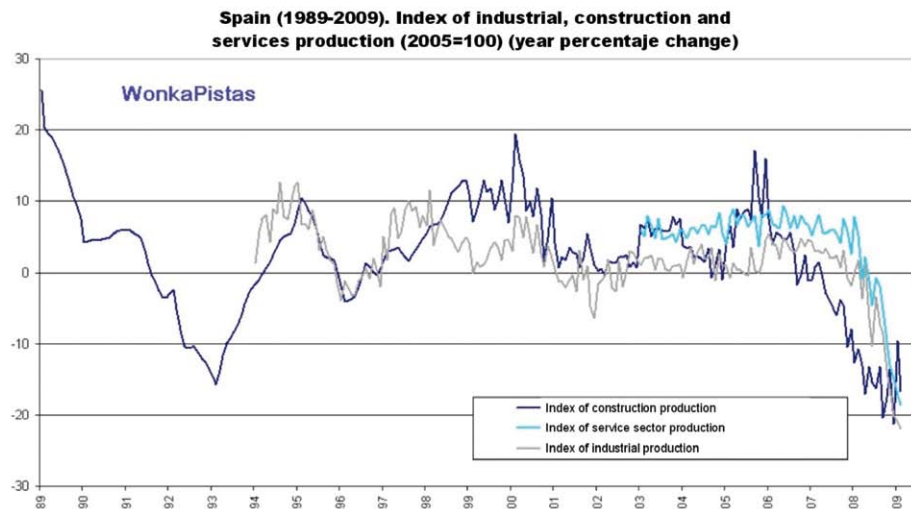
Less than twenty years old, Spanish commercial archaeology is still an immature sector. The companies are small, usually with one owner or two partners and one full-time employee, who contract part-time temporary personnel according to demand. Until recently the archaeological services offered were quite generic, but now specialisation has begun and the companies have diversified their services. It is noteworthy that the concentration of these 273 registered companies in Spain differs considerably across the regions, as the following figure shows.

Fig. 3. Number of archaeological companies by region, across Spain.



The regions of Andalusia, Catalonia and Madrid have considerably more than 30 archaeological companies each, while Castile-León, the Community of Valencia, Castile-La Mancha, Galicia and Aragón have between 30 and 20 companies. A last group of regions – Extremadura, Asturias, the Basque Country, Murcia, Navarra, Cantabria, the Canary Islands, La Rioja and the Balearic Islands – have less than 10 archaeological companies each.

Fig. 4. Spanish index of production for the construction, industrial and service sectors (1989-2009). Source: WonkaPistas based on Eurostat and INE.

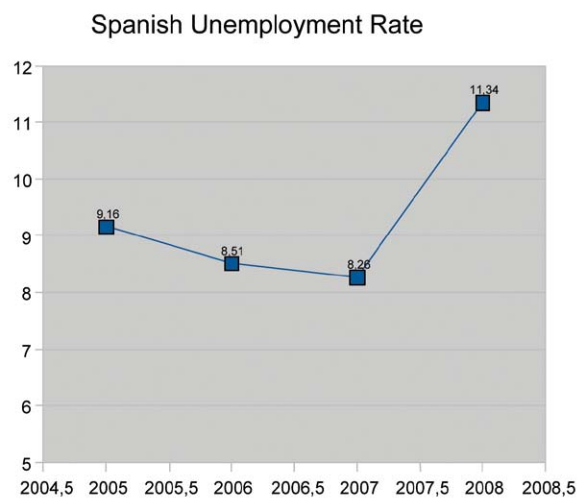


However, this steady growth in the Spanish commercial archaeology sector ground to a halt in 2007, as a result of the global crisis. The rise in mortgage rates in the United States in 2007 lead to serious adverse consequences for banks and

financial markets around the globe. The crisis worsened dramatically and quickly in 2008, and the Spanish economy proved to be particularly vulnerable in that its growth over the last decade was based on a boom in the construction industry.

Fig. 4 shows that the construction sector experienced a high rate of growth between 1994 and 2007, and in 2006 actually surpassing the levels of both the industrial and the service sectors. Indeed, the Spanish economic growth of the last decade owed much to the construction boom. According to the National Statistics Institute, the relative importance of construction in Spain's GDP rose from 11.7 % in 1996 to 17.9 % in 2007. In terms of employment, the sector grew in the same period from 9.3 % of the country's total employment to 13 %. However, from 2007 onwards the construction sector began to collapse: given the large number of people and companies working in this sector, the consequences for the Spanish economy – and its labour market – were serious.

Fig. 5: Spanish Unemployment Rate (2005-2008).
Source: National Statistics Institute.



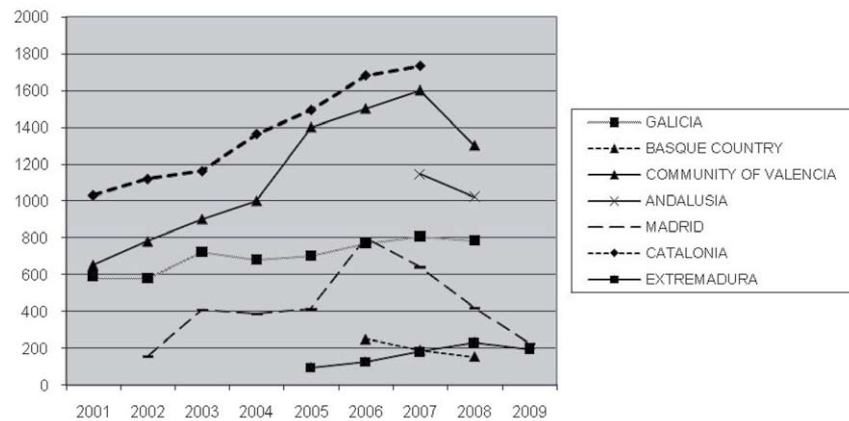
While June 2007 saw the lowest level of unemployment in the Spanish democracy, the unemployment rate has since then risen sharply, reaching over 11% of the active population. As an attempt to mitigate the catastrophic effects of the crisis, the government introduced a funding program called “Plan E” in 2008. This strategy includes different courses of action aimed at developing the economic system and employment. In the construction sector, the government are investing major resources in the revitalisation of public works, to alleviate the effects of job losses. For this reason the crisis in this sector is not as severe as could be expected, although the prospects are not positive.

It is also important to keep in mind that the crisis and its effects show clear regional differences. While the construction sector was the overall driving force behind the Spanish economy until 2007, it was much more significant in some regions than in others: consequently, the effects of crisis were hardest felt in the regions where the construction sector was more important. This was the case in the Mediterranean regions (Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, Murcia), as well as Andalusia, Madrid and Extremadura. The crisis was less felt in the regions of northern Spain – Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria and the Basque Country – which are less directly dependent on construction, and where the relatively aged population created less demand for new housing.

Quite logically, the activities of the Spanish archaeological sector depend closely on the constructing sector, and reflect similarly the effects of the crisis. The main activity of commercial archaeology is based on intervention services. When the development projects of construction companies, of the government or private clients impact on the land in ways that could harm cultural heritage elements that are protected by law, archaeological companies are contracted to assess the viability of the action. The crisis is having therefore a strong effect on commercial archaeology, especially in those regions with a large construction sector and which have previously experienced an expansion in archaeological activities, such as Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, Andalusia, Madrid and Extremadura. In regions such as Galicia and the Basque Country, where the archaeological sector had been less developed, the effects of the crisis are less marked.

The following figure shows the volume of archaeological activity by region, using data provided by the regional heritage departments of Galicia, the Basque Country, the Community of Valencia, Andalusia, Madrid, Catalonia and Extremadura. Some information is still missing, but the situation of the sector is quite perceptible. Basically, the archaeological market grew steadily from 1990 until 2006-2007, but has since stagnated or declined, due to the effects of the economic crisis.

Fig. 6. Volume of archaeological activity.
Source: Own elaboration (data provided by regional heritage departments)



– From 2001 to 2006 the volume of archaeological activities grew steadily in the region of Catalonia, especially after 2003, and by 2006 it had surpassed 2500 actions. We have no quantitative data on the current situation, but the qualitative information we have obtained indicates a decrease in activity due to the crisis.

– Also The Community of Valencia experienced a period of growth from 2001 to 2007, rising steeply in 2005, and surpassing 1500 actions in 2007. In 2008 this trend changed, and archaeological activity began to decrease.

– A large amount of archaeological activity is carried out in Andalusia, more than 1000 actions per year. We only have data for the years 2007 to 2008, and it would be interesting to have figures from before this period. This said, the figures indicate that activity is decreasing.

– In the case of Galicia, archaeological activity has remained stable during the period studied (2001-2008), with an increasing trend of around 700 actions per year until the levelling observed in 2008.

– The Madrid region has experienced growth from 2002, reaching a peak of 800 actions in 2006. This has since decreased to 400 in 2009.

– In the case of the Basque Country, the available data for the years 2006 to 2008 shows a decline in the volume of archaeological activity. The Basque case is however specific, since the data that we analysed comes from the regional departments, whereas a large volume of activity in this region is carried out by the provincial departments.

– Finally, data on Extremadura from 2005 to 2007 shows that archaeological activity grew during this period, but we do not have any data for 2008.

Although the dynamics vary from region to region, the trend in archaeological activities appears to have changed in 2008. After a period of intense growth in the case of the Community of Valencia, and a period of moderate growth in Galicia, the volume of archaeological activity in these regions began to decrease in 2008. The downturn began earlier in the case of Madrid, as in the Basque Country. For Catalonia and Extremadura we do not have enough data at present to account for the situation. I am currently gathering information, both qualitative and quantitative, in order to identify and characterise temporal trends in archaeological activities for the whole of Spain.

6 Conclusions

While these results are of course still preliminary, we can see that the global economic crisis is affecting archaeological activity in Spain. Following years of steady growth that culminated in 2006 or 2007, a change of tide begun to be felt. From then on a downturn began, with a reduction of archaeological activities more pronounced in some cases and in some regions than in others. More information will soon be collected to complete the series. We will also need to seek and analyse (as yet unavailable) data on the impacts of the economic crisis on the two other sectors of Spanish archaeology, the academic and the regulatory.

So far as the commercial archaeological sector is concerned, its dependence on the construction sector was discussed. The downturn in that major sector of the Spanish economy has led to considerable unemployment, but also to a dwindling of demand for archaeological intervention services, with a reduction in activities that could pose a threat to cultural heritage and therefore also a reduction in measures to evaluate and prevent these threats. Measures recently taken by the government with regards to construction and unemployment have served to alleviate the impact of the crisis. This is also the case with archaeology, where much of the demand for its services comes from public works. During 2008 the administration still worked with the budgets that had been approved in the middle of 2007, before the crisis. It can be expected that the budgets for 2009 will show a more pronounced reduction. In any case, the outlook is not positive, and we can expect that the evolution of archaeological activity will be worsening in 2009 and 2010.

With regard to the current economic crisis, it seems that the majority of the companies are feeling its effects through a reduced demand for services. 62.3% of the companies state that they have detected a reduction in the demand for services from the public sector, and 77.4% state that they have also noticed this in the private sector. In general terms, 79.2% believe that the economic crisis is having a negative effect on the development of their companies. We therefore believe that it is very important to establish strategies aimed at mitigating the effects of the global crisis in the Spanish archaeological sector, especially the commercial sector. For example, it could be of considerable interest to redirect archaeological

activity from the almost exclusive focus it currently has on corrective interventions in the field towards more widely defined prevention activities, such as assessment, management, sustainable cultural tourism, territorial planning and so on. Such a change in trend towards a real approach cultural resources management could serve to reduce the profound dependence of Spanish archaeology on the construction sector, and give it some new orientations.

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7. A crisis with many faces. The impact of the economic recession on Dutch archaeology

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1 Introduction

In April 2008 the Netherlands officially declared itself to be in economic recession. It was estimated that the Dutch economy would suffer a decline of at least 4% or even 5% over 2009. The building sector in particular was affected. The inherent link between the construction industry and the archaeological sector meant that the sector began to prepare itself for hard times in 2009 and beyond, particularly where the amount of fieldwork and subsequent employment rates were concerned. With this in mind, the aim of this paper is to provide a general analysis of the effects of the economic crisis on the archaeological sector in 2009. During its preparation members of the commercial employers association VOIA were questioned as well as municipal archaeologists and developments in the number of field projects and jobs were monitored. Results show that the so-called crisis in Dutch archaeology had many faces, the situation being less straightforward than first predicted.

2 The economic situation

For 2009 the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) estimated an economic decline of around 5% and a rise in the unemployment rate of 5%.¹ Industry and the building sector were targeted as being particularly affected.² The building sector experienced a 40% drop in demand for homes and other property development. Figures for June 2009 show hardly any jobs advertised within the large building companies. A research agency study for the building industry estimated a total reduction of 15% in the building market, combined with the loss of 50,000 jobs in the sector over 2009 and 2010: a total of 1 in 10 jobs.³ The report also predicted no signs of recovery before 2012.⁴

Taking actions similar to those in other countries, the Dutch government launched a package of rescue measures totalling 6 billion euro in order to stimulate the economy. These measures were especially aimed at supporting the building sector, by reviving shelved government-funded projects, by bringing new projects forward in the planning process, and by protecting jobs within the sector as much as possible.⁵ By means of a central government-funded 'crisis budget' of 395 million for 2009 and 2010, municipalities, developers and builders have been encouraged to continue with scheduled projects.⁶ In addition, municipal councils have agreed to lower the price of building plots.

Despite these measures, the effects of the crisis have meant that the national budget deficit continues to grow rapidly. For 2009 the deficit was estimated at around 5% of the gross domestic product (GDP), around 33 billion euro, and for 2010 as high as 6.7% of the GDP.⁷ Additional measures have been introduced to further reduce this deficit. For instance, national spending in 2010 will have to be

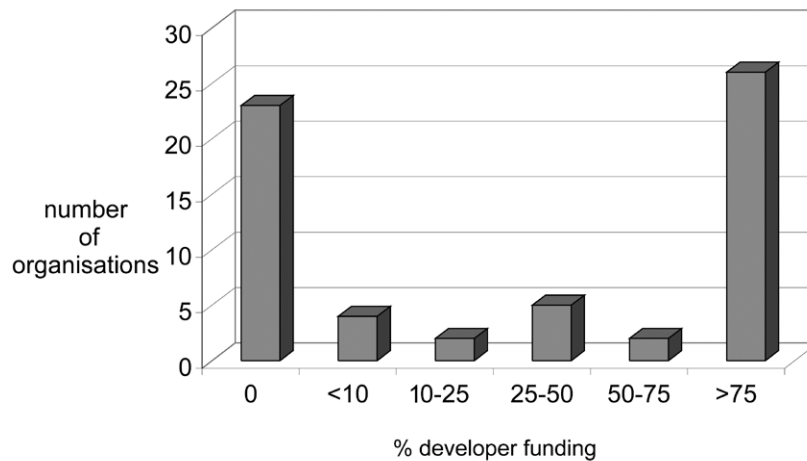
reduced by at least 12 billion euro. To achieve this, the government has launched a list of (possible) measures, such as raising the pension age from 65 to 67, lowering the income level for means-assisted mortgage repayments by the state, shortening the duration of social insurance payments (such as financial support for the unemployed), and raising the student fees for higher and academic education.⁸ These measures, whilst aimed at lowering the budget deficit, are also expected to have a negative influence on economic growth, for instance a decline in consumer purchasing power. This would again lead to a negative economic knock-on effect on, leading to the introduction of additional cost-reducing measures.

Another consequence of the recession from 2010 onwards will be that local and regional authorities will be facing severe cuts in their budgets. Not only will less money be provided by the national government, but at the same time their income from selling of land and legal dues will fall as development projects have, at least in the short-term, almost come to a halt.

3 The archaeological sector

As a consequence of large-scale changes in legislation and government policies since 2001, archaeological heritage management in the Netherlands is now largely paid for by developers and carried out by municipal councils and commercial companies. In fact, well over 90% of all archaeological work is currently developer-funded (Waugh 2008, 24) and 42% of the archaeological community draws more than 75% of its turnover from activities which are funded by developers (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Developer-funded income in 2007-2008 (After Waugh 2008, table 7).



The majority of archaeological work, fieldwork in particular, is carried out by the commercial sector (table 1).⁹ About 90% of all archaeological fieldwork is carried out by private companies, self-employed archaeologists or by agency personnel hired by municipal archaeology departments. The commercial sector itself is made of over one hundred companies (Fig. 2). These include excavation companies, archaeological consultancies, specialist services, and staffing agencies. A relative large number of archaeologists work for small companies or are self-employed.

Table 1. The share of mitigation projects carried out by municipal archaeologists and companies in in 2008.

Source: Archis.¹⁰

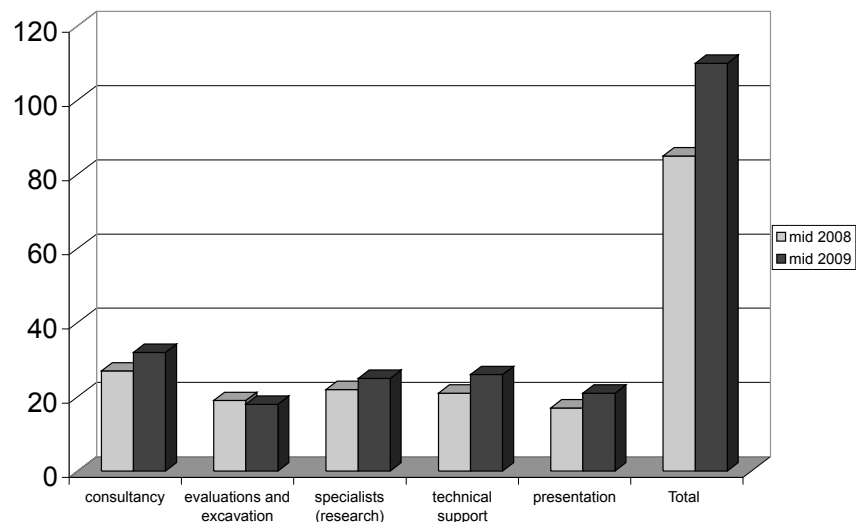
	Total	Share carried out by municipal archaeological services* (%)	Share carried out by companies (%)
Desk based assessment	1163	17.2	74.9
Evaluation by coring	2570	1.9	96.5
Field walking survey	35	2.9	82.8
Trial trenches	509	11.2	80.6
Excavation	207	30.3	57.7
Watching brief	247	9.3	85.5
Total	4672		

* This does not include projects carried out by regional services.

The introduction of developer-funded archaeology and the subsequent development of a commercial sector led to a rapid growth in work and employment, especially from 2002 onwards. In 2007/2008 a survey conducted by Vestigia, as part of the European project “Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe”, estimated a total of nearly 800 practising archaeologists in the Netherlands (Waugh 2009, 28).¹¹ In another recent study, carried out by the national heritage agency, it is estimated that over 600 jobs (based on full-time employment) are provided by the commercial sector.¹² This probably accounts for over 60% of the total number of Dutch archaeologists. At the start of 2009, municipal archaeological departments employed 247 people (Arts & Bakker 2009).

Fig. 2. The number of companies active in different areas of Dutch archaeology.

Source: VOiA.



Exact turnover figures for the Dutch archaeological market are not available. We only know that the turnover of the municipal archaeologists amounted 24.3 million euro in 2009 (Arts & Bakker 2009). A survey by the VOiA (*Vereniging Ondernemers in Archeologie*)¹³, the trade association for archaeological companies in the Netherlands, calculated that the commercial sector had an estimated turnover of 34.4 million euro in 2004.¹⁴ For the archaeological sector as a whole the turnover was estimated to be between 44 and 49 million euro for that year.¹⁵ Up until 2008, the number of projects that companies carried out increased with 74% (their share of the total number of projects increased only slightly from 83% in 2004 to 87% in 2008). Consequently, it can be assumed that the turnover of the commercial sector has grown, perhaps to around 50 million euro in 2008.¹⁶ The total amount of business may have grown to 70-80 million in 2008.

4 The situation in archaeology anno 2009

4.1 Archaeological companies

The figures above illustrate the close relationship between archaeology and the development and building sector, and our reliance on developer-funding. It is therefore arguably to be expected that when the building sector is hit by an economic recession that serious negative effects will rapidly be felt throughout the archaeological sector, for instance by a visible reduction in the number of fieldwork projects and secondly (as a direct consequence) a serious downturn in the employment rate.

Half way through 2009, VOIA members were asked whether, and to what extent, their own company was feeling the effects of the economic crisis.¹⁷ The majority of members signalled no need for large scale redundancies and certainly no recent dramatic downturn. A general feeling in the sector was that the beginning of the year had indeed been rather sluggish as far as new, and especially large-scale, contracts were concerned. There were also indications that (fieldwork) companies had begun to consolidate towards the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009. This is also shown by the statistics, to which we will turn below (see Fig. 3). By the beginning of 2009, however, many companies, especially the larger ones, already had a full portfolio of work to reasonably see them through the coming months.

Towards the summer and into the autumn, the general impression was that the number of projects being tendered was still comparable to the previous couple of years. There was certainly no feeling of ensuing crisis. And although the majority of archaeological companies work on low profit margins with limited reserves, none of the larger organisations were facing bankruptcy or had ceased operating. In fact, to the contrary, there was a small growth in the number of new companies (see Fig. 2). In addition, many of the smaller and one-person-companies, had been working so hard due to high demand over the preceding couple of years that they had been able to build up financial reserves and were now relieved to see the situation changing from “hyper” to “normal”.

Such positive signals were, however, only one part of the picture. There were clearly some difficulties as well. A few companies, who were already experiencing difficulties in keeping their employees working, were unable to renew temporary contracts and had to let go of staff. Some one-person companies were also beginning to seriously consider giving up their self-employed status and returning to more secure employment. Although supporting figures are lacking, it seems that specialists in particular, whom are often self-employed, were having a hard time.

Such difficulties cannot be attributed exclusively to an economic crisis. Other explanations include the implementation by some companies of an internal risk management policy as a result of greater external competition and a continued lack of success in tendering procedures. Such arguments can be supported by the fact that only a few fieldwork companies seemed to experience difficulties at this time whilst others still had a healthy workload and a full portfolio. Some companies even considered not tendering for projects coming up in the following months due to the extent of prior obligations. The specific difficulties experienced by specialists were also not new. Observations in 2008 had already noted that 56% of all trial trench research projects and 30% of all excavation projects did not include any specialist analyses (Van den Dries & Zoetbrood 2008, 47).

The demand for specialist expertise had already reduced by a total of 50% in all excavation projects (including trial trenching).¹⁸ This drop is also reflected in the number of specialist analyses being published. The National Agency for Cultural Heritage has also signalled that the number of specialist reports being produced is declining compared to the growth in the number of archaeological field reports (Erfgoedbalans 2009, 108).

4.2 Municipal archaeology

As well as the commercial companies, all 44 municipal archaeologists, all of which are members of the *Convent van Gemeentelijk Archeologen*¹⁹, were asked to comment on their experiences. Whilst the majority of municipal archaeologists are in government employment and may not immediately lose their own jobs when development projects are postponed, the local government archaeology departments often employ staff on temporary contracts, and these would clearly be put at risk by a fall-off in work.

Towards the summer almost 60% (26) of those approached had replied to the survey. As with the companies, however, no uniform picture emerged from their answers. About 42% (11) indicated that they had noticed some effects of the crisis with development projects being postponed. Two replies reported considerably less work than previously and that temporary contracts had not been renewed. On the other hand, three municipalities had been taking on more work than previously!

4.3 The national information system Archis

As a third step, input in the database of the national information system Archis was monitored. All field activities and finds are required to be registered and documented in this system. It should therefore, in principle, be possible to use the system to detect changes in trends.²⁰ For example, for many years we saw a rise in the number of field projects (Fig. 4 and 5). Even 2008 still showed a growth of 10.8% in comparison with 2007. In 2009 this trend apparently clearly changed. When we carried out a first analysis of entries for the first quarter of 2009, the change was not that clear (see Fig. 3), but on repeating the analysis after the first half of the year (entries up to the first of September), the number of archaeological field projects had actually declined by 16% in comparison with the same period in 2008.²¹ At the conference of the European Association of Archaeologists, in September 2009 in Riva del Garda, we therefore presented an expected decline for 2009 of at least 8%, taking into account – as has been the case in previous years – that the market would improve slightly during the autumn.

During the second part of 2009, analysis of the entries in Archis indicated a small revival, but with another decline towards the end of the year. The total picture suggests a decrease in projects of 10.8% for 2009. This decrease does not, however, count for all fieldwork projects. Fig. 4 and table 1 show that the number of evaluations by corings (bore hole surveys in Fig. 4) have decreased the most. On the basis of the average number of projects each month in the first half of the year, an overall decline of 12.1% was predicted. At the end of the year, however, the situation was actually worse than predicted, a decline of 15%. In the Netherlands it is customary procedure to begin new archaeological projects with an evaluation survey using corings. This method is used to localise and map potential sites predicted on the basis of desk-based research. A decrease in the number of such

evaluations being carried out may arguably be a first indication that fewer projects are actually being started and that the economic crisis is beginning to have a negative effect on archaeological projects.

Fig. 3. Field projects carried out throughout the year.
Source: Archis.

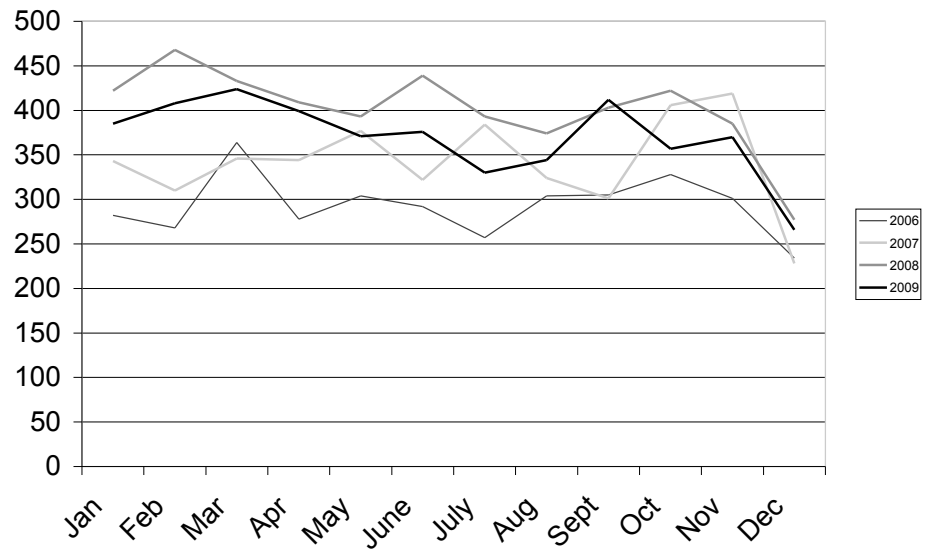
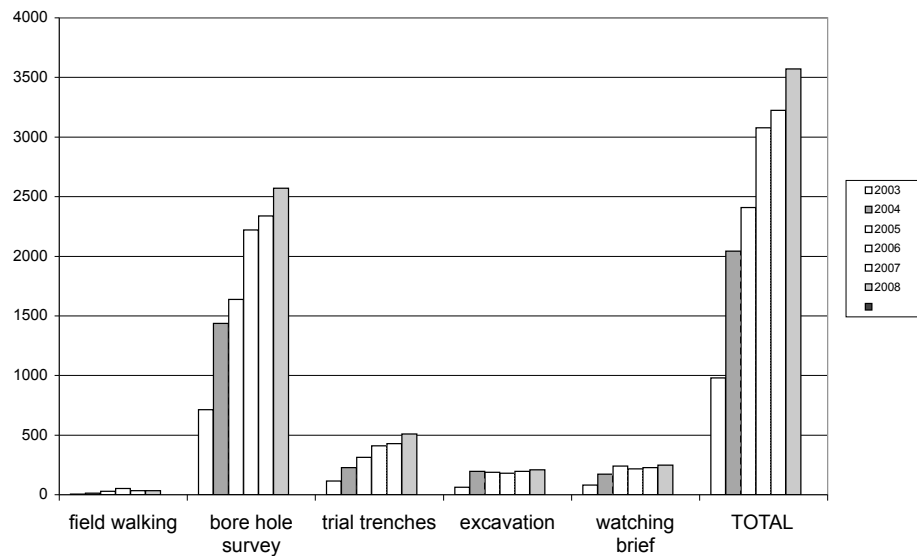


Fig. 4. Development of various types of field projects.
Source: Archis.²²



Interestingly, the situation regarding trial trenching is slightly different. In the first part of 2009 (until August) entries in Archis indicated a growth. On this basis it was estimated that the year might show a total increase in trial trenching projects of 6.5%. However, in the second part of the year this picture changed rather rapidly and the growth was replaced by a decline of 2%. The fact that the number of trial trenches did not at first decline whilst the number of evaluations by coring did, may indicate that there were still a considerable number of projects “in stock” at the beginning of the year. As trial trenches are usually carried out as the second phase of an evaluation process, the number of projects was probably directly related to the evaluations already started in 2008 (or earlier). The decline in trial trenching in the second half of the year was probably a direct result of the fact that fewer evaluations by coring (i.e. new projects) were conducted in the first half of 2009. Support for this interpretation can be found when comparing the

ratios of projects carried out in 2008 and 2009, as they have hardly changed. In 2008 1 of 5 evaluations by coring led to further trial trenching, and in 2009 this was still 1 of 4.4.

A more serious decline can be seen in the number of excavations. On the basis of the first half-year figures, it was predicted that the number of excavations would decline in 2009 by 6.7%. In fact, a decline of 7.2% was recorded. Interestingly, the ratio has hardly changed. In 2009 1 of every 11.3 evaluations by coring and 1 of every 2.4 trial trench projects resulted in an excavation, whereas this was respectively 1:12 and 1:2.4 in 2008. Once again the results seem to indicate a reduction in the total number of new archaeological projects.

The final process that we looked at, the watching briefs, initially also seemed to predict a decline. On the basis of the average monthly numbers until August, it was predicted that there would be a decline of 3.6% in the number of projects. However, the opposite occurred and the end of 2009 showed an actual growth of 3%. This may seem unusual in times of recession, but the last few years have seen a relatively large increase in the number of watching briefs (see Fig. 4) although, in comparison with 2008 (with an increase of 8.7%) the speed of the growth has started to slacken off. Nevertheless, in comparison to other procedures the number of watching briefs has increased. In 2008 1 in 10 evaluations by coring were followed by a watching brief whilst in 2009 this increased to 1 in 8.6. This trend cannot be linked to a general exponential growth in the total number of archaeological projects. Although no concrete evidence is available, it could be argued that the figures reflect an (increasing) choice for alternative, cheaper research methods instead of (more expensive) excavations.

Table 2. Development of field projects in 2009.²³

	Numbers in 2008	Numbers in first part 2009 (up to and including August)	Prognosis for 2009	Numbers over the whole of 2009	Increase/decrease 2009
bore hole survey	2571	1506	- 12.1%	2231	- 15%
trial trenches	509	361	+ 6.5%	521	- 2%
excavation	208	129	- 6.7%	201	- 7.2%
watching brief	248	159	- 3.6%	260	+ 3%
TOTAL	3571	2180	- 8.4%	3272	- 10.8%

It must be stressed that the overall downturn of 10.8% is an average for the whole country and that considerable differences occur if we look at the picture on a regional level. For example, figures from the southern peripheral province of Zeeland showed only a minor decrease of 3.1% in the number of field projects in the first half of the year, from 223 projects in 2008 to 216 in 2009. Up in the north, in the province of Groningen, a rise of 15.7% was recorded (from 338 to 391), whereas the central province of Utrecht showed a sharp decline of 50.1% (from 879 to 438 projects). The province of Zuid-Holland also showed a reduction of 7.2% (from 869 to 806).

These figures are interesting as they appear to contradict the general economic situation in each of the provinces. On an economic level, the central province of Utrecht was affected the least by the recession, whilst the more peripheral provinces were most affected.²⁴ Within the limited scope of this article there is no opportunity to analyse this phenomenon in more detail, we can only guess at the reasons why archaeology appears to have bucked the general trend. This may well be explained

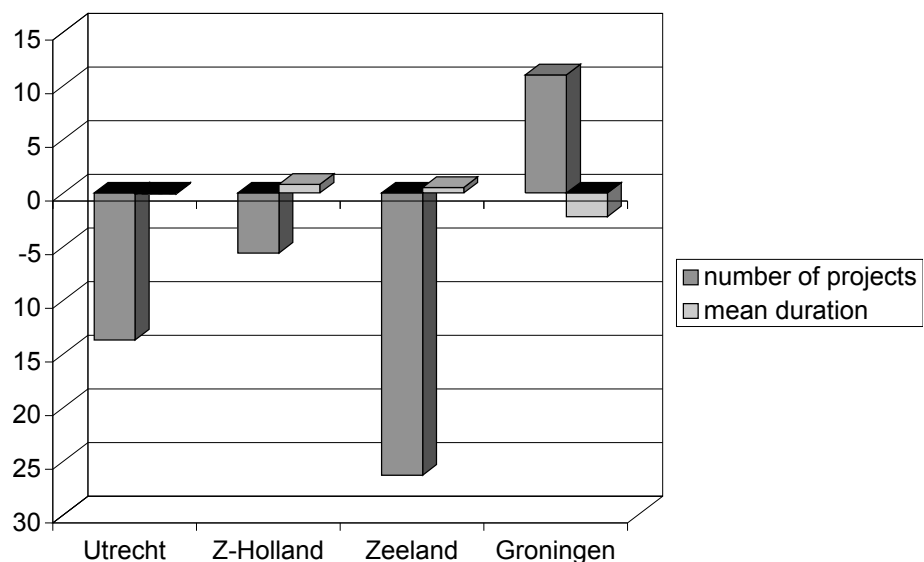
by the fact that the archaeological sector has experienced a delayed reaction to the situation in the building sector. The gradual decline in archaeological projects towards the end of the year may support this assumption. When taking the whole of 2009 into account (see Fig. 5), the province of Zeeland showed the largest decline (26.8%). The number of projects in the province of Groningen continued to rise, although in total slightly less than in the first part of the year (11%). In the province of Utrecht 2009 showed a total decline of 13.7% (compared to 50.1% in the first half of the year) and in the province of Zuid-Holland, 5.6%.

It is difficult to explain these regional differences, particularly as the figures for each region are based on different types of fieldwork. In the province of Zeeland, for instance, only the number of trial trenching projects increased, whereas all other types of field projects showed a decline. In fact, this is the only one of the four provinces that showed a growth in trial trenching projects (80%). In the province of Groningen growth is due to an increased number of watching briefs and excavations. The provinces of Utrecht and Zuid-Holland both experience a slight decline in all field projects except for excavations (a growth of 15% and 9% respectively).

4.4 Duration of projects

Apart from fewer projects, another indication of the effect of an ongoing crisis may be looked for in the duration of individual projects. An increase in a more rigorous, and academically selective approach to research designs has certainly led to a reassessment in strategy and resulted in less extensive, and therefore shorter, and potentially cheaper, projects. An analysis of the duration of projects does present a different picture (see Fig. 5) but to be honest, the differences between the average duration of projects in 2008 and 2009 is so minimal that as a factor on its own it should not be afforded too much significance.

Fig. 5. The growth and decline in the number of field projects (in percentages) in four provinces in 2009, and the growth and decline of the mean duration of these projects.



In the province of Zeeland, where the total number of projects decreased, the average duration of a project showed a slight increase from 3.5 days in 2008 to 4 days in 2009. In the province of Groningen on the other hand, the opposite occurs: a rise in the number of field projects, but on average a shorter duration from 8.2 days in 2008 to only 6 days in 2009. In the province of Utrecht the

figures remain fairly constant, 8 days in 2008 and 7.9 days in 2009. The province of Zuid-Holland showed a small increase from an average of 3.7 days in 2008 and 4.5 days in 2009.

4.5 Alternative explanation

At the same time there might be another factor influencing the recent observed regional growth or decline in fieldwork. As a consequence of the implementation of the new archaeological system and the new spatial planning act in 2007 and 2008, many provincial and local authorities are in the process of adapting their policies and regulations on archaeological work within the planning process. The provinces, who were until 2008 mainly responsible for enforcing surveys and evaluations, are now delegating many of their planning responsibilities to local councils. In 2009, many local councils had still not started, or were still in the middle of making regulations for archaeology in the planning process. Stricter regulations and new direct local council involvement on archaeology has a considerable influence on the number of archaeological evaluations. For instance, in situations where regulations on preventive archaeology are missing, the number of watching briefs is bound to rise. On the other hand, the implementation of local archaeological characterisation maps is expected to lead to an overall reduction of the number of small-scale surveys and evaluations. Also, the regional adoption of standard guidelines for applying coring or trial trenching in evaluations in particular situations might be more responsible for the rise or fall of these methods in 2009 in the above-mentioned provinces than economic factors.

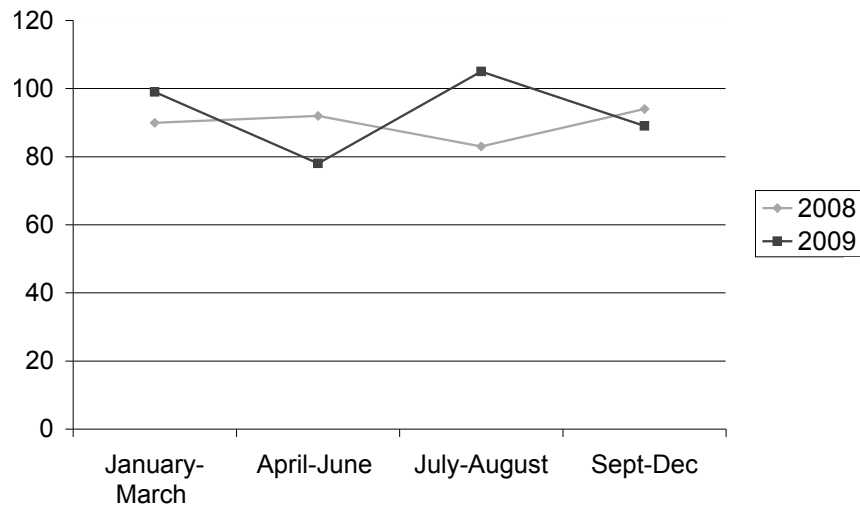
4.6 Vacancies

A final factor that was investigated in order to get an impression of the true extent and character of any crisis in Dutch archaeology is the employment rate. A dramatic fall in employment is certainly the case in the development and building sector and is also very evident within the archaeological sector in many other European countries (see other contributions in this volume).

We questioned one of the larger archaeological employment agencies in the Netherlands, Vriens Archeo BV, about its findings over the last year. The agency had noticed a slight increase in the number of advertised vacancies in the first quarter of 2009 (10%) compared to the year before (see Fig. 6). This supports the view of the companies who claimed still to have had a reasonable amount of work in the first months of 2009. The agency noticed a decrease in the number of advertised vacancies in the second quarter of the year (21%, from 99 to 78). This decrease was much greater than that experienced in previous years, and also backs up the picture presented by some companies who had to lay off temporary staff for the first time in years.

This does not mean however that the unemployment rate among Dutch archaeologists rose in this period. In fact the opposite proved to be the case. Since there were still companies who were structurally understaffed when it came to qualified personnel, these employees that were laid off were mostly very quickly re-employed elsewhere. The increase in the number of vacancies filled by Vriens Archeo BV at this time supports this analysis. While the number of vacancies decreased, the so-called success rate for candidates for vacancies increased from 82% in the first quarter of 2008 to more than 95% in the first quarter of 2009.²⁵

Fig. 6. Number of vacancies advertised by employment agency Vriens Archeo BV.

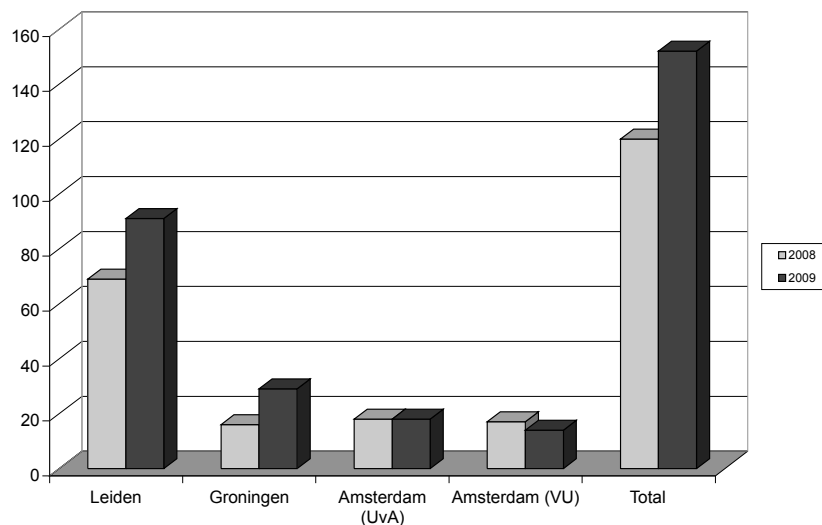


In the second half of 2009 there was a sharp revival of 35% in the number of vacancies (from 78 to 105), which was followed by a reduction of 16% again in the last quarter of the year. This coincides with the temporary growth of the number of field projects right after summer (see Fig. 3). The number of vacancies that were subsequently filled remained at a high level, 92% in the last quarter of 2009. This may indicate that there were enough people available to fill the posts, or that there was a higher percentage of employees changing jobs.

4.7 Students

Another visible effect of the crisis can be considered. All universities and academies have seen an increase in student numbers (Fig. 7), 25% in total. A decline in job opportunities, especially for young people, tends to lead to an increased uptake of higher education opportunities, rather than running the risk of unemployment. Departments of Archaeology have experienced a growth in student numbers. The Faculty of Archaeology in Leiden, for instance, has 32% more new students in 2009 than in 2008. Across the country as a whole, there have been a total of over 100 first year archaeology students registering at universities and over 50 in other higher education institutions.

Fig. 7. Student numbers
Source: Leiden University.



An increase in student numbers seems to be one of the few positive effects of the crisis. This state of affairs may sadly only be temporary. The impending increases in student fees may well lead to another decrease in student numbers.²⁶ Rising student numbers may also turn out to be disadvantageous in the longer run for the students concerned. If the number of jobs in archaeology starts to stabilise again, then the moment will inevitably be reached when demand does not meet the increased supply of new archaeologists. After many years of full employment such a turn around in circumstances could well lead to the threat of unemployment again.²⁷

5 Analysis

On the basis of the above figures it could be concluded that there are indications that the economic crisis is having negative influence on the sector as a whole. However, we must bear in mind that the total amount of work available over 2009 as a whole still nearly equals that of 2007, when we were very happy with such statistics. It is, however, interesting to observe how a relatively positive situation can change rather rapidly and that a deep recession such as is being experienced at present has different effects on the various parts of the archaeological heritage management process as well as on the various groups within the archaeological community. The fact that almost all evaluation work is carried out by commercial companies, inevitably means that they are hit first when new projects are delayed or cancelled.

Despite the fact that the volume of fieldwork has decreased, this situation has, as yet, had no dramatic consequences. To date there have been no recorded bankruptcies in the archaeological sector, compared with other sectors that have recorded a total of 8012 bankruptcies in 2009.²⁸ The Netherlands, in this respect, seems to be in an exceptional position, especially when compared to the dramatic situation in other European countries in which archaeological heritage management is primarily a commercial activity (Aitchison 2009). There may be several reasons for this difference. One reason may be found in the way the Dutch commercial sector operates. Because of the size of the country, most companies can fairly easily operate across several regions or even across the whole country. In addition, the majority of companies do not specialise in one type of activity, but prefer to offer the entire range. Such companies have been able to remain flexible and can adapt to changing circumstances. In fact, the regional diversity discussed earlier in this article may eventually turn out to be beneficial for companies that have learnt to diversify: it may be that fewer evaluations are being carried out in one region, but a company may well be compensated for this by being able to undertake other types of projects in another. A diversification in activity base seems to be the answer here.

The main reason that the archaeological market remains fairly stable in the Netherlands, lies in the organisation of the heritage management system. Archaeological research in the Netherlands is primarily conducted as preventive archaeology which relies heavily on tenders and contracts from local authorities (municipalities). These authorities are responsible for decisions on building and development and therefore also decide on the premises for archaeological research. Projects are predominantly funded with public money. According to the data in Archis, only a small part (10-15%) of all field projects in 2008 were commissioned

by the private sector, the vast majority were commissioned by government or semi-government organisations. Current government-funded building projects such as new motorways and road widening schemes, railways, terminals, coastal and river defences, wind parks and power stations are providing a large number of archaeological projects. A decrease in private sector initiatives is being compensated by an increase in public sector financed projects.

The early stage of development of the new archaeology system in the Netherlands is also an important factor for consideration. Many local governments in particular are only just starting to put the Valletta Convention into practice and are now in the middle of developing their own archaeological policy and ensuring its implementation within their own organisation. Demand for municipal and regional characterisation maps and inventories is still high (including so-called second generation maps based on an evaluation of earlier products), and accounts for a considerable number of contracts (mostly in the consultancy sector) and a fairly constant number of vacancies for local archaeological officers. Such work also leads to an increase in the number of desk-based studies being carried out (see Fig. 8). This necessary work on policy-based projects is providing compensation for the decline in fieldwork projects and will most probably keep the sector as a whole fairly busy for possibly at least another two years.

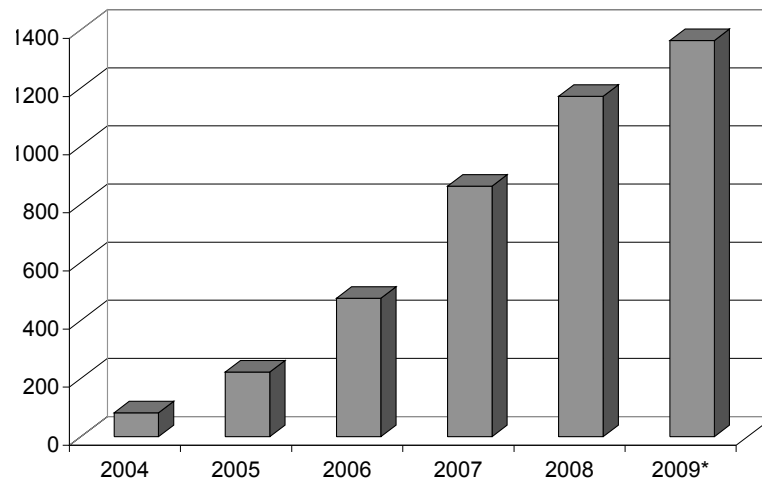
Because of the reasons given above, it is not expected that the situation will deteriorate further in the short term. The archaeological sector may even profit from the governmental measures undertaken to stimulate the property development. These new policy-development activities may partly compensate the decreasing demand for archaeological research. Furthermore, there are also indications that since the end of 2009 the economic situation within the country has started to improve.

Nonetheless a note of caution is important. There are several reasons why we can expect that the worst is still to come. Firstly it is acknowledged that the archaeological sector traditionally exhibits a delayed reaction to any changing circumstances in the building and development sector. It is clear that, in 2009, many companies are still working on long-term projects and contracts won in 2008 or even earlier. The big question is what will happen once these contracts come to an end if they cannot be replaced with new ones. The decreased number of evaluations by coring in 2009 may well lead to a further fall in the number of trial trenching projects and full-scale excavations in 2010. Whilst at the moment it may still be possible for one-person companies to have a little bit more spare time, their financial situation may quickly change, the longer this calm period lasts and the longer they have to eat into their savings.

Secondly, the uncertainty of the economic situation as a whole must be considered. Although it seems that the recession may be coming to an end and that the first improvements have been signalled, the long-lasting effects of the crisis are very difficult to predict. The long term prognosis could well suggest a further ongoing crisis. For the development and building sector, for instance, a further decline of 4.3% is expected in 2010.²⁹ Long-term government policy will also continue to concentrate on spending cut-backs in an attempt to improve the budget deficit. If the present phase of government-funded building projects is not replaced by new private sector developments in the near future, then the archaeological sector will clearly begin to suffer. In addition, the expected cuts in the budgets of local governments themselves might also lead to stagnation in the further development

and implementation of archaeological policies and even a less strict application of rules and regulations in projects. In that case the “second dip” can put an extra strain on the employment of local policy officers and strengthen the call for fewer archaeological interventions.

Fig. 8. Desk-based assessments.
Source: Archis.



6 Concluding remarks

Although the economic crisis has had a visible negative effect on the archaeological sector in the Netherlands, it has not, as yet, lead to severe situations such as mass unemployment, as experienced in other European countries. For now we count our blessings. The sector may even profit from the crisis. It is known that Dutch archaeology has been growing rapidly for many years and, as a result, there has been a period of little or even no unemployment for almost any archaeologists wanting to work in the sector. Ironically this has meant that the infrastructure has been rather overstrained: too many companies competing heavily for projects, with unsustainable levels of price cutting as a result and a serious shortage of well-qualified personnel. The economic crisis may well help to steady and stabilise the situation and may eventually allow the stronger companies that do survive to charge more realistic rates that allow the build up of financial reserves in order to survive future market fluctuations. Finally, It is worth recalling that a decline in economic growth and development activities can also significantly reduce the pressures on, and threat to, the archaeological heritage *in situ*. The crisis, therefore, has many faces.

Notes

1. CPB, *June 2009 forecast*, see http://www.cpb.nl/eng/news/2009_18.html (last accessed 19-01-2010).

2. CPB, *Memorandum March 2009*, see <http://www.cpb.nl/eng/pub/cpbreeksen/memorandum/222/memo222.pdf> (last accessed 19-01-2010).

3. *Ibidem*.

4. Economisch Instituut Bouwnijverheid, press release April 2009, see <http://www.eib.nl/ShowPers.cfm?ID=358> (last accessed 19-01-2010).

5. http://www.regering.nl/Onderwerpen/Arbeidsmarkt_en_economie/Kredietcrisis (last accessed 19-01-2010).

6. http://www.regering.nl/Actueel/Pers_en_nieuwsberichten/2009/juni/12/Kabinet_stimuleert_woningbouw (last accessed 19-01-2010).

7. CPB June 2009 forecast, see http://www.cpb.nl/eng/news/2009_18.html (last accessed 19-01-2010).

8. *Rapport van de werkgroep Gerritse, Mogelijkheden voor ombuigingen, stabilisatie en intensivering* (February 2009), see <http://www.minaz.nl/dsc?c=getobject&cs=obj&objectid=118822> (last accessed 19-01-2010).

9. These figures have been taken from the national archaeological information system Archis (www.archis.nl).

10. These figures are all drawn from the national archaeological information system Archis (www.archis.nl). Due to delayed input within the system and corrections these numbers may vary slightly over time.

11. See www.discovering-archaeologists.eu.

12. Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, *Erfgoedbalans 2009, Archeologie, monumenten en cultuurlandschap in Nederland*, p. 105.

13. www.voia.nl.
14. VOIA, 2006, *Actuele omzetcijfers voor de archeologiebranche*. See <http://www.voia.nl/files/Perspublicatie%20Branche%20onderzoek%20DEE.pdf> (last accessed 19-01-2010)
15. Ibid.
16. We have to take into account that many are small coring projects (one or two days) and that the average price per project was much lower than in former years.
17. This gives a fairly reliable indication of the situation as at the time, nearly all companies operating in Dutch archaeology were members of this organisation.
18. Specialist work refers here mainly to archaeo-botanical, archaeo-zoological and small finds work. Other specialisations as for instance physical geography and pottery don't show the same drop.
19. See www.gemeente-archeologen.nl.
20. Care must, however, be taken in making interpretations and in forming conclusions. Some changes in trends may, for instance, be partly explained by changes in reporting behaviour. Prior to 2006 not all activities were systematically reported as this was not yet obligatory. For subsequent years the figures should be expected to be fairly reliable. However, due to the backlog in data entry in the system small deviations in results may occur when figures are reanalysed at different moments in time.
21. Field projects include field walking surveys, evaluation by coring, excavations, trial trenches and watching briefs.
22. The data on the early years (until 2005) may not give a complete image of the situation as probably not all projects were registered in the system then.
23. These figures are all drawn from the archaeological information system Archis (www.archis.nl). Due to retrospective input and corrections the numbers may slightly change over time.
24. See <http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/30/ECONOMIE/article/detail/244105/2009/05/22/Crisis-treft-provincies-ongelijk.dhtml> (accessed 19-01-2010).
25. We do not have information on the type of contracts these people are employed on. It may be a temporary situation, if it concerns mainly short contracts.
26. Already the student fee is over 1600 euro per year (in 2009).
27. We have some information on the demographic composition (age pyramid) of our profession, on the size of the oldest generations of archaeologists and the pace with which they need to be replaced by younger ones (Waugh 2008, table 32, p. 40). As the largest group of the employees 58% is between 29 and 49 years of age, and only 18% between 49 and 60, the natural outflow of older employees will not be very high in the next decade.
28. <http://nos.nl/artikel/125882-recordaantal-faillissementen-in-2009.html> (last accessed 19-01-2010).
29. TNO Bouw en Ondergrond, 2009, *Bouwprognose 2009-2014*, TNO-report 034-DTM-2009-04560. See http://www.tno.nl/downloads/rapport_bouwprognoses_2009_2014.pdf (accessed 19-01-2010).

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8. One crisis too many? French archaeology between reform and relaunch

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1 Introduction

The notion of crisis is not, of course, alien to French archaeology. Some historical landmarks will suffice to confirm this: the French revolution with its vandalism and historical monuments, Napoleon III and his national antiquities, the laws of 1913 and of 1941, the infrastructure reconstructions of the post-war years and their corresponding episodes of heritage destruction, the early days of the Ministry of Culture, the ratification of the 1992 Malta Convention, the build-up to the 2001 law, its subsequent modifications, and so on. All in all, French archaeology displays a somewhat punctuated pattern of progression, where various expectations regarding archaeological research and heritage management emerge, build-up and lead, usually through crisis and controversy, to hard-earned legal, operational and organisational achievements (see various discussions in Poulot 2006, Demoule & Landes 2009, *Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie* 2004, and references within).

Running throughout these episodes is the major question of individual and collective responsibility towards the archaeological heritage. Throughout the first half of the previous century, the debate had focused on questions of checks and balances regarding 'desirable' archaeological remains, i.e. those which presented some scientific (and occasionally financial) interest to their landowners or excavators. A series of legal and administrative measures gradually established the scheduling and protection of historical monuments, made the declaration of fortuitous finds compulsory, and required both official permits and scientific qualifications prior to any archaeological intervention. By the last decades of the twentieth century, the debate has finally broadened to include also 'unwanted' or accidental archaeological remains – namely those hitherto buried and unknown deposits exposed (and threatened by destruction) in the course of infrastructure and building works, and usually seen as a burden by the landowners or developers concerned. Drawing strength from precedents in environmental protection and international treaties, measures of control and mitigation regarding such remains were gradually established through the 'polluter-pays' principle. Overall, then, lurching from crisis to crisis, the general long-term tendency in French archaeology has clearly been towards the increased capacity of the state to oversee and regulate the scientific exploitation, protection and valorisation of the nation's historical and archaeological heritage.

Entering now the second decade of the present century, this general tendency seems to be put on hold, or at least to be taking on some different inflections. Without assuming some inevitable *ricorso*-like movement, the wave of heritage protection appears to have reached its crest, and is beginning now to subside in favour of other political or ideological priorities, concerning for example the role of the state, decentralisation, land-use, public services, economic and social policies and so forth. This is why in France, perhaps more than anywhere else discussed in this volume, the impacts of the current economic crisis can only

be understood in the light of broader ongoing processes and configurations. Specifically to archaeology, the heritage law of 2001 and recent modifications in 2003 have had significant effects, as we will see, but even more important have been the overarching public policy *reforms* initiated following president Nicolas Sarkozy's 2007 elections, including an unprecedented restructuring of institutions, administrations and employment policies. As for the crisis, significantly, it is not so much the economic downturn as such that has so far affected archaeology (though the decline in construction activities and the rise in unemployment are definitely being felt) as much as the various counter-measures enacted by the government within its ambitious *relaunch* or recovery plan. So, within the limits of the data available to us, and without attempting to be exhaustive, we will draw together in this chapter some strands and links in this composite picture, in between reforms and relaunch. The four impact areas of the crisis as identified throughout this volume – research, employment, outreach and legislation – will all be touched on, but we proceed with a brief introduction to the organisation of archaeology in France, provide some details on the various reforms already enacted, and finally address the crisis, the relaunch measures and their implications for archaeological research and heritage management in France.

2 A brief outline of French archaeology, circa 2001

Although academic research and higher education are clearly among its essential constituents, our entry point to French archaeology here is through heritage management, and specifically preventive archaeology. This is not only because preventive archaeology has become the largest and most dynamic sector in terms of funding, employment and archaeological results produced, but also because the recent fluctuations it has endured shed light on the system as a whole. Moreover, 'programmed' archaeology seems to follow a reasonably well-established pattern, at least so far as field practice is concerned, involving nominal excavation permits, scientific programmes and corresponding budgets. Preventive archaeology, by contrast, has been carried out for several decades with only the flimsiest legal, regulatory or financial basis. Only in 2001, after years of campaigning and successive recommendations, was this long-awaited grounding achieved. The newly drafted book V of the Heritage code defined preventive archaeology in these terms:

"Preventive archaeology, which pertains to a mission of public service, is an integral part of archaeology. It is governed by the principles applicable to all scientific research. It undertakes, on land and under waters, within appropriate delays, to identify, to preserve or to safeguard through scientific study those elements of the archaeological heritage affected or likely to be affected by public or private development works. It also aims to interpret and to disseminate the results obtained." (Article L. 521.1).

As part of the 2001 law, a pre-existing association for excavations (AFAN) was transformed into the National institute for preventive archaeological research, INRAP, an *Etablissement public* under the joint tutelage of the Ministries of Culture and Communication and of Higher Education and Research, with some 2000 employees and an annual budget of 150 Million euro for 2009. With its research and public service objectives legally enshrined, preventive archaeology sets and pursues clear objectives regarding the production of knowledge about the past, specialised studies, publications and public outreach. In comparison with

countries where the ‘academic’ and the ‘commercial’ (also called ‘professional’ or CRM) branches of archaeology have increasingly drifted apart, several traits of the French system – the territorial anchoring of its research, the encouragement of interdisciplinary collaborations, the long-established practice of ‘mixed research units’ (UMR) bringing together researchers and initiatives from the CNRS, universities, museums, ministries, local archaeologists, INRAP etc. – contribute, at least for now, to maintain these links.

A further specific feature of the French system concerns a fundamental operational and regulatory distinction between two successive phases of preventive archaeological activities. The first, evaluations or *diagnostics*, serves to identify and assess previously unrecorded archaeological remains on land slated for development (usually through mechanical trial trenching). The second phase, involving full-scale *excavations*, focuses then on specific, localised remains which require further documentation and study. In both cases, operations are undertaken upon prescriptions and with permits issued by the regional archaeological services (SRA) of the Ministry of Culture, while research designs, results and publications are evaluated through regional and national expert bodies. Crucially, these two phases are also distinguished by their legal and financial standing. The diagnostic phase, which is considered to be a public service, draws its funding not from the developers concerned directly (which could have invited unwelcome pressure and compromises), but rather through a Preventive Archaeology Tax applicable per square metre, above a certain threshold and with various exemptions, on *all* developments across the country, whether subject to archaeological prescriptions or not. Income from this tax is mutualised and shared more or less equally between diagnostic expenditure, a special archaeology fund for needy developers, and the financing of research and public outreach activities. Excavations, on the other hand, are each subject to a specific contract between the archaeological operator and the developer, including questions of schedules, delays and also costs, which are calculated in function of the nature and complexity of the archaeological deposits (as estimated through the diagnostic work), and the equipment, personnel and competencies required to achieve the set scientific goals of analysis, interpretation and publication.

3 After 2003: towards commercial competition between licensed operators

As the law on preventive archaeology came into effect, the systematic application of the Tax and of the ‘polluter-pays’ principle – coupled with some frustrations over unscheduled delays related to overloads and caps on employment – led several developers and local representatives to lobby for amendments to the law. Some genuine adjustments were certainly called for, but the solution adopted by the conservative-led parliament in August 2003 (and 2004) consisted effectively in ‘opening up’ the field of preventive archaeology to commercial competition, in the expectation that costs and delays would consequently be reduced.

These changes led to considerable upheaval in French archaeology. The status of archaeological diagnostics as a public prerogative was preserved, with the addition of locally-based municipality and council archaeological operators which are now able, alongside INRAP, to undertake them. The excavation phase, on the other hand, was recast as a commercial undertaking, with developers now directly

commissioning operators to execute the archaeological prescriptions on their behalf. Public developers have to abide by call-for-tender procedures, but they can nevertheless decide on the relative weight they wish to accord to such factors as duration, scientific quality, or indeed costs. Private developers can dispense altogether with such procedures, contract directly with the operator of their choice, and only then, almost as a *fait accompli*, present the proposed excavation design to the state services for them to examine its scientific pertinence and operational feasibility before issuing the permit.

As an ostensible safeguarding move, a specific licensing or accreditation system (*agrément*) was put in force for preventive archaeology, such that only licensed operators can be commissioned by developers, and only their personnel can receive from the SRA the nominal permit required for taking responsibility over preventive archaeological operations. To obtain the licence, candidate operators have to provide information on their functional capabilities, their available expertise, employment strategies, budgets, infrastructural set up, equipments and so forth. The Ministry of Culture, relying on expert advice from the National council for archaeological research, then awards the licence (for a renewable period of five years), subject to some territorial and chronological specifications. With regards to diagnostics, as noted, the only operators eligible are those based within public bodies such as municipalities or local authorities. For excavations, however, licences are also granted to other operators such as associations and privately owned companies, who can participate in the excavation market and respond to calls from their potential clients, the developers. After a slow start, the impact of these modifications is increasingly perceptible. By mid- 2010, there were approximately 80 operators licensed for preventive archaeology in France, of which 60 are local public bodies of various sorts, unevenly spread across about a third of the country's *départements*, and 20 are private companies¹. Apart from their names, area of archaeological competencies and contact details, information on the scale and turnover of these licensed operators is hard to obtain: it is estimated that public operators employ altogether some 350 archaeologists, as do the private ones. All this reflects the sharp rise in their activities these last couple of years. For 2009, and taking important regional variations into account, only 60% of the c. 350 excavations carried out in France were undertaken by the state operator INRAP – the remaining 40% being more or less evenly divided between local public operators and private companies.

4 A market in crisis?

This new phenomenon of commercial competition in French preventive archaeology raises a number of issues that prove instructive to examine (see also Demoule, this volume). To begin with, it might be recalled that preventive archaeology as a whole, excavations included, was defined as a mission of public service, aimed at gaining and disseminating scientific knowledge about the past. In these circumstances, it is both unfair and unrealistic to expect developers to evaluate bids on scientific (as distinct from commercial) criteria, especially when there are grounds to suppose that the state services may not always be able to exercise their monitoring role to the full (see below). In the new conditions created, when any field methodology, expertise or even chrono-cultural interpretation may provide its holder (and deny others) a competitive edge in the market, it can be expected that

the wider aims of inter-institutional scientific collaborations on shared research designs may be affected, together with publications and public outreach actions. The same goes for the segmentation of archaeological activities across a multiplicity of operators, chosen on a case by case basis with little regard for operational let alone research considerations. To be sure, the rules so far prohibit these operators from having structural, financial or legal links to the developers for whom they work, but this could be yet another ‘impediment’ to competition or acceleration that may soon be waived, now that archaeological operators directly created by building-works companies are in the making. While these and other less appealing consequences loom large (regarding for example cost-cutting measures, profit margins and employment conditions among some operators), there are little indications as yet whether the presumed benefits of the competitive system will be in evidence, such as reductions in delays or indeed in overall costs.

A series of more specific questions arise from the coincidence between the upsurge of commercial preventive archaeology, from about 2008 onwards, and the global economic crisis – all the more so that this coincidence was readily seized upon by the authorities to further bolster the ‘market’². Admittedly, the practical implications of such encouragement to potential operators are difficult to evaluate. For one, information on changing numbers and success rates of applicants for licences over time is not readily available. As well, since the scientific, operational or financial criteria for awarding the licence do not seem to be explicitly stated, it is difficult to assess whether they have been recently modified in any way. Finally, be it for reasons of confidentiality or of expediency, it appears difficult to gain some inkling regarding the eventual refusals, suspensions, or withdrawals of licences. What is certain, however, is that the French preventive archaeology market, public and private alike, benefits from a comforting safety net: in case operators cease trading or see their licence withdrawn, it is already set by law that the archaeological finds and related documentation they hold will be recovered and studied by the state operator – namely by INRAP (Article L. 523-13). Archaeological heritage management is certainly well served here (compare with annex II, this volume), but by thus effectively underwriting the operators, the licence-awards and the prescribers alike, this bail-out provision sits somewhat uneasily with the ideals of level commercial competition.

Nevertheless, even though we may expect more recession-induced bankruptcies to be declared, we can also surmise that the preventive archaeology ‘market’ might well grow in the coming years – with the crisis aiding. In effect, the relaunch plan initiated by the government includes some major infrastructural works that will require substantial diagnostics and excavation work (see below). Even if few of the newly licensed public or private operators have the scale and logistics to partake in such *grands travaux*, they will be able to better jostle into competitive position for the more routine operations. As well, in addition to the nearly automatic increase in surfaces and sites to be identified and prescribed for diagnostics and excavations, some changes can also be anticipated regarding the prescription policies themselves. Just as the regional archaeological services have been under instructions in the past few years to “enhanced selectivity” so as to reduce the number of diagnostic prescriptions, so they might be encouraged from now on to increase these numbers, if only in order to keep afloat the newly created ‘market’ of commercial preventive archaeology³.

5 Reforms in motion: public policies, research and higher education

Known by the acronym of RGPP, the general revision of public policies (*Revision générale des politiques publiques*) is a key component of the reforms launched by President Sarkozy since 2007, seeking a leaner and meaner state, more efficient and modern. This massive exercise, set in successive waves of intermediary steps and targets spread over several years, has already affected virtually all areas of public policy. As far as archaeology is concerned, the effects have been mainly felt through the Ministries of Culture and of Higher Education and Research, where they have involved the restructuring of institutions, their administrative functions and their employment policies.

To begin with the matter of employment, a key measure of the RGPP involves the systematic non-replacement of one out of two retirements among state functionaries and public employees. This reduction of personnel applies to all ministries and state functions (including some 50,000 schoolteacher posts not being renewed, i.e. lost, between 2007 and 2010)⁴ and of course also to the Ministry of Culture, which as we saw holds administrative responsibilities over heritage management and protection. In a subsequent wave of the reform plan, this measure extends to public bodies and decentralised structures, which, through non-replacement or other means, will have to ‘gain in productivity’ by shedding 1.5% of their workforce every year. Incidentally, this trimming down may prove even more tasking in times of crisis: not only there are fewer private sector employment alternatives to be found, it is also manifest that the relative resilience of such a country as France to the more traumatising effects of the recession has to do with its longstanding tradition of strong public sector spending and employment.

While this employment strategy has at least the merit of being plain, the restructuring of administrations and functions in the framework of the RGPP has taken quite a multiplicity of forms. At the headquarters of the Ministry of Culture, the previous dozen or so distinct directions have been merged into three major directorates (alongside a reinforced general-secretariat), respectively entitled Artistic creation, Media and communication and Heritages, the latter including sub-directions dealing with museums, libraries, archives, architecture, and archaeology. Within this reassembly of functions and services, some casualties are to be expected in the name of ‘rationalisation’: the *Centre national d’archéologie urbaine* (CNAU) is one of the bodies slated to be dissolved. Even more challenging are the ongoing reshuffles and reorganisations at the regional level, including the functional capacities and hierarchical links between the regional archaeological services (SRA), the regional directions of cultural affairs (DRAC) and the prefectures. Finally, the sword of the RGPP specifically fell onto preventive archaeology, when the Council for the modernisation of public policies decreed in June 2008 that “The running (*politique*) of preventive archaeology shall be rendered more efficient. Income from the preventive archaeology tax shall be improved. The development of a competitive offer shall enable the multiplication of intervention capacities with regards to excavations. The modes of recruitment within the state operator INRAP shall be modernised”⁵. As we saw at length above, this aspired multiplication effectively means the encouragement of new public and private operators onto the ‘market’.

Turning now to French research and higher education, structural changes in the framework of the RGPP and through other routes have been particularly wide-ranging. The 2007 ‘Law on the responsibilities of universities’ (LRU) cast

these institutions into a sudden state of ‘autonomy’, which implies among other things an increase in performance-related funding and revenue-generating activities, accompanied by an administrative overload and a greater say for external members, especially business figures, in the university’s scientific and governing bodies. Notwithstanding this autonomy, French universities have been instructed to forge between themselves thematic alliances as well as geographical clusters (not necessarily with the same partners), opening the way for a distinction to be made between teaching-focussed institutions and those oriented towards research and innovation, which would be relocated – crisis permitting, that is – in purpose-build campuses *à l’américaine*.

For reasons both ideological and parochial (i.e. poor standing in the Shanghai Index), French public research has been deemed underachieving and out of tune with the more utilitarian or vocational objectives sometimes described as ‘the knowledge economy’. In succession were created national agencies for funding (ANR) and evaluating (AERES) research, the former reinforcing the logic of short term ‘project’ grants, with a particular emphasis on ‘public-private partnerships’ cemented through unduly generous tax rebates for the latter sector⁶. The National centre for scientific research (CNRS), for its part, has seen some of its main missions and means, indeed its ‘autonomy’, considerably curtailed: this includes its capacity to set long-term projects for its c. 250 archaeologists, or indeed to initiate and federate mixed research units (UMR) with other institutions. These changing circumstances are reflected in the CNRS prospective document for 2009-2013, whose readers have been invited to consider the social sciences and humanities also as a “strategic asset” for companies, so as to better understand human challenges and social changes, and thus inform their managerial decisions.⁷

Lastly, the RGPP policy of closing down every other retired post will be encroaching into an already tense employment environment, where career difficulties are felt from the very entry level. Amazingly, France is among the few countries where PhD holders are actually less likely than Masters to find a job: three years after graduation, 11% of humanities and social sciences PhD holders are still unemployed, and of those employed about a third are on short-term contracts. The employment level of French PhDs is three times worse than the OECD average, and moreover this deficiency cannot be explained by the numbers of doctorate holders involved, which per age-cohorts is proportionately lower than in most comparable countries.⁸ Not unexpectedly, to refocus on archaeology, the overall trend in disaffection and decline in numbers of university students is not abating, although a larger proportion are now applying for professional master courses in preventive archaeology, in the (not unreasonable) expectation that jobs are still to be found in that area.

The effects of these ongoing developments on the production and transmission of knowledge about the past still need to be evaluated, but they are likely to have both medium and long-term repercussions. Already under-represented in comparison with European neighbours, archaeological positions in research institutions and universities will be further reduced by the non-replacement of half the posts which would have been available with the imminent retirement of the late 1960s and 1970s cohort. Research funding for programmed archaeological excavations in France and abroad appears more difficult to obtain, and likewise quite a few archaeological journals and publication outlets have had their allocations cast in doubt. It was not surprising in any case to see researchers and university teach-

ers from across the social sciences and humanities, archaeology included, at the forefront of the exceptional (but ultimately only partially successful) country-wide wave of protests, petitions and demonstrations during 2008 and 2009.

6 The relaunch plans: increased investments, lightened procedures

As we have gathered, then, France was well in the throes of substantial upheavals when the global economic crisis struck in 2008. Thus, in addition to its structural capacities in terms of public sector and economic policies, the country may have actually also benefitted from the fact that it was already on its toes, as it were, in comparison with more complacent neighbours caught off-guard. In any case, the government deployed early on a fairly comprehensive relaunch plan, with a specifically created Ministry in charge of its application. Alongside various measures for reducing costs and deficits, the relaunch plan also includes, in the venerable state macroeconomic tradition, a stimulus package for the acceleration of major infrastructure programmes. A global budget of some 10 billion Euros (originating from the state, major public developers, local authorities and private partnerships) has been dedicated to a range of works for the coming four years, including the construction of four TGV lines and several highways and navigable canals.

So far as preventive archaeology is concerned, these infrastructure programmes are by and large expected to compensate for the slow-down in the construction sector. Substantial tracts of land will be subject to earthworks, and will consequently generate prescriptions and require diagnostics and excavations in the framework of preventive archaeology – with further consequences for archaeological research, employment, outreach and so forth. These increased investments are not of course without their counterpart. For our current concerns, an important thread running through these crisis-busting relaunch measures is a *leitmotif* directly inspired from the previously engaged costs and employment-reducing reforms – it is the need to simplify, to rationalise, to lighten administrative procedures (*alléger les procédures administratives*), indeed to counter an ingrained penchant for bureaucratic slow-motion with some operational flexibility and economic enterprise.

Both facets of the relaunch strategy – increased investments and lightened procedures – are manifest in the 17 February 2009 ‘law on the acceleration of public and private programmes of construction and investments’. Articles 8 and 9 bear specifically on preventive archaeology, and entail the direct modification of the Heritage code. In examining here these changes, the spirit in which they were advocated at the Parliament’s commission on economic affairs may be worth recalling: quite bluntly the aim is “to limit the henceforth excessive impact of preventive archaeology” (*limiter l’impact, désormais excessif, de l’archéologie préventive sur le développement économique et l’implantation des entreprises*).⁹ Beginning with financial issues (perhaps ultimately of the greater significance), the budgetary measures approved include a one-off 10 million Euros to accelerate diagnostic operations by INRAP, another such sum for the needy developers’ fund, and an increase in the Preventive Archaeology Tax, up from 0.3 to 0.5% of the construction value in the case of urban-areas projects, and from 0.40 to 0.50€ per square metre in the case of rural land development. In the same vein, to increase INRAP’s reactive capability and to reduce its delays (and at the same time

to transcend the government's own self imposed cap on public employments), was created a short-term 'activity' employment contract, whose duration is not set by a fixed time period, but rather in relation to the undertaking of a given activity, such as a lengthy excavation campaign along a TGV line.

As for the procedural measures designed to 'limit the impact' of preventive archaeology, they prove rather more ambivalent in their intended and unintended consequences. They include:

(a) For prescriptions, the time available to the prefecture (through the regional archaeological services of the Ministry of Culture) for deciding to prescribe (or not) an archaeological diagnostic was reduced from four to three weeks upon the reception of the planning dossier (modification to article L.522-2).

(b) For diagnostics, the specification of a maximum delay for the beginning of diagnostic operations: "If, for reasons due to the [archaeological] operator, and notwithstanding the specific contractual dispositions between the developer and the operator, the works necessary for undertaking the [prescribed] diagnostic have not begun within a delay of four months following the conclusion of the contract, the prescription is considered void" (addition to article L. 523-7).

(c) For excavations, the specification of a maximum delay for the beginning of excavations works (as above, with six months instead of four) but also for their completion: "If, for reasons due to the operator, the fieldwork necessary for archaeological operations have not been completed within a delay of twelve months following the date of attribution of the permit – a delay renewable once for a period of eighteen months upon decision of the administrative authority following the advice of the interregional commission for archaeological research – the state withdraws the permit" (addition to article L. 523-9).

The legislator's intentions here are clearly to accelerate construction by reducing ancillary delays, including the unscheduled waiting time occasionally caused by archaeological operations¹⁰. In practice, the effectiveness of these measures is variable, as are their side-effects. Least constraining for overloaded archaeologists are actually the delays for starting diagnostics or excavations. It suffices that these time frames, or indeed that of signing the contract itself, be calculated with enough margins. Failing that, it will be enough for the operator to begin some 'necessary works' – such as checking out for utilities, or setting up health and safety provisions. More constraining are the twelve months limits for completing excavations, with the clock set ticking upon the granting of the excavation permit, rather than with the beginning of the operation itself. Even if this twelve months period applies only to fieldwork as such and not to the post-excavation analysis and study, it can be expected that quite a few cases (complex, stratified sites, unexpected discoveries etc.) will require extensions – unless, that is, compromises or concessions over research methods and results will be made by some operators, and tacitly condoned by the monitoring authorities, so as to round-off the fieldwork campaign within the prescribed delay period. In fact, the controlling and regulating bodies may well be among those who suffer the most. With these measures, the regional archaeological services have probably even less opportunities and resources for on-site inspections, or for studying in any depth the intervention proposals or results submitted by licensed operators. They have in any case substantially less time (21 rather than 30 days) to appraise the submitted construction dossiers in their regions and reach informed decisions on prescribing archaeological diagnostics – not to forget that, with the above noted RGPP policies regarding employment and restructuring, there will be increasingly fewer of them around to carry out these tasks.

7 Conclusions: lightened procedures – lessened protection?

Although this is probably premature, and some of the more pessimistic scenarios intimated here may prove unwarranted, we cannot end without mentioning two further potential collateral casualties of these acceleration measures. One is the developers themselves, in their capacity as law abiding citizens. As we saw, in order to counterbalance its own arbitrariness and lack of reaction, the state systematically includes clauses which render void its decisions under certain conditions, such as when delays in beginning or ending operations are not met. In such cases, the law stipulates that the prescriptions fall and we pass to the regime of ‘fortuitous finds’ as defined in the Heritage code – finds which it is the penal responsibility of the finder and landowner to immediately declare. So far as Palaeolithic hunting camps or even Neolithic postholes are concerned, it is probable that the developers will genuinely not see these remains at all as they are swept away. Vestiges like Iron-Age villas or medieval burial grounds which are less easy to miss when the bulldozers go by (although this is known to have happened) will leave the developer in a quandary: are the added delays due to the recording and preservation of these remains compensated, or not, by the fact that it is now the state, and not them, who has to foot the bill? Whatever the case, the measures in question appear to bring the developer-citizen one step closer to potentially infringing the law on fortuitous finds – all the more so that the authorities have known all along, since they themselves have prescribed their study, that there are in the area concerned archaeological remains at risk!

Indeed, at the end of the day, it is probably the archaeological heritage itself which may yet prove to be the ultimate victim of the relaunch plan. Construction and infrastructure programmes as such are not directly at stakes: they are salutary and welcome in many respects beyond archaeology (especially in times of crisis), and any potential harm they cause to *in situ* archaeological remains can be effectively mitigated – this is after all the whole *raison d’être* of preventive archaeology. But for that to happen, it is necessary that the protection measures in place – as enshrined in the Heritage code and beyond that in the Malta Convention and the ICOMOS Charter – be adequate, and be maintained. Knowing French administration and technocracy, there is no doubt scope for streamlining quite a few procedures, and making them swifter and more efficient – more efficient, that is, with regards to their stated objective, which is to protect and enhance the heritage, and not necessarily to enable, even in times of crisis, yet more tarmac and concrete to be speedily poured and spread over vaster tracts of landscape.

By way of conclusions, it may be instructive to examine several crisis-related legislative parallels, also set in between reform and relaunch. The first case concerns the management of designated areas of protected architectural, urban and landscape heritage (ZPPAUP). An amendment was proposed as part of the 3 August 2008 ‘law on Environment (Grenelle II)’ whereby the advice of the state architect regarding any building and demolition plans in these zones would no longer be binding, so that it would be up to the architect to appeal and try to overturn locally approved decisions on, say, implanting a supermarket or a sky-scraper in the protected zone. Following pressure from urbanists and cultural protection bodies, only intermediary changes have been made (so far) to the Heritage code (Article L-642-3). Another measure, article 52 of the 2010 finance law, would have allowed the devolution of ownership of elements of the nation’s monumental and historical heritage, with hardly any checks and controls, to the local

authorities who desire them. Once these municipalities and councils would have cherry-picked the most valuable historical monuments – i.e. palaces, châteaux and suchlike touristic hotspots – and assuming they invest in their maintenance and do not sell them off in due course, the remaining elements of the nation's historical heritage would be left to crumble, without any financial scaffolding. This article was rejected in extremis by the Constitutional Council, but a new version is apparently being drafted.¹¹ The third and possibly most relevant measure – discussed in parliament at the same time and with the same objectives as those destined for archaeology – concerns the simplification (again!) of procedures regarding listed polluting industrial installations. To the various verifications and authorisations provided by the environmental protection agency concerned, it was proposed to add the possibility for industrialists to simply 'register' their installation, thus undertaking toxic or polluting activities without prior impact studies or public enquires. With environmental concerns cast aside, this proposition has the double advantage of speeding up procedures in times of crisis, while also expediently trimming down the public services concerned.¹²

Touching thus on our common historical, cultural and environmental heritage, these latest measures – crisis-induced, or at least crisis-enabled – seem to reflect an attempted reshuffle or realignment, between local and central prerogatives, between individual and collective responsibility. For archaeology, for its study and its management, the implications of all the developments and patterns touched upon within this chapter may really be too early to tell. There are however good grounds to suspect that conjecturally motivated 'lightened procedures' can easily end-up, and be maintained in the long-term, as 'lessened protection'. Likewise, the recent creation of a commercial archaeology market, with excavations being dubbed '*l'activité concurrentielle*' by the ministry in charge, may well prove to have less appealing outcomes than intended; with regards to costs and delays, and indeed in terms of scientific results, professional employment and public outreach. Given the eventful enough history of French archaeology, we can only hope – and stand firm to ensure – that our current predicament will not prove to be the one crisis too many.

Notes

1. Information on the licence, the application dossier, and the operators currently licensed is available at http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/dp/arqueo/operateurs_presentation.html. See also Giraud 2010.

2. For example, a Senate debate on the finance law for 2009 considered it important to encourage the "development of a competitive offer" in preventive archaeology, while the necessity to «re-launch the incitation to the creation of archaeological services by councils and by private operators» was stressed by the then Minister of Culture, Christine Albanel. See <http://www.senat.fr/rap/a08-100-31/a08-100-313.html>.

3. See the note of the then Minister of Culture, Jean-Jacques Aillagon, on the regulation of prescription decisions, 3rd January 2003. According to Ministry of Culture data made available, diagnostic prescriptions have dropped from 14% of the examined dossiers in 2002 to 7% in 2009. Prescriptions for excavations have apparently remained stable at 1,5% of the examined dossiers.

4. See http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2009/11/24/l-education-nationale-sans-reve-ni-moteur-par-luc-cedelle_1271268_3232.html.

5. http://www.rgpp.modernisation.gouv.fr/fileadmin/user_upload/Culture.pdf. See also a second stage report, May 2009, at http://www.rgpp.modernisation.gouv.fr/uploads/media/RE2_RGPP_130509.pdf.

6. Inefficient and inequitable aspects of the 'research tax credit' system – creating too few research employments while generating high fiscal rebates for finance sector holdings rather than R&D and manufacturing firms – have been pinned-down in recent parliamentary reports, see http://media.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/file/2010/21/6/3e-rapport-cir-parlement_142216.pdf, and http://www.senat.fr/rap/r09-493/r09-493_mono.html.

7. See <http://www.cnrs.fr/fr/une/docs/Contrat-CNRS-Etat-2009-2013.pdf>, and <http://www.anvie.fr>. Anvie is the National association for the interdisciplinary enhancement of social sciences and humanities research among the business sector.

8. See the recent synthesis produced by the governmental *Centre d'analyses stratégiques*, at http://www.strategie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/Notedeville189_Emploi_des_docteurs.pdf

9. Stated in Amendement N° 4 and N°5, «Accélération des programmes de construction et d'investissement publics et privés» (n° 1360), (L. de La Raudière, rapporteure), Assemblée nationale, 23 December 2008. See also rapport on same subject, (n° 1365), 22 December 2008: "The obligations linked to preventive archaeology constitute nowadays an impediment to the installation of businesses in France". In <http://www.senat.fr/dossier-legislatif/pjl08-157.html>, and <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/rapports/r1365.asp>.

10. It may be recalled here that in any case, as indicated in the Heritage code, contracts between operators and developers already stipulate penalty payments in case of delays in accessing or liberating the grounds.

11. Cf <http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/francais/les-decisions/acces-par-date/decisions-depuis-1959/2009/2009-599-dc/decision-n-2009-599-dc-du-29-decembre-2009.46804.html>.

12. See "Rapport sur le projet de loi.....", Assemblée nationale, 22 décembre 2008 (note 9 above), and http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Installation_class%C3%A9e_pour_la_protection_de_l'environnement

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9. The crisis and changes in cultural heritage legislation in Hungary: cul-de-sac or solution?

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1 Introduction

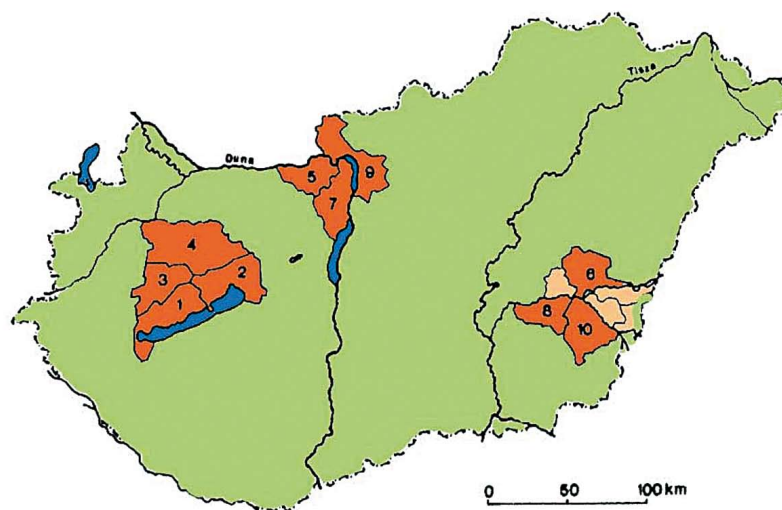
The case presented here is an interpretation of the Hungarian authorities' reaction to the global economic crisis. In 2009, a planned modification of the Hungarian cultural heritage law was supposed to come into force. This modification can be understood as an effort to encourage those investing in development projects, so that they would have to face less difficulties with the archaeological sites that might be lying under their property, less problems with the National Office of Heritage Protection (KÖH) and less trouble from such 'nuisances' as archaeologists.

However, this planned legislative change touches upon the protection of archaeological sites as a whole, and would as a consequence severely weaken existing provisions for preventive and rescue archaeological work. In the following pages, we provide a brief account of the stages of this 'battle', the ensuing threat placed on archaeological heritage, and the inappropriate nature of the help designed for developers. Finally, we outline a possible solution, which has been proposed to the Ministry of Culture.

2 Redefining an archaeological site

The current legal definition of an 'archaeological site' in Hungary (Law of Heritage Protection, 2001/LXIV. 7§, 17) has already been the cause of some legal and financial difficulties insofar as it restricts a 'site' to an area with accurate geographic boundaries which is also listed in the KÖH national database. In this respect, places and complexes of archaeological importance which are as yet

Fig. 1. The areas involved and investigated within the programme 'The Archaeological Topography of Hungary'.



unknown and/or not yet listed on the KÖH database are not treated as sites and therefore fall outside the current legislation and its protective measures.

More recently, in what is seen as reaction to the economic crisis, a new modification of the law has been proposed (edict A308/2008, 23. December 2008). This proposal further aggravates this situation by legally requiring that a 'site', in addition to being listed in the national KÖH database, should also be located and coordinated with land certificates, and included in a publicly available, certified database at municipal level. This regulation seems to be designed to help developers and investors, who would have online access to an authorised database, to evaluate whether or not there are archaeological protection measures to be expected on the land they plan to develop. However, such database requirements are currently met for only a few thousand cases out of the ca. 40.000 sites registered in the volumes of the Hungarian Archaeological Topography! (Fig. 1). Moreover, this number of known sites is only a smaller portion of the estimated total of all sites in Hungary, which may number as many as 200.000 (calculated on an average presence of 1.5 or 2 sites per km² across the 93.000 km² of the country). All these sites – the ca 40.000 known and the ca. 200.000 estimated – would be left out of the picture.

In the new legislation to be introduced, there will be a budget exclusively available for preventive archaeological purposes, as a part of the development costs. The existing legal requirement is to spend a minimum of 0.9% of a development's budget on preventive archaeology. This requirement was hitherto applied to the ca. 40.000 KÖH listed sites – if the new legislation is to come into force, it will apply only to the few thousand registered on municipal databases.

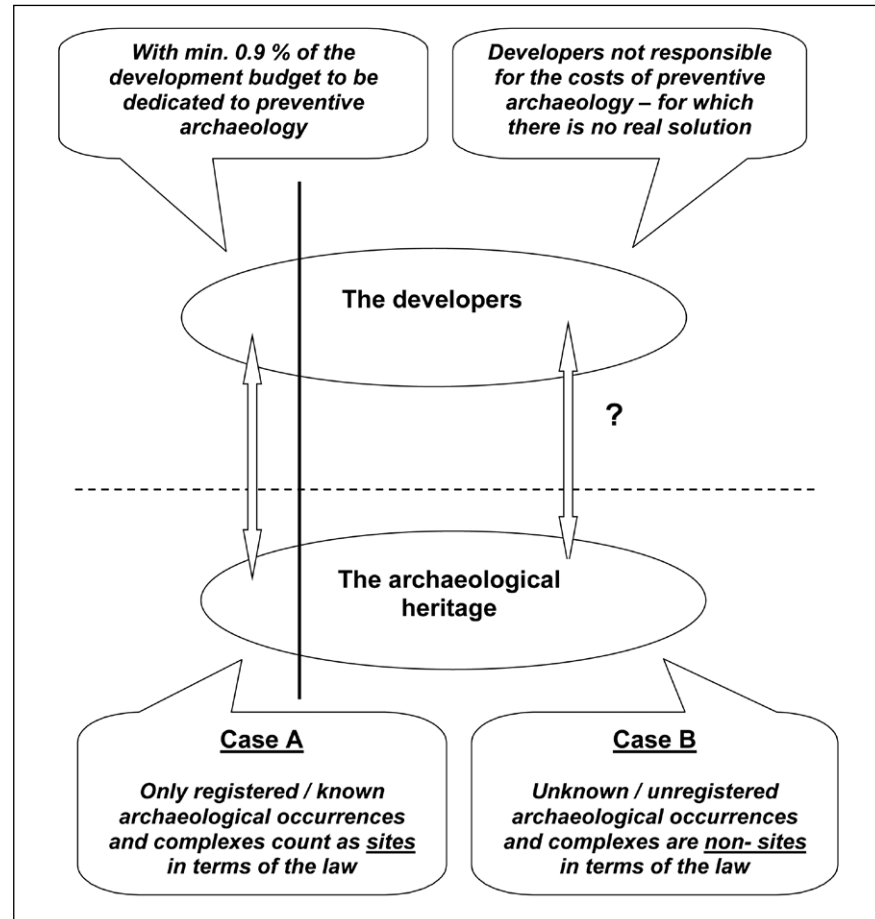
As for the rest, the sites and landscapes as yet unknown, their chances of protection chances are minimal: no state funding will be made available for excavating the vast majority of these archaeological assets, since they fall outside the new legal definition of being a 'site'. The responsibility for such cases will fall to the local museums, but only in the context of rescue – and not preventive – excavations. This distinction is unfortunately relevant, since for rescue excavations there is no secure and recognised budget at all. While the controlling authority KÖH may well force building works to be stopped due to archaeological discoveries, there is no budget for funding their excavation. If institutions like local museums or the KÖH itself do not make available funding to dedicate to potentially large-scale excavations, field work will simply not be carried out. Consequently, the proposed modification of the law implies that we would allow an unknown amount of information about our past to be destroyed, without any benefits to either heritage managers or developers.

It should be noted that the legal change discussed here also seems to infringe two European conventions that have been duly signed and brought into force in Hungary: the European Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Malta, 1992) and the European Landscape Convention (Florence, 2000). Such a precedent of endangering cultural heritage protection in a European Union country could certainly also weaken European legislations on cultural heritage in general.

As already indicated, this new regulation was apparently intended to favour developers and developments in Hungary in times of economic crisis. In practice, however, it is likely to have unwelcome effects also in that respect. Whenever archaeological remains come to light in the course of construction works, the archaeological authorities can stop the building activity in order to protect these

sites – even if they would not count as ‘sites’ in legal terms – for periods of time which could extend to several months. Such added uncertainties and delays clearly make it difficult for developers to plan ahead. At another level, a locally available database open to the public will not be consulted only by developers – looters would also quite easily find there the exact locations of the sites they wish to rob.

Fig. 2. The state of preventive archaeology, according to the proposed legislation 2009.



On the whole, then, this proposed legal redefinition of the ‘site’ would represent the worst possible outcome not only for archaeology and heritage protection, but also for the developers themselves. This is why we consider this planned modification to be more of a cul-de-sac in the global crisis than a possible solution.

3 Some possible solutions

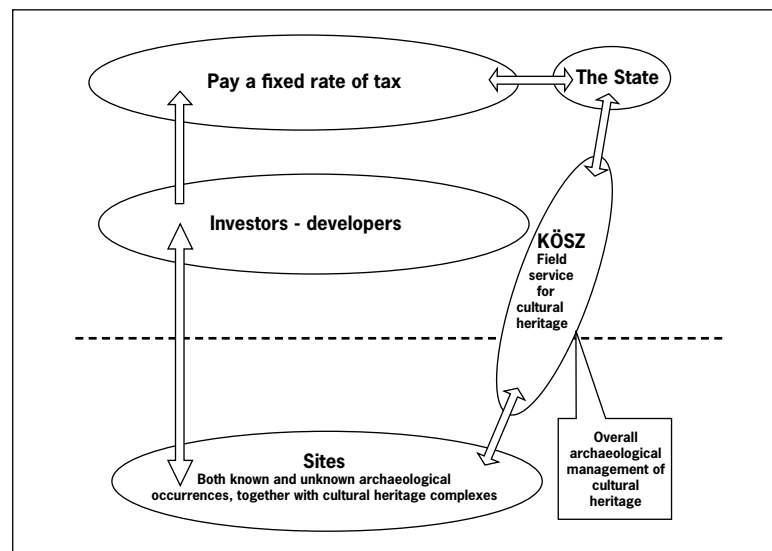
This leads to the question: is there a solution to be found? We believe there is a way to proceed, which would be beneficial for both developers and for archaeological heritage protection, and which would be equally appropriate in the short term while the crisis is ongoing, and also for the longer term.

1. To begin with, reliance should be placed on the newly founded Field Service for Cultural Heritage (KÖSZ), a national institution responsible for the coordination of all preventive archaeological work in the country. The crucial element here is a *diagnostic phase*: a unified and obligatory phase of evaluation and survey, including trial trenching, which would precede all major building and infrastruc-

ture works. This diagnostic phase would be followed, when considered necessary, by the excavation and documentation of sites using identical or coordinated country-wide protocols for archaeological, geological and specialist (zooarchaeological, anthropological, biochemical etc) interventions. Preliminary studies and results would have to be approved by two reviewers from independent scientific institutions, such as the Academy of Sciences.

2. Next, some legitimate questions arise regarding the 0.9% of development budgets which is to be spent on archaeological activities when a site is endangered or destroyed by construction. This percentage is in many cases not fair to developers, and cannot always be justified. In some instances the cost of archaeology can be much higher, up to 4 or 5% of the total development costs, and it cannot in all honesty be expected of the 'unlucky' investors who happen to have a site on their land to pay this. Here again archaeologists and heritage managers need to realise that undertaking preliminary diagnosis and trial trenching in order to detect unknown sites is essential, also in order to help developers and authorities in their planning decisions, and to avoid opening up huge surfaces with uncertain outcomes. This could in any case help reduce the real costs of any excavations that might be needed.

Fig. 3. A proposition by the authors for possible changes in Hungarian preventive archaeology.



3. **Following this line**, we also argue that financial means for preventive archaeology should not derive exclusively from those developers who happen to have hit a site on their land. Rather than this highly inappropriate and unjust method, we propose that all developers, prior to each major construction project, should pay the state a calibrated amount, similar to a tax (Fig. 3). This amount, to be calculated by the Ministry of Economics using a range of indicators, could replace the currently required 0.9%, but could well be less than that. This suggested method is fair and transparent; developers are free after paying and also free of having to bargain with KÖSZ regarding what should be excavated, to what extent and for how long.

The suggested tax-like fee, compulsory for each developer, goes into a budget whose size determines the scale of preventive archaeological operations that can be undertaken in a given year. Much as we all yearn to excavate every bit of threatened heritage, choices and priorities will have to be made. For example, regions like the Carpathian Basin have been a crossroads for people and cultures for many

millennia, and this region is likely to be very rich in sites and landscapes of historic importance. Therefore, we shall have to start learning about extracting the maximum information from a limited scale of preventive excavations, and also about being selective. This selection does not refer to archaeological features or periods as such: it is rather about deciding which parts of the site need to be fully excavated, and which parts can be simply quickly recorded and documented, following adequate methodology and protocols. Deliberate planning and sampling strategies should be developed, together with ethical codes and professional standards, across all fields of heritage research and protection.

4. Finally, another problem to tackle is the fact that the budgets of preventive archaeology are currently limited to the phases of excavation and finds-storage only. No funding or instructions are available concerning the ways and means by which these finds should be subsequently processed and integrated with the potentially huge amount of information generated, so as to turn the whole effort into a scientifically valuable and publicly demonstrable contribution to cultural heritage. While it might be problematic to raise such an issue in the middle of an economic crisis, we should remember that the state has to take responsibility in this matter, by ensuring a budgetary line for the conservation of the finds, for their scientific study and publication, and for their popularisation in magazines and museum exhibitions. A positive example is the Archaeological Park at the M3 motorway, which, with the financial help and participation of motorway funders, serves the general public by displaying some of the major results of these motorway excavations (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. The M3 Archaeopark, Polgár, North Eastern Hungary.



4 Conclusions

As we have attempted to demonstrate in this paper, the global economic crisis has had negative consequences for Hungarian archaeology, and some measures will have to be taken urgently to save the country's cultural heritage. These

measures need not however be necessarily restricted to decisions coming from the economic planning and legislative side. KÖSZ too, as the country's field service for cultural heritage, has to constantly improve its activities by developing a more unified and comprehensive set of protocols for diagnostics and excavations, and also by setting professional standards of storage and documentation for all archaeological finds. We need to keep this objective firmly in mind and without any compromises: our aim is to ensure that all archaeological features, distributions of finds or protected areas, should not be destroyed forever or become mere scatterings of objects or items of information, but rather be studied and understood together so as to become a genuine component of our cultural heritage – that of Hungary, of course, but equally importantly that of Europe as a whole. This objective gives us archaeologists ample scope and incentive for thinking and for acting – before it is too late.

Postscript

In June-July 2010, the new Hungarian government passed a law which removed all rights to undertake excavations from the KÖSZ, the Field Service for Cultural Heritage, and transferred them back to county museums (i. e. 19 museums across the country and the Budapest Historical Museum), with whom they had rested prior to the establishment of KÖSZ in 2007. The intention is to enable the museums in question to achieve a more favourable financial position. In the light of these developments, the proposals formulated here may cease to be relevant, though the authors still consider them to represent the best way forward for Hungarian archaeology, which could be revived in the future.

10. Archaeology in crisis: the case of Poland

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1 Introduction

The paper discusses the effects of the current global economic situation on Polish archaeology. In particular, it reviews the scope of rescue and preventive works over recent years and its relationship with the development of the construction industry, as well as the job market situation in different sectors of archaeology. It will further scrutinize the impact of the economic crisis and its consequences upon the pre-existing structural inefficiency of legal and practical solutions in various areas of Polish archaeology.

The analysis presented here is based upon publicly available data on the budgets of major infrastructure initiatives as well as government expenditure for culture, heritage protection, and higher education. This analysis is significantly enriched by the results of a systematic survey of a representative group of twenty active professional archaeologists conducted at the beginning of 2010 (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010). Unfortunately, not all archaeological institutions make their financial data publicly available, which has precluded a more systematic evaluation of the impact of the crisis upon their activities. Nevertheless, this analysis made it possible to identify and scrutinize some general trends. Accordingly, this chapter systematically discusses their character in the major sectors of Polish archaeology, in terms of preventive and rescue works, watching briefs, academic activities, and the situation of archaeological museums. These are discussed within the context of a constantly changing heritage protection doctrine with regards to the context of practice and its legal frameworks. An initial, brief overview of Polish archaeology and its archaeological heritage sector sets the scene.

2 Archaeology and archaeological heritage in contemporary Poland

Democratic Poland inherited from its communist predecessor a well-developed state-funded system, with the discipline divided into four archaeological sectors with clearly defined roles and duties. These were (1) the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences defined as the most significant archaeological institution responsible for pursuing research and setting academic standards, (2) university departments responsible for education, (3) museums in charge of protecting archaeological collections and popularising archaeology, and (4) Centres for Monument Protection responsible for the protection of archaeological monuments and movable objects and undertaking rescue excavations.

Due to dynamic developments over the last two decades, which mainly involved the emergence of large scale development-led archaeological projects, this system is no longer in place. Centres for Monument Protection have been dissolved, and their staff were among the first to join the private archaeological sector in the country. The Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences was transformed into the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, and its significance declined due to increasingly insufficient funding.

The last fifteen years have seen the implementation of huge infrastructure projects that demanded large scale preventive excavations in association with pan-European and national investments, in particular pipelines from Russia to Western Europe, and then a network of highways and expressways. Consequently, Polish archaeology has been confronted with a huge number of excavations to be conducted at a fast pace on a scale never experienced before. This has significantly shaped its character and created many unforeseen consequences. One of them has been the commercialisation of the archaeological profession. The emergence of private archaeological firms has led to the rapid emergence of a quite new professional group on the market, characterized by a high efficiency in conducting long excavation campaigns on a large scale. Taking into account the previously dominant Polish model of small, almost 'family' excavations, this can undoubtedly be regarded as an almost 'revolutionary' development.

The preventive excavations related to the construction of the gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe in the early 1990s were the first major undertaking in the post-1989 period. The Polish highway program, initiated in June 1995, aimed at laying out 2300 km of highways together with numerous expressways. Archaeological preventive excavations ahead of these developments are in a strip of 80 to 100 m wide and have been carried out without interruption since 1997. Solutions and regulations implemented in the framework of the pipeline archaeological projects created a precedent for the formulation of a new doctrine for the conservation and protection of archaeological heritage in the country. After some modifications, they were later implemented during the highway project.

A legislative framework for the large scale preventive projects was provided by the *Spatial Management and Building and Construction Act* as well as the *Law for Highway Constructions in Poland*, both passed in 1994. The development funder was obliged to cover the costs of preventive excavations, documentation, and analyses of the results. The Valletta Convention for the protection of the archaeological heritage was ratified by Poland in 1996, and considerably broadened and strengthened the goals of archaeology to include, alongside research and valorisation, the integrated management, protection and promotion of the common archaeological heritage.

These regulations were later combined into a new legislative initiative known as the *Protection of Monuments and the Guardianship of Monuments Act* which was passed in 2003. The Act makes it clear that all archaeological sites regardless their quality or significance are protected by law. The provisions of the Act stipulate that, so far as field methods and standards of documentation are concerned, all rescue work should be conducted in the same manner as any other research projects, and funders are obliged to cover all the costs. Furthermore, it is required that the excavated materials be professionally analysed and preferably published. When it proves necessary, the objects have to be properly conserved. Here again the funder is officially obliged to cover the costs of all these works (see also Gąssowski 2007, 164).

These legislative regulations were also accompanied by institutional transformations. In 1995, the Minister for Culture and Arts created the Archaeological Rescue Research Centre, which was set to control the merit of preventive archaeological works within the highways construction project. In particular, this Rescue Centre was obliged to co-operate with the General Directorate of National Roads and Motorways in the management of the entire project, in setting up standards of excavations, in the selection of contractors, and in controlling the quality of

works. At the same time, the role of the provincial curators of the archaeological heritage diminished, leaving them in charge of formal administrative procedures. In 2002, this Rescue Centre was replaced by the Archaeological Heritage Protection Centre. Its original duties were extended to a range of issues of conservation and management including the control over all archaeological regional conservators. The Centre was also charged of controlling good practice and quality of preventive excavations along with the publication of their results.

Both Centres have played a vital role in Polish archaeology over the last decade. Being well acquainted with the most pertinent issues of protection and management of archaeological heritage, they became partners for development funders and potential contractors of large scale works. At the same time, both Centres were custodians of principles of best practice and established a scientific system of protection and conservation of archaeological heritage. Preventive excavations were recognized as a scientific endeavour *per se*. Contractors are selected on the basis of their previous experience in conducting similar works, scientific qualification, professional personnel, adequate storage facilities, etc. Consequently, large scale preventive excavations were mainly undertaken by national scientific institutions such as universities, museums or the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Science. This system also made possible the participation of smaller commercial and private archaeological firms, employed as subcontractors and supervised by the main contractor. More importantly, it ensured a high quality of archaeological works, enabled effective control over them, and effectively prevented reductions in quality standards (Gaśowski 2007, 166). However, it also turned out to be relatively expensive, leading to a divergence of interests and became potentially corruptible.

In recent years, yet another organisational change has taken place. The Archaeological Heritage Protection Centre lost its independence in 2007 and was incorporated into the National Heritage Board of Poland. In this new structural framework, archaeological heritage issues are not any longer dealt with by an autonomous body with its own budget. Its role was clearly diminished by being enmeshed with administration and management of other types of heritage in the country.

The National Heritage Board of Poland then decided to withdraw from the coordination and control of large-scale preventive works. This left a vacuum with no independent quality control by any external professional body over the works carried out. Controlling and reviewing responsibilities of these works are now conducted exclusively by developer-appointed committees made up of administrative staff employed by the developer, including archaeologists. This obviously rules out objectivity and neutrality of opinions as well as critical reviews of the quality of the work done. The most important change involved a different system of selecting the contractor for archaeological works. With the advent of free market regulations the contractor is now being chosen on a commercial basis through a system of tendering in which the decisive factor is exclusively the proposed price. This has triggered competition in the market for archaeological services between private firms and consortia and state institutions that resulted in a drastic decrease in both the scope of archaeological works and their quality. As a result, proposals made by private firms are commonly chosen due to their lower costs and possibility to complete allocated tasks in increasingly shorter time slots. Academic institutions are being slowly removed from this market due to the more expensive costs required to complete excavations in academically acceptable standards as well as a number of administrative obstacles for state institutions that considerably slow down any project.

3 Polish archaeology in global economic crisis

3.1 Poland and the global crisis. An overview

The economic situation in Poland in recent years has been considerably different than that in many other countries, where the effects of the global economic crisis have been much serious. Although symptoms of an economic slowdown have recently been recorded, local economists claim that as yet there are no signs of recession. In 2008 a 5% GDP was recorded, and 1.7% in 2009. In the current year, 2010, it is expected to amount to 3%. However, during the same period a rate of unemployment increased from 9.5% at the end of 2008 to 12.8% in January 2010 (<http://www.gus.pl>).

In general, archaeological activities are believed to be directly dependent on the economic situation of the country. As the number of developments declines, the scope and scale of practicing archaeology in the country, including the rescue and contract archaeology sectors, will be inevitably affected. This is in accord with a more general trend in different countries across Europe, where the crisis has mainly affected commercial and development-led archaeological works (Aitchison 2009, 661). In Poland, however, the economic slowdown does not appear to have a direct impact upon a condition of Polish archaeology. The situation is not straightforward insofar as different archaeological sectors, including commercial, academic, museum or heritage protection, work within a diversified legal, organisational and financial system. In fact, it is the inefficiency and incompatibility of this system, rather than any kind of global economic turbulences that is responsible for the undisputable crisis in contemporary Polish archaeology.

Nowadays most archaeological work in Poland is conducted in relation to the construction of motorways and expressways as well as other building developments that are considered as a priority ahead of the European Football Championship, which will be jointly hosted by Poland and Ukraine in 2012. Paradoxically, the climax of the preparation of the Championship coincided with the peak of the global crisis. As the Championship is portrayed as an event of almost 'civilisational' significance, its successful preparation is inevitably highly politicised. Hence, a number of infrastructure projects have been planned and are being implemented, in particular road and train networks, airports, railways stations and stadiums. The state expenditure for road construction has increased considerably, and this automatically enlarged the budgets for preventive archaeological projects. Whereas in 2007 a sum of PLN 7 billion was spent on the construction of roads and highways in Poland, this amounted to PLN 9 billion in 2008 and PLN 18 billion in 2009. For the year 2010, the allocated expenditure will amount to PLN 27 billion. During the past two years the General Directorate for National Roads and Motorways has signed contracts for the construction of 1225 km of roads, including 601 km of highways and 624 km of expressways as well as numerous inter-urban, ring roads and for rebuilding of major communication arteries (<http://www.gddkia.gov.pl>; see also Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010).

3.2 Preventive & rescue archaeological work

The scale and scope of preventive and rescue archeology is largely dependent upon the overall economic situation in the country, in particular the housing con-

struction sector, the real estate market and the state-funded infrastructure. Hence, problems with credit availability and a decrease in a number of infrastructure projects may have a direct impact upon the demand for archaeological work. This in turn results in increasing competition in the market for archaeological services and eventually in reduced income for archaeological firms.

As mentioned above, the current situation in Polish preventive and rescue archaeology is considerably different than that in most other European countries. Despite an overall economic crisis, large-scale infrastructure investments have not been cut down thanks to the intensive preparations for the European Championship. On the contrary, these need to be completed at a much faster pace than in ordinary conditions. This time pressure has had direct consequences upon preventive excavations as the allocated time for completion has also been radically shortened when compared with the situation only a couple of years ago. Furthermore, the general conditions for undertaking preventive archaeology were additionally shaped by new legal solutions. In September 2008, in order to speed up the construction of highways in Poland, the General Directorate for National Roads and Motorways passed a law requiring that decisions on the placement of any highway or expressway have to be linked to the permission for their construction. In practice, this means that all the stages of archaeological works (e.g. survey, evaluation, legal and administrative procedures, as well as excavations) inevitably have to coincide with the construction works.

Examples of extremely short delays to the overall construction projects in order to allow preventive archaeological work are numerous. In one of the 2009 tenders for archaeological work for an area of 25 hectares, in relation to the construction of the S5 expressway near Gniezno in the Wielkopolska province, the Poznań branch of the General Directorate required excavations of the entire area be completed in a period of three months only. Likewise, the Kraków branch of the same Directorate wanted to have an area of 46 hectares excavated prior to the construction of a local road in the Małopolska region, linking the Radzikowski Junction with the Modlinica Junction, excavated within seven months. Needless to say, it is virtually impossible to conduct viable and up-to-standard excavations of this scale in such a short period of time.

To comply with increasingly tight time requirements and smaller tenders offered by the contractor, archaeological firms have reduced the amount of scientific analysis they undertake and lowered the standards of scientific documentation in order to accelerate the archaeological works and maintain the same level of income. The reduction of the basic rate set for excavating a given area of archaeological deposits may cause a situation in which the systematic study of stratigraphically complex sites simply proves to be unprofitable. There are examples of archaeological firms suffering significant high financial losses because they attempted to excavate complex sites to appropriate quality standards. Another unacceptable practice involves the deliberate falsifying of archaeological documentation, reporting a false number of features in order to increase income (according to the financial regulations). Unfortunately, neither the National Heritage Board of Poland nor provincial heritage offices have the necessary tools or resources to stop this unethical and illegal practice. The current situation has also led to a growing amount of unpublished archaeological data obtained during commercial excavations (see also Kobylński 2008, 229-230).

Thus, what is alarming and what we consider to be the main effect of the economic crisis upon preventive archaeology in Poland has been a deterioration in the quality of archaeological work. Nearly all archaeological companies (mainly

private but also some universities) have been able to maintain the same level of income as in the past, yet they are unable to comply to required standards of research and quality of fieldwork. This does not relate merely to excavation procedures, but also to post-excavation analysis and the publication of final results.

This overall deteriorating situation of preventive archaeology in Poland over the last couple of years was further worsened by the mass return of Polish contract archaeologists who had been working in Western Europe. In the years 2004 – 2008, a large number of archaeologists emigrated to Ireland and the United Kingdom, particularly to work on the numerous motorway excavations following the implementation of the road program and coordinated by the National Road Agency in Ireland (Aitchison 2009, 662). They accounted for approximately 50–70 per cent of any archaeological teams assembled by private Irish firms (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010). This emigration in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century led to staff shortages at Polish archaeological firms which led to an increase of between 40% and 70% in the wages of technicians and field directors alike. A majority of the archaeologists that had emigrated returned to Poland in the first half of 2008, in the period when the economic crisis has been felt most severely. This coincided with the above discussed legal and organisational changes in Polish archaeology, and both factors led to in a considerable decrease in salaries, in places up to 50%, and in forcing staff to accept unpaid overtime (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010).

The employment system in most of private or semi-private archaeological firms is determined by the policy of outsourcing. This means most companies prefer to offer temporary employment for undertaking a precisely allocated task in a well defined period of time. This policy is set to considerably reduce employment costs, as the firm does not have to cover work insurance and other eligible expenses. Thus, as far as the structure of employment in private archaeological firms is concerned, it is directly related to the demand for archaeological services, itself dependent upon success in tendering of archaeological works. For example, a big private archaeological company *AKME* from Wrocław recently reduced the number of archaeologists it employed due to a shortage of field contracts. Yet, in 2009 it had to hire several archaeologists to undertake preventive excavations prior to construction of the S8 expressway. During the same time the *PKZ-Poznań* firm – a consortium partner of *AKME* in this very project – had to employ three full time archaeologists along with several temporary specialists to be able to complete its share of the project in the allocated time. A similar situation occurred in the Archaeological and Historical Museum in Głogów, which had to temporarily employ archaeologists to works in preventive excavations prior to the construction of another section of S8 expressway (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010).

3.3 Watching briefs

The demand for archaeological services is also directly related to the number of small scale private and public infrastructure projects being undertaken. The largest market for this kind of works exists in metropolitan centres such as Warsaw, Kraków, Wrocław, and Poznań. The year 2009 marked the largest economic slowdown in the country, but it did not immediately led to a dramatic collapse in housing construction. In the period between January and December 2009 more than 160,000 flats were built, which was 3.1% less than in the preceding year but 19.7% more than in 2007 (<http://www.gus.com>). However, yet, some projects and

construction works have been delayed or suspended as happened with the construction of a huge multiplex in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Lubusz Land province). Due to the developer's bankruptcy, this construction was postponed in 2008 along with the accompanying rescue archaeological work at the site which were to be undertaken by Gorzów Museum archaeologists.

There are more than a thousand private archaeological firms in Poland and their numbers are constantly growing. In the majority of cases, these are single-individual entities, run by people with permanent jobs elsewhere. Watching briefs and small scale excavations serve to supplement their incomes. For this group, a drop in the number of available contracts does not lead to their bankruptcy or result in closing down the business. However, for a few dozen firms archaeological work is the main if not the only source of income. They usually employ between two and three individuals, which are supported by additional temporary employees during seasonal archaeological works. Only a few well-established firms offer permanent jobs to archaeologists.

Archaeological watching briefs are set to monitor the excavation of foundation trenches and other intrusive works and are aimed at identifying and recording archaeological finds and features. These watching briefs are much less restrictive than preventive excavations prior to highway and expressway constructions. Hence, the watching brief market is more dynamic and flexible; selection of the contractor depends mainly upon the planned length of the works as well as price and the overall reputation of the firm. Rates for the same kind of work offered in different parts of the country may vary by as much as 80%. Provincial heritage offices are in charge of controlling the quality of this work: the frequency of inspections is not fixed, and depends on the policies of particular provincial offices and their available personnel. For example, archaeologists carrying out watching briefs in the Mazowsze province are very often monitored during their work. Quite the opposite situation exists in the Wielkopolska province. The results of field survey conducted in 2009 by archaeologists from the Institute of Prehistory at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań revealed that watching briefs in this province were not commonly undertaken in areas required systematic conservation protection. In some instances detached houses were built on archaeological sites or archaeological sites were destroyed by gravel-pits without a watching brief taking place (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010).

3.4 Academic / university archaeology

The economic recession over the last few years has turned out to have had little impact upon the funding levels of higher education in Poland. In this respect, the overall situation of academic archaeology has not changed. There were neither job losses nor wage reductions. A similar level of state support has also been maintained regarding scholarships for students. In fact, the state expenditure on higher education in 2009 increased by about 12% in comparison to the previous year (<http://www.gus.pl>).

Generally, state funding for academic archaeology in Poland has always been conspicuously low. This has meant that further reductions of these small sums has had limited effect as academic archaeology was constantly seeking support from other sources. For example, the 2009 budget of the Institute of Prehistory at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań was identical to that of the preceding year. Considering inflation, this meant that the 2009 budget, both for education and

research, was in fact slightly smaller than in 2008. The preliminary and unofficial estimate for the year 2010 reports a slight increase, taking inflation into consideration. However, these funds will still be largely insufficient to cover all didactic and research expenses in relation to the range of activities pursued by its staff. It is worth mentioning that the departmental budget depends upon scientific achievements of a given institution. Consequently, archaeological institutes ranked low receive a smaller subsidy than those of higher academic standard.

However, signs of the financial crisis are visible in the reduction of the travel funds available to university staff for attending international conferences and meetings. Additionally, in case of some archaeological conferences organized in Poland over the last two years, speakers have had to cover participation costs themselves or seek financial support from their home institutions rather than, as used to be the case in the past, being supported by the organisers. This occurred at the conference *XVI Śląskie Spotkania Archeologiczne* (16th Silesian Archaeological Meeting) organised in 2009 by the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Wrocław.

Some kind of remedy for this crisis, at least at university level, has been through the increasing participation of Polish archaeologists in EU sponsored programs and grants. This new situation will hopefully contribute to the budgets of Polish archaeological institutions in the coming years. However, a major share of additional funds for academic archaeology comes from rescue and preventive projects, as discussed above. The poor funding of Polish science in general and the new pressure from the private sector have paved the way for academic institutions to engage in competition for rescue archaeology contracts. For some of the institutions, such as the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, these contracts have become sources of substantial financial support for other research projects. Consequently, the early stage of the highway preventive archaeology was characterised by the emergence of numerous consortia in which academic institutes placed a vital role. Small, privately owned archaeological firms were only allowed to participate in these projects as sub-contractors. Moreover, the significant role played by academic institutes in preventive archaeology has far reaching consequences as it secures both high scientific standards in fieldwork and academic interest in broadening the knowledge of the past of the studied region (see more in Marciniak 2006).

From a short-sighted, strictly economic point of view, the involvement of academic archaeologists in contract archaeology may be seen as favourable for the development of archaeological activities. In fact, this may prove to be quite dangerous for the future of the discipline, insofar as it will separate academic archaeologists from teaching and research, and also channels the ways in which archaeological evidence is created and transmitted to future generations.

3.5 Archaeological museums

According to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage statistics, subsidies for museums increased in 2009 by more than 10%, when compared with the previous year. Similarly, the budget of provincial centres for conservation and documentation of historical monuments has increased by more than 11%, although financial resources for the protection of monuments reduced by 18%. Overall, the total expenditure on culture and national heritage protection in 2009 was 11.8% higher than in the previous year. Statistics provided by the Ministry also show a steady increase in a number of museum visitors, in particular to regional and historical ones (<http://www.gus.pl>; <http://www.mkidn.gov.pl>).

Nevertheless, as revealed by a recent inspection by the Supreme Chamber of Control, museums in Poland are not in a good shape. The most commonly encountered problems concern poor security and storage of museum collections, failures in conservation and protection of collections and incompatibilities in safety legislation. The current state of Polish museums, in particular the unsatisfactory protection of their collections, is the result of years of neglect and organisational inefficiency. Archaeological museums are no longer government-financed bodies but work within the structures of regional government, towns and cities and their poor state has nothing to do with the current global economic crisis.

Besides their statutory activities, most archaeological museums also participate in commercial archaeological projects that can partly improve their financial situation. Since they usually have professional staff, financial resources and in particular are in possession of storage facilities, they are able to create consortia with private or semi-private archaeological companies and other archaeological institutions. This solution was for many years implemented by the Archaeological Museum in Kraków, participating in the consortium *Krakowski Zespół do Bada Autostrad* with the Institute of Archaeology at the Jagiellonian University and the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Science in Kraków. The income generated from those activities was invested in a new publication series, in upgrading scientific equipment and in a significant renovation of the museum buildings. This successful co-operation generated a considerable increase of the museum budget, and yet, paradoxically perhaps, it also resulted a cut to the basic state subsidy of PLN 650,000. Thus, at present, when income is not longer being generated from preventive excavations, the Museum cannot rely on the official subsidies to cover its deficit, and is consequently in poor economic shape (cf. <http://www.ma.krakow.pl/muzeum/sf>). A similar initiative has also been taken by the Archaeological and Historical Museum in Głogów (<http://www.glogow.pl/mah/>). Besides undertaking archaeological watching briefs, this museum also participated in preventive excavations prior to the construction of the S3 and S8 expressways in a consortium with two private companies – *AKME* and *PKZ-Poznań*. The income generated was invested by the museum in the construction of a storehouse (Gańska-Kiarszys, Kiarszys 2010).

4 Final remarks

Monitoring the impact of the global economic crisis on the condition of Polish archaeology is made difficult by the lack of systematic quantitative data, as well as the complicated structural and organisational landscape of institutions responsible for heritage protection. It is clear, however, that the impact of the global economic crisis on archaeology in Poland has not been as significant as in other European countries and worldwide. Its effects upon the commercial sector have been considerably mitigated by the large number of ongoing highway and expressway projects for the forthcoming Euro 2012, as well as the relatively good state of the housing construction sector and the real estate market. Moreover, EU grants and subsidies have increasingly become an alternative source of financing for archaeological projects and research.

Clear symptoms of the crisis can be seen only in preventive and rescue archaeology, as variously undertaken across Poland by a range of private archaeological firms and commercial units. The ways that the sector is structured, the lack of

quality control, the dominance of private companies, the poor ethical standards in evidence, the time constraints imposed by the developers, and the increasingly low budgets available for archaeological work make it impossible to maintain high academic standards on large-scale excavations with preventive archaeological methodologies. This refers in particular to the excavation of certain categories of sites, such as inhumation cemeteries and complex settlement structures.

In comparison with the situation at the end of the 1990s and the early years of this decade, today's budgetary constraints on rescue archaeology impose the need for a fast excavation process which clearly favours small private companies and may lead to their absolute domination over the rescue archaeology sector in the near future. Academic archaeology would have no choice but to accept that a major part of field archaeological activities will soon find itself beyond their reach. And it is exactly this sector of activities that produces a vast body of archaeological material, which needs to be systematically studied, published and properly stored in the years to come.

In these times of global economic crisis, Polish archaeology sees considerable financial benefits from preventive excavations and from the increasing support of EU institutions, and yet it remains mired in a permanent structural crisis. This is caused by a number of intertwined factors such as (1) the malfunctioning system of archaeological heritage management and protection; (2) the lack of a professional institution in charge of setting up, controlling and enforcing standards of preventive archaeological research in the country; (3) the inefficient public procurement law and free-market regulations, which lead to the lowering of the standards and quality of archaeological works; and (4) the imprecise laws relating to the protection of cultural heritage. Perhaps the most alarming effects of the crisis in Polish archaeology relates to the dramatic decrease in the quality of preventive and rescue works due to adoption of the most liberal solutions in which only profits come to the fore. This is further worsened by a structural inefficiency of various bodies in charge of setting standards and coordinating control over preventive and rescue archaeological work.

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11. The impact of the economic crisis on rescue archaeology in Russia

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1 A brief historical overview of rescue archaeology in Russia

The history of rescue or preventive archaeology in Russia goes back to the end of the nineteenth century. In tsarist times, construction works were occasionally accompanied by archaeological surveillance, but there was no system for protecting the archaeological heritage as such. The system of rescue archaeological works began to develop in the Soviet Union in the late 1920, with the implementation of large-scale industrial projects. In October 1932 the ‘Special committee for surveillance at new construction sites’ was created within the framework of the State Academy for Material Culture (GAIMK). This was the starting point for rescue archaeology as a system for protecting archaeological sites.

In 1932 the State Commission of the Council of People’s Commissars sent a letter to all “construction, research and planning organisations and to the department of water resources”, stressing the importance of rescue archaeological works and their funding from construction budgets. In the period from 1932 to 1935, some 10 to 15 archaeological expeditions operated within the framework of the Committee, and the territory of their work included, besides central Russia, the Caucasus, Middle Asia and Siberia. Among the major infrastructure projects of that time which were preceded by archaeological rescue investigations were the Moskva-Volga and the Volga-Don canals (Fig.1), the Moscow metro and the railways in the South Urals. The results of some of these rescue projects have been published.

Fig. 1. The beginnings of rescue archaeology works in Russia. The Moskva-Volga canal in the 1930.



In 1937 the State Academy for the History of Material Culture was incorporated within the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In the years between the 1940 and the 1960 most archaeological rescue works was conducted by the Academy of Science on large-scale construction sites for hydroelectric power stations (e.g. Kuibyshev, Stalingrad, Tsimlyanskaya, Krasnoyarsk), during infrastructure development and other construction programmes.

The 1970's saw a rapid increase in the amount of rescue work carried out, and specialists from Moscow and Leningrad scientific institutions, as well as employees of regional research centres, university institutes, museum and heritage protection bodies were called to take part in the rescue archaeological works at the new construction sites.

According to statistical data, rescue archaeology works conducted by the Academy of Sciences between the 1960's and the first half of the 1980's represented about one half of the total amount of excavations. The rest was carried out by university institutes and museums.

2 The licensing system for archaeological works

It is worth noting that pre-revolutionary Russia already had institutions designated by the state for regulating field work and ensuring that it was conducted in accordance with existing norms. To undertake archaeological work, it was necessary to have received a special excavation licence. This tradition was maintained after the 1917 revolution and has continued to the present. From 1937, the Academy of Sciences became the body responsible for regulating archaeological works. 1946 saw the creation of the Field Investigations Committee, headed by academician A.V. Artsikhovskiy: the Committee's main task was to regulate field archaeological activities throughout the Russian territory, first and foremost through the delivery of licences for survey and excavations.

Nowadays, the body responsible for these regulations is the Scientific and expert committee of the Department of field investigations within the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Science (IA-RAS). This expert committee is composed of archaeologists representing the major archaeological organisations in the country (the Academy of Sciences, the museums and the universities). The licences it provides relate to, and give the right to conduct, a range of archaeological operations. There are four distinct types of these licences, called forms: Form N°1 – for research excavations; Form N°2 – for archaeological survey work; Form N°3 – for surface survey only (issued for preliminary fieldwork); and Form N°4 – for rescue excavations at endangered sites. Among other things, this centralised licensing system makes it possible to obtain information on both the quality and the quantity of the field investigations carried out across Russia. This information is analysed here, and makes it possible to appreciate the situation of rescue archaeology in the current period of economic crisis.

3 Economic changes in the early 1990

The situation of rescue archaeology changed in line with much broader developments which occurred at the beginnings of the 1990. The amount of construction works, and consequently of rescue archaeology work, decreased sharply due

to the economic and political crisis in the country (Fig. 2). The situation improved to a certain extent by the end of the 1990's, when economic growth and new building projects led to an increase in the amount of rescue archaeology work. In the period from 1990 to 2000, the main areas of rescue archaeology in Russia have been the following:

- Excavations and survey in historical towns and settlements (following active construction works);
- Works at major infrastructure and industrial sites (roads, gas and oil pipelines, gas depots and chemical weapons storage facilities);
- Surveying works prior to the sale and private ownership of land.

With improvements in the methods of survey and excavation used, archaeological planning has been carried out more efficiently, bearing on all aspects of construction projects related to archaeological heritage protection.

Fig. 2. Trends in issuing archaeological licenses, 1994-2009.

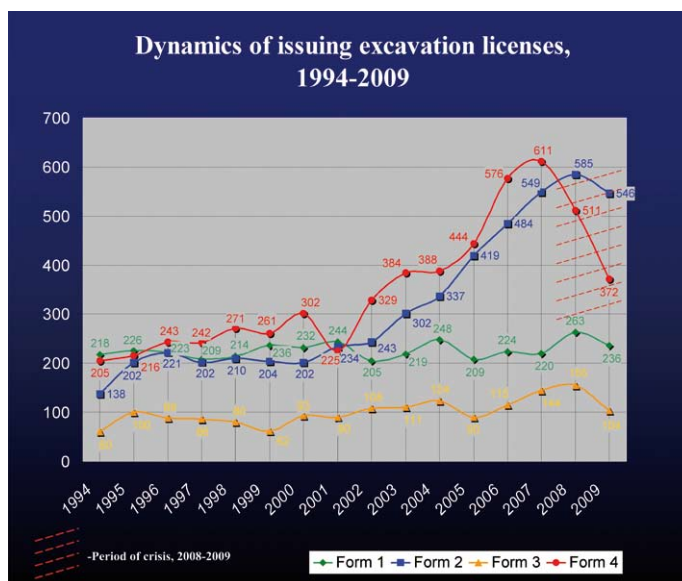
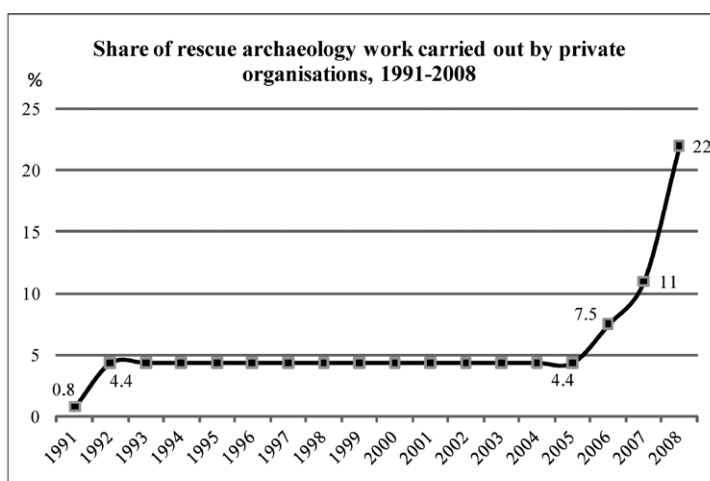


Fig. 3. Proportion of rescue archaeology projects carried out by private organisations, 1991-2008.



The economic changes in the late 1990 saw the growth of the private sector in many areas, including archaeology. This meant that between 1992 and 2006 the percentage of private firms involved in fieldwork grew from 0.8% to 4.4% when compared with the years from 1985-1991 (Fig. 3). However, subsequent economic crises and the need to economise on public funds, have stimulated in part the

further growth of private firms in archaeology. A major factor, also visible across other sectors, has been the various tax deductions and exemptions which are accorded to small, privately owned businesses – and not to public bodies.

4 The economic crisis of 1998

In August 1998 Russia experienced a deep economic crisis. It should be noted, however, that the impact of the crisis on the number of excavation licenses issued that year was virtually nil, since by August practically all the field projects had been completed. The number of rescue excavations was slightly reduced in 1999, with the impact actually being felt two years later, in 2001, following a recession in the construction industry (Fig. 2).

As the country overcame the economic crisis of 1998, a boom in the construction industry brought about an increase in the number of rescue excavations. Trends in issuing excavation licenses provide a clear illustration of these ongoing changes (Fig.2).

From the year 2000 onwards, the number of licenses granted for rescue excavations sharply increased. This increase is particularly spectacular for the years 2006-2008, which show that around three quarters of all archaeological works throughout the country were rescue excavations.

However, the level of economic development is not the only factor that influences the regional intensity of rescue excavations across Russia. Among the regions with the highest amount of rescue excavations are: Moscow, Tver, Rostov, Nizhny Novgorod, Irkutsk, Krasnodar krai, and the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous district (Fig. 4).

In 2007, applications for archaeological licenses under Form N°2 (survey work in areas scheduled for construction) and Form N°4 (rescue excavations) were respectively 80 and 48 in the Tver region, 79 and 54 in the Rostov region, 60 and 35 in the Khanty-Mansijsk autonomous district, 27 and 30 in the Moscow region, and 55 and 39 in the Krasnodar krai.

Fig. 4. Map of the constituent entities (regions) of the Russian Federation with the largest number of licenses for rescue archaeology projects, 2007.



How can we interpret this list of regions with the highest number of licenses for rescue archaeology projects? There are in fact two factors that influence the quantity of rescue investigations carried out in a given region. One is the efficiency and professionalism of the archaeological protection authorities, and the other is the general level of economic development in the region. Experience shows us that it is the former factor, the activity of the heritage protection authorities, that is the decisive one. For example, the number of rescue projects in Tver region, which is not even included among the top 20 areas in terms of economic development, exceeds the number of rescue excavations undertaken in St. Petersburg and Kaluga region, where the pace of development is much quicker.

5 The current economic crisis: 2008 -2009

Changes in the numbers of archaeological licenses issued for rescue works clearly show that the number of investigations has decreased in the wake of the economic crisis.

In 2007, the licenses issued under Form N°4 (for rescue excavations at sites threatened by construction work or sites in extreme state of disrepair) numbered 611. By 2009, the number was 372, a decrease of 40%. Regarding licenses under Form N°2 (for surveys and small-scale excavations, up to 20 square metres, for exploratory purposes), the drop was less marked and amounted to 7% (from 585 in 2007 to 546 in 2008). The proportions of different types of rescue works also changed. In 2007, there were 10% (62) less survey projects (Form N°2) than excavation works (Form N°4), whereas in 2009 the number of survey projects (546 cases) was a good 32% higher than the number of rescue excavations (372 cases).

From this, the influence of the current economic crisis on Russian rescue archaeology can be identified in several areas.

First of all, there has been a *decrease in the total amount* of construction, especially noticeable in the building sector in the centre of historic towns. Since 2008, less rescue work was carried out in such major historical towns as Moscow, Kazan, Vladimir, Novgorod or Smolensk. The decrease was particularly noticeable in the construction projects undertaken by *private companies*. Less marked was the decline in the work connected with urban infrastructure funded by federal or regional budgets, such as the building and maintenance of communications networks and of roads. In these types of construction sites, rescue excavations in historical towns still continue.

Recently, a certain increase in the number of urban rescue excavations can be related to the reconstruction of churches and monasteries. Through a Ministry of Culture program involving private investors, the state has been actively supporting the repair of these religious edifices, and the work is preceded by rescue excavations. Examples of this expanding type of work can be noted with the excavations at the Convent of the Immaculate Conception (Zachatyevsky) in Moscow and at the monastery of New Jerusalem in the Moscow region.

The economic crisis has had a more limited effect on construction projects involving roads, gas pipelines and electric power lines. This is because most infrastructure construction projects in Russia are financed from of the state budget, or by organisations that are connected to state funding. As in the crisis of 1998-2000, the state is actively investing in new roads, oil pipelines, etc., and these projects provide for site protection, including archaeological survey and rescue excavation.

That is why the total number of rescue projects in 2008-2009 remained practically at the pre-crisis level (Fig. 2). However, unlike the relative stability of rescue work on gas and oil pipeline projects, the economic crisis has had a heavier impact on road building. Since this sector requires considerable investment, the number of road construction projects has decreased markedly, and with it the amount of rescue excavation. These are effectively limited to projects which had secured their funding prior to the crisis (such as the Moscow-St. Petersburg highway).

6 Conclusions – some effects of the crisis

In addition to the above areas, the impact of the crisis can also be felt at the legislative level. Indeed there have been lobbying attempts in the State Duma (parliament) to amend the Law on Cultural Heritage Sites (Federal Law N° 73), so as to discontinue the existing requirement for archaeological evaluations on land scheduled for construction. For the time being, however, these attempts have not been successful.

As already mentioned one of the measures taken by the state in order to overcome the crisis is the provision of considerable tax exemptions for private businesses. These exemptions apply also to small private archaeological companies, which have consequently increased in numbers. The procedure for opening such a company and obtaining a license is actually a simple one, since the company only needs to sign a contract with a professional archaeologist. This factor is connected quite clearly with the crisis, since lower contract prices make it possible to save money on taxes. By contrast, large-scale organisations dealing with archaeology, such as museums, higher education institutions and the Academy of Sciences, do not benefit from such tax exemptions.

As a move to improve the situation regarding these taxation disparities for state institutions, in May 2010 archaeologists in the Academy of Sciences submitted a suggestion to the State Duma to lower VAT rates for rescue excavations. This proposition is currently under consideration.

Another effect of the crisis concerns the level of post-excavation processing and studies of archaeological finds, which have also decreased. During the last year, the results of far fewer rescue archaeological excavations have been published than previously.

Finally, it is noteworthy that, even during the current crisis, large-scale state construction sites continue to receive funding: this is the case with the site of the Sochi Winter Olympic games in 2014, with some major hydropower structures (Boguchanskaya hydroelectric power plant), and with gas infrastructure sites. These major state-funded projects have to some extent reduced the negative impact of the crisis on rescue archaeology. Nonetheless, as was the case during the crisis of 1998, this impact is still very noticeable, and it is expected that rescue archaeology will continue to feel the consequences of economic problems for at least two or three more years before it recovers.

12. The effect of the global recession on cultural resources management in the United States

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1 Introduction

Ask anyone in the United States and they will tell you that 2009 was a tough year. The effects of the global recession cut a broad swathe across all regions and industries. The heritage industry, or as it is known in the States, cultural resource management (CRM), suffered along with others. How badly CRM was affected by the recession will not be known for some time. Yet, while there is no doubt that the industry suffered in 2009 and will continue to do so at least through 2010, the effects of the recession have not been equally distributed. Some consultants have weathered the economic storm better than others. Why this disparity occurred and what it tells us about the near future of CRM is the subject of this paper.

2 Before the fall

There are few measures of the economic effect of the recession on CRM in the United States. The two major reports on federal agency spending on CRM—the Secretary of Interior’s (SOI’s) report on the Federal Archeology Program (<http://www.nps.gov/archeology/src/index.htm>) and the Department of Defense’s (DoD’s) annual report on environmental programs (https://www.denix.osd.mil/portal/page/portal/ARC/ARCFY2008/05_FY08DEPARC_App_C_Conservation_Budget_final.pdf)—only have data on CRM spending through fiscal year (FY) 2008 (October 1, 2007–September 30, 2008). These reports only capture a portion of federal spending on CRM, although the congressional allocations to the agencies in the reports appear to parallel general trends in federal CRM allocations (Frank McManamon, personal communication 2010). Table 1 presents the total estimated funds appropriated by Congress to an agency reporting in the SOI report (Question I01 from the 2008 National Park Service Archaeology Program questionnaire to agencies) as well as data from Appendix C of DoD’s annual environmental report on nonrecurring CRM expenses by the military services and other DoD agencies. Data from the Federal Archeology Program indicate that after relative stability in federal spending on CRM during the middle of the decade (2003–2005), there has been a doubling of federal CRM spending over the four years from 2005 to 2008. In contrast, the DoD report shows that although nonrecurring costs, or one-time allocations, such as archaeological or architectural inventories for particular undertakings, were relatively stable between 2004 and 2006, they were quite volatile over the next two years. In 2007, DoD funding for CRM increased by 17%, whereas in 2008, there was a 31% decrease, returning CRM funding to the 2003 level.

Together, the two federal reports indicate an increase of about 33 percent in federal funding for CRM between 2003 and 2008. At the start of the recession, therefore, federal spending on CRM was as strong as it had ever been. Using a variety of sources, Altschul and Patterson (2010:297) estimate total public sec-

tor spending on CRM and academic archaeological research for 2008 to have been between about \$450 and \$500 million. Private sector spending in 2008 was equally strong, leading Altschul and Patterson to estimate total expenditures on CRM and academic archaeological research in the United States to be between about \$700 million and \$1 billion.

Table 1. Reported Federal CRM Funding, 2003–2008.

Year	Federal Archaeology Program (FAP) (\$ in millions)	Defense Environmental Programs (nonrecurring costs) (\$ in millions)	Combined FAP and DoD (\$ in millions)
2003	47.5	40.2	87.7
2004	44.5	50.4	94.9
2005	42.1	53.3	95.4
2006	76.5	48.7	125.2
2007	66.5	58.1	124.6
2008	90.2	40.2	130.4

3 What happened?

At the outset of 2009, the effects of the recession were beginning to be felt. Consulting firms that relied heavily on real estate development—particularly in areas that had been witnessing large increases in residential construction fueled in part by subprime mortgages, such as California, Arizona, and Florida—suffered first, several going out of business or being purchased by larger competitors. These strains, however, tended to be regional, and it was not clear whether the recession would overtake the entire industry. The passage of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) in February 2009 led some to speculate on the listserv of the American Cultural Resources Association (ACRA) that the recession might actually be good for business. ARRA included funds earmarked specifically for CRM and archaeology, spread among agencies as diverse as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Federal Highway Administration, Forest Service, and National Science Foundation.

By the third quarter of 2009, it was clear that CRM would not be spared the full brunt of the recession. Private spending on CRM had slowed in all sectors but energy (more on energy below). Defense spending remained relatively strong, but the other pillar of public CRM spending, transportation, was surprisingly weak. Altschul and Patterson (2010:294) estimated that CRM spending on transportation-related projects in 2008 averaged between \$4 and \$5 million per state, for a national estimate of between \$200 and \$250 million. There was nothing in the 2009 federal budget to suggest that this level of spending would slow. In fact, ARRA increased funding for “shovel ready” projects, some of which would include a CRM component.

What many had not anticipated was the effect that declining state revenues would have on transportation projects. Generally, transportation improvements are funded through a cost-sharing arrangement between the federal government and state governments in which the former pays for 80% of project costs and

the latter for 20%. Unable to fund their match, some states chose not to move forward on planned projects. Another factor, unrelated to the recession, was that the Surface Highway Transportation Act had expired in 2008. As debate over a new bill continued through 2009 and into 2010, federal funding for transportation-related improvements was accomplished through Congressional continuing resolution. While federal funding has remained relatively strong, many states have been wary of initiating major, multiyear transportation projects without the assurance that the federal portion of the funding for such projects is secure. The consequence is that many of the large, complicated projects that have substantial CRM components are stalled.

It may have been possible for the CRM industry to better endure the financial turmoil of 2009 if the promised stimulus spending had materialised. Although some contracts funded by ARRA were awarded, many of these got off to slow starts, and presumably, there are still many more contracts to come. By some estimates, as of the end of the first quarter of 2010, 70 percent of ARRA funds have still not been spent.

A devastated real estate market, weak transportation spending, and a slow start on ARRA work combined to make 2009 a very difficult year for CRM. ACRA surveys of member and nonmember companies in March 2009 (<http://acra-crm.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=126>) and September 2009 (<http://acra-crm.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=127>) document high levels of anxiety and financial trouble among CRM consultants (Table 2).

But it is not only consultants that have suffered. As tax revenues declined, many states required state employees in CRM and archaeology at universities, museums, parks, agencies, the State Historic Preservation Office, and so forth to take furloughs; nonessential positions were eliminated. The effects trickled down to tribes, counties, and municipalities. Few jurisdictions have not felt the effects of the recession in some form.

Table 2. ACRA's Effects of the Economy Surveys, March 2009–March 2010.

Date	Number of respondents	Economic Assessment of Corporate Performance in Past Six Months ¹ (%)					Helped by ARRA ² (%)	Future Expectation of Corporate Performance (%)			
		Sign Dec	Slight Dec	Same	Slight Improv	Sign Improv		Improv	Decline	Same	Don't Know
March 2009	183	36.7	32.2	14.7	10.2	6.2	60.8	23.5	38.0	25.7	12.8
September 2009	110	35.1	11.3	22.2	19.4	12.0	48.1	25.9	30.6	34.3	9.2
March 2010	89	29.2	14.6	28.1	20.2	7.9	50.5	31.5	28.1	31.5	9.0

Key: Sign Dec = Significant Decline; Slight Dec = Slight Decline; Same = Same; Slight Improv = Slight Improvement; Sign Improv = Significant Improvement; Improv = Improvement.

1. Surveys of ACRA member companies and nonmember companies were combined for March and September 2009 (these were combined in the March 2010 survey). The percentages were recalculated to eliminate responses of "don't know."

2. The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) was passed in February 2009. The March 2009 question asked whether firms expected to receive ARRA contracts directly or indirectly, whereas the September 2009 and March 2010 asked if respondents had received such contracts.

4 Through a glass, darkly

To some in the CRM industry, it seemed that the end of 2009 brought a bottom to the recession. The March 2010 ACRA survey (<http://acra-crm.org/associations/9221/files/ACRA%20Effects%20of%20the%20Economy%20Results%2C%2005-05-10.pdf>)

indicates that consultants are suffering less and anticipating increasing workloads in 2010. For the most part, government layoffs and furloughs have abated. Although few are hiring, hopeful signs have emerged. First, ARRA funds have started to flow, even if there are fewer contracts with CRM elements than anticipated. Second, private sector funding of CRM has begun to increase, particularly in the energy sector. Large numbers of CRM projects are being performed in support of “old” (oil, gas, uranium, and other sources pumped or mined from the ground) and “new” (solar, wind, and other passive systems) energy projects. Many of these projects are on public lands in the western United States, but other areas, such as Louisiana and Texas, are witnessing an increase in pipeline installation and other energy-related activities as well. Third, state departments of transportation have begun to initiate projects. Some of these projects are funded with ARRA support, but others are large projects that have been in the planning stages for some time.

Although workloads have increased, employment still lags. Instead of hiring, consultants and state agencies are asking existing staff to work harder and longer. Concerns linger that the increase in CRM activity will not last into 2011. ARRA will expire in February 2011, although unspent funds will probably continue to support work throughout at least FY 2011. With elections looming, the likelihood that a transportation bill will be enacted is questionable, and without it the security of transportation-related CRM activities is in doubt. Yet there is only so much work consultants and state, tribal, and municipal agencies can do with their existing staff. In the short term, many will hire additional staff. Whether these individuals are short-term employees or permanent staff is a question no one seems to be able to answer.

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13. Postscript: on dead canaries, guinea-pigs and other Trojan horses

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Archaeologists, it was recalled at the onset of this volume, are professionally quite familiar with the numerous crises and disasters to have struck humanity in the course of its history. Let us then imagine that the current economic crisis is akin to some medieval plague or such pandemic, and wonder what, *mutatis mutandis*, would be the patterns and processes that afflicts the archaeological profession and its practitioners, and with them archaeological research and heritage management more generally? Does the outbreak strike indiscriminately, left and right, or are there factors that encourage or hinder its spread? Are all victims similarly affected, or do some prove more vulnerable or resilient than others? What of incubation periods, delayed reactions, recurrent fevers? And once the malady over, are the prospects of full recovery everywhere equal in their scale and timing? Will the convalescents face sequels, parasites, secondary infections, or will they be tempered and strengthened by the ordeal? Last but not least, will they be able to find their place and flourish, to regain – and indeed to renew or actually to reinvent – their patrimonial and scientific vocation as well as their wider relevance to society at large?

There is of course no question of proposing upon this medical metaphor anything like a complete or formal diagnosis. The scenarios or conjectures tentatively advanced here – of which some will no doubt (it is hoped) prove overly pessimistic – can likewise hardly count as a reliable prognosis, and even less as possible remedies. For one, the crisis as a syndrome and a collective representation is still very much with us, with changing intensities, multiple scales, mixed signals, double dips and side effects that are all superimposed and at times enmeshed within other ongoing social, economic and political processes. Next, we are all well aware that the initial conditions for archaeological research and heritage management vary considerably from country to country, let alone between continents, in the light of different traditions of governance, ideological predispositions, economic patterns, planning procedures, legislative frameworks, monitoring practices, academic norms, professional standards, social expectations and the like (see some recent overviews in Bozoki-Ernyey 2007, D’Andrea & Guermandi 2008, Demoule 2007, Kristiansen 2009, Ould Mohamed Naffé et al. 2008, Willems & Van den Dries 2007). Lastly, at quite a different level, the information available to us on the effects of the crisis is at best incomplete. The contributors have not all been equally attentive to the identified impact-areas, and the data accessible to them have been variable. In comparison with the information available for the United Kingdom (on employment and higher education), for Russia, Ireland or Spain (on archaeological permits and structures) and especially for the Netherlands (on just about everything), it is clear that in other countries ministries, state agencies or independent bodies have much to catch up in terms of gathering and making available relevant information. Upon all this, this postscript can really do little more than draw on the contributions assembled here to propose some comparisons and provoke some reflections on the multiple impacts of the crisis on archaeology.

1 Employment in crisis: canaries and guinea-pigs

The area where the pattern appears most contrasted is undoubtedly that of employment in what we have called Malta archaeology. The westernmost fringes of Europe, specifically the United Kingdom and to a different degree Ireland, have been the hardest hit. The reduction of developers' demand for archaeological work in the United Kingdom has not only lead several commercial units to the brink of bankruptcy – hence the pertinent advice reproduced here in annex II – but also left several hundred archaeologists out of job, from early on and across the board (Aitchison, Sinclair, Thomas, this volume). Indeed so distinctive has been this syndrome that archaeologists there have unwittingly gained another, unwelcome claim to fame. Alongside the 'Lipstick index', whereby the increased purchase of cheap 'feel-good' cosmetics compensates for now unaffordable shoes or clothes, economists have introduced the 'Archaeology index' for spotting a recession. Geoffrey Dicks, analyst at the Royal Bank of Scotland (an institution, incidentally, whose own contribution to the financial crisis is notorious) explained to the Mail on Sunday (18.05.2008, see http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/investing-and-markets/article.html?in_article_id=441790&in_page_id=3): "One unusual indicator of an economic slowdown is the employment, or otherwise, of archaeologists. When new ground is broken for a building development, the archaeologists are usually allowed in first, to rescue any important fragments. With little new ground being broken, demand for archaeologists is falling". Falling so fast and hard that a BBC item entitled 'recession leaves history in the dark' (20.02.2009, see http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/england/7899938.stm) had no qualms to dub archaeology "a 'canary' trade, one which – like the canaries warning of dangerous gas in mining history – dies at the first sign of trouble in the air".

This noxious state of affairs is to a certain extent reproduced in Ireland, where, admittedly in conjunction with other factors¹, the number of archaeologists employed in the commercial sector has fallen by an astounding 80% since 2007 (Eogan, this volume). The trend is also perceptible in the United States, where by 2009 job positions deemed non-essential have been by and large eliminated from cultural resource management consultants, and also from state agencies, including universities, museums and parks (Altschul, this volume). Such painful contractions appear however relatively localised, and relate to the distinctive organisation, scale and employment practices of the archaeological business in the countries concerned. Although reliable data are not yet available, also Spain can expect a rise in archaeological redundancies and bankruptcies given the near-collapse of the particularly overheated construction sector (Parga-Dans, this volume). There are nevertheless indications that the regional governments, with their public-works developments and their budgetary time-scales, will provide a sufficient buffer for commercial archaeological companies. Otherwise complex is the situation in Poland, where the effects of the global crisis have actually been quite mild, and further mitigated by the influx of EU funding for major infrastructure programmes (Marciniak & Pawleta, this volume). Nevertheless, structural flaws in the current archaeological management system encourage the proliferation of small commercial firms which cannot ensure stable and rewarding employment for many Polish archaeologists, including those returning back home from dwindling opportunities in Ireland and the United Kingdom. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, while a couple of companies have ceased trading, it seems for various structural

reasons that archaeology is set to remain a growing sector with viable employment prospects (van den Dries, Waugh & Bakker, this volume). Employment also appears to be less of an issue in many other countries, notably those with long-term or specifically launched infrastructural investments, such as, in this volume, Russia or France.

In France too, as it happens, archaeologists and their employment have been spotlighted by the crisis – not however as canaries, harbinger to the recession, but rather as guinea-pigs, testing out a brand new form of employment contract. To the existing two types of public sector contracts (permanent and short-term) has been added an ‘activity’ contract, whose duration – an innovation for the public sector – follows that of the operation or project to which the employee is assigned, and can therefore be extended (up to five years) but also terminated (within a fortnight or so) in function of this unfolding project (see Schlanger & Salas Rossenbach, this volume). This experimental contract was introduced within the relaunch ‘acceleration’ laws, on the premise that the projected infrastructure developments will generate further archaeological work, and that this more flexible, off-ceiling mode of employment will enhance the reactivity and reduce the delays of the main public operator, INRAP. Whatever the case, this new ‘activity’ contract is set to be generalised after its archaeological trial-testing across the French public sector, which is currently being reformed and modernised as we know.

2 Economies of / in knowledge?

Job losses due to the global economic crisis (or rather to the different propensities of the systems afflicted) are of course hard to bear at an individual level. Of greater concern to us however are the overwhelmingly negative repercussions of these losses on the profession as a whole, including the practice, standards and aims of archaeological research and heritage management.

To begin with, those made redundant include a number of fairly specialised archaeologists – be they experts in phytolith analysis, in aerial photography interpretation, or in late samian terra sigillata – whose full employment (as well as the full deployment and productivity of their knowledge) depends on a certain scale and turnover of data-generating archaeological activities. If dispensed with, their hard-earned expertise will prove difficult if not impossible to recover: it will in any case barely be compensated by the admittedly cheaper expedient of dispatching plastic bags or soil samples to some ‘cottage-industry’ experts, often isolated, far from relevant reference collections and without much time and incentive for research and publications. At the other end of the scale, there may well be a similar price to pay for the cohorts of field-workers and technicians shed by archaeological operators. Unless adequate measures are taken, there is a risk that with them will also go a range of practical know-how and tacit knowledge – be it in terms of operational nous for on-site interventions, or with regards to desk-based and post-excavation skills such as small finds handling and inventories. Standardised context-sheets and computerised recording systems are well and good, but we all know how indispensable it is to maintain some concerted personal implication all along the archaeological process, from the initial evaluation and research design, through data-recovery, analysis and interpretation, to publication, conservation and public outreach.

Together with that, also those who remain in employment will not be left unscathed by the multiple impacts of the crisis. Again, increased workloads or worsened employment conditions are not the prime issue here, as much as the likely changes, however insidious or imperceptible at first, in the very conception of archaeology as a profession and as a vocation. In France, for example, the newly introduced ‘activity’ contract risks contributing to the further fragmentation of the archaeological process. Apart from mandatory site reports, beneficiaries of such contracts will have little opportunities for research or training, let alone publications, exhibitions and the like. Similarly, the restriction of these new contracts to the excavations phase will correspondingly channel other contract-holders towards diagnostic operations. The scientific and logistical costs resulting from this segmentation will satisfy no one, except perhaps those bent on confining the public operator to the less rewarding role of diagnosticians so as to fully ‘free’ excavations for the commercial market. Still, whether these particular risks materialise or not, the situation is probably worst under systems where the conception of Malta archaeology as a public service is de facto overrun by the self-regulating competitive model (see Demoule this volume). Since this competition is quintessentially played out in the financial fields of costs and profits, it is quite clear that – unless steps are proactively taken to counter this – any crisis-induced reductions in time and resources will only mean further concessions on the quality of the work undertaken, its contribution to knowledge and its benefit to society.

A marked decline in the quality of Malta archaeology is already perceptible in Poland (Marciniak & Pawleta, this volume): due to tighter delays and smaller tenders, less analyses are being commissioned, archaeological documentation is produced to lower standards and occasionally also fiddled with, while post-excavation studies and publications are left to dwindle. Admittedly, the situation there is exacerbated by the current failure of controlling provisions, but similar concerns over quality maintenance are expressed in other countries, be it in Russia, with the rise of tax-aided private operators and the reduction in the numbers of reports produced (Engovatova, this volume), in France, where ‘accelerated’ delays for completing excavations may well incite some operators to last-ditch compromises (Schlanger & Salas Rossenbach, this volume), and also in Hungary, where the devolution of preventive excavations from the abruptly dissolved state operator to the regional museums will also impact on the quality of the work produced (Bánffy & Raczky, this volume). It might be worth recalling at this juncture that high quality work, that is work that represents real value for money in the full sense of the term and for all concerned, is not only in the professional interest of all practicing archaeologists, but also part of their deontological commitments. The European Association of Archaeologists’ ‘Principles of conduct for archaeologists involved in contract archaeological work’, for example, specifically call on archaeologists to ensure that they understand their roles and responsibilities, that they only undertake work for which they and their organisations are suitably equipped, staffed or experienced, that they adhere to relevant laws and ethical standards regarding competition between archaeological organisations, and indeed that they resist the tendency of the contract system towards fragmentation and act to maintain the academic coherence of archaeology (see inter alia articles 3, 5, 8, 11 of the EAA Principles of conduct, <http://www.e-a-a.org/eaacodes.htm>).

This last point leads us to a further impact area of the crisis – relating to archaeology in research institutions and universities. As in previous cases, the issue here is not simply that academic and Malta archaeologies are increasingly drift-

ing apart, or that masses of fieldwork data become so rapidly worthless for lack of proper analysis and publications. To be sure, these longstanding problems are exacerbated by the current recession, as when cash-strapped operators are increasingly tempted to skip or trim down costly publications which their clients neither read nor value, or when employees in heritage management institutions are permitted to pursue their teaching and research activities only at their own expense and time. The novelty this time is that the troubles span established divides, so that also the once ‘poor but care-free’ academics now end up poorer and downright miserable too. In its current version, the ‘knowledge economy’ is wont to be economical with its vocation, placing practical relevance and marketable success on par with the advancement of learning for the common good, and it is also summoned to economise on its essential undertakings of knowledge production and skill transmission. The practical renditions of these trends in archaeology are bound to be variable, and often delayed or diffused (see Schlanger 2010). In several countries the university and research sectors seem as yet unaffected by the recession, and in some instances student numbers are stable or growing – even if the rise is predicted to be temporary, pending increased tuition fees and decreasing employment prospects. In the United States, alongside an injection in research funding, several departments and museums have already reduced staff, mirroring the worrying decline in public education. Across the Atlantic, the imminent cuts in the United Kingdom promise to be of unprecedented severity for higher education and research (Sinclair, this volume). Quite revealing in this respect is the quandary facing university based archaeological units. While some continue to successfully combine profit- and knowledge-making, others falter between Scylla and Charybdis: with the crisis, their standards of research and publication proves to be a financial handicap in the ruthless commercial market, but still fail to become a scientific asset for the ever more stringent criteria of university recognition and research assessment outputs. Meanwhile in the universities themselves, social and political pressures are mounting to teach useful things, including vocational or at least transferable skills. Logistical and managerial proficiencies in Malta archaeology are particularly in demand, even though, ironically enough, few university lecturers have actually any first hand experience of them – just as, for the matter, most directors of commercial units have only a faint recollection of what academic research is really all about.

3 The state gives and taketh – investments, legislations and a Faustian bargain

Much has been said on the state and its roles in the context of this global crisis, on John Maynard Keynes and his legacy, on the need to see a visible hand extended to intervene, to spend, to stimulate and kick start the economy back on track. There are of course also voices raising legitimate concerns over excessive spending and borrowing, giving precedence to austerity measures, cuts and deficit reductions – a depressive urge recently likened to some ritual sacrifice to pacify the gods of mammon (see <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/20/opinion/20krugman.html>). Be it as it may, so far as archaeology is concerned all indications (notably those gathered in this volume) concur that the discipline, its practitioners and its goals fare rather better when states invest in infrastructures and developments. Some of these investments have long been programmed and budgeted for, such as those related to the

2012 European football championship in Poland and Ukraine, or the 2014 winter Olympics in Russia. In other cases, in France, the Netherlands or Spain, infrastructure programmes have been specifically advanced and upgraded to help relaunch the economy, leading also to greater demands for archaeological evaluations and excavations, and ultimately to more knowledge and public benefits. Contrariwise, delays in the implementation of the Transportation bill in the United States, or the recent cuts in the Department of Transport budget in the United Kingdom, already have or are likely to have direct negative impacts on archaeology. This role of the state is of course nothing new: with their massive scale and long-term planning, centralised public works initiatives have been for over a century the motor of archaeological heritage management worldwide, including the first and second Aswan dams, the New Economic Plan in the Soviet Union, the Dutch Polders, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Mississippi Missouri River basin programme, to name but a few early landmarks (see Engovatova this volume, Brew 1961, Schlanger 2008, Demoule 2007 and references within).

What is however probably new and highly symptomatic of our current crisis is the fact that these encouragements and investment in infrastructure developments are accompanied by various legal modifications, regulations and organisational changes which, de facto, amount to a regression in the capacity of the state to exercise its regulatory functions. Either piecemeal or by design, the state's obligations to ensure adequate measures for monitoring and protecting the archaeological heritage under threat appear to be diluting or melting down in the blaze of the crisis – as a reminder, confer again the preamble, articles 2, 3, 5 etc, of the Malta 1992 European Convention for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Archeologie/default_en.asp). And while we are at it, see also the Florence 2000 European Landscape Convention (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/landscape/default_en.asp) and the Faroe 2005 Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/199.htm>).

Several such cases of such legal and institutional tinkering have been reported by the contributors to this volume. In Hungary, a proposed change in the legal definition of an archaeological site (which would effectively apply to and protect only a fraction of known archaeological occurrences) was meant to favour developers and investors in times of crisis. In the meantime, the outright dissolution of the Field service for cultural heritage by the newly elected right-wing government seems to put this initiative on hold. In Russia, various tax rebates have been proposed in time of crisis: these benefit private archaeological companies to the detriment of public operators such as universities and museums. Moreover, attempts are being made at the State parliament to curtail the law on cultural heritage sites, so as dispense altogether with the obligation to undertake archaeological evaluations on land scheduled for development. In Poland, a law passed in September 2008 (just before the crisis, then) requires that decisions on the location of highways be already linked to permission for their construction – a speeding up measure that reduces dramatically the time available for undertaking archaeological surveys and preventive excavations of any quality, in between the initial planning and beginning of construction itself.

Granted that each has their specific antecedents and dynamics, such instances of disengagement may be related to straightforward financial considerations over short term money making or saving, but also to some ideological repositioning regarding the role and responsibilities of the state. In the United Kingdom today, it

is rather the former motivation that dominates. The conservative-led government in place since May 2010 has already turned to cut funding for English Heritage, the national agency for the historic environment, and also initiated a review of its role and remit which could lead to its merger with other commissions and conservation bodies. Also at local government level funding is expected to be slashed, directly threatening posts of archaeological advisors and curators, and with them the provision of proper archaeological protection and management. In France, on the other hand, rather more than mere economies are at stakes: it almost seems as if a Faustian bargain is being pressed, whereby more resources and opportunities are made available provided that delays are shortened, operations accelerated, procedures lightened, controls lessened, compromises accepted, and more broadly that some curbs are put on the ‘henceforth excessive influence’ of preventive archaeology – or for the matter that of state architects regarding classified urban zones, or of environmental protection agencies regarding polluting installations. Some of the modifications recently enacted in France in these domains have really to do with the streamlining reforms of public policies being undertaken by the government in place. Both the crisis and the relaunch plan are sometimes expediently used as a smokescreen, a red herring, a Trojan horse to legislate measures that have not sufficiently benefited from political scrutiny and public debate, let alone from proper well informed analysis with regards to their efficiency and effects. In their neophytic neoliberal zeal to belittle rules and reduce state employment, some parliamentarians and administrators seem to behave as if heritage, history and culture had nothing to do with the identity and consolidation of the French nation-state, or, to give what might be a more clinching argument, as if heritage, history and culture were not the prime reason why over 50 million tourists chose to pass by every year, even in times of crisis.

4 Some concluding thoughts

To find in it a silver lining, the crisis has enabled us to hone somewhat our critical numerical skills, with all these whopping sums and figures so casually bandied about. Let us then recall that in countries such as France or the United Kingdom the yearly cost of reconciling the needs of scientific research, heritage and development – the cost of making Malta archaeology – is somewhere around 160 or 180 million Euros. This, we now know, is really but a mere fleck of dust in view of the budgets made available for stimulated infrastructure packages, or indeed when compared with the revenues already accumulated by some of our freshly bailed-out or nationalised banks. In the same vein, this sum probably amounts to a couple of boardrooms’ worth of fat-cat salaries, inclusive of welcome shares and golden handshakes, or a couple of star-studded football teams with the reserves included, to say nothing of a couple of bomb-laden Rafale combat jets – or indeed, to everyone their lame ducks, Eurofighters. More seriously, to venture a genuine solution for the years to come, the cost of archaeological research and heritage management in developed countries may well approximate something like 3 Pounds or 4 Euros per citizen per annum – the price of a tip that seems rather well worth paying for the nation state to take in hand its archaeological responsibilities for the common good.

This is of course a matter of choices, commitments and priorities, which call for social and political goodwill well beyond the confines of the discipline. The underlying standpoint behind this proposal is admittedly at odds with the trend,

initiated in Anglo-Saxon countries and until recently widely emulated, to have the cost of Malta archaeology spared from the public purse and shifted instead onto the unlucky developers, compelled to seek the provision of commercial archaeological services to satisfy planning permissions. This version of the ‘polluter-payer’ principle and its archaeological application could do with some reassessment in times of crisis. With regards to social and economic realities, it seems even more counterproductive now than ever to hamper or prohibit development plans only because their genuinely cash-strapped developers cannot afford the extra costs on behalf of the community as a whole. As for archaeological research and heritage management, the ambivalence and vulnerability of this model, despite its genuine qualities, becomes more apparent with regards to employment fluctuations, skills generation and maintenance, scientific outputs and public benefits. Among other things, it will be worth ensuring that the various voluntary codes and quality standards formulated under the market approach are not only adhered to by the practitioners concerned, but also that they gain sufficient weight and recognition out there, in the cutthroat world of commercial competition. Similarly for the state model (Demoule this volume, Kristiansen 2009) it will be necessary to reconsider the conditions that need to prevail for the state to adequately guarantee the scientific quality and public benefits of archaeology. The challenge is not simply to have the state follow Keynesian policies in times of crisis, so as to give a helping hand, directly or indirectly, to archaeology – it is also to ensure that the state retains its responsibilities and its role also in times of calm and prosperity.

A medieval plague, then, a litmus test, a prism, a Trojan horse as well, the global economic crisis as encountered all through the pages of this volume may yet prove to be also a source of introspection and even optimism. In the Netherlands, for example, the devolution of the implementation of the Malta Convention to local and municipal levels seems to be taken seriously and undertaken efficiently – setting a model for other countries where ‘decentralisation’ usually means the dumping of increased responsibilities on cash strapped and distracted local levels. Likewise in Ireland, prospects seem fairly bright for further collaborations between the academic and the commercial sectors in accessing and exploiting the archaeological data and heritage potential accumulated during the Celtic Tiger years. Paradoxically, and yet perfectly in tune with their own aims and principles, some contributors find consolation in the fact that the crisis has slowed down building works and contributed to the long-term *in situ* preservation of archaeological remains – others, with equal pertinence and sincerity, draw comfort from the fact that the crisis has necessitated stimulus packages which provide more opportunities for research and heritage enhancement. Whatever the case, since archaeology has been a canary trade, marking the onset of gloom, can we not expect and will it to be also a swallow heralding the springtime of recovery? After all, beyond economics, we have accumulated here and elsewhere enough indications to argue that archaeology is also a reliable indicator of cultural and social well being, reflected in the ways communities and stakeholders consider that the heritage of the past is a relevant asset, a source of knowledge and an opportunity for the future.

Notes

1. The exceptional job losses in Ireland need to be understood (as Eogan this volume explains) in the light of the major developments of the past 15 years, when the 'Celtic Tiger' economy undertook a long overdue upgrade of its communication and industrial infrastructures. Regardless of the crisis, the archaeology sector in Ireland was bound to regain more normal dimensions.

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ANNEX I

Job losses in UK archaeology – April 2010*

Report for the Institute for Archaeologists and the Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers

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IfA Head of Projects and Professional Development

19 July 2010

Executive Summary

The job-market in commercial archaeology remains volatile. There was a small increase in the number of individuals in work in the three months ending 31st March 2010, but this followed a decline in the previous quarter.

It is estimated that there was a total of 6233 individuals in UK archaeological employment on 1st April 2010. In August 2007, the total was 6865, and so archaeology as a whole is now 9% smaller than it was at that time. 3404 of the individuals in work on 1st April 2010 were working in commercial archaeology, a drop of 15.7% from the August 2007 peak of 4036.

Business confidence fell in April 2010, with companies feeling less confident in their capabilities to retain staff in the forthcoming quarter than they were three months before and markedly less positive about the outlook for the next year.

Companies continue to lose fieldworker skills.

Introduction

In January 2009, the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA), together with FAME (the Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers) responded to learning that the economic downturn was having serious effects on commercial archaeological practice by conducting a rapid survey of archaeological employers in order to gather statistical data on job losses and business confidence which could be used to support businesses and individual archaeologists.

This survey is the fifth repetition of the January 2009 exercise which has been repeated on a quarterly basis since that date. The reports on those earlier surveys are available on the IfA website at through the [Recession – managing and planning page](#).

The organisations that were approached represent the majority of employers working in commercial, client-funded archaeology.

Methodology

Archaeological employers that are either Registered Organisations with the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA) or members of the Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers (FAME) were sent a short questionnaire by email on 18 May 2010, asking for responses by 28 May 2010. The questionnaire replicated the three previous questionnaires. It asked about past and present staffing levels, business confidence in the future and which skills were being most heavily lost. The full questionnaire is presented at the end of this report.

It may be significant that some of the respondents' views on business confidence and future expectations were coloured by the results of the general election on May 6 and the establishment of the new government on May 12.

* Originally published by the Institute for Archaeologists, at: <http://www.archaeologists.net/modules/icontent/inPages/docs/JobLossesApril2010.pdf>

As occurred in previous exercises, there was not a precise coincidence between the organisations that have answered each iteration of the questionnaire. This has allowed for overlap and cross-checking, but has also introduced slight, manageable inconsistencies. All figures presented here are comparable with those set out in the earlier reports.

Sample

Questionnaires were sent to 64 IfA Registered Organisations and to the 59 members of FAME. As there is a degree of overlap (with some organisations being both IfA Registered and FAME members), 98 questionnaires were sent in total. As two of these organisations do not employ archaeologists in the UK (and did not reply to the consultation), and two questionnaires went to subsidiary offices of larger organisations, in total 94 organisations were contacted.

Responses

42 completed questionnaires were returned.

One of the returned questionnaires came from an organisation that identified itself as not undertaking commercial archaeological practice, and so that return is excluded from the analysis of job losses, but their responses regarding business confidence are included.

Results: Reported Job Losses

The respondent organisations employed the equivalent of 1,978.6 people at the time of the *Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence Profiling the Profession 2007-08*¹ (LMI) survey in August 2007.

On 1 April 2010, these organisations employed 1,701.02 FTE staff, 14.0% less than they did in August 2007 but an increase of 0.1% since January 2010.

Change from 1 January 2010 to 1 April 2010

More organisations gained staff in this quarter than lost personnel.

Extrapolating from this sample, this represents a net gain of 88 jobs across the entire archaeological profession, equating to an increase over the quarter of 2.7% of commercial archaeological posts or 1.4% of all archaeological posts.

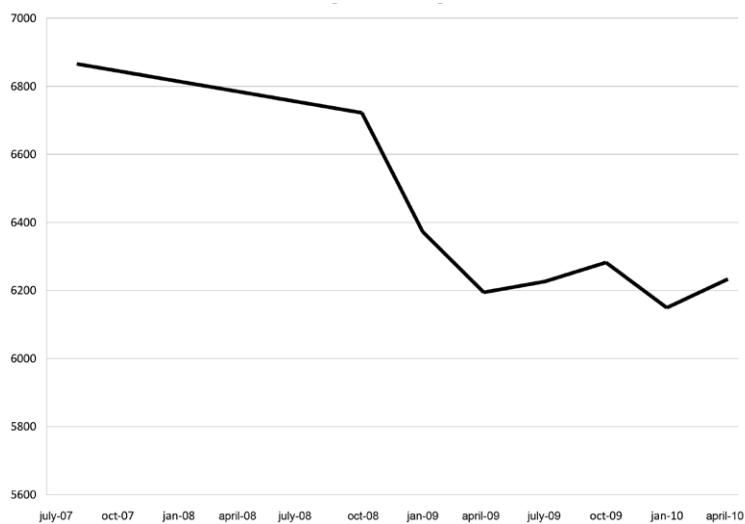
Review: change from 13 August 2007 to 1 April 2010

Using data from the six surveys undertaken, further details become apparent.

There was a modest decline in the number of people employed between August 2007 and October 2008, but then very significant numbers of jobs were lost in the final quarter of 2008 and the first quarter of 2009. Over the two quarters after April 2009, the number of people in archaeological employment stabilised, but the numbers fell again in the final quarter of 2009. With numbers rising again (very modestly) in the first quarter of 2010, there were still approximately 650 less people in archaeological work than at the August 2007 peak. While the number of people in archaeological work has fluctuated over the year since April 2009, this has not involved as marked changes as were experienced in late 2008 and the first quarter of 2009.

	13 Aug 07	01 Oct 08	01 Jan 09	01 Apr 09	01 Jul 09	01 Oct 09	01 Jan 10	01 Apr 10
Commercial Archaeology	4036	3906	3559	3323	3472	3526	3316	3404
Entire Profession	6865	6735	6388	6152	6301	6355	6145	6233

1. Aitchison, K. & Edwards, R. 2008. *Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2007.08*. Reading: Institute for Archaeologists.
http://www.archaeologists.net/modules/icontent/inPages/docs/lmi%200708/Archaeology_LMI_report_colour.pdf



Employment in UK archaeology, August 2007 – April 2010.

Results: Anticipation of Further Losses

The questionnaire asked respondents whether they felt that they would be able to maintain their present numbers of staff over the three months to the end of June 2010 (nb from this point onwards, the responses from the “non-commercial” body that provided information are also incorporated in the data tables and analysis).

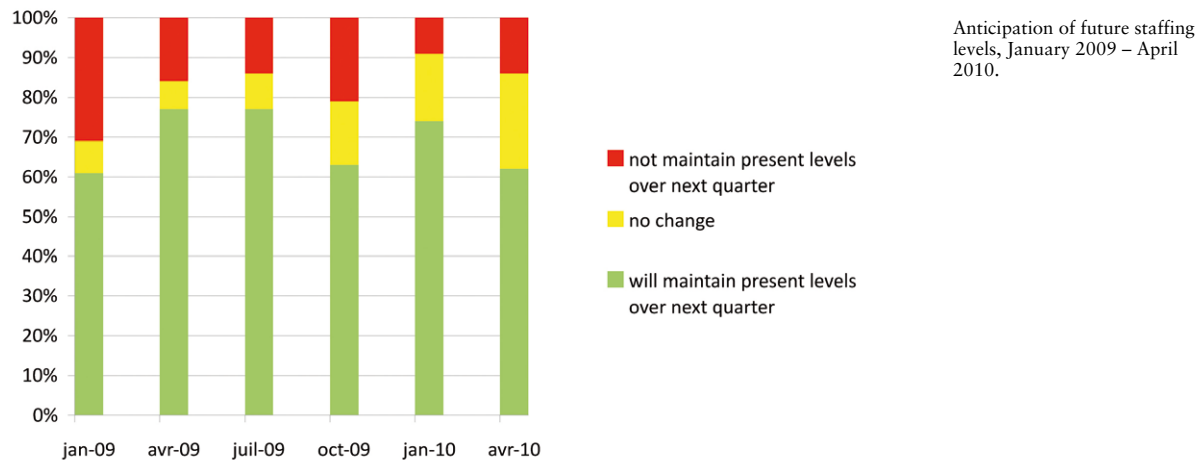
The majority of respondents that expressed a definite view (26 of 39) felt that they would be able to maintain their present staffing levels.

Do you anticipate being able to maintain your present staffing levels over the next three month period (to 30 June 2010)?

	Responses	Number employed on 01/04/2010	Lost staff in previous quarter	No change in previous quarter	Expanded in previous quarter
Yes (will maintain present levels)	26	913	2	13	11
No (will not maintain present levels)	6	592	3	3	0
Don't know	10	302	2	5	3
Total	42	1807	7	21	14

Over time, companies have generally been confident in their abilities to retain staff, but less confident than they in the first half of 2009. Companies are now less confident for the quarter to the end of June 2010 than they were three months before.

	Will maintain present levels over next quarter	Not maintain present levels over next quarter
April 2010	62%	14%
January 2010	74%	9%
October 2009	63%	21%
July 2009	77%	14%
April 2009	77%	16%
January 2009	61%	31%



Results: Business Confidence

Business confidence has slipped markedly. As of 1st April 2010, as many companies expect the situation to deteriorate as expect that it will not, and several respondents expressed concern about the tendering practices of their competitors.

One respondent commented: “After a shaky start in January and February, due at least in part to the poor weather, business seems to be picking up for us. This year to date we have received and responded to more tender invitations than we have had to this date in the last ten years, and our success rate in tendering has not diminished. Our major problem has been in getting this work started, completed and invoiced.

From contacts with other contractors I get the impression that others in our area are experiencing a similar increase in work levels. One thing that does concern me is that I know there are organisations, some ROs, who are still behaving as if they are in the depths of recession, putting in unrealistically low tenders for work. There is also the issue of organisations, also including ROs, using casual, self-employed staff to minimise their overheads and enable them to charge silly prices. Neither of these phenomena makes it any easier for those of us who are trying to improve wages, conditions, training and standards generally, let alone survive in the present climate. I realise there has been some (belated) deliberation of self-employed ‘staff’ at IfA: perhaps FAME should be addressing the tendering issue.”

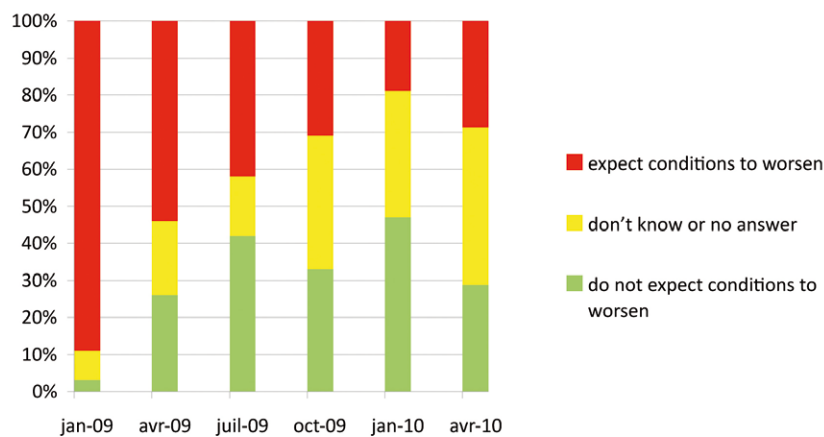
Another respondent commented “I think that the incredibly competitive prices that currently dominate the market demonstrate that many organisations are under considerable financial stress and are looking to win work at any margin. This will not be sustainable in the long term as the balance sheets of the organisations are eroded and will ultimately fail. For the archaeological market I think the recession is just about to start in earnest and over the next few years we will see a radical restructuring of the UK archaeological market”.

Do you believe that the market conditions will deteriorate further in the next twelve months (from January 2010)?

	Responses	Number of staff employed on 01/04/2010
Yes (market conditions will deteriorate in the next 12 months)	12	645
No (market conditions will not deteriorate)	12	538
Don't know or no answer	18	624
Total	42	1807

Over time, business confidence had been steadily improving until April 2010, but now this is the first quarter when there has been an increase in the proportion of businesses expecting things to get worse (and a concomitant reduction in those expecting things will not deteriorate further).

	Expect conditions to worsen	Do not expect conditions to worsen	Don't know or no answer
April 2010	29%	29%	43%
January 2010	19%	47%	34%
October 2009	31%	33%	36%
July 2009	42%	42%	16%
April 2009	54%	26%	20%
January 2009	89%	3%	8%



The majority of respondents expect some archaeological businesses to fail in the next 12 months. In the previous quarter (January 2010), less than 50% of respondents thought this.

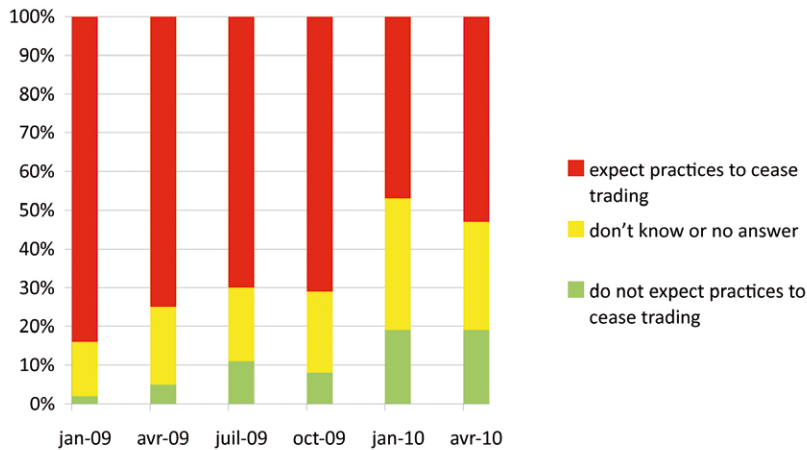
One respondent commented: “Only the robust, properly run and lucky organisations can survive, everyone else will end up in a mess to be re-invented as sole traders or small 2-3 person outfit prone to taking on work that they do not have the capacity to do with all the issues for employment conditions and standards”.

Do you expect any archaeological practices to cease trading in the next 12 months?

	Responses	Number of staff employed on 01/04/2010
Yes (expect practices to cease trading in 12 months from April 2009)	22	1258
No (do not expect any practices to cease trading in 12 months from April 2009)	8	241
Don't know or no answer	12	309
Total	42	1708

Over time, expectations that some businesses will fail have remained at high levels.

	Expect practices to cease trading	Do not expect practices to cease trading
April 2010	53%	19%
January 2010	47%	19%
October 2009	71%	8%
July 2009	70%	11%
April 2009	75%	5%
January 2009	84%	2%



Expectations of business failures, January 2009 – April 2010.

Results: Skills Losses

Respondents were also asked to identify which specific skills areas are being particularly affected. The questionnaire asked them to indicate up to three areas from the shortlist of skill areas used in Aitchison & Edwards 2008 where they felt that their organisation had lost skills during the present crisis. They were asked to mark these 1, 2 and 3 in order of severity (1 being the area where skills have been most severely affected).

The table below grades the responses according firstly to the total number of times a skill area was identified as being lost, and secondarily by the significance that respondents attached to that loss.

	Total	1 (most severely affected)	2 (severely affected)	3 (affected)
Contributing to intrusive investigations (evaluation, excavation) as team members or diggers	14	7	4	3
Conducting (leading or directing) intrusive investigations (evaluation, excavation)	11	4	5	2
Contributing to non-intrusive investigations (geophysical survey) as team members	5	0	3	2
Providing information and advice on the conservation and management of the historic environment	4	2	1	1
Conducting (leading or directing) survey and interpretation of historic buildings	3	2	0	1
Artefact research	3	1	1	1
Contributing to other non-intrusive investigations as team members	3	1	0	2
Conducting (leading or directing) other non-intrusive investigations	2	0	0	2

Conducting (leading or directing) non-intrusive investigations (geophysical survey)	1	1	0	0
Conservation of artefacts or ecofacts	1	0	1	0
Contributing to survey and interpretation of historic buildings as team members	1	0	1	0
Other archaeological skills (<i>please specify</i>) – administration	1	0	1	0
Creating, managing and maintaining Historic Environment Records	1	0	0	1
Other archaeological skills (<i>please specify</i>) – post-ex	1	0	0	1
Desk-based historic environment research including desk-based assessment	0	0	0	0
Ecofact research	0	0	0	0
Historic environment characterisation	0	0	0	0

Skills continue to be lost across almost all professional activities, but as in previous quarters it is the skills that are needed to conduct and contribute to intrusive, excavation projects which are being most notably lost – which repeats the pattern reported in the four previous surveys (January 2010 and April, July and October 2009).

Notably, no organisation reported losing the skills involved in conducting desk-based historic environment research including desk-based assessment, as had been reported fairly regularly in previous surveys.

Future Surveys

IfA will continue to repeat this survey on a quarterly basis, reporting the results on its website and tracking changes in the situation, until further notice.

Questionnaire

Job losses in archaeology - April 2010

Dear Colleague,

As we enter a new financial year, and now with a new UK Government, IfA continues to collect information on the current state of archaeological employment.

At the end of 2009, it appeared that the “bounce” that the sector experienced last summer was a temporary phenomenon, and that the numbers in employment as of 1st January 2010 had dropped back to the level of one year before. However, business confidence was improving.

All of the previous reports are available through the IfA website, specifically at [January 09](#), [April 09](#), [July 09](#), [October 09](#) and [January 10](#).

I would like to ask you once again if you would please give up some of your time to answer the same set of questions below.

We now seek information as it applied to your organisation on 1 April 2010. Please help us to produce as full a picture as possible; as before, your responses are fully confidential and will not be seen by any individual other than myself.

This email has been sent to all IfA Registered Organisations and FAME member organisations.

How many members of staff (FTE) did your organisation have on 1 April 2010?

How many members of staff (FTE) did your organisation have on 1 October 2009?

How many members of archaeological staff (FTE) did your organisation have on 13 August 2007 (the census date for *Profiling the Profession: Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence 2007-08*)?

Do you anticipate being able to maintain your present staffing levels over the next three month period (to 30 June 2010)?

Do you believe that the market conditions will deteriorate further over the next 12 months?

Do you expect any archaeological practices to cease trading over the next 12 months?

As well as tracking the key data regarding job losses, in order to help us track which specific skills areas are being particularly affected, and so to help plan for the recovery, please now also indicate up to three areas from the following list where you feel your organisation has lost skills during the present crisis. Please mark these 1, 2 and 3 in order of severity (1 being the area where skills have been most severely affected). Please try to limit your responses to the three areas that you feel have been most seriously affected).

Conducting (leading or directing) intrusive investigations (evaluation, excavation)

Contributing to intrusive investigations (evaluation, excavation) as team members or diggers

Conducting (leading or directing) survey and interpretation of historic buildings

- Contributing to survey and interpretation of historic buildings as team members
- Conducting (leading or directing) non-intrusive investigations (geophysical survey)
- Contributing to non-intrusive investigations (geophysical survey) as team members
- Conducting (leading or directing) other non-intrusive investigations
- Contributing to other non-intrusive investigations as team members
- Desk-based historic environment research including desk-based assessment
- Creating, managing and maintaining Historic Environment Records
- Historic environment characterisation
- Providing information and advice on the conservation and management of the historic environment
- Conservation of artefacts or ecofacts
- Artefact research
- Ecofact research
- Other archaeological skills (please specify)

Please send your responses to me, **Kenneth Aitchison**, by Friday 28 May 2010.

Your answers will be treated in the strictest confidentiality; while aggregated and extrapolated figures will be provided to FAME and published on the **recession - managing and planning** page of the IfA website and elsewhere, I personally will be the only individual who ever sees your separate responses.

The information gathered will continue to be used to see how IfA members, Registered Organisations and the profession as a whole can be supported through this period. We expect to continue to repeat this questionnaire on a quarterly basis until further notice.

Kenneth Aitchison: IfA Head of Projects and Professional Development

ANNEX II

Note for administrators and liquidators of archaeological organisations*

Roger M Thomas

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Summary

In the event that an archaeological organisation goes into administration or becomes insolvent, some very particular considerations will arise for the administrator or liquidator. These relate to the nature of work undertaken, the nature (and ownership) of the products of this work, and the legal liabilities which relate to it (arising from the legal requirements of planning permissions). This note seeks to explain, for administrators and liquidators who may have to deal with such an organisation, some of the issues.

Background

Since about 1990 a substantial commercial archaeological sector has developed in the United Kingdom. This has happened primarily as a result of a new government policy for archaeology, under which developers, rather than the state, has to pay for archaeological work made necessary by new development schemes. This sector employs around 6000 people and is worth an estimated £150m per annum. The organisations which make up this sector are very diverse in size and character. They include sole traders, partnerships, limited companies operating on a fully commercial basis and charitable trusts. Staff numbers and annual turnover range from one to several hundred, and a few thousand pounds to over £10m respectively.

Much of the work of these organisations consists of carrying out archaeological excavations and other forms of archaeological site investigations in advance of new development. The work is carried out for property developers, landowners, government bodies, construction companies and so on. Individual contracts typically range in size from a few hundred pounds to hundreds of thousands, with durations ranging from a few days to over a year.

Much of this work is secured by conditions placed on the planning permissions for the developments in question, or through 'planning obligations' (e.g. Section 106 agreements in England and Wales, Section 75 or Section 246 agreements in Scotland, agreements within the meaning of Article 40 of the Planning (Northern Ireland) Order 1991 in Northern Ireland) linked to planning permissions. These conditions are normally imposed by local authorities, and legally enforceable under the town and country planning legislation. This work is almost always required to result on the production of a report, and there may be a requirement for this report to be published.

Thus, the mechanism under which archaeological organisations operate is as follows. A local planning authority places a condition on a planning permission, or enters into an agreement (e.g. s106) related to the development. The person or company which implements the permission then enters into a commercial contract with an archaeological organisation to carry out the works specified by the condition.

The local authority will confirm the discharge of the condition once the specified works have been completed to the satisfaction of the local authority.

* Originally published by the Institute for Archaeologists, at: <http://www.archaeologists.net/modules/icontent/inPages/docs/administratorsliquidators.pdf>

This work is directly related to the construction industry. The recent downturn in construction is placing archaeological organisations under considerable difficulties at present, and it is not impossible that one or more of them will cease trading, including potentially through insolvency.

In the event of administration or insolvency of an archaeological organisation

Because of the nature of the work undertaken by archaeological organisations, the ‘products’ which arise from it and the liabilities which attach this work, some rather particular considerations arise in the event of an archaeological organisation going into administration or becoming insolvent.

In addition to such things as equipment, and business and employment records, the following classes of material are likely to be held at the premises of archaeological organisations:

- (1) the original site records (notes, drawings, photographs) made during the course of archaeological investigations on site.
- (2) artefacts and samples recovered during archaeological investigations on site.
- (3) records and reports produced, after the on-site work has been completed, from the analysis of the site records, artefacts and samples. These may include drafts or final versions of the report on the site investigation which is required to be produced.

Classes (1) and (3) may exist as hard copy records, as digital information, or a combination of the two.

Classes (1) and (2) will very often derive from archaeological sites which have since been destroyed by development, making them – literally – irreplaceable.

In principle, an archaeological organisation will only hold material from site investigations for as long as is necessary to complete the analysis and report analysis on the investigation. After the completion of the report, the material should be transferred elsewhere (e.g. to a museum) for long-term storage. In practice, however, for a variety of reasons, this does not always happen (or happen as quickly as it should).

A number of special considerations apply when planning how to deal with this aspect of the overall body of ‘chattels’ held by an archaeological organisation.

Some of these may be briefly outlined.

(A) The artefacts and samples are **unlikely to be the property** of the archaeological organisation. In England and Wales the general rule is that archaeological artefacts belong to the owner of the land on which they were found. In Scotland, the Crown has rights over all archaeological objects (including those discovered in development-led archaeological excavations) and may lay claim to such objects. In Northern Ireland archaeological objects must be reported and deposited within 14 days to the relevant authority. It must be accompanied by information on (i) the circumstances of the finding, (ii) the nature of the object found, (iii) the name (if known) of the owner or occupier of the land on which the object was found. The relevant authority includes one of the following: the Department of the Environment, the Director of the Ulster Museum or a police station. Thus, it is not permissible to dispose of or disperse such material. (Most such material is of little or no financial value, although there may be exceptions to this. In any event, it will generally be someone else’s property).

(B) The intellectual property and copyright in the records and reports may not belong to the archaeological organisation. The work will have been commissioned and paid for by a range of different clients, and the position over intellectual property and copyright for any individual piece of work will depend on the contract under which the work was done (and on the general law). The records and reports cannot automatically be regarded as the property (or as an asset of) the organisation.

(C) As stated above, many of the contracts undertaken will have been aimed at enabling a legally enforceable planning condition or obligation to be discharged. The condition or obligation may well require the production of a report. That report can only be produced by reference to the material contained in Classes (1) and (2) above. Thus, if that material is not safeguarded (if it is disposed of or dispersed, for example) this could produce a situation in which it was impossible to complete the work necessary to discharge the planning condition or obligation. This in turn could lead to problems for the developer in disposing of the property which had been built, leading potentially to issues of legal liability for the archaeological organisation.

In Northern Ireland archaeological excavation is a licensed activity regulated by the Department of the Environment. There are conditions within the licence on preparation of a report.

(D) Material of Class 3, while in theory replaceable (sometimes, at least), may represent the investment of large sums of money in terms of the labour which has gone into producing it. It represents work done towards complying with the planning condition or obligation placed on the developer.

(E) As stated above, material in Classes 1 and 3 above may be held in digital form. There may or may not be paper copies of it also, but the trend is for large amounts of such material to be held in digital form only. The material may be held on a range of pieces of hardware, potentially as part of a complex networked system. Some of the material may be held in non-standard formats or programs. For all of these reasons, disposal of the computer hardware owned by an archaeological organisation **should not be contemplated** until all the material in Classes 1 and 3 has been safeguarded in such a way that it remains fully usable (including by people other than those who originated it). This may require specialist IT input.

(F) Materials (of all Classes) produced from a site investigation should all be clearly labelled so that it is clear which investigation it relates to. Nonetheless, the material from a single investigation is unlikely all to be held in a single place while the work of analysing and reporting on it is taking place. Different categories of records and materials will be passed to different specialist staff to work on. Some of the material may be sent to specialists who are external to the organisation, so may not even be on the premises.

(G) Archaeologists are generally careful to keep the material from site investigations in good order (properly labelled and indexed, and appropriately stored). It is however possible that, if an organisation has been struggling in business terms, these aspects of its work will have been neglected. It is therefore possible that work will be needed to catalogue and put in order the body of material of Classes (1) to (3). It is essential that all the material relating to each individual investigation is located and accounted for, for the reasons stated above (items (A) to (D)).

Immediate advice and contact points

In the event that an administrator or liquidator has to deal with an archaeological organisation, they will be well-advised to seek specialist advice from local and national government bodies concerned with archaeology and from the professional and trade bodies for archaeology. Contact details are given below.

The key piece of immediate advice is: in the event of having to deal with such an organisation, do not start to clear up (or clear out) offices, or to dispose of materials or computers, until you have gained a clear view of what is involved. By its nature much of this material is irreplaceable. Some of the potential consequences of its loss or premature (or disorderly) dispersal are outlined above.

- Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO) UK
<http://www.algao.org.uk/>
- English Heritage
<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- Cadw
<http://www.cadw.wales.gov.uk/>
- Historic Scotland
<http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/>
- Northern Ireland Environment Agency
www.ni-environment.gov.uk
- Institute for Archaeologists (IfA)
<http://www.archaeologists.net>
- Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers (FAME)
<http://www.famearchaeology.co.uk/>

These bodies will be ready to help with advice, in order to safeguard the archaeological interest and to assist in dealing with any issues such as those relating to planning permissions and obligations.

Archaeology and the global economic crisis

**Multiple impacts,
possible solutions**

Edited by Nathan Schlanger
and Kenneth Aitchison

Abstracts in english

1. Introduction. Archaeology and the global economic crisis

Nathan Schlanger & Kenneth Aitchison

This volume, and the EAA 2009 session from which it developed, represent the first multi-authored attempt to take a global look at the current economic crisis and its effects on archaeology. In addition to the reality of its effects, the 'crisis' has rapidly become a commonly understood concept, strategically used to enable or legitimise decisions in archaeological heritage management. It is worth remembering that various patterns and processes have been going on before the crisis, and continue in parallel with it. Four main themes or impact areas of the crisis on archaeology are discussed: research funding and priorities; professional employment, training and skills; conservation and public outreach; and finally changes in heritage management policies and legislation. As a developing sector, archaeological heritage management has been hit particularly hard by the economic recession, but it is also a sector that can reveal much – especially in times of crisis – regarding the wider attitudes of our contemporary societies towards the past and our heritage.

2. The crisis – economic, ideological, and archaeological

Jean-Paul Demoule

Since its creation, the EAA has served as a forum for debates on different approaches to the organisation of archaeological heritage management in Europe. Two main approaches can be distinguished. In one, it is the nation state, representing the community of citizens, that takes charge over the protection of the archaeological heritage, either through a state archaeological service or through dedicated public bodies. In the other model, the archaeological heritage is considered as a merchandise or a service, where commercial archaeological units are at the service of their clients, the developers, with only the postulation of some 'code of ethics' to ensure quality control in the overall framework of the free market economy. Such an approach has been recently attempted in France, with the recent accreditation of commercial companies as licensed operators in preventive archaeology. However, the current economic crisis clearly invites a rethinking of this idea. The state, once 'part of the problem', is now recognised as a possible solution. Without massive state interventions, a large part of the global economic and financial structure would have fared much worse. Likewise in archaeology, a considerable number of private units have been crippled or even forced to fold since the onset of the economic crisis, putting in jeopardy archaeological operations, as well as documentation and publications. Here then is a good opportunity for the archaeological community as a whole to take renewed stock of its responsibilities and perspectives.

3. The Impact of the Recession on Archaeology in the Republic of Ireland

James Eogan

Archaeological services in the Republic of Ireland are provided by a state-supervised private sector. From the mid-1990s this sector experienced sustained growth in both the volume of work commissioned by public and private-sector clients and the numbers of archaeologists employed. Between 1995 and 2002 the numbers of excavations carried out increased annually by 30% on average; from 2003 to 2007 the number of excavations carried out stabilised above 1,500 per annum. By 2007 it was estimated that approximately 1,000 archaeologists were employed. Large numbers of excavations were carried out which generated significant new archaeological data which have stimulated research and provided academic opportunities, much of which was funded through grants administered by the Heritage Council. Since 2008, however, there has been an

estimated 66% reduction in the numbers of excavations carried out annually and a consequential reduction of 80% in the numbers of archaeologists employed in the private sector. The general economic climate has also led to a reduction in the funding available to support research projects. Provisional data for 2010 suggests that the numbers of excavations being undertaken may be stabilising, but at a level last experienced in the mid – late 1990s; however, research funding may be cut further in future years. The challenge for the future is to consolidate the benefits accrued during the period of unprecedented economic growth. There are three key areas:

- The development of the existing legislative framework and administrative structures.
- The securing of excavation archives.
- The maintenance of co-operation across sectoral divisions to enhance research and ensure that the data from excavations are transformed into knowledge for the benefit of society as a whole.

4. United Kingdom archaeology in economic crisis

Kenneth Aitchison

Since 1990, archaeology in the United Kingdom has been closely linked to the development process. All developers of land that might potentially damage or destroy archaeological sites are obliged to fund investigation of those remains, with commercial enterprises competing in an open market to provide these services. This led to a rapid growth in the number of people working in archaeology, both in carrying out these field investigations and in advising decision makers on the potential impacts of proposed development. Since the onset of the economic crisis, the levels of construction activity have fallen. This has meant that the amount of archaeological work has also dropped considerably, leading to considerable job losses in the private sector. The new UK government elected in 2010 is committed to reducing the national fiscal deficit by cutting spending, and it can be expected that state agencies and local government, together with universities, will all be heavily affected in the coming years.

5. The end of a golden age? The impending effects of the economic collapse on archaeology in higher education in the United Kingdom

Anthony Sinclair

By contrast with archaeological practice in the professional, commercial sector, the economic crisis has had little direct impact upon archaeology in Higher Education until June 2010, with the exception of a loss of work to some of the institutionally based contracting units. This will change markedly from August 2010. The funding of Higher Education is due to be cut by more than £1 billion, with expectations of a cut of more than 25% in three years. This will reduce the ability of universities to replace staff except in key teaching areas (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), and will force university managers to maximise teaching and research income where possible, and to reduce expenditures in other areas, with the possibilities of redundancies in teaching staff. A review of higher education funding in late 2010 will almost certainly increase the tuition fees paid by students, causing them to choose their degrees even more carefully to match employment prospects. Archaeology may be badly affected by these changes. It has expanded enormously in terms of increased student numbers and continued research success. Student applications, however, are on the decline, and research funding is proving very difficult to get. As well, archaeology departments are mostly based in the research-intensive universities, which are likely to be charging the highest tuition fees. Departments will

need to stress the valuable skills that are taught in archaeology degrees, and the professional and educational sectors will need to look at how to support training for field archaeology in new ways that reduce the perceived financial burden on students.

6. Commercial archaeology in Spain: its growth, development, and the impact of the global economic crisis

Eva Parga-Dans

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the impact of the global economic crisis on the Spanish Archaeological Sector. It is part of a major research theme entitled "The Socioeconomics of Heritage" by the Heritage Laboratory that aims to analyse and systematise information about this sector. At present we have been developing an empirical study on the new market developed in the 1990s in connection with archaeological heritage management in Spain, keeping in mind important differences between the country's 17 regions. We have paid particular attention on the emergence, structure and development of this market sector, examining the relationships between the actors and institutions involved in the generation of knowledge and innovation processes. The specific emphasis in this publication concerns the effects of the current economic crisis on the commercial sector in Spain and on archaeological heritage management more generally. The crisis has led to a significant decline in the construction sector, and also in employment figures. Although we still lack sufficient data, initial quantitative and qualitative assessments confirm that this downturn is also manifest in the commercial archaeological sector, even if with some variations between the regions. Particularly affected are the field 'intervention services' provided by companies to the construction sector, and it may be that a diversification to other actions of outreach and cultural resource management may be the way forwards.

7. A crisis with many faces. The impact of the economic recession on Dutch archaeology

Monique H. van den Dries, Karen E. Waugh & Corien Bakker

A large percentage of the activities carried out within the Dutch archaeological heritage management sector are inherently linked to development and construction activities. In fact, well over 90% of all archaeological activity is developer funded. The fieldwork that this brings along is predominantly carried out by the private sector. Because of this close relationship, one might expect that a recession-induced slump in the building sector will also seriously effect the archaeological (private) sector as well. Nevertheless, in 2009 the effects of the economic crisis on the archaeological sector were not as strong as expected, notably in comparison to some other countries. In fact no archaeological companies went bankrupt (although a few smaller companies stopped trading) and a situation of nearly full employment has been maintained. The national government temporarily stimulated building and development activity by introducing favourable financial measures and bringing forward some large-scale infrastructural works. This may well have helped, but a more important factor might have been that the archaeological sector, just like some others, is showing a delayed reaction, with many companies still having, at the start of 2009, many projects 'in stock'. Still, while we had seen a constant yearly growth of the number of field projects from 2003 onwards, in 2009 for the first time in more than 25 years we witnessed a decline, of over 10%. Field evaluations by means of coring in particular decreased significantly (15%), and also the number of excavations dropped by 7.2%. Was this all due to the economic crisis? The picture for 2009 might in fact be slightly

more complex than a one-to-one relationship with economic activity in the building sector. An important factor, admittedly difficult to quantify, is the still early stage of development of our new archaeological heritage management system. Many local governments are only just beginning to implement the principles of the Valletta Convention and to develop local heritage management policies. As a consequence, there is still a lot of work for archaeologists in developing characterisation maps, policy plans, desk-based assessments etc. On the other hand, a better grip by local authorities on their own archaeology and the implementation of new guidelines and regulations on local planning level might put a stop to the previously uncontrolled growth in survey and evaluation works. In general the economic situation in 2010 and the years after might be slightly improving, but expectations are that local and national authorities will then be faced with severe cuts in their budgets. For archaeology, it may be that the bottom of the slump has not yet been reached.

8. One crisis too many? French archaeology between reform and relaunch

Nathan Schlanger & Kai Salas Rossenbach

This paper examines and interprets the impacts of the current economic crisis on French archaeology in the light of previous and ongoing processes within the discipline and beyond. So far as preventive archaeology is concerned, a succession of legal and organisational developments finally led in 2001 to its confirmation as a public service, funded through the polluter-pays principle and oriented towards scientific research and public outreach actions. By 2003, however, the excavation phase of preventive archaeology was opened to commercial competition among licensed operators, in the expectation that the market would reduce costs and delays. This approach proves well in line with the general review of public policies launched in 2007 to rationalise and modernise public services, notably by reducing employment and by restructuring ministries and public sectors. These reforms have already considerably affected universities and research institutions, as well as bodies in charge of archaeological management and supervision. With the background of these upheavals, the global economic crisis reached France in 2008. The ambitious relaunch plan subsequently devised includes major investments in infrastructure and public works (roads, train tracks, etc.), with corresponding requirements in terms of archaeological diagnostics and excavations. However, it was deemed necessary as a counterpart to lighten the administrative procedures for building and development works. The Heritage code was specifically modified so as to 'limit the henceforth excessive influence' of preventive archaeology, by setting limits to the delays on prescriptions and operations. It is probably too early to evaluate the effects of such measures, but there are already grounds to suspect that, apart from the archaeological operators, the developers, the supervising bodies and indeed the archaeological heritage itself may also prove to be at further risk.

9. The crisis and changes in cultural heritage legislation in Hungary: cul-de-sac or solution?

Eszter Bánffy & Pál Raczky

This paper discusses a planned change in Hungarian legislation concerning the definition and protection of archaeological sites. Until now, the legal definition of a site included its inscription in a national database held by the Office of Heritage Protection (KÖH): the new proposal will require these sites are also localised and coordinated in a publicly available, certified database at municipal level. However, such database requirements are currently fulfilled for only a few thousand cases out of the ca. 40.000 sites nationally registered, let alone the c. 200.000 esti-

mated unregistered sites across the country. All these 'non-sites' would be left out of the protective legislation; they would not benefit from prior assessments or from the 0.9% of compulsory spending by the development projects on archaeological work. This proposed regulation was apparently designed to help developers and investors to face fewer obstacles before starting building work. But in fact it damages them as well: if a site is found after earthworks are begun, they will be stopped by the KÖH - but since the excavation is then not preventive, there is no assured budget for it, resulting in losses to both developers and archaeology. The authors of the present paper propose a solution that would help with these problems, not only for the current period of economic crisis, but also in the long term, in a way that could serve the interests of both archaeological heritage and economic development.

10. Archaeology in Crisis: The Case of Poland

Arkadiusz Marciniak & Michał Pawleta

The paper aims to discuss the effects of the current global economic situation on Polish archaeology. It begins with a short overview of archaeology and the archaeological heritage sector in contemporary Poland, and its current legal and institutional position. We set then to systematically discuss the nature of the impact of the economic crisis upon major sectors of Polish archaeology in terms of preventive and rescue works, watching brief, academic activities, and the situation of archaeological museums. In particular, we discuss the scope and amount of fieldwork over recent years in relation to changes in the construction industry as well as in the job market in different sectors of archaeology. The most alarming effect of the crisis in Polish archaeology is a dramatic decrease in the quality of preventive and rescue works, due to the application of the most liberal market solutions. This problem is further amplified by structural inefficiencies among the various bodies in charge of setting up standards, of coordinating and of controlling preventive and rescue archaeological works in Poland.

11. The impact of the economic crisis on rescue archaeology in Russia

Asya Engovatova

The system of rescue or preventive archaeology in Russia begun to develop in the late 1920s, and by the 1970s it represented half of the archaeological operations in the country. Nowadays, the body responsible for archaeology within the Academy of Science attributes several kinds of licenses: for research excavations, for surface surveys, for archaeological survey work, and for rescue excavations at endangered sites. The situation of rescue archaeology has fluctuated considerably following the broader changes of the early 1990s and the economic crisis of 1998. However, the number of licenses granted for rescue excavations sharply increased from 2000 onwards, and in the years 2006-2008 some three quarters of all archaeological projects throughout the country were rescue excavations. The current economic crisis has brought about a reduction in the number of archaeological operations, especially those related to private developments. Important state investments in various infrastructures projects will limit the impact of the crisis on archaeological activities. However, effects of crisis can also be seen in attempts in the Duma to reduce archaeological legal protection measures, and also in new tax exemption measures which favour private companies at the expense of public bodies like museums and universities.

12. The Effect of the Global Recession on Cultural Resources Management in the United States

Jeffrey H. Altschul

The effects of the global recession on cultural resource management (CRM) in the United States have been deeper and more widespread than most in the industry anticipated. The reasons for failing to appreciate the financial repercussions of the recession are varied, ranging from simply misjudging the economy to more complicated factors involving the ways government agencies allocate funds. How these factors played out over 2009 and 2010 and what we can expect in the near term are the subjects of this paper.

13. Postscript: on dead canaries, guinea-pigs and other Trojan horses

Nathan Schlanger

If the current economic crisis can be compared to some medieval plague, what are the patterns of its progression? Does it strike archaeological practice and heritage management indiscriminately, or are there weak spots or protected zones to be discerned? The situation is contrasted regarding employment, with some countries suffering important job losses, leading to the image of archaeology as a 'canary' trade in times of crisis. These losses will deeply affect the profession, since highly specialised experts are difficult to replace, as are experienced field technicians and post-excavations personnel. In these constrained conditions, the balance between the scientific and the economic dimensions of contemporary archaeology appears increasingly biased against research objectives, scientific quality, publications and public outreach. Lastly, according to the policies and ideologies in place, state interventions can be expected. Alongside stimulus packages and investments in infrastructure programmes, also in evidence are various adjustments and tinkering with legislations, institutions and procedures. Whatever their intentions or pertinence, these measures should not be allowed to endanger the archaeological and patrimonial principles of the Malta Convention – be it for the duration of the crisis, and for the recovery that will follow.

L'archéologie et la crise économique globale

**Impacts multiples,
solutions possibles**

Édition coordonnée par Nathan Schlanger
et Kenneth Aitchison

Résumés en français

1. Introduction. L'archéologie et la crise économique globale

Nathan Schlanger & Kenneth Aitchison

Ce volume, ainsi que la session de l'Association des archéologues européens (EAA 2009) dont il découle, propose pour la première fois un regard global sur la crise économique actuelle et ses effets sur l'archéologie. Mise à part son inéluctable réalité, la crise est aussi devenue une représentation collective, dont l'usage stratégique permet de mettre en œuvre ou de justifier des décisions portant sur la gestion du patrimoine archéologique. En effet, dans ce champ comme dans d'autres, différents processus et trajectoires se sont déroulés avant la crise, et continuent en parallèle de celle-ci. Quatre thèmes ou zones d'impact de la crise sur l'archéologie sont identifiés ici, portant respectivement sur : les financements et les priorités de la recherche ; les questions d'emplois et de formation professionnelle ; les politiques de conservation et de médiation au public ; et enfin des changements dans les politiques et législations en matière de protection du patrimoine archéologique. Secteur en plein développement, la gestion du patrimoine archéologique a été durement frappée par la récession économique. Mais c'est aussi un secteur qui peut nous en apprendre beaucoup – précisément en temps de crise – sur les façons dont nos sociétés contemporaines savent apprécier le passé et le patrimoine.

2. La crise – économique, idéologique, et archéologique

Jean-Paul Demoule

Depuis sa création, l'EAA a servi de forum pour des débats sur l'organisation et la gestion du patrimoine archéologique en Europe. Deux conceptions principales peuvent être distinguées. Dans l'une, c'est l'État nation, représentant la communauté des citoyens, qui se charge de la protection du patrimoine archéologique, soit par un service archéologique d'État, soit par des organismes publics consacrés. Dans l'autre conception, le patrimoine archéologique est considéré comme une marchandise ou un service. Des unités archéologiques commerciales sont au service de leurs clients, les aménageurs, avec le seul postulat d'un certain « code éthique » pour assurer un contrôle de qualité, dans le cadre général de l'économie de marché. Une telle approche a été récemment tentée en France, avec l'agrément accordé à des sociétés commerciales en tant qu'opérateurs en archéologie préventive. Cependant, la crise économique actuelle invite clairement à repenser cette approche. L'État, autrefois « partie du problème », est maintenant redécouvert comme une possible solution. Sans les interventions massives de l'État, la situation d'une grande partie des dispositifs économiques et financiers globaux serait bien pire qu'elle ne l'est. De même en archéologie, un nombre important d'opérateurs privés a été endommagé ou même forcé à plier depuis le début de la crise économique, mettant en danger les opérations archéologiques, ainsi que la documentation et les publications. Voici donc une bonne occasion pour la communauté archéologique dans son ensemble d'examiner ses responsabilités et ses perspectives.

3. L'impact de la récession sur l'archéologie dans la République d'Irlande

James Eogan

Les services archéologiques en Irlande sont fournis par un secteur privé supervisé par l'État. Depuis le milieu des années 90, ce secteur a connu une forte croissance à la fois en terme du volume de travail commandité par les aménageurs privés et publics, et par le nombre d'archéologues employés. Entre 1995 et 2002, le nombre de fouilles archéologiques a augmenté de 30% par an en moyenne. De 2003 à 2007, le nombre de fouilles effectuées s'est stabilisé autour de 1500 par an. En 2007 on estimait le nombre

d'archéologues employés en Irlande à environ 1000. Cette importante activité de terrain a mené à récolter une grande quantité de données archéologiques nouvelles, qui ont stimulé la recherche et contribué à des projets universitaires, souvent financés par les bourses du Heritage Council. Depuis 2008, cependant, le nombre annuel de fouilles a diminué d'environ 66%, et le nombre d'archéologues employés par le secteur privé a par conséquent chuté d'environ 80%. Le climat économique général a également mené à une réduction des fonds destinés à la recherche scientifique. Les données provisoires pour 2010 suggèrent que le nombre de projets en cours est en train de se stabiliser, mais à un niveau comparable à celui des années 1990. Cependant, les fonds consacrés à la recherche seront probablement réduits davantage dans les années à venir. Le défi pour l'avenir est de consolider les gains accumulés durant la longue période de croissance économique, sur trois points majeurs :

- Développer le cadre législatif et les structures administratives existantes.
- Assurer la sauvegarde des archives et du mobilier archéologique.
- Maintenir le dialogue entre les différents secteurs concernés afin de valoriser la recherche et afin de s'assurer que les données archéologiques récemment récoltées deviennent des véritables connaissances, au bénéfice de la société dans son ensemble.

4. Royaume-Uni : l'archéologie dans la crise économique

Kenneth Aitchison

Depuis 1990, l'archéologie au Royaume-Uni est étroitement liée au processus d'aménagement du territoire. Tous les aménageurs dont les projets pourraient potentiellement endommager ou détruire des sites archéologiques sont obligés de financer l'investigation de ces vestiges, en appelant des entreprises commerciales, rivalisant sur un marché ouvert, pour fournir ces services. Cette approche a mené à une croissance rapide du nombre de personnes travaillant en archéologie, autant dans le domaine des opérations de terrain que celui de la consultance aux décideurs concernant les impacts potentiels de l'aménagement proposé. Depuis le début de la crise économique, les niveaux d'activité de construction sont tombés. Cela signifie que la quantité de travail archéologique a aussi largement baissé, menant à des pertes d'emploi considérables dans le secteur privé. Le nouveau gouvernement du Royaume-Uni élu en 2010 s'est engagé à la réduction du déficit fiscal national en réduisant les dépenses, et l'on peut s'attendre à ce que les agences d'État et les collectivités locales, tout comme les universités, soient toutes lourdement affectées dans les années à venir.

5. La fin d'un Âge d'or ? Les effets menaçants de l'écroulement économique sur l'archéologie dans l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche au Royaume-Uni

Anthony Sinclair

Jusqu'en juin 2010, en contraste avec la situation dans le secteur de l'archéologie commerciale, la crise économique a eu peu d'impact direct sur l'archéologie dans l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche, si ce n'est une perte de travail pour certaines unités archéologiques basées dans des universités. Ceci changera considérablement dès août 2010. Le financement de l'Enseignement supérieur doit en effet être coupé de plus d'un milliard de livres sterling, avec une diminution de plus de 25% attendue sur trois ans. Cela réduira la capacité des universités à remplacer leur personnel sauf dans les secteurs-clefs d'enseignement (science, technologie, ingénierie et mathématiques). Les dirigeants des institutions seront forcés à maximiser les revenus de l'enseignement et de la recherche là où c'est possible, et à réduire les dépenses dans d'autres secteurs, avec des possibilités de licenciements économiques parmi le personnel enseignant. La

révision des financements de l'enseignement supérieur prévue pour la fin 2010 augmentera inmanquablement les frais de scolarité demandés aux étudiants, les incitant à choisir leurs diplômes encore plus soigneusement, en vue de leurs perspectives d'emploi. L'archéologie sera sans doute sérieusement affectée elle aussi par ces changements. La discipline s'est considérablement développée en nombre d'étudiants et en termes de recherche. Les candidatures d'étudiants sont cependant en baisse, et les financements pour la recherche s'avèrent très difficile à obtenir. Aussi, les départements d'archéologie sont pour la plupart établis dans des universités de recherche intensive, qui vont probablement facturer le plus haut possible les frais de scolarité. Les départements d'archéologie devront souligner les compétences vocationnelles des diplômés d'archéologie et les secteurs professionnels et éducatifs devront réévaluer leur soutien à la formation de terrain afin de réduire le fardeau financier reposant sur les étudiants.

6. L'archéologie commerciale en Espagne : sa croissance, son développement et l'impact de la crise économique globale Eva Parga-Dans

Cette communication a pour but de présenter une vue d'ensemble de l'impact de la crise économique globale sur le secteur archéologique espagnol. Elle fait partie d'un thème de recherche plus large portant sur « Les socio économies du patrimoine » mené par le Laboratoire du Patrimoine, dans le but d'analyser et systématiser les informations sur ce secteur. Nous avons notamment entrepris une étude empirique sur le nouveau marché qui s'est développé depuis les années 1990 en rapport avec la gestion du patrimoine archéologique en Espagne, gardant à l'esprit les importantes différences entre les 17 régions du pays. Une attention particulière a été portée à l'émergence, la structure et le développement de ce secteur du marché, en examinant les relations entre les acteurs et les institutions impliquées dans la production d'innovations et de connaissance. Cette publication porte spécifiquement sur les effets de la crise économique actuelle sur le secteur commercial en Espagne, et sur la gestion du patrimoine archéologique plus généralement. La crise a causé un important déclin dans le secteur de la construction, ainsi que dans les chiffres de l'emploi. Bien que nous manquons toujours de données suffisantes, des premières évaluations quantitatives et qualitatives confirment que cette diminution est aussi manifeste dans le secteur de l'archéologie commerciale, avec quelques variations entre les régions. Les services d'intervention de terrain fournis par des sociétés au secteur de l'aménagement du territoire sont particulièrement affectés. Une diversification vers d'autres activités de dissémination et de gestion des ressources culturelles serait une voie à suivre.

7. Une crise aux multiples visages. L'impact de la récession économique sur l'archéologie néerlandaise Monique H. van den Dries, Karen E. Waugh & Corien Bakker

Un large pourcentage des activités effectuées dans le secteur de la gestion du patrimoine archéologique hollandais est lié aux activités de construction et de l'aménagement du territoire. En fait, bien plus de 90% de toute l'activité archéologique est financée par les aménageurs. Le travail de terrain que cela entraîne est principalement effectué par le secteur privé. Etant donnée cette relation étroite, on peut s'attendre à ce que la récession dans le secteur de la construction affecte aussi sérieusement le secteur archéologique (privé). Cependant, en 2009, les effets de la crise économique sur le secteur archéologique aux Pays-Bas n'étaient pas aussi forts qu'attendus, notamment en comparaison avec d'autres pays. En fait, aucune société archéologique n'a fait faillite (bien que quelques sociétés plus petites aient cessé leurs activités)

et une situation de presque plein-emploi a été maintenue. Le gouvernement national a temporairement stimulé les constructions et l'aménagement du territoire, par des mesures financières favorables et en accélérant des grand travaux d'infrastructure. Ces mesures ont sans doute joué un rôle, mais il se peut aussi que le secteur archéologique, comme quelques autres, montre une réaction retardée du fait que beaucoup de sociétés avaient, au début de 2009, toujours beaucoup de projets « en stock ». Cependant, tandis que nous avons vu une croissance annuelle constante du nombre de projets de terrain depuis 2003, en 2009 pour la première fois en plus de 25 ans nous avons été témoins d'une baisse de plus de 10%. Les évaluations de terrain au moyen du carottage en particulier ont diminué significativement (15%), alors que le nombre de fouilles a baissé de 7,2%. Est-ce que tout cela est dû à la crise économique ? La situation pour 2009 ne relève donc pas d'une simple relation de cause à effet avec les activités économiques dans le secteur de l'aménagement. Un autre facteur important, mais difficile à évaluer quantitativement, est le fait que notre nouveau système de gestion du patrimoine archéologique est toujours dans une première étape de développement. Beaucoup de collectivités locales ne font que commencer à mettre en œuvre les principes de la Convention de Malte et à développer des politiques de gestion du patrimoine local. En conséquence, il reste beaucoup de travail pour le développement de cartes archéologiques, des plans d'implantation, des évaluations préliminaires, etc. D'autre part, une meilleure prise en charge par les autorités locales de leur propre archéologie, avec la mise en œuvre de nouvelles directives et règlements au niveau local, pourrait mettre fin à l'excédent de travaux de prospection et d'évaluation. En général la situation économique de 2010 et des années suivantes pourrait légèrement s'améliorer, mais il semble que les autorités locales et nationales auront à faire face à des coupes sévères dans leurs budgets. Pour l'archéologie, il se peut fort bien que la récession n'ait pas encore atteint le fond.

8. Une crise de trop ? L'archéologie française entre réformes et relance Nathan Schlanger & Kai Salas Rossenbach

Il est proposé ici d'analyser les impacts de la crise économique globale sur l'archéologie française à l'aune de processus antérieurs et en cours, au sein de la discipline et au delà. Pour ce qui est de l'archéologie préventive, une série de développements juridiques et organisationnels ont finalement mené, en 2001, à sa confirmation comme mission de service public, financée par le principe du « pollueur payeur » et comprenant des volets de recherche scientifique et de médiation au public. Néanmoins, dès 2003, la phase de fouilles de l'archéologie préventive a été ouverte à la concurrence commerciale entre opérateurs agréés, dans l'attente que ce marché contribue à la réduction des délais et des coûts. Cette approche s'aligne avec la Révision générale des politiques publiques entamée en 2007 afin de rationaliser et de moderniser les services publics, notamment par la réduction d'emplois et la restructuration des ministères et des établissements sous tutelle. Ces réformes ont déjà fortement marqué l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche, ainsi que les services en charge de gestion et de contrôle en matière d'archéologie. C'est sur l'arrière-plan de ces réformes que la crise économique globale fit son apparition en 2008. L'ambitieux plan de relance mise en œuvre comprend notamment des investissements importants en infrastructures et travaux publics (routes, TGV) qui nécessiteront des diagnostics et des fouilles d'archéologie préventive. En contrepartie, cependant, il a été décidé d'alléger les procédures administratives pour les travaux d'aménagement : le Code du patrimoine a été modifié afin de limiter l'influence « désormais excessive » de l'archéologie préventive, en imposant des délais plus contraignants pour les prescriptions et les opérations de terrain. Il est sans doute trop tôt pour évaluer les effets de ces mesures, mais on peut déjà pressentir que, mis à part les opérateurs archéologiques, ce sont aussi les aménageurs, les autorités de contrôle et surtout le patrimoine archéologique lui-même qui risquent d'en faire les frais.

9. La crise et les changements de la législation du patrimoine culturel en Hongrie : cul-de-sac ou solution?

Eszter Bánffy & Pál Raczky

Cet article porte sur un changement planifié de la législation hongroise concernant la définition et la protection des sites archéologiques. Jusqu'à présent, la définition légale d'un site incluait son inscription dans une base de données nationale tenue par le Bureau de la Protection du Patrimoine (KÖH) : la nouvelle proposition exigerait que ces sites soient aussi localisés et coordonnés dans une base de données publiquement disponible et certifiée, au niveau municipal. Cependant, de telles exigences ne sont actuellement remplies que dans quelques milliers de cas sur près des 40 000 sites nationalement enregistrés, sans parler des c. 200 000 sites dont l'existence est estimée à travers le pays. Tous ces « non-sites » seraient laissés en dehors de la législation protectrice ; ils ne profiteraient pas des évaluations antérieures ou des 0,9 % que les projets d'aménagement doivent dépenser pour la protection des sites archéologiques. Le règlement proposé a apparemment été conçu pour aider les aménageurs et les investisseurs à faire face à moins d'obstacles avant de commencer les travaux de construction. Mais en fait cela les endommage également : si un site est trouvé après que les travaux aient commencé, ceux-ci seront arrêtés par le KÖH – mais puisque les fouilles ne sont plus préventives, elles n'auront aucun budget assuré, aboutissant à des pertes tant pour les aménageurs que pour l'archéologie. Les auteurs de la présente communication proposent une solution qui aiderait à résoudre ces problèmes, non seulement pendant la période actuelle de crise économique, mais aussi sur le long terme, en prenant autant compte de l'intérêt du patrimoine archéologique que du développement économique.

10. L'archéologie et la crise. Le cas de la Pologne

Arkadiusz Marciniak & Michał Pawleta

Cet article vise à discuter les effets de la situation économique mondiale sur l'archéologie polonaise. Il commence par un bref aperçu de l'archéologie et du patrimoine archéologique dans la Pologne contemporaine, ainsi que les solutions juridiques et institutionnelles en vigueur. Nous nous tournons vers l'impact de la crise économique sur les principaux secteurs de l'archéologie polonaise, en particulier les travaux préventifs et de sauvetage, les activités académiques, et la situation dans les musées archéologiques. Nous abordons en particulier la nature et la portée de projets de terrain menés au cours de ces dernières années, en rapport avec des changements dans le secteur de l'aménagement du territoire et dans le marché du travail des différents secteurs de l'archéologie. L'effet le plus alarmant de la crise sur l'archéologie polonaise est une diminution dramatique de la qualité du travail de terrain dans le cadre des fouilles préventives ou de sauvetage, en raison de l'application de solutions économiques les plus libérales. Ce constat est encore renforcé par une inefficacité structurelle des divers organismes en charge de la mise en place des normes, de la coordination et du contrôle des travaux archéologiques préventifs et de sauvetage en Pologne.

11. L'impact de la crise économique sur l'archéologie de sauvetage en Russie

Asya Engovatova

Le système de l'archéologie de sauvetage ou préventive en Russie a commencé à se développer à la fin des années 1920 et, avant les années 1970, il représentait la moitié des opérations archéologiques dans le pays. De nos jours, l'organisme responsable de l'archéologie au sein de l'Académie des sciences attribue plusieurs sortes de licences ou autorisations : pour les

fouilles de recherche, pour les prospections de surface, pour les travaux de reconnaissance archéologique et pour les fouilles de sauvetage sur des sites en danger. La situation de l'archéologie de sauvetage a considérablement fluctué après les grands changements du début des années 1990 et la crise économique de 1998. Cependant, le nombre de licences accordées pour des fouilles de sauvetage a brusquement augmenté à partir de 2000, et dans les années 2006-2008, près des trois quarts de tous les travaux archéologiques à travers le pays étaient des fouilles de sauvetage. La crise économique actuelle a provoqué une réduction du nombre d'opérations archéologiques, particulièrement celles liées aux aménagements privés. D'importants investissements d'État dans des projets d'infrastructures divers limiteront l'impact de la crise sur les activités archéologiques. Cependant, des effets de la crise se perçoivent dans des tentatives de la Duma de réduire légalement des mesures de protection archéologique, ainsi que dans les nouvelles mesures d'exonération d'impôt qui favorisent les sociétés privées aux dépens d'organismes publics tels les musées et les universités.

12. L'effet de la récession mondiale sur la gestion des ressources culturelles aux États-Unis

Jeffrey H. Altschul

Les effets de la récession mondiale sur la gestion des ressources culturelles (CRM) aux États-Unis ont été plus profonds et plus répandus que ne l'avait anticipé le secteur. Les raisons de l'échec dans l'appréciation des répercussions financières de la récession sont variées, allant de la simple sous-estimation de l'économie, aux facteurs plus compliqués impliquant les modes d'allocation de fonds suivis par les agences gouvernementales. Comment ces facteurs ont joué au cours de 2009 et 2010, et à quoi pouvons nous nous attendre à court terme ; tels sont les sujets de cette communication.

13. Postscript : canaris, cobayes et autres chevaux de Troie

Nathan Schlanger

Si la crise économique actuelle est comparable à une peste médiévale, quels en sont les modes de progression ? Frappe-t-elle la pratique de l'archéologie et la gestion du patrimoine de façon indiscriminée, y a-t-il des points faibles ou des zones protégées ? Pour ce qui est de l'emploi en archéologie, la situation est contrastée. Des pertes importantes dans certains pays ont d'ailleurs donné à l'archéologie la réputation d'un « canari » annonçant la crise. Ces pertes d'emploi ont des conséquences néfastes, que ce soit pour les compétences spécialisées irremplaçables ou pour l'expérience des techniciens et autres employés. Ces nouvelles contraintes perturbent l'équilibre entre les dimensions scientifiques et économiques de l'archéologie contemporaine, au détriment des problématiques de recherche, de la qualité scientifique, des publications et des médiations au public. Enfin, en fonction des politiques et des idéologies en place, des interventions de l'État sont attendues. Aux côtés de divers projets de relance et d'investissement dans des programmes d'infrastructure, sont aussi identifiés divers ajustements et manipulations en termes de lois, d'institutions ou de procédures. Quelles que soient leurs intentions ou leurs pertinences, il ne faut pas que ces mesures mettent en péril les acquis archéologiques et patrimoniaux de la convention de Malte – que ce soit pour la durée de la crise, et pour la reprise qui s'ensuivra.

Archäologie und die globale Wirtschaftskrise

Vielfältige Auswirkungen,
mögliche Lösungen

Herausgegeben von Nathan Schlanger
und Kenneth Aitchison

Deutsche zusammenfassungen

1. Einleitung: Archäologie und die globale Wirtschaftskrise

Nathan Schlanger & Kenneth Aitchison

Der folgende Band ist nicht nur das Ergebnis der EAA-Tagung 2009. Er darf auch als der erste Überblick über die aktuelle Wirtschaftskrise und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Archäologie betrachtet werden. Die Krise ist nicht nur eine Tatsache, sie ist auch zur kollektiven Vorstellung geworden, unter deren Vorwand Entscheidungen über die archäologische Denkmalpflege getroffen bzw. gerechtfertigt werden. In diesem Feld entwickelten sich vor der Krise verschiedene Verfahren, die sich im Laufe der Krise bisher weiter entwickelt haben. Vier unterschiedliche Auswirkungen der Krise auf die Archäologie werden hier untersucht, und zwar: auf die Finanzierung und die Schwerpunkte der Forschung; auf die Beschäftigung und die Ausbildung; auf die Bewahrungs- und Vermittlungspolitik; schließlich auf die Entwicklung der Politik und der Gesetzgebung zur archäologischen Denkmalpflege. Der aufblühende Bereich „archäologische Denkmalpflege“ hat unter der wirtschaftlichen Rezession schwer gelitten. Besonders in der Krise sollten wir aus diesem Bereich viel darüber lernen, wie unsere Gesellschaften die Vergangenheit und das Kulturerbe heute schätzen können.

2. Die Krise – aus wirtschaftlichem, ideologischem und archäologischem Gesichtspunkt

Jean-Paul Demoule

Seit ihrer Gründung spielt die EAA die Rolle eines Diskussionsforums über die europäische archäologische Denkmalpflege. Zwei verschiedene Hauptauffassungen werden hier vertreten. Nach der einen Auffassung ist der Staat als Vertreter der Bürgergemeinschaft für die archäologische Denkmalpflege verantwortlich: entweder durch archäologiespezifische Behörden, oder durch jener Aufgabe gewidmete staatliche Organisationen. Nach der anderen Auffassung wird das archäologische Kulturerbe als eine Ware und sein Erhalt als eine Dienstleistung betrachtet. Geschäftsartige archäologische Zentren stehen zur Verfügung ihrer Kunden, der Raumplaner, und richten sich ausschließlich nach einer bestimmten „Ethik“, die im Rahmen der Marktwirtschaft eine ausgezeichnete Kontrolle versichert. Neulich sind Handelsgesellschaften in Frankreich als „Anbieter“ im Bereich der präventiven Archäologie genehmigt worden. Die aktuelle Wirtschaftskrise lädt uns aber ein, diese Auffassung richtig neu durchzudenken. Der Staat, der früher „Teil des Problems“ war, wird heute als mögliche Lösung betrachtet. Wenn der Staat sich finanziell nicht so stark engagieren würde, gerieten viele wirtschaftliche bzw. Finanzinstitutionen in eine noch schlimmere Lage. Im Bereich der Archäologie auch ist eine große Anzahl von privaten Anbietern seit Anfang der Krise geschwächt worden; dadurch werden die archäologischen Operationen, sowie das Informationsmaterial und die Publikationen gefährdet. Alle Mitarbeiter der „archäologischen Gemeinschaft“ haben hier die Gelegenheit, über ihre Pflichten und Erwartungen nachzudenken.

3. Die Wirkung der Rezession auf die Archäologie in der Republik Irland

James Eogan

Archäologische Ausgrabungen werden in der Republik Irland vor allem von staatlich reglementierten Privatfirmen durchgeführt. Seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre ist dieser privatwirtschaftliche Bereich sowohl in Bezug auf die Anzahl der für öffentliche und private Kunden ausgeführten Aufträge, als auch in Bezug auf die Anzahl der beschäftigten Archäologen gewachsen. Zwischen 1995 und 2002 stieg die Anzahl der Ausgrabungen jährlich um

durchschnittlich 30% an; zwischen 2003 und 2007 stabilisierte sich diese Anzahl bei 1500 pro Jahr. Dies schuf Arbeitsplätze für Archäologen und 2007 wurde in der Studie *Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe* die Anzahl der beschäftigten Archäologen auf ungefähr 1000 geschätzt. Die große Menge von neuen Grabungsergebnissen förderte die Forschung im Allgemeinen sowie akademische Forschungsprojekte. Forschungsmittel wurden vom Staat und Stipendien vom *Heritage Council* verteilt. Seit 2008 aber hat sich die Anzahl der jährlichen Ausgrabungen um 66% und infolgedessen die Anzahl der in der Privatwirtschaft angestellten Archäologen um 80% reduziert. Das allgemeine wirtschaftliche Klima hat außerdem die Gelder, die zur Finanzierung von Forschungsprojekten zur Verfügung stehen, verringert. Nach vorläufigen Daten für 2010 stabilisiert sich die Anzahl der Ausgrabungen, allerdings auf dem Niveau der mittleren bis späten 1990er Jahre. Forschungsgelder werden aber wahrscheinlich in den nächsten Jahren noch weiter reduziert werden. Als Herausforderung für die Zukunft handelt es sich darum, die in den Jahren des nie zuvor gesehenen wirtschaftlichen Wachstums erzielten Ergebnisse in den drei folgenden Schlüsselbereichen zu bestätigen:

- in der Weiterentwicklung der vorhandenen gesetzlichen Rahmenbedingungen und Verwaltungsstrukturen;
- in der Sicherung von Grabungsarchiven
- in der Fortsetzung der Zusammenarbeit zwischen Archäologen in der Privatwirtschaft, den staatlichen und akademischen Institutionen, um die Forschung zu fördern und sich dessen zu vergewissern, dass die Ausgrabungsergebnisse wissenschaftlich ausgewertet und der gesamten Gesellschaft zugänglich gemacht werden können.

4. Vereinigtes Königreich: Archäologie in der Wirtschaftskrise

Kenneth Aitchison

Seit 1990 ist die Archäologie im Vereinigten Königreich mit der Entwicklung der Raumplanung eng verbunden. Alle Raumplaner, deren Projekte Ausgrabungsstätten beschädigen bzw. zerstören könnten, müssen die Ausgrabungen selbst finanzieren und beauftragen damit Handelsgesellschaften, die auf offenem Markt miteinander konkurrieren. Deswegen wuchs die Anzahl der Mitarbeiter in der Archäologie ziemlich schnell, sowohl im Bereich der Untersuchungen vor Ort als auch im Bereich der Beratung von Entscheidungsträgern über die mögliche Wirkung der vorgeschlagenen Raumplanung. Seit Anfang der wirtschaftlichen Krise ist die Bautätigkeit schwächer geworden. Das bedeutete auch den starken Rückgang der archäologischen Arbeit und infolgedessen eine wachsende Arbeitslosigkeit im privaten Sektor. Die neue, 2010 gewählte Regierung hat sich zum Zweck eines reduzierten Defizites dazu verpflichtet, die Ausgaben zu verringern. Unter dieser Politik sollten staatliche Einrichtungen, lokale Behörden sowie Universitäten in den nächsten Jahren schwer leiden.

5. Das Ende eines goldenen Zeitalters? Der wirtschaftliche Zusammenbruch und seine drohende Wirkung auf akademische und forschende Archäologie im Vereinigten Königreich

Anthony Sinclair

Im Gegensatz zum Bereich der kommerziellen Archäologie zeigte die Wirtschaftskrise bis Juni 2010 nur wenige direkte Auswirkungen auf die akademische bzw. forschungsorientierte Archäologie, wenn bestimmte archäologische Fachbereiche auch weniger Aufgaben hatten. Die Situation sollte sich ab August 2010 völlig verändern. Die finanzielle Unterstützung des Hochschulwesens sollte um mehr als eine Milliarde Pfund sinken; man muss auf eine Verringerung der Gelder um mehr als 25% in

den nächsten drei Jahren gefasst sein. Deswegen wird es gleich den Universitäten schwer fallen, neue Mitarbeiter außer den Hauptstudienfächern (Wissenschaft, Technologie, Engineering und Mathematik) einzustellen. Die Führung muss dann den Ertrag des Studiums und der Forschung möglichst optimieren, dagegen die Ausgaben in weiteren Bereichen verringern und die Lehrkräfte aus konjunkturbedingten Gründen möglicherweise entlassen. Die am Ende des Jahres 2010 vorgesehene Neufestsetzung der dem Hochschulwesen gewährten Gelder sollte zur unvermeidlichen Erhöhung der Studiengebühren führen: Dadurch werden die Studenten mehr oder weniger gezwungen, sich für ein Studium mit günstigen Arbeitsaussichten zu entscheiden. Die Archäologie sollte unter einer solchen Politik auch schwer leiden. Die Anzahl der Studenten der Archäologie ist beträchtlich gestiegen und die Forschung hat sich entwickelt. Dafür sinken die Bewerbungen immer weiter und es wird immer schwierig, Forschungsstipendien zu bekommen. Deswegen sind die meisten archäologischen Fachbereiche in Universitäten mit hohem Forschungspotenzial und infolgedessen höheren Studiengebühren angesiedelt. Die Verantwortung der archäologischen Fachbereiche besteht darin, die Diplome in Archäologie kompetenzbezogen aufzuwerten. Den beruflichen und ausbildenden Sektoren kommt es dann zu, die praktische Ausbildung neu zu unterstützen, damit weniger Kosten von den Studenten getragen werden.

6. Kommerzielle Archäologie in Spanien: Ihre Entwicklung und die Wirkung der globalen Wirtschaftskrise

Eva Parga-Dans

Hier wird die Wirkung der globalen Wirtschaftskrise auf den spanischen archäologischen Bereich überblicklich vorgestellt. Dieser Beitrag ist Teil eines weiteren Forschungsprojekts des Instituts für Denkmalpflege über „Sozioökonomien der Denkmalpflege“, in dem alle Daten in diesem Bereich systematisch analysiert werden können. An diesem Institut erfolgt eine empirische Untersuchung des jetzt zehn-fünfzehnjährigen Marktes, der sich mit der archäologischen Denkmalpflege in Spanien beschäftigt. Wichtig ist auch, dass diese Untersuchung die unterscheidenden Merkmale der siebzehn autonomen Gemeinschaften nicht beiseitelässt. Besonders berücksichtigt werden hier die Entstehung, die Struktur und die Entwicklung dieses Marktbereichs und die Beziehungen zwischen Akteuren und innovationsfähigen bzw. Wissen herstellenden Institutionen erforscht. Hier werden vorrangig die Auswirkungen der aktuellen Wirtschaftskrise auf den Handelssektor und auf die archäologische Denkmalpflege im Allgemeinen behandelt. Die Krise hat das Baugewerbe deutlich geschwächt und die Beschäftigungsrate geschadet. Trotz lückenhafter Daten bestätigen erste quantitative und qualitative Schätzungen, dass es im Bereich der kommerziellen Archäologie auch solche Schwierigkeiten gibt, wenn sie in jeder Gemeinschaft auch unterschiedlich sind. Dieses Problem betrifft in erster Linie die Untersuchungen vor Ort, die von Privatgesellschaften angeboten werden. Es ist wünschenswert, dass solche Einrichtungen sich auch weiter mit der Beratung über kulturelle Ressourcen und ihrer Verwaltung beschäftigen.

7. Eine janusartige Krise: Die Wirkung der Wirtschaftsrezession auf die niederländische Archäologie

Monique H. Van Den Dries, Karen E. Waugh & Corien Bakker

Die verschiedenen Tätigkeiten im Bereich der niederländischen archäologischen Denkmalpflege sind mit der Entwicklung des Baugewerbes und der Raumplanung verbunden. Mehr als 90% der gesamten archäologischen Tätigkeit wird eigentlich

von den Raumplanern finanziert. Die Ausgrabungen werden hauptsächlich vom privaten Sektor durchgeführt. Wegen dieser engen Verbindung könnte man sich vorstellen, dass die Rezession im Baugewerbe den privaten archäologischen Sektor auch erreichen würde. 2009 waren aber die Auswirkungen der Wirtschaftskrise auf den archäologischen Sektor in den Niederlanden im Vergleich zu anderen Ländern nicht so stark. Obwohl ein paar kleinere archäologische Gesellschaften aufgeben sollten, ging gar keine wirklich bankrott und die Vollbeschäftigung wurde fast aufrechterhalten. Die niederländische Regierung hat das Baugewerbe und die Raumplanung durch finanzielle Unterstützungen vorübergehend gefördert und weitere Infrastrukturbauten bestellt. Diese Maßnahmen mögen geholfen haben. Wie andere vielleicht reagierte der archäologische Sektor erst nachträglich, weil viele Gesellschaften Anfang 2009 immer noch eine Menge von Projekten „auf Vorrat“ hatten. Obwohl die Anzahl der Ausgrabungsprojekte jedes Jahr seit 2003 regelmäßig gewachsen ist, sank sie 2009 zum ersten Mal in den letzten 25 Jahren um mehr als 10%. Besonders die Anzahl der Bohrungen zur Bodenschätzung sank tief (15%), während die der Ausgrabungen sich um 7,2% verringerte. Sind all diese Schwierigkeiten Auswirkungen der Wirtschaftskrise? Es gibt keine schlichte Ursache-Wirkung-Beziehung zwischen der Situation im Jahre 2009 und den wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten des Baugewerbes. Ein weiterer, quantitativ schwer einzuschätzender Faktor ist, dass die Organisation der archäologischen Denkmalpflege neulich umgestaltet worden ist und erst jetzt anfängt, sich richtig zu entwickeln. Viele lokale Behörden fangen erst an, die Beschlüsse der Konvention von Malta auszuführen und eine Politik zur lokalen Denkmalpflege auszuarbeiten. Deswegen gibt es noch viel zu tun, um die Entwicklung von archäologischen Landkarten, Planungsprojekten und vorbereitenden Schätzungen zu fördern. Wenn die lokalen Behörden die Archäologie vor Ort entwickeln und neue Beschlüsse bzw. Vorschriften in Kraft setzen würden, könnte man auf alle überflüssigen Ausgrabungen und Bewertungen verzichten. Die Wirtschaftskonjunktur könnte sich 2010 und in den folgenden Jahren ein wenig verbessern. Die lokalen und nationalen Behörden werden aber gleich wahrscheinlich vor drastischen Budgetkürzungen stehen. Was die Archäologie betrifft, ist es möglich, dass die Rezession den tiefsten Stand noch nicht erreicht hat.

8. Eine Krise zuviel? Französische Archäologie zwischen Reformen und Aufschwung

Nathan Schlanger & Kai Salas Rossenbach

Hier wird von den Auswirkungen der globalen Wirtschaftskrise auf die französische Archäologie gehandelt, mit Rücksicht auf frühere sowie aktuelle Verfahren, die im archäologischen sowie in weiteren Bereichen laufen. Was die präventive Archäologie betrifft trugen verschiedene juristische und organisatorische Entwicklungen 2001 dazu bei, dass die Archäologie als öffentliche Aufgabe anerkannt wurde: das bedeutet, dass die Archäologie seitdem nach dem Verursacherprinzip finanziert wird und sich in zwei Hauptrichtungen entwickeln soll – die Forschung und die öffentliche Vermittlung. 2003 schon wurde aber die präventive Ausgrabungsphase dem Wettbewerb zwischen anerkannten Anbietern archäologischer Dienstleistungen geöffnet, in der Hoffnung, dass dieser Markt die Verringerung der Fristen und Kosten ermöglichen würde. Diese Politik entspricht der französischen, 2007 angefangenen sog. „Révision générale des politiques publiques“ (der Reform der öffentlichen Verwaltung) zur Rationalisierung und Modernisierung der öffentlichen Einrichtungen, nach welcher die Ministerien und die der Aufsicht des Staates unterliegenden Einrichtungen strukturell verändert und ihr Personal abgebaut werden sollen. Diese Reformen haben das Hochschulwesen und die Forschung, sowie die für die Archäologie verantwortlichen Verwaltungs- und Kontrolleabteilungen schon tief geprägt. Solche Reformen hatte die globale Wirtschaftskrise 2008 im Hintergrund, als sie ausbrach. Zu diesem zielstrebigem Aufschwungsplan

gehören erhebliche Investitionen in die Infrastruktur und das Bauwesen (Strassen, Züge, usw.), die Untersuchungen und präventive Ausgrabungen benötigen werden. Dagegen sind die Verwaltungsverfahren zur Raumplanung vereinfacht worden: das französische Gesetzbuch über die Denkmalpflege hat man verändert, um den „nunmehr übertriebenen“ Einfluss der präventiven Archäologie zu begrenzen; dazu wird eine kürzere Frist für Anträge und Ausgrabungen geleistet. Die Wirkung solcher Maßnahmen lässt sich noch nicht erkennen. Man hat aber das Gefühl, dass nicht nur die Anbieter archäologischer Dienstleistungen, sondern auch die Raumplaner, die Kontrollbehörden und das archäologische Kulturerbe selbst darunter leiden werden.

9. Die Krise und die Entwicklung der Gesetzgebung über Denkmalpflege in Ungarn: eine Lösung oder nicht? Eszter Bánffy & Pál Raczky

Dieser Beitrag handelt von der vorgesehenen Entwicklung der ungarischen Gesetzgebung über Kennzeichnung und Schutz der Ausgrabungsstätten. Bisher gehörte zur gesetzlichen Kennzeichnung einer Ausgrabungsstätte die Eintragung in eine nationale, vom sog. KÖH („Amt zur Denkmalpflege“) koordinierte Datenbank. Nach neuen Verordnungen müssten die Ausgrabungsstätten auch in eine anerkannte und öffentliche, auf Stadtebene koordinierte Datenbank eingetragen werden. Solche Regelungen werden jetzt nur noch in ein paar Tausend Orten befolgt, während ungefähr 40000 Ausgrabungsstätten auf nationaler Ebene registriert worden sind und die gesamte Anzahl der Ausgrabungsstätten im Lande auf ca. 200000 geschätzt worden ist. Diese würden vom Gesetz nicht berücksichtigt. Ihnen würde weder die frühere Schätzung helfen, noch der 0,9%-ige Teil der Gelder, der in Raumplanungsprojekten zum Schutz der Ausgrabungsstätten ausgegeben werden sollte. Offenbar wurde die Regelung getroffen, damit Raumplaner bzw. Geldgeber am Anfang der Bauarbeiten vor geringen Schwierigkeiten stehen. Die Regelung hat aber auch Nachteile: wenn eine Ausgrabungsstätte im Laufe der Bauarbeiten entdeckt wird, werden diese vom KÖH unterbrochen. Da es sich aber um keine präventive Ausgrabungen handelt, werden sie nicht finanziert: es schadet also den Raumplanern sowie der Archäologie. Eine weitere Lösung wird in diesem Beitrag vorgeschlagen, die nicht nur in der aktuellen Wirtschaftskrise, sondern auch auf Dauer günstig wäre: Es handelte sich darum, das archäologische Kulturerbe zugleich mit der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung zu berücksichtigen.

10. Archäologie und die Krise – Am Beispiel Polens Arkadiusz Marciniak & Michał Pawleta

Ziel des Beitrages ist es, die Auswirkungen der aktuellen globalen Wirtschaftskrise auf die polnische Archäologie zu diskutieren. Er beginnt mit einem kurzen Überblick über die Archäologie und die archäologische Denkmalpflege im heutigen Polen und die bestehenden rechtlichen und institutionellen Vorgaben. Anschließend soll die Art der Auswirkungen der Wirtschaftskrise systematisch diskutiert werden, in dem die Hauptbereiche der polnischen Archäologie im Sinne von Schutz- und Rettungsmaßnahmen, kurz die akademischen Tätigkeiten und die Situation der archäologischen Museen betrachtet werden. Insbesondere sind Ausmaß und Menge der in den letzten Jahren unternommenen Feldforschung und deren Verhältnis zum Wandel in der Baubranche, wie auch der Arbeitsmarkt in verschiedenen Bereichen der Archäologie zu diskutieren. Die alarmierendsten Effekte der Krise auf die polnische Archäologie zeigen sich in der dramatischen Abnahme der Qualität von Schutz- und Rettungsmaßnahmen wegen einer sehr liberalen Anwendung von Marktlösungen. Verstärkt wird

dies noch durch eine strukturelle Ineffektivität der verschiedenen Behörden, die die Richtlinien festlegen, Schutz- und Rettungsmaßnahmen in Polen koordinieren und kontrollieren.

11. Die Wirkung der Wirtschaftskrise auf die Rettungsarchäologie in Russland Asya Engovatova

Die Rettungs- oder präventive Archäologie in Russland hat sich ab Ende der 1920er Jahre entwickelt; schon vor den 1970er Jahren betraf sie die Hälfte der archäologischen Operationen im Land. Die an der Akademie der Wissenschaften für Archäologie verantwortliche Abteilung erteilt heute Genehmigungen und Erlaubnisse unterschiedlicher Art: für Ausgrabungen, für Flächenerkundungen, für archäologische Erkundungsarbeiten und Rettungsgrabungen auf gefährdeten Zonen. Seit der Umwälzung am Anfang der 1990er Jahre und der 1998er Wirtschaftskrise erlebt die Rettungsarchäologie eine wechselnde Situation. Dennoch hat sich die Anzahl der für Rettungsarbeiten erteilten Genehmigungen ab 2000 plötzlich erhöht; 2006-2008 waren fast 75% der gesamten archäologischen Operationen durch das Land Rettungsgrabungen. Die aktuelle Wirtschaftskrise hat die Anzahl der archäologischen, besonders der mit privater Raumplanung verbundenen Operationen reduziert. Wichtige Staatsinvestitionen in Infrastrukturprojekte sollen die Wirkung der Krise auf die archäologischen Tätigkeiten begrenzen. Trotzdem sind Auswirkungen der Krise zu spüren, weil die Duma versucht, die archäologische Denkmalpflege gesetzlich zu begrenzen; sie hat z. B. neue Maßnahmen zugunsten der Privatgesellschaften getroffen, die im Gegensatz zu Staatseinrichtungen (Museen, Universitäten) dadurch steuerbefreit werden.

12. Die Wirkung der Weltrezession auf die Verwaltung von kulturellen Ressourcen in den Vereinigten Staaten Jeffrey H. Altschul

Die Auswirkungen der Weltrezession auf die Verwaltung von kulturellen Ressourcen (sog. CRM) in den Vereinigten Staaten sind tiefer und weiter verbreitet als das, was der Sektor erwartete. Die falsche Einschätzung der finanziellen Auswirkungen der Rezession kann man aus verschiedenen Gründen erklären, von der schlichten Unterschätzung der Wirtschaft bis zu komplizierten Verfahren, die mit der Art und Weise, wie Regierungsstellen die Gelder bereitstellen, zu tun haben. Welche Rolle diese Verfahren 2009 und 2010 gespielt haben? Worauf kann man kurzfristig gefasst sein? Solche Fragen versucht dieser Beitrag zu beantworten.

13. Nachwort: Über Kanarienvögel, Meerschweinchen und Trojanische Pferde... Nathan Schlanger

Wenn man die aktuelle Wirtschaftskrise mit einer mittelalterlichen Plage vergleichen darf, welche sind ihre Entwicklungsprozesse? „Befällt“ sie die archäologischen Praktiken und die Denkmalpflege in gleicher Weise? Gibt es zugleich gefährdete und geschützte Zonen? In Bezug auf die Berufstätigkeit im archäologischen Bereich lässt sich die Situation unterschiedlich beschreiben: wegen zahlreicher Arbeitsplatzverluste in manchen Ländern wird die Archäologie manchmal als einen unglücksbringenden „Kanarienvogel“ betrachtet. Die Folgen solcher Arbeitsplatzverluste sind schlecht, weil sie unersetzbare Fachleute sowie erfahrene Techniker und weitere Mitarbeiter betreffen. Solche Zwänge stören das Gleichgewicht zwischen der wissenschaftlichen

und der wirtschaftlichen Seite der heutigen Archäologie; das geschieht auf Kosten der Forschungsprojekte, der Wissenschaftlichkeit, der Publikationen und der öffentlichen Vermittlung. Der regierenden Politik bzw. Ideologie entsprechende Staatseingriffe sind auch schließlich zu erwarten. Verschiedene Aufschwungspläne und Investitionen in die Infrastruktur, sowie Änderungen und „Herumbasteln“ an dem

Gesetz, den Einrichtungen und den Vorgehensweisen können hervorgehoben werden. Ganz gleich, was das Ziel solcher Maßnahmen ist und ob sie relevant sind! Höchst wichtig ist es, dass sie gegen die Beschlüsse der Konvention von Malta über Archäologie und Denkmalpflege nicht verstoßen – solange die Wirtschaftskrise dauert, aber auch danach, wenn der Aufschwung sich erkennen lässt.

Arqueología y la crisis económica global

**Impactos múltiples,
posibles soluciones**

Edición coordinada por Nathan Schlanger
y Kenneth Aitchison

Resúmenes en español

1. Introducción: la arqueología y la crisis económica global

Nathan Schlanger & Kenneth Aitchison

Este volumen, así como la sesión de la Asociación de arqueólogos europeos (EAA 2009) de la cual deriva, propone por primera vez una mirada global sobre la crisis económica actual y sus efectos sobre la arqueología. Además de su ineluctable realidad, la crisis se convirtió rápidamente en una representación colectiva, utilizada de manera estratégica para llevar adelante o para justificar decisiones en torno a la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico. En efecto, en este campo como en otros, diversos procesos y trayectorias tuvieron lugar antes de la crisis para luego continuar paralelamente a ella. Aquí son identificados cuatro temas o zonas de impacto de la crisis sobre la arqueología: los financiamientos y las prioridades de la investigación; las cuestiones de empleo y de formación profesional; las políticas de conservación y de mediación al público y, finalmente, los cambios en las políticas y legislaciones en materia de patrimonio arqueológico. Sector en auge, la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico fue duramente golpeada por la recesión económica. No obstante, constituye también un sector revelador -precisamente en tiempo de crisis- acerca de las diferentes formas que tienen nuestras sociedades contemporáneas de apreciar el pasado y nuestro patrimonio.

2. La crisis – económica, ideológica y arqueológica

Jean-Paul Demoule

Desde su creación, la EEA sirvió de forum para los debates sobre las diferentes concepciones de la organización de la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico en Europa. Se pueden distinguir dos concepciones principales. Para una, es el “Estado Nación”, representante de la comunidad de ciudadanos, quien se encarga de la protección del patrimonio arqueológico, por intermedio de un Servicio arqueológico estatal o de organismos públicos. Para la otra, el patrimonio arqueológico es considerado como una mercadería o un servicio, en el cual unidades arqueológicas comerciales se hallan al servicio de sus clientes, las empresas de obras, y como único postulado una “deontología” para asegurar el control y la calidad en el marco de una economía de mercado. Este sistema fue puesto en marcha en Francia con la reciente aprobación de un sistema de licencias para las sociedades comerciales en arqueología preventiva. Sin embargo, la crisis económica actual invita claramente a repensar esta concepción. El Estado, considerado antes como “parte del problema”, es visto nuevamente como una posible solución. Sin las intervenciones masivas del Estado, una gran parte de los dispositivos económicos y financieros globales estarían peor que en la actualidad. En el sector de la arqueología, una gran cantidad de unidades privadas fueron dañadas o cerraron desde el comienzo de la crisis, lo que puso en peligro las operaciones arqueológicas, así como la documentación y las publicaciones. He aquí entonces una ocasión para toda la comunidad arqueológica de examinar sus responsabilidades y oportunidades.

3. El impacto de la recesión sobre la arqueología en la República de Irlanda

James Eogan

Los servicios arqueológicos en Irlanda son efectuados por un sector privado controlado por el Estado. A mediados de la década del 90, dicho sector conoció un fuerte crecimiento del volumen de trabajo, comandado a la vez por empresas privadas y por el sector público. Este crecimiento contribuyó al aumento del número de arqueólogos empleados. Entre 1995 y 2002, el número de excavaciones arqueológicas aumentó aproximadamente un 30 % por año. De 2003 a 2007, el número de excavaciones se estabilizó a unas 1500 por año.

Esto permitió la creación de empleos y en 2007, el proyecto “Descubrir los arqueólogos en Europa” estimaba el número de arqueólogos a alrededor de 1000. Numerosas excavaciones llevadas a cabo generaron una significativa cantidad de nuevos datos arqueológicos que estimularon investigaciones y oportunidades académicas. La mayoría de ellas fueron financiadas por becas administradas por el “Heritage Council”.

A partir de 2008, se constató una disminución del 66% del número de excavaciones y en consecuencia una reducción del 80% del número de arqueólogos empleados en el sector privado. El clima económico general ocasionó también una reducción del financiamiento disponible para apoyar los proyectos de investigación. Los datos previsionales para 2010 sugieren que el número de excavaciones se estaría estabilizando, aunque a niveles conocidos por última vez en la segunda mitad de los 90; sin embargo, los créditos afectados a la investigación serán reducidos en los años próximos.

El desafío para el porvenir será el de consolidar las ganancias acumuladas durante el crecimiento económico. Esto, en tres puntos claves:

- Desarrollar los marcos legislativos existentes y las estructuras administrativas
- Proteger los archivos de las excavaciones
- Mantener la cooperación entre los diversos sectores para favorecer la investigación y asegurar que los datos provenientes de las excavaciones sean transformados en conocimiento en beneficio del conjunto de la sociedad

4. La arqueología del Reino Unido en la crisis económica

Kenneth Aitchison

Desde 1990, la arqueología en el Reino Unido estuvo estrechamente ligada al proceso de desarrollo territorial. Todas las empresas de obras de construcción potencialmente susceptibles de causar daños o destrozos a sitios arqueológicos se hallan en la obligación de financiar su estudio a través de empresas privadas que compiten en un libre mercado para efectuar tales servicios. Esto ha generado un rápido aumento del número de individuos que trabajan en arqueología, tanto directamente en la investigación de campo, como también en el ámbito de consultación y consejo brindados a los tomadores de decisiones acerca del potencial impacto de tal o cual plan de desarrollo territorial. Desde que apareció la crisis económica, la actividad del sector de la construcción disminuyó radicalmente. Esto significó una considerable disminución de la actividad arqueológica, que tuvo como consecuencia principal la pérdida de numerosos empleos en el sector privado de la arqueología. Con el nuevo gobierno electo en el Reino Unido en 2010, que prometió reducir el déficit fiscal nacional disminuyendo los gastos, se puede suponer que las agencias nacionales y los gobiernos locales, así como las universidades, serán fuertemente afectados en los años venideros.

5. ¿El fin de una Edad de Oro? Los efectos amenazadores del colapso económico sobre la arqueología en la enseñanza académica.

Anthony Sinclair

En contraste con la práctica arqueológica profesional del sector comercial, la crisis económica tuvo poco impacto directo sobre la arqueología en la enseñanza académica hasta junio de 2010, con la notable excepción de la disminución de actividad para las unidades institucionales que compiten en el sector comercial. Esto cambiará radicalmente a partir de agosto de 2010. El financiamiento de la enseñanza académica será disminuido en más de 1000 millones de euros, con previsiones de una disminución de más del 25 % en tres años. Esto significará una menor capacidad para las universidades de reemplazar a su personal excepto en áreas claves de la enseñanza (ciencia, tecnología, ingeniería y matemáticas), y obligará a las

direcciones de las universidades a aumentar al máximo las ganancias económicas de la enseñanza y de la investigación y a disminuir los gastos en otros sectores, especialmente reduciendo el número de profesores. La revisión de este financiamiento al final de 2010 acarreará sin duda como consecuencia el aumento de los derechos de inscripción para los estudiantes, que elegirán sus estudios particularmente en cuenta las posibilidades laborales. La arqueología podría recibir un gran impacto debido a estos cambios. Ella creció en gran parte sobre la base del número de estudiantes y del éxito continuo de sus investigaciones. El número de inscripciones de estudiantes disminuye y los créditos para la investigación se tornan cada vez más difíciles de conseguir.

Asimismo, los departamentos de arqueología se encuentran principalmente basados en universidades de alto nivel de intensidad en investigación, las cuales poseen altos niveles de derechos de inscripción. Los departamentos deberán subrayar las competencias valorables - fuera de la arqueología- enseñadas en los cursos de arqueología, y los sectores profesionales y educativos tendrán que encontrar soluciones para mantener la formación sobre el terreno en arqueología en nuevas maneras que permitan aliviar el peso económico sostenido por los estudiantes.

6. La arqueología comercial en España: Su crecimiento, desarrollo y el impacto de la crisis económica global

Eva Parga-Dans

El propósito de este artículo es el de presentar una aproximación empírica sobre el sector arqueológico español, concretamente en el ámbito de la arqueología comercial y los efectos de la crisis global en relación a esta actividad. Este trabajo forma parte de una iniciativa mayor que tiene como objetivo analizar y sistematizar la información vinculada a la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico español.

A continuación, se presentan los resultados preliminares sobre el análisis de la actividad comercial desarrollada en torno a la arqueología como una nueva oferta de servicios generada en la década del 90, teniendo en consideración las relevantes diferencias entre las 17 provincias del país. Se presta especial atención a las causas que favorecieron su emergencia, analizando su estructura y desarrollo. Asimismo, se examinan las relaciones entre los actores y las instituciones involucradas en la generación del conocimiento y en los procesos de innovación.

El énfasis específico de esta publicación atañe a los efectos de la crisis económica actual sobre el sector comercial en España y, de manera general, sobre la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico.

La crisis indujo un importante declive en el sector de la construcción y en su correspondiente sector de empleos. Aún si faltan datos, los análisis cuantitativos y cualitativos iniciales confirman que esta caída también se manifiesta en el sector comercial de la arqueología, aunque con variables entre las provincias.

Los "servicios de intervención" provistos por empresas al sector de la construcción fueron particularmente afectados, y puede que la salida a esta crisis se encuentre en una diversificación hacia otros servicios de mediación al público y de gestión de los recursos culturales.

7. Una crisis de múltiples caras. El impacto de la recesión económica sobre la arqueología de los Países Bajos

Monique H. van den Dries, Karen E. Waugh & Corien Bakker

Un gran porcentaje de las actividades desarrolladas en el sector de la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico holandés está ligado a las actividades del sector de la construcción y del desarrollo

territorial. En realidad, mucho más del 90% de toda la actividad arqueológica está financiada por las empresas de obras. El trabajo de terreno ligado a estas obras es realizado por el sector privado. A causa de esta cercanía, se podría esperar que la recesión en el sector de la construcción afecte seriamente el sector privado de la arqueología. La recesión económica parece haber tenido algún impacto sobre las actividades arqueológicas en los Países Bajos. Pero, en 2009, los efectos de la crisis económica sobre el sector arqueológico no fueron tan fuertes como previsto y seguramente han sido menores que en otros países. En realidad, ninguna empresa de arqueología cayó en bancarota (aún si algunas pequeñas empresas dejaron su actividad) y una situación de casi pleno empleo se mantuvo. El gobierno nacional estimuló de manera temporaria las actividades de construcción y de desarrollo territorial introduciendo condiciones favorables de financiamiento y planificando obras públicas de gran escala. Esto puede haber jugado un papel importante, pero más importante aún es que el sector de la arqueología, al igual que otros sectores, presenta una reacción atrasada debido que, a comienzos de 2009, muchas empresas poseían todavía muchos proyectos en "stock". A pesar de todo, si bien desde 2003 se observa un constante aumento anual del número de proyectos de terreno en arqueología, en 2009 y por primera vez en 25 años se observó una disminución del 10%. En particular, las evaluaciones de terreno por sondeos disminuyeron significativamente (15%). De la misma manera, el número de excavaciones disminuyó del 7,2%. ¿Fue todo esto causa de la crisis económica? La situación de 2009 suele en realidad ser un poco más compleja que la de una relación lineal entre la actividad arqueológica y las actividades económicas del sector de la construcción. Un factor importante, pero difícil de medir, es que nuestro nuevo sistema de gestión del patrimonio arqueológico se encuentra todavía en una primera etapa de desarrollo. Esto significa que numerosos gobiernos locales están apenas comenzando a implementar los principios de la Convención de la Valletta, y a desarrollar leyes locales de gestión patrimonial. En consecuencia, existe aún mucho trabajo para los arqueólogos concerniente al desarrollo de mapas de localización de sitios, mapas de los proyectos de desarrollo territorial, evaluaciones preliminares en gabinete, etc. Por otro lado, una mejor toma en mano por parte las autoridades locales de su propia arqueología y la puesta en práctica de nuevas directivas y políticas de regulación a nivel de la planificación local podrían frenar el crecimiento descontrolado en el pasado de los trabajos de prospecciones y evaluaciones. De un punto de vista general, la situación económica en 2010 y en los años futuros se mejorará de manera clara, pero las previsiones indican que entonces las autoridades locales y nacionales enfrentarán disminuciones mayores que sus créditos. Así que desde el punto de vista de las operaciones arqueológicas, es posible que no se haya llegado todavía al fondo de la recesión.

8. ¿Una crisis de más? La arqueología francesa entre reformas y relanzamiento

Nathan Schlanger & Kai Salas Rossenbach

Proponemos aquí un análisis de los impactos de la crisis económica global sobre la arqueología francesa, teniendo como parámetro los procesos anteriores y en curso, en el seno de la disciplina y más allá de ella. En lo concerniente a la arqueología preventiva, una serie de desarrollos jurídicos y organizacionales la confirmaron, en 2001, como misión de servicio público, financiada por el principio "quien contamina, paga", que comprende a su vez aspectos de investigación científica y de mediación al público. Sin embargo, desde 2003, la fase de excavaciones de la arqueología preventiva fue abierta a la concurrencia comercial entre operadores autorizados, con la expectativa de que este mercado contribuya a reducir plazos y costos. Este abordaje se alinea con la Revisión General de Políticas Públicas (RGPP) entablada en 2007 a fin de racionalizar y modernizar los servicios públicos, particularmente a través de la reducción de empleos y de la reestructuración de ministerios y de establecimientos bajo tutela. Estas reformas ya han impactado fuertemente en la enseñanza superior y en la investigación, así como en los servicios

encargados de la gestión y del control en materia arqueológica. En segundo plano de estas reformas, la crisis económica global hizo su aparición en 2008. El ambicioso plan de relanzamiento puesto en obra comprende especialmente importantes inversiones en infraestructura y obras públicas (rutas, trenes de alta velocidad...) que necesitarán diagnósticos y excavaciones de arqueología preventiva. Sin embargo, en contrapartida, se decidió aligerar los procedimientos administrativos concernientes a las obras de desarrollo territorial -emprendimientos-: el Código del Patrimonio fue modificado a fin de limitar la influencia “en adelante excesiva” de la arqueología preventiva, imponiendo plazos más apremiantes para las prescripciones administrativas y las operaciones de terreno. Es sin duda demasiado temprano para evaluar los efectos de estas medidas, pero podemos presentar desde ahora que, al margen de los operadores arqueológicos, serán también los emprendedores, las autoridades de control y, sobre todo, el patrimonio arqueológico en sí mismo, quienes corran el riesgo de padecer las consecuencias.

9. ¿La crisis y las evoluciones de la legislación del patrimonio cultural en Hungría: callejón sin salida o solución? Eszter Bánffy & Pál Raczky

El artículo se interesa a un cambio planificado en Hungría de la legislación sobre la definición y la protección de los sitios arqueológicos. Hasta hoy, la definición legal de un sitio incluye su inscripción en una base de datos nacional mantenida por la oficina de protección del patrimonio (KÖH): la nueva proposición necesitaría que estos sitios sean localizadas y coordinados en una base de datos disponible públicamente y certificado al nivel municipal. Sin embargo, las exigencias de una tal base de datos están actualmente cumplidas solo en unos miles de caso sobre 40 000 sitios en registrado nacionales, sin hablar de *circa* 200 000 sitios sondeados a través del país. Todos estos “no-sitios” estarían dejados de lado en la legislación de protección; no aprovecharían de las evaluaciones anteriores o del 0,9% de gastos obligatorios para los proyectos de obras sobre sitios arqueológicos. Esta legislación propuesta fue aparentemente concebida para ayudar las empresas de obras y los inversores a empezar las obras de construcción sin obstáculos. Pero en realidad dañan los sitios: si un sitio es localizado después que comenzaron las obras terrestres, serán paradas por el KÖH –pero de no ser mas preventivas, las excavaciones no tendrán los recursos suficientes, lo que llevara a pérdidas tanto para las empresas de obras que para la arqueología. Los autores del presente artículo proponen una solución que ayudaría a resolver estos problemas, no solamente en el periodo de crisis actual, pero también a largo plazo, de una manera que podría preservar tanto el patrimonio arqueológico que el desarrollo económico.

10. Arqueología en crisis: el caso de Polonia Arkadiusz Marciniak & Michał Pawleta

El objetivo de este ensayo es discutir los efectos que la presente situación económica global tiene sobre la arqueología polaca. Empieza con una breve explicación de la arqueología y la herencia arqueológica de la Polonia contemporánea y las presentes soluciones legales e institucionales que se han llevado a cabo. El ensayo discute la naturaleza del impacto de la crisis económica en los sectores más importantes y vulnerables de la arqueología polaca en términos de trabajos de prevención y rescate, actividades académicas y la precaria situación de los museos arqueológicos. Particularmente se discute la perspectiva y los trabajos arqueológicos de los últimos años en relación a los cambios dentro la industria de la construcción al igual que las ofertas de trabajo en los diferentes sectores de la arqueología polaca. Los efectos más alarmantes de la crisis de la arqueología polaca son los drásticos incrementos de la baja calidad de los trabajos de prevención y rescate, al igual que los efectos de la ineficacia estructural debido a la aplicación de las soluciones

de un mercado neoliberal. Esto se refuerza por la ineficacia estructural de varios sectores institucionales a cargo de crear políticas de coordinación y control preventivo y de trabajos de rescate arqueológico en Polonia.

11. El impacto de la crisis económica sobre la arqueología de rescate en Rusia Asya Engovatova

El sistema de la arqueología de rescate o preventiva en Rusia comenzó a desarrollarse al fin de los años 1920 y, antes de los 70, representaba la mitad de la operaciones arqueológicas en el país. Hoy en día, el organismo responsable de la arqueología en la Academia de las ciencias atribuye varios tipos de licencias: para excavaciones de investigación; para prospecciones de superficie; par trabajos de reconocimiento arqueológico; y para excavaciones de rescate de sitios en peligro. La situación de la arqueología de rescate fluctuó considerablemente después de los cambios del comienzo de los años 1990 y de la crisis económica de 1998. Sin embargo, el número de licencias otorgadas para excavaciones de rescate aumento repentinamente a partir de 2000, y en los años 2006-2008, más de los tres cuartos de todas las operaciones arqueológicas a través del país eran excavaciones de rescate. La crisis económica actual provoco una reducción del número de operaciones arqueológica, particularmente cuyas ligadas a las obras privadas. Importantes inversiones del Estado en diversos proyectos de infraestructuras limitaron el impacto de la crisis sobre las actividades arqueológicas. Sin embargo, se pueden igualmente ver los efectos de la crisis en los ensayos de la Duma de reducir los medios de protección del patrimonio arqueológico y igualmente en las nuevas exoneraciones de impuestos que favorecen a las empresas privadas a expensas de los organismos públicos como los museos o las universidades.

12. El efecto de la recesión global sobre la gestión de recursos culturales en Estados Unidos Jeffrey H. Altschul

Los efectos de la recesión global sobre la gestión de los recursos culturales en Estados Unidos fueron más profundos y extendidos que lo que se previo en la industria. Las razones de la mala evaluación de las repercusiones financieras de la recesión son varias, van del mal entendimiento de la economía hasta factores más complejos como la manera que tienen las agencias estatal de distribuir los financiamientos. El sujeto de este artículo es de describir el papel jugado por estos factores en 2009 y 2010 y lo que se puede esperar para los tiempos futuros.

13. Post scriptum: sobre canarios muertos, cobayas y otros caballos de Troya Nathan Schlanger

¿Si la crisis económica actual es comparable a una peste medieval, cuáles son sus modos de progresión? ¿Golpea la práctica de la arqueología y la gestión del patrimonio de manera indiscriminada? ¿Existen unos puntos débiles o zonas protegidas? En cuanto al empleo en arqueología, la situación es contrastada. Pérdidas importantes en ciertos países dieron a la arqueología la reputación de ser un “canario” que anuncia la crisis. Estas pérdidas de empleo tienen consecuencias nefastas, por las desapariciones irremplazables en materia de competencias especializadas o de experiencia de técnicos y otros empleados. Estas nuevas limitaciones perturban el equilibrio entre las dimensiones científicas y económicas de la arqueología contemporánea, en detrimento de las problemáticas de investigación, de la calidad científica, de las publicaciones y de la mediación al

público. Por fin, en función de las distintas políticas e ideologías, intervenciones del estado son esperadas. A lado de diversos proyectos de relanzamiento y de inversión en programas de infraestructura, también son identificados diversos ajustes y manipulaciones en términos de leyes, de instituciones o de

procedimientos. Cuáles que sean sus intenciones o su pertinencia, estas medidas no tienen que poner en peligro los principios arqueológicos y patrimoniales de la Convención de Malta - sea por el período de la crisis, como para la próxima reanudación de la economía europea.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

MULTIPLE IMPACTS, POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Edited by Nathan Schlanger
and Kenneth Aitchison

Developing from a session at the annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in 2009, this volume is probably the first of its kind to attempt a global, comparative look at the current economic crisis and its effects on archaeology. This impact can be identified in four overlapping areas or themes: research funding and priorities; professional employment, training and skills; conservation and public outreach; and changes in heritage management policies and legislation. The chapters assembled here describe, in various degrees of detail, the effects of the crisis in Ireland, the United Kingdom, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Hungary, Poland, Russia and the United States. The authors come from academia, the commercial sector and public bodies: knowledgeable as they are about the situation prevailing in their respective countries, their aim here has not been to produce formal, authorised statements, but to provide a sense, through case studies and analyses, of the multiple impacts of the crisis on archaeology. In effect, alongside its widely felt economic effects, the crisis has also become something of a mantra for decision making, and indeed a prism by which we can better appreciate the wider attitudes of our contemporary societies towards the heritage of the past.

Provided there is sufficient interest, the editors hope to publish a follow-up volume in one year's time, with updated information and covering new countries, sectors and analyses.

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