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Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage

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Contents

1	Managing Hadrian's Wall in the Twenty-First Century	1
	Peter G. Stone	
2	The Archaeology, History and Significance of Hadrian's Wall	9
	David J. Breeze	
3	The Management Context	15
	Christopher Young	
4	The Need for a Management Plan and the 1st and 2nd Plans	21
	Christopher Young	
5	Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership	33
	Jane Brantom	
6	Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail and the World Heritage Site. A Case Study in Heritage Access Management	47
	David McGlade	
7	The Hadrian's Wall Major Study and 3rd Management Plan	63
	Peter G. Stone	
8	The Management of Hadrian's Wall 2006–2012	79
	Linda Tuttielt	
9	Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage: The Museums	89
	Lindsay Allason-Jones	
10	Managing Interpretation	101
	Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills	

11 The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site 115
David Brough and John Scott

**12 The Transformation of Management on Hadrian’s
Wall . . . Ask not what World Heritage Can Do for You. 127**
Peter G. Stone

Index 137

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Lindsay Allason-Jones was Director of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Artefact Studies and Reader in Roman Material Culture at Newcastle University until she retired in 2011. She was, previously, Director of Archaeological Museums for the University. An acknowledged authority on Hadrian's Wall, Roman Britain, and Roman and Medieval Sudan, she is the author of 13 books, including *Women in Roman Britain* and *Daily Life in Roman Britain*. She is Trustee of many of the Hadrian's Wall museums as well as the Hadrian's Art Trust.

Genevieve Adkins is Director of the Centre for Interpretation Studies, Perth College, University of Highlands and Islands where she teaches MSc Interpretation: Management and Practice. The Centre also provides staff training and development, independent visitor experience, interpretive planning and implementation consultancy advice, and research and evaluation services to organisations throughout the UK and overseas. Before taking up the post as Director of the Centre, Genevieve was Head of Interpretation at Historic Scotland and Head of Education and Interpretation at Historic Royal Palaces. She has led a number of major projects in England and Scotland, including the Wedgwood Visitor Centre, Stoke-on-Trent; Sensation Science Centre, Dundee; Kew Palace, London; HM Tower of London; Edinburgh Castle; Stirling Palace; Stanley Mills, Perthshire; and, Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford, Scottish Borders. In 2009, the Centre was appointed to prepare an Interpretation Framework for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire/Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site.

Jane Brantom was Manager of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership (HWTP) from 1995 to 2006. Formation of the HWTP marked an important step in tourism management of this World Heritage Site (WHS). For the first time there was an organisation, jointly funded by some 20 stakeholder organisations, responsible for sustainable tourism development around the WHS. Jane oversaw the development of this organisation from a small office with 2 staff based in the Northumberland National Park headquarters in Hexham to a team of 14, delivering an integrated programme of Wall-wide activities ranging from tourism marketing to community and education projects. Since 2006, Jane has pursued her interest in sustainable tourism

and cultural heritage management through academic research at Newcastle University and freelance work. Her recent work includes involvement in the UNESCO World Heritage and tourism programme, conference papers, and development of a tourism plan for the Long Wall of Quang Ngai, Vietnam.

David J. Breeze was Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland from 1989 to 2005. From 2005 to 2008, he led the team nominating the Antonine Wall as a World Heritage Site, the monument being inscribed in 2008. He was also instrumental in creating the phased serial transnational World Heritage Site, Frontiers of the Roman Empire. David has written books on Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall, Roman Scotland, Roman frontiers and the Roman army as well as 'coffee table' books. He is co-editor of a multi-language series of books on Roman frontiers and he led the 3-year Culture 2000 project, 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire'. David has served as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and of Newcastle; he is currently President of the Royal Archaeological Institute and the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society and is Chairman of the International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies.

David Brough is a former Development Manager with Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd, who now works as an independent heritage management consultant. He acted as Joint Editor of the Hadrian's Wall Management Plan 2008-2014 and, then, as acting Management Plan Co-ordinator, was responsible for the development of the Interest Groups to coordinate the implementation of the Plan. David has also provided advice to the Frontiers of the Roman Empire Management Group on the preparation of the Site's retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and the compilation of its Periodic Report. In parallel with this, he completed an MLitt research degree which investigated the concept of serial World Heritage Sites and their policy and procedural implications and included a case study of the FRE WHS identifying factors which have influenced progress in its establishment and development and consider the wider applicability of this experience. He is currently working with Newcastle University in the development of initiatives to support the development of heritage management in Xi'an, China.

David McGlade is the Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail Manager at Hadrian's Wall Trust. A geographer and countryside manager, he has managed the National Trail project for 17 years, having overseen its development and implementation and, since its opening in 2003, its strategic and day-to-day management. He has researched and devised many pioneering approaches to heritage access management as a result of which both the World Heritage Site and its eponymous National Trail are, today, in better condition than at any time in the modern history of the Wall. Prior to Hadrian's Wall, he worked on the Offa's Dyke Path National Trail where he remains an executive committee member of the Offa's Dyke Association. His research into sustainable heritage access management is on-going, with several papers published on the subject.

Nigel Mills has extensive professional experience as an interpreter and a visitor manager including 6 years as Manager of a large Country Park, 10 years as Director

of a Trust responsible for management and interpretation of a major archaeological site and museum and 7 years as Director of World Heritage and Access for Hadrian's Wall Trust (previously Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd). This experience includes planning and implementation of interpretive events and exhibitions, consultancy work in interpretation and management of consultancies. Most recently he organised the Presenting the Romans session at the 2009 Limes Conference in Newcastle, a project managed and co-authored the Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework (with Genevieve Adkins of the Centre for Interpretation Studies, Perth College, University of the Highlands) and led on an interpretation development for the £1.2 million Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery as part of the gallery design team.

John Scott always knew he wanted to do heritage-related work. From the age of 10, he was taking volunteer roles on archaeological sites and museums. For the last 15 years, John has been fully engaged in the management of cultural sector projects and attractions, primarily, in the East Midlands area. Working in the environmental, arts, economic development and heritage sectors, John's aim has been to bring these disciplines together and share cross-sector best practice. John's experience of interpretation, education, community engagement and visitor management compliments with his qualifications in Business and Performance Management and Heritage Management. A long-term relationship with Creswell Crags Museum, Nottinghamshire as Projects Manager (and, latterly, Assistant Director) saw him take a pivotal role in the development of a £6.5-million Museum capital project. John's current role as Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Co-ordinator at Hadrian's Wall Trust sees him balancing the many facets of this particularly complicated site.

Peter G. Stone is Head of School of Arts and Cultures and Professor of Heritage Studies in the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies at Newcastle University. He was a member of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan Committee 1998-2012 and Chair of the Committee 2005-2012. He has published widely on heritage management, interpretation and education and has worked extensively overseas. In the mid-1990s, he helped UNESCO develop the World Heritage Education Programme and draft the World Heritage in Young Hands kit. He was a member of the National Trust's Archaeology Advisory Panel 2005-2012. In 2004, he worked with the North East Regional Development Agency regarding the economic value of World Heritage Sites. He is currently working with the Xi'an Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on heritage management issues in China. Before joining Newcastle University in 1997, Peter worked for 10 years for the English Heritage Education Service during which time he was seconded for a year to be Regional Administrator for the South West, where he was responsible for the day-to-day management of 104 properties, including Stonehenge and Avebury.

Linda Tuttiett is Chief Executive of Hadrian's Wall Trust. She has spent much of her career in culture, tourism development, and marketing Britain abroad, working with the British Tourist Authority and Visit Britain. Linda's 20-year career at Visit

Britain included developing Youth and Special Interest travel; marketing in the Middle East and Africa; and, as Operations Manager, specialising in Britain's heritage and landscape for the American- and English-Speaking Markets. She then became Head of the Asia Pacific Department for the British Tourist Authority. Linda then became Manager, Ireland, developing Britain's fourth biggest international market before returning to Britain to set up Enjoy England (later, Visit England), the domestic marketing arm of Visit Britain. Linda then became Director for External Relations for the Arts Council. She was appointed Chief Executive of Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd in 2006, which became Hadrian's Wall Trust in 2012. Linda now leads a team that is responsible for the economic, social and cultural development of Hadrian's Wall Country and works in partnership with stake holders and communities to protect and enhance the World Heritage Site and help develop the tourism related economy of the North East and North West of England.

Christopher Young became the first Director for Hadrian's Wall, after a long career with English Heritage, in 1995. He has been involved in the management of Hadrian's Wall for some 30 years, including writing and implementing the 1st, drafting the 2nd (with Paul Austen), and advising on the 3rd Management Plan. He was involved in the formation of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, the creation of the National Trail, and the creation of the transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire WHS. He is now Head of International Advice for English Heritage responsible for all international heritage issues. He advises on Management Plans and new nominations for World Heritage Sites in England, and on polices for protecting and enhancing those Sites. He is part of the UK observer delegation to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee and was Secretary of the Committee that produced the 1999 UK Tentative List. He took part in the 2000-2005 revision of the UNESCO Operational Guidelines. He was Rapporteur of the Working Group (2004-2007) for the European Periodic Report. He has worked with UNESCO on other policy initiatives for World Heritage including climate change, the Heritage of Science and Historic Urban Landscapes, and the Resource Manual for managing World Heritage Properties.

Chapter 1

Managing Hadrian's Wall in the Twenty-First Century

Peter G. Stone

This book is about the management of one of the largest and most complicated archaeological monuments in the UK (see Chap. 2). Stretching for over 120 miles from Ravenglass on the west coast of England to Wallsend on the east, owned by over 700 individuals and organisations, and with varied national designations for both cultural and natural heritage, Hadrian's Wall was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1987. In 1996, it became the first World Heritage Site in the UK to have a formal Management Plan. It is no exaggeration to say that this first Plan was met with much scepticism and not a little hostility (Chap. 4). On reflection, such a response should not have been unexpected. This 1996–2002 Plan was perhaps the first practical example in the UK of wider international interests in 'value-led' conservation planning (e.g. Clarke 2003; Kerr 1996). As such, it effectively began the process of defining what is meant, in a practical way, by contemporary heritage management in the UK and how such management could match the aspirations of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Heritage Convention.

Historically (and overly simplistically), archaeological monuments (over the last 30 or so years increasingly referred to as *heritage sites*) had been perceived and managed as islands of conservation, usually secured behind Government iron railings, isolated from their geographical, political and social environments. Expectations of the first Plan, in some quarters, were high but were matched by unease amongst many who worked and lived along the Wall that it was an externally imposed 'top-down' document written by conservation-minded archaeologists whose protectionist agenda took little interest in the potential impact it might have on those who lived and worked within and beside the Site—in what came to be called the Hadrian's Wall corridor. Such misplaced unease (see Chap. 4 for the amount of consultation that actually took place) epitomised the numerous and varied tensions involved in conserving remnants of the past in the present—and in particular how such sites might

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contribute in a number of different ways as active components of the contemporary landscape. These tensions run through several chapters of this book.

It is interesting to note the broader context of archaeological site management in England at the time of inscription. The inscription of Hadrian's Wall on the World Heritage List came at a time when there were major changes relating to the practical management of archaeological monuments in England and as a theoretical debate surrounding heritage management developed. The inscription came 4 years after the creation, in 1983, of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, better known as 'English Heritage', that was intended to bring a more entrepreneurial and exciting approach to the conservation, management and interpretation of England's historic monuments (Montagu 1987) and coincided with some of the earliest publications on the management of archaeological remains and the related development of an identifiable 'heritage sector' (see further).

This is not the place to delve deeply into the theoretical debates surrounding the metamorphosis of archaeological monuments into heritage sites, of the genesis of the discipline of archaeological heritage management or of the development of the heritage sector. However, it should not be overlooked that the inscription of Hadrian's Wall as a World Heritage Site happened in the same year as the publication of Robert Hewison's (1987) influential treatise *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* and 2 years after David Lowenthal's (1985) equally influential *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Both Lowenthal and Hewison were concerned about the *creation* of a false past, epitomised by newly opened or refurbished 'heritage sites' that focussed on an imagined golden age of (mainly) nineteenth-century prosperity and harmony; a past reflected upon, according to Hewison, with great fondness by the Conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher that was perceived to cherish the ideal of reintroducing its order and harmony (and perhaps its associated social hierarchy) in the present.

Hewison's and Lowenthal's books were published sandwiched between volumes edited by Henry Cleere that were two of the earliest archaeological publications advocating the increasing need for management of the archaeological heritage (Cleere 1984, 1987). In the Foreword of the latter, Peter Ucko noted that:

This book makes it abundantly clear that archaeology as a discipline would be foolish to allow the current divisions which exist in many countries between the academic, the field worker and the legislator, to continue. It also brings to everyone's notice the common need to respond in a coherent and well-planned way to the potentially destructive threats of development and tourism (In Cleere 1989, p. xi).

Cleere went on to suggest that '... it is axiomatic that [the archaeological heritage] should be managed in the public interest' (1989, p. 10) while acknowledging the multifaceted and almost fickle nature of 'the public'. He also noted that the requirements of an archaeological heritage manager were clearly different from those required of an archaeologist (1989, p. 16).

None of this suggests that there was a direct relationship between the above publications and the inscription of Hadrian's Wall on the World Heritage List but rather emphasises that the process and reasons for managing and presenting heritage

sites were under scrutiny as never before. By the mid-1980s, there was a new, and far more complex, context within which archaeological heritage management existed and this was reflected in the way Hadrian's Wall began to be managed as a World Heritage Site. Indeed, all these issues are as directly relevant to the management of Hadrian's Wall in 2013 as they were on the publication of the first Management Plan in 1996, and as they were on the Site's inscription in 1987.

Given the importance of Hadrian's Wall as a monument and its relatively long history of being a *managed* monument, it is a little surprising that not more has been written about this aspect of the Site (although see Young 1999). Leach and Whitworth (2011) provide an overview of the historical management of the Wall from 1746 to 1987 (the date of World Heritage inscription) and Young (2006) provides another historical overview of the last two centuries. The Wall was one of the four case studies used in a Report that investigated the relationship between heritage values and management by the Getty Conservation Institute (de la Torre 2005) and Norman (2007) provides a criticism of the Major Study (Chap. 7). Space, however, restricts any in-depth review of these in this publication, although some of their conclusions will be referred to in Chap. 12.

Since its inscription, the World Heritage Site, already complex enough, has been transformed from a single Roman monument in the north of England to the potentially enormous *serial transnational property* of The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site with the scope to include over 2,000 different elements, and stretching over 5,500 km across up to 18 contemporary countries (Chap. 11). As a consequence, the management of the Site has become significantly more complex. Few of these countries have reached the same understanding of either archaeological heritage management discussed by Cleere or the more wide-ranging issues of the contemporary use of the past as raised by Lowenthal and Hewison.

This book attempts to show how these issues have been addressed in different, practical ways over the last 30-odd years with respect to the Wall. After a brief introduction to the archaeological and historical importance of Hadrian's Wall (Chap. 2) and an overview of the requirements of World Heritage (Chap. 3), the book chronicles a number of initiatives relating to the Wall that have had major impact on its management, including the writing of three iterations of its Management Plan (Chaps. 4 and 7), the Regional Development Agency-led Major Study (Chap. 7), the creation of a wall-wide organisation with the remit to provide an overview and cohesion to activity along the Wall (Chap. 8) and finally a view of how future management may develop as the Wall is more fully integrated into the new Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site (Chap. 11).

These chapters focus, as does the book, on the management of the Wall per se, but management cannot be an end in itself and must have a deeper purpose: 'this is great management—but *what is it for?*' We have therefore incorporated chapters dealing with how the Wall is *used*, itself a contentious issue as noted in a number of the following chapters, and which, of course, has direct relevance and impact on how it is managed. The historical, and understandably unplanned and uncoordinated, development along the Wall of museums to hold the ever-expanding collections generated by archaeological excavations is chronicled (Chap. 9), as are the more

recent developments of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership (Chap. 5), the long-distance national walking trail (Chap. 6) and the development of an interpretation framework (Chap. 10).

The different chapters, and the emerging picture they sketch, are written by those who were heavily involved in the work at the time—explanations and descriptions of what took place. Although this might open the authors (and book) to criticism of potential bias, it provides an 'insiders' view of the development of the management of the Wall that, we hope, is nevertheless informative, unique and revealing. We hope this overview serves two functions: first, that it provides a narrative of what happened when and, to some extent, how and why; second, that the narrative will help identify the key elements of managing such a large and complex site. Many of these elements are perhaps self-evident, others perhaps less so but equally important: the values associated with the Site, the need for wide-ranging engagement and participation and perhaps, above all, the need for strong, effective and two-way communication. All of these and other elements are discussed.

Much of the unease that met the first Management Plan evaporated during its lifetime as most stakeholders realised that it was not going to have a detrimental impact on what they did but, rather, could actually help them by providing a context and base line within which, and from which, to build. The next two iterations of the Plan (2002–2007 and 2008–2014) have themselves built on the first Plan and, we would argue, not only have helped to deliver better protection for the archaeological monuments and landscapes contained within the Site but, by addressing much wider issues, also have further refined our understanding of the complex relationships within heritage management. This refining of heritage management is based on an unequivocal belief that its fundamental purpose is to ensure the effective protection of sites and landscapes for present and future generations. However, it is equally based on an unequivocal assertion that heritage management is much more than this: It is the mechanism through which we strive to understand not only the history of the Site but also its use and values *in* the present and *for* the future. We study the past, to understand the present, in order to create the future. How we manage this process can have a major impact on our understanding of the monument(s) in our care and on our ability to understand the heritage and use it to influence the future. This leads to the perhaps uncomfortable realisation for some that, as Cleere noted, the role of the archaeological heritage manager is distinct to that of the archaeologist: that no longer can the Wall, or any archaeological monument, be managed exclusively by archaeologists interested primarily in the research opportunities provided by the Site.

The fact that Hadrian's Wall is more than an archaeological monument had been identified long before the first Plan was written, as envisioned in various reports (Chaps. 4–6) and as clearly indicated by the creation of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership (Chap. 5) and the opening of the National Trail (Chap. 6). The development of this broader-based approach to management clearly identified the Wall as a vehicle for leisure activities and for the economic benefit such activities might bring to the region and those living in it, as well as an archaeological site that required protection, conservation and interpretation. There were clear acknowledgements of

this wider role in the first Plan and these were clarified and expanded upon in later iterations (Chap. 4 and 7).

It should be acknowledged, however, that there are perhaps two groups—farmers and archaeologists—some of whom, in extremis, provide exceptions to the acceptance that a broader-based management strategy is beneficial to the Wall. It is certainly reasonable to say that some in both groups look back with thinly veiled nostalgia to the time when there were very few visitors to disturb their work or to have a potentially damaging impact on the archaeology.

The farming community was certainly at the forefront of the opposition to the first Plan as they expressed the (understandable but unfounded) fear that it might provide English Heritage with the legal powers to stop arable farming within the Site and thus have an enormous impact on their livelihoods. This misunderstanding has passed (as has much of the arable farming in and around the Site in its buffer zone for totally non-Wall-related reasons), but ongoing concerns remain amongst livestock farmers who see increased numbers of visitors, and in particular their dogs, as a constant and significant problem. Over the period of the three Plans, many farmers have, however, taken advantage of national and regional funding opportunities to diversify and expand their income streams by converting redundant barns to accommodation for walkers and other tourists thereby mitigating the dangers inherent in relying on a single, and increasingly precarious, source of income (Ward and Lowe 1999). This is not to suggest that there are not very real problems caused by some visitors who do not have knowledge or experience of the countryside and who, unwittingly, do cause problems with uncontrolled dogs worrying sheep, gates left open, litter and so on.

Farmers also make the valid point that it is their activity that provides the landscape that so many visitors want to visit, and some have benefitted financially from national stewardship schemes that protect the historic and the natural environments. The concerns of farmers are very real, but so are the new opportunities and benefits offered not only by increased tourism, directly to farmers as noted earlier, but also by associated spending that provides the critical additional income that keeps local shops, pubs, restaurants and other amenities open and viable (for an assessment of the economic impact of World Heritage status, see Rebanks 2009). This is a classic 'change-management' scenario, in which some of those involved prefer to retain an increasingly untenable situation rather than modifying their activities to avoid a potentially catastrophic impact on their position and role in a changing world; such change is '... almost always disruptive and at times traumatic' (Luecke 2003). In acknowledging the issues faced by livestock farming and the crucial role it plays in managing the natural and historic environments so highly valued by visitors, the Management Plans have focussed attention on the need for long-term action to support its sustainability.

In a similar way, while some archaeologists, perhaps notably those involved in the Vindolanda Trust, have embraced and provided for visitors as direct contributors to their livelihoods, others have taken a more cautious approach. Some argued strenuously against the creation of the National Trail (Chap. 6) arguing that the increase in tourists could, and perhaps would inevitably, do long-term irreversible damage to the

archaeological monument (e.g., CBA 1993; Fowler 1997, p. 11). By 2005, 2 years after the Trail opened, Fowler's original concerns, and worst-case scenario, appeared to be coming true as he catalogued a number of areas along the route where clearly discernible erosion was taking place (Fowler 2005). However, the concern raised by Fowler that echoed concerns raised by English Heritage (Austen and Young 2005) has led to the Trail, and in effect, the Wall being better preserved and more closely managed than before (Chap. 6). We can never be complacent and must acknowledge that the investment in initiatives—like the National Trail—requires long-term commitment of resources. We must recognise that a robust and effective management system is key to maintain not only the funding that will ensure the continuing preservation of the Wall but also the funding that will enable the Wall to be *used* in the future.

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Chapter 2

The Archaeology, History and Significance of Hadrian's Wall

David J. Breeze

Hadrian's Wall is neither the longest section of the Roman imperial frontier, nor necessarily the best surviving; but it is perhaps the most well known. Its building was recorded in antiquity: "Hadrian was the first to build a wall from sea to sea, 80 miles long, to separate the Romans and the barbarians" (*Historia Augusta, Life of Hadrian*, 11, 2). This was in the AD 120s. Soon, souvenirs were being produced for the frontier, small pans, perhaps associated with drinking parties, decorated with depictions of the Wall and the names of its forts (Breeze 2012). The Wall remained the frontier of Roman Britain for nearly 300 years, but with the short break of a generation when the Antonine Wall in Scotland was occupied.

Accurate information about the building of Hadrian's Wall was soon lost following the end of Roman Britain about AD 410 and myths were created about the reasons for its construction; but it was not forgotten and was recorded by the medieval chroniclers and plotted on maps. The advent of the printing press in the West brought the classical authors to a wider audience and the start of a more informed approach. Visitors came to the Wall, notably William Camden, author of *Britannia*, an account of the history and antiquities of Britain, in the reign of Elizabeth I, and the surviving remains were recorded. The eighteenth century witnessed the detailed recording and analysis of the surviving remains, the nineteenth century the start of archaeological investigation. These labours have resulted in Hadrian's Wall being the most explored Roman frontier with an enormous archaeological database of information which continues to be enhanced through survey and excavation as well as research in the study. Even so, less than 5 % of the Wall has been subject to detailed examination through excavation.

The main outline of the initial building history of Hadrian's Wall is well known. There were two principal phases. The first consisting of the linear barrier, that is, a stone or turf wall, with a ditch, a fortlet (milecastle) at every mile and two towers (turrets) in between. The fortlets and towers continued for about 40 km down the

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Fig. 2.1 Aerial photograph of the fort at Maryport—part of the Cumbrian coastal frontier section of the WHS. (Copyright: Senhouse Trust)



Cumbrian coast beyond the west end of the Wall at Bowness-on-Solway. Before this scheme was completed, a decision was made to build forts on the Wall. This necessitated the abandoning of about 15 forts in northern England and Wales and the building of forts at intervals of about 11 km along the Wall and down the Cumbrian coast (Fig. 2.1). Uniquely, most forts were placed astride the Wall and furnished with additional gates, both presumably to improve the mobility of the army. The Stone Wall was then reduced in thickness and the level of craftsmanship reduced, presumably in an attempt to speed the building work. One final element was the Vallum, a great earthwork, 120 Roman feet (40 m), across and consisting of a ditch with a mound setback equidistant on each side. It was placed south of the Wall and diverged round the forts; hence, its construction followed the decision to place forts on the Wall line. It could only be crossed at causeways outside forts and in this way the number of points at which travellers could pass through the Wall was reduced from about 82 to 16 suggesting a concern with control of movement. The process of building all the elements of Hadrian's Wall took at least six years and possibly twice as long.

After Hadrian's death in AD 138, his successor Antoninus Pius abandoned the Wall and ordered the construction of a new frontier, the Antonine Wall, on the Forth–Clyde isthmus, but this only lasted a generation before being abandoned in its turn;

Hadrian's Wall remained the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire until the end of Roman rule in Britain in the early fifth century.

On return of the army from the Antonine Wall, Hadrian's Wall seems to have been commissioned as before. The Vallum was brought back into use, forts, milecastles and turrets reoccupied. Changes soon occurred. There had been no road in the first plan, now one was built, the Military Way, which ran parallel to the Wall on its southern side. In the later second century, many turrets in the central sector and elsewhere were abandoned, while several milecastles had their north gates narrowed, and it was probably at this time that most causeways across the ditch in front of the milecastles were removed. The Vallum fell out of use and civilians were allowed to build their houses closer to the fort walls. Indeed, some of these settlements grew to be larger than the forts themselves. The fort buildings were amended, new styles of barrack blocks introduced, and troop numbers increased and then decreased. Several civil settlements appear to have been abandoned towards the end of the third century, though we do not know where their inhabitants went. At times, the Wall itself fell into disrepair and then had to be repaired.

This sketch of the building and history might imply that we know all that there is to know about Hadrian's Wall; this would be a false impression. There are many aspects where our knowledge is woefully inadequate. Hadrian's Wall did not spring completely into existence. It was built in relation to an existing line of forts, fortlets and towers across the Tyne–Solway isthmus, but we need to know more about these antecedents. The turf sector, that is, the western 48 km (30 miles) of the Wall, is badly understood. There has been little excavation there since the 1930s, yet, what work has been done since then has challenged our basic beliefs. Excavations across the Vallum have revealed significant contradictions in its construction and use, which need to be resolved. Knowledge of the development of forts may be piecemeal, but there has been only one extensive modern excavation of a civil settlement, at Vindolanda. Now, however, we appreciate that we have a major resource through the many geophysical surveys of civil settlements along the Wall and on the Cumbrian coast. These have revealed not only buildings but also housing plots, internal and external ditches and relationships with the landscape beyond. Within that landscape also are cemeteries, an almost completely unexplored element of Hadrian's Wall.

The most remarkable development of recent years has been the discovery of writing tablets at Vindolanda and Carlisle. These not only illuminate life on the northern frontier but also allow the more extensive range of documents found in the Eastern provinces to be used with confidence to illustrate life in Britain. Such documents are only found by chance. The second major development has been dendrochronology that has allowed us to date precisely timbers used in fort construction; here knowledge will advance through excavation. Soon it will be necessary to explore the extensive civil settlements discovered through geophysical survey. But in the meantime more survey should be undertaken—at every fort and its civil settlement along the Wall, at milecastles, as work at Milecastle 73 has revealed activity outside the military enclosure, and at turrets, where there are already hints of external activities. Yet, remarkably, the visible remains have more secrets to reveal as the survey work of Humphrey Welfare (2000, 2004) has demonstrated. We still do not have a published survey of Hadrian's Wall.

Fig. 2.2 Visitors being shown the plaque marking the eastern end of the Wall. (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)



The steady accumulation of information, in particular through excavation over the last 120 years, has resulted in a vast archaeological database. Interpretation and theories have been offered, amended and abandoned. The process of analysis and re-analysis continues and must continue for few problems which can be considered to have been solved. These problems start with the identification of the various individual parts of the frontier; it is far too readily believed that we know everything about the route of the Wall and its structures. Yet, particularly in the western sector of the Wall and the Cumbrian coast, we have too few basic details.

Hadrian's Wall deserves such work not least because of its unique nature. Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall have the distinction of being the only frontiers where most of the individual elements are linked, linear barrier, forts (with civil settlements), fortlets and towers; Hadrian's Wall has an advantage through having a longer life so that the development of individual aspects can be investigated. Yet, there are whole periods of its history where our knowledge is very slight, and in particular the third century. We have very little idea of how the Wall was maintained during these decades and in the fourth century, and of how it declined after the end of Roman Britain. On Hadrian's Wall we can study not just life on the edge of empire but how that life was sustained both locally and through long-range supply and over time. We can explore the ethnicity of soldiers and civilians, and the relationship between those living on the Wall and the surrounding population and the relationship of soldier and civilian, urban dweller and rural countryman to the landscape. We need to study industry—metal working, pottery production, quarrying and the production of souvenirs—in the Wall zone. All these activities occurred within a wider environment, yet we know little of the relationship between urban centres and the surrounding countryside. Nor do we fully understand how military deployment in the northern frontier zone, which stretched as far south as York and Chester, worked.

There is a further, most important, aspect to Hadrian's Wall, its role as a tourist attraction (Fig. 2.2). The requirements of presentation and interpretation could so easily clash with the necessity to protect and manage the archaeological remains; nowhere are these issues more acute than along the National Trail, much of which

lies on the monument. In today's world, the former could be viewed as having priority over the latter. Yet unless the monument is preserved and conserved there might, in time, be insufficient archaeological evidence for visitors to see, nor for archaeologists to study; as Richard Hingley (2012) has emphasised, archaeologists must be interested in the management of Hadrian's Wall.

In the face of this potential clash, the research strategy, *Frontiers of Knowledge, A Research Framework for Hadrian's Wall*, has an important role to play (Symonds and Mason 2009). Its authors examine the state of knowledge of Hadrian's Wall and explore the primary research themes, thus helping to prioritise the various proposals, an important task in these days of diminishing resources. The gathering of archaeological information is balanced in part by the collection of information pertinent to management issues, most notably in connection with the National Trail. In such ways, the different elements of this extensive and complicated World Heritage Site can be related to each other and appropriate management decisions taken.

The sum of the parts helps us to understand the function of Hadrian's Wall and how it has changed over the centuries. Continuing archaeological investigations will lead to a greater understanding of the frontier. An improved integration of archaeological aspirations with tourism and management requirements will lead to a more secure future of one of the world's greatest monuments, the physical manifestation of one of the world's greatest empires and the care it took to protect its people.

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Chapter 3

The Management Context

Christopher Young

Introduction

The first reference in international legislation to the protection of what we would now call cultural heritage was the *1907 Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land*. International guidance, in the form of charters setting out best practice, began with the *Athens Charter* of 1931 (see Young 2011 for the status and legal impact of Conventions, Charters, etc.). After the wholesale destruction of cultural heritage both in Europe and in Asia during the Second World War, the new United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) introduced a series of Conventions and Recommendations for the protection of cultural heritage (Young 2011). These began with measures to minimise the consequences of conflict, covering protection of cultural property in times of war and the prevention of illicit traffic in antiquities and works of art.

In parallel, there was also much international interest in positive conservation and standard setting, demonstrated, for example, by the *Venice Charter* of 1964 and the creation in 1965 of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), a network of conservation professionals around the world. The International Centre for the Study and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) was set up by UNESCO in Rome in 1959 to promote the conservation of all types of cultural property, movable and immovable. It now has 133 member states.

Alongside such initiatives, UNESCO promoted cooperative projects to preserve threatened cultural heritage of international significance. Of these, the best known and most significant was the saving of the Abu Simbel temples during the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. The success of such campaigns heightened the awareness of international responsibilities for the protection of cultural heritage of significance to all humanity. UNESCO, with support from ICOMOS, therefore drew up a draft Convention to protect cultural heritage.

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At the same time as this move, a White House Conference in the USA in 1965 made proposals for the creation of a World Heritage Trust to stimulate international cooperation to protect ‘the world’s superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry’ (Committee on Natural Resources Conservation and Development 1965). Similar proposals emerged in 1968 from the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and were placed before the 1972 Stockholm United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. A process of negotiation resulted in the adoption by UNESCO on 16 November 1972 of the *Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, generally known as the World Heritage Convention (Batisse and Bolla 2003).

The World Heritage Convention

The Convention is unique internationally in embracing both cultural and natural heritage. By signing up to the Convention, each State Party (member state) accepts the legal obligation to implement its requirements, but it is up to each state how it does this.

The best known aspect of the Convention is the World Heritage List of places of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) to all humanity. The Convention recognises both that it is the common duty of humanity to protect these places and that the primary responsibility to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit to future generations such heritage on a state’s territory lies with that state (UNESCO 1972, Article 4). There is therefore an implicit contradiction at the heart of the Convention between international and national responsibilities. If a World Heritage Site faces actual or potential danger, it can be placed on the World Heritage in Danger List. This action is meant to be a means of supporting the State Party to avert that danger rather than a punishment. Ultimately, if a Site loses its OUV, it can be removed altogether from the World Heritage List.

It is often overlooked that the Convention also states general responsibilities for the protection of *all* cultural and natural heritage on the territory of each State Party (Article 5) whether or not individual sites have been ascribed World Heritage status. The Convention also stresses the need for international cooperation in the protection of heritage (Article 6). This is defined as the establishment of a system of international cooperation and assistance designed to support States Parties. The Convention also established the World Heritage Fund and provides for international assistance in the form of advice and financing.

The Convention sets out a system for its implementation. A General Assembly of all States Parties meets every two years to elect members of the World Heritage Committee and to set the level of contributions to the World Heritage Fund (in practice, these contributions have always been set at the maximum allowed under the Convention since the first General Assembly in 1976). In recent years, the Assembly has become more involved in policy issues. According to the Convention, its governing body is the World Heritage Committee, made up of 21 States Parties elected

in rotation. The Committee takes all decisions relating to the implementation of the Convention. The Committee is advised on professional matters by three advisory bodies: ICCROM, IUCN and ICOMOS. The Secretariat to the Committee is provided by UNESCO, since 1992 in the form of the World Heritage Centre, based in Paris. As a permanent unit, it has developed its own professional expertise on the Convention.

The Convention and its implementation are supported by an increasing range of documentation. Apart from the Convention itself, the fundamental document is the *Operational Guidelines*, which provides the basic guidance to how the Convention should be implemented. The Guidelines are periodically amended and updated, most recently in 2011 (UNESCO 2011). These are now supported by a growing series of Resource Manuals looking in more detail at technical matters such as the preparation of nominations and the management of World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2013a). There is also a series of UNESCO World Heritage Papers providing much useful guidance, and a range of other resources (UNESCO 2013b). The resulting guidance available is extensive and something of a labyrinth and there is a need to develop a clearer structure for guidance so that it is more easily accessible to those who need it.

The World Heritage Convention is in some ways the most successful of the UNESCO cultural conventions, with 189 member states. There are now 981 World Heritage Sites (759 cultural, 193 natural and 29 mixed cultural and natural). Over the 40 years since the Convention was adopted, it is possible to see a widening of the concept of World Heritage, and particularly of cultural heritage, evolving from monumental and iconic sites to include cultural landscapes, evidence of industry and more vernacular sites representative of the experience of the vast bulk of humanity through time. There remain, however, considerable concerns about the uneven representation of the world's heritage, both thematically and geographically. Even now, just five states in western Europe have nearly 20% of the Sites on the World Heritage List, whereas categories such as Christian Gothic cathedrals are heavily over-represented compared with other religious sites.

With respect to the Convention's objective of protecting World Heritage, it is possible to point towards some notable successes such as the conservation of Angkor Wat through international efforts or the removal of development threats from a large number of Sites, including, for example, Cologne Cathedral and central Vienna. On the other hand, a large number of World Heritage Sites are under development or environmental pressures of different types and two Sites (Dresden and the Elbe Valley and the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary) have been deleted from the List because their OUV has been lost.

To some extent, the Convention is a victim of its own success. Because of its high profile, its implementation has become more political in recent years, particularly with regard to the determination of nominations for inscriptions onto the World Heritage List. Resources for implementing the Convention have not matched the inexorable rise in the number of Sites on the List (134 on the tenth anniversary in 1982, 377 on the twentieth, 730 on the thirtieth and 962 in 2012, the fortieth anniversary) and the whole system is showing signs of strain.

The Role of States Parties to the Convention

Member states have a crucial role within the implementation of the Convention. Most of the responsibility for its implementation rests with them and they are ultimately responsible for the management of World Heritage Sites and for the conservation of cultural and natural heritage in their territory. Each State Party is also free to decide how it will implement the provisions of the Convention, albeit subject to periodic international scrutiny. In addition, the authority to nominate sites for potential inclusion onto the World Heritage List lies solely with individual States Parties, and in theory, no State Party can nominate a site outwith its own sovereign territory.

UK Involvement in the World Heritage Convention

The UK joined the World Heritage Convention only in 1984. Since then, the UK has successfully inscribed 28 Sites on the World Heritage List and failed in a number of other nominations. The World Heritage Convention has aroused considerable interest in some quarters, even if awareness in the broad population is not as high as it might be, and interest in making further nominations remains high. The UK has served one term of office on the World Heritage Committee (2001–2005) and has provided support for international expert meetings, including those reviewing the Operational Guidelines and those considering the heritage of science and the impact of climate change. The UK Committee of ICOMOS is active in the field, as is the Local Authority World Heritage Forum, which represents the interests of Local Authorities with World Heritage Sites in their territory or those seeking to put forward sites for nomination.

The UK Government is committed to implementing its responsibilities under the World Heritage Convention and to protecting World Heritage Sites in the country. The lead Department for the Convention is the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, which works closely with the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and with its statutory advisor, English Heritage. The UK National Commission for UNESCO has the remit to advise Government on all aspects of UNESCO's work and is the link between UNESCO and civil society. Much of the day-to-day responsibility for World Heritage Sites falls on Local Authorities, who are the spatial planning authorities, and on the national heritage agencies, as well as on the individual owners of the World Heritage Sites. There is no dedicated financial support from central government, although bodies such as the Heritage Lottery Fund have been very generous in their support of World Heritage Sites.

The UK decided from the outset that World Heritage Sites could be adequately protected through existing designation and spatial planning systems. The effectiveness of this was tested by five planning inquiries between 1989 and 1993, affecting variously Avebury, Ironbridge and Hadrian's Wall. In each case, the Secretary of State refused consent for development partially or wholly because of the impact on a World Heritage Site or its setting.

The importance of World Heritage inscription was given formal recognition in England through Planning Policy Guidance Note (PPG) 15 (DOE 1994). This stated that World Heritage Sites were a key material consideration in the planning system and that Local Authorities should adopt appropriate spatial planning policies for their protection and recommended the preparation of World Heritage Management Plans for all Sites. Similar guidance was adopted in other parts of the UK. While a Management Statement was produced for Avebury in 1992, the first proper Management Plan for a UK World Heritage Site was that for Hadrian's Wall, begun in 1993 and completed in 1996 (see Chap. 4). Since then, Management Plans have been prepared for all UK World Heritage Sites.

World Heritage status has on balance been positive for conservation. Broadly, World Heritage status has led to improved planning protection for the Sites. It could be argued also that the fact that a number of UK World Heritage Sites have had landscape characteristics from the outset has supported a more holistic approach to the protection of areas as opposed to specific buildings or monuments. The development and implementation of Management Plans (since 1999 as a prerequisite of the nomination process in the UK) has undoubtedly encouraged a more inclusive and effective approach to management. UK World Heritage Site Management Plans have a justifiably high reputation outside the UK.

The impact of World Heritage on sustainable development (a frequently claimed benefit) is less clear. A study carried out for the Government in 2008 showed that economic benefit was not an automatic consequence of achieving World Heritage status and had to be worked for. The study also showed that the costs of nomination and management could be significant (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007). A similar study carried out for the Lake District candidate site stressed that World Heritage status could assist sustainable development and use of heritage assets but that this required careful planning and investment to be the case (Rebanks 2009).

As with all World Heritage Sites, Sites in the UK suffer from development pressures. The corollary of inscription on the World Heritage List is that some avenues of development will be closed both in the Site itself and in its setting because of the adverse impact on OUV, but often, stakeholders are keener on nomination and inscription than on subsequent management and protection. Since 2000, the UK has had a number of *causes célèbres* concerning development pressures, which have resulted in UNESCO missions and Committee decisions advising the UK on appropriate action. In 2012, Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City was placed on the World Heritage in Danger List because of a proposed development actually in the World Heritage Site and its immediate buffer zone.

One consequence of these pressures is that the Government introduced new planning guidance to protect World Heritage Sites in England in 2009 and this has strengthened protection (CLG 2009; English Heritage 2009). The importance of World Heritage Sites, and the need to protect them, has been carried through to the new National Planning Policy Framework (CLG 2012). It is essential that Local Authorities, who take most planning decisions, maintain their commitment to securing the protection and sustainable use of World Heritage Sites, both in adopting appropriate spatial planning policies and in taking decisions on individual development proposals. This may not be easy in a time of economic pressure.

Finally, it should be noted that in the UK, World Heritage is considered by most of those who are aware of it in isolation to the role of UNESCO as a whole. This view is not confined only to the UK but may in part reflect the fact that for many years, the UK was a member of the World Heritage Convention when it did not belong to UNESCO itself. Resources for World Heritage have always been limited and Government departments and heritage agencies have tended to concentrate on the more immediate problems of nomination and management and protection of World Heritage Sites themselves than on the wider aspects, such as awareness raising, promotion and education.

More needs to be done in the future to integrate World Heritage with the role of UNESCO as a whole, particularly through doing more to promote the educational aspects of World Heritage. Many individual Sites have educational programmes, but an overall national programme, including general awareness raising about UNESCO, has been lacking. Despite a shortage of resources, the UK National Commission for UNESCO has begun to tackle these wider issues through initiatives such as national youth *fora* and the 2011 Edinburgh Conference on Remote Access.

The question of adequately resourcing World Heritage Sites and structuring their management to enable them to more fully meet UNESCO's expectations is further illustrated in Chap. 4.

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Chapter 4

The Need for a Management Plan and the 1st and 2nd Plans

Christopher Young

Introduction

The conservation and management of Hadrian's Wall, before its inscription as a World Heritage property, has been discussed in a number of publications, most recently in Leach and Whitworth (2011). Young (2006) traced how the conservation of the Wall developed, from a mainly private effort in the mid-nineteenth century through the onset of state involvement in the 1920s and 1930s, to the current position.

The Creation of the World Heritage Site

Inscription of Hadrian's Wall as a World Heritage Site in 1987 marked the beginning of a new era in the protection and management of the Roman frontier though this was not obvious at the time. As with many nominations at this time, the documentation was brief and not particularly precise. No clear boundary was defined and little specific was said about its management and protection (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission 1986).

It was only with the realisation that a World Heritage inscription could be an effective tool for conservation within the UK planning system that attention began to turn to the management of Hadrian's Wall as a World Heritage Site (Chap. 2).

Background

This is not to say that general concerns with the overall management of Hadrian's Wall did not exist. By the 1970s, concerns had focused on tourism, its impacts on the Wall and its potential benefits to the region. Between 1965 and 1973, visitor numbers

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at Housesteads had increased by 165 % to 175,000 annually and at Chesters by 118 % to 129,000. Visitor numbers outside the charging sites were unknown but thought to be increasing. Concerns were twofold. On the one hand, there were fears that tourism footfall would wear away Hadrian's Wall, with erosion of archaeological deposits, damage to masonry and the degradation of footpaths. On the other, there was much concern that the tourism offer was uncoordinated and that little interpretation was provided for visitors. It was also thought that visitors should be encouraged to go to the less visited sites rather than the honeypots in the central sector. At the same time tourism was beginning to be recognised potentially as a major economic contributor to the region.

The first response to this came in 1974 from the Countryside Commission, at that time responsible for promoting access to the countryside, who commissioned the Dartington Amenity Research Trust (1976) to prepare a strategy for conservation and visitor services. This report was published in 1976, with recommendations both for conservation and for dealing with visitors and their expectations. The Report recommended the creation of a National Trail along Hadrian's Wall.

It proposed no implementation mechanism. The Commission's response was to establish the Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee in 1977. Made up by representatives of Government Departments and agencies, local authorities and parish councils and other major stakeholders, such as the National Trust, the Vindolanda Trust, the National Farmers Union, the Country Landowners Association, archaeological societies and amenity societies, the Committee was supported by an officer working party of officials was to meet over a period of 10 years.

In 1984, it published a strategy for Hadrian's Wall (Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee 1984). This followed, reasonably closely, the strategy proposed in the Dartington Report. Recommendations were made covering development of the major sites, safeguarding the Wall and its Setting, improving access and communications and developing improved joined-up promotions, linked to a strategy of encouraging visitors to visit some parts of the Wall. It was noted that visitor numbers to the charging sites had been falling since the peak in 1973 (except for Vindolanda which had peaked in 1978). The report again recommended a continuous path along the line of, but not on, the Wall. This was, effectively, the only recommendation pursued at that point, and the Countryside Commission began work on proposals for a National Trail, with the first informal consultation in 1986.

Both the Dartington Report and Consultative Committee strategy encouraged stakeholders to think of the Wall as an entity in terms of management as well as archaeology.

This work was paralleled by the creation of the (then) Department of the Environment's Hadrian's Wall Advisory Committee in 1977 'to advise the Department on archaeological research and policies on Hadrian's Wall, on the protection and preservation of the monuments, and, where appropriate, upon all other archaeological matters relating to the Roman frontier system' (DOE 1977).

The Advisory Committee composed mainly of academics, specialising in the fields of Romano-British archaeology and the Roman frontier. It advised the Department and English Heritage on the work of the Consultative Committee and also considered a large number of other matters including archaeological research and conservation

problems along the Wall. Other concerns were the potential impact of development, agriculture, forestry and archaeological work, all of which could directly impact the monument itself and the need to provide adequate protection for its landscape setting. There were continuing concerns about tourism pressures and the inadequacy of the tourism offer. This Committee continued in various forms until its demise as the Hadrian's Wall Advisory Panel in 1997, when judged that it was no longer needed after the establishment of the Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Committee.

By the late 1980s, therefore, there was increasing recognition of a number of problems and opportunities affecting the Wall and of the need to deal with these more holistically than had been the case in the past as well. At the same time, both the Dartington and the Consultative Committee reports had shown that stakeholders should come together at least to discuss such issues. The major issues in the public eye were tourism, for the perceived visitor pressure on the monument and for the economic opportunities it could offer to the local community, and the National Trail proposal, which aroused considerable controversy among archaeologists, landowners and farmers.

These issues became apparent with the increasing general recognition of the significance of the World Heritage in the planning system and the need to have specific policies in spatial plans to protect the World Heritage (Chap. 3). For Hadrian's Wall, this was emphasised by the results of public inquiries (announced in February 1993) on proposals for open-cast coal mining north of the Portgate roundabout and for oil test drilling in Stagshaw Plantation. In both cases, there was no direct impact on archaeology. Concern focused on the potential adverse impacts on the setting of the World Heritage property. The Secretary of State refused consent for both developments, in part, because of the impact on the World Heritage Site.

Nationally, this led to recognition of the importance of the World Heritage designation in the spatial planning system and initiatives by English Heritage to improve the management of the World Heritage properties through the development of management statements or plans at Avebury and Hadrian's Wall. In the case of the latter, this initiative came at the same time as the Countryside Commission proposals for the National Trail (mentioned earlier) and the beginning of the process which led to the initial formation of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership in 1993. The embryonic partnership published a report on a sustainable tourism strategy for Hadrian's Wall and the Tyne Valley corridor in 1994 (Ash/Transport for Leisure 1994), while proposals for the National Trail were agreed by the Government in the same year.

English Heritage's intention to lead the creation of a management plan for Hadrian's Wall was announced in July 1993. All three of these initiatives went forward in full knowledge of the others and with a high degree of cooperation between them.

The Preparation of the 1996 Management Plan

This was the first time that a World Heritage Management Plan had been created in the UK, and the only guidance available was the recently published *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993). To a

Table 4.1 Guiding Principles for 30-year period 1996–2026. (Source: Hadrian’s Wall Management Plan (English Heritage 1996b))

1	Provision of the opportunity to identify and promote change beneficial to the World Heritage Site and its Setting, and to protect and safeguard their future for coming generations
2	Seek to develop partnership and consensus among all those, public or private, involved within the World Heritage Site and its Setting
3	Maintain and reinforce the special character of the area
4	Retain the vitality of the Wall’s landscape
5	Maximise public and private resources for the enhancement and management of the landscape
6	Available opportunities should be used to maximise the benefits of sustained long-term management plans of the Wall and its area
7	Seize available opportunities for freeing the most sensitive sites from modern development or planting
8	Develop understanding of the archaeological or historic value of individual sites and of the World Heritage Site as a whole
9	Improve public understanding about the value and importance of the World Heritage Site
10	Continue to improve the visitor’s visual, cultural, and educational experience of the World Heritage Site
11	Improve access to and within the Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage Site
12	Ensure that the economic benefits of tourism within the World Heritage Site and its Setting are maximised for the benefit of local communities

considerable extent, the development of the Hadrian’s Wall Plan was experimental, particularly, given the scale of the site, the range of ownership and the number of bodies involved in one way or another in its management. There were also unresolved issues from the property’s inscription such as the lack of definition of its boundaries.

From the outset, English Heritage worked with other partners and stakeholders to create the Plan. An overall steering group was set up and first met in February 1994. Its members included local authorities, conservation bodies, landowners, farmers, the tourism industry and site managers across the World Heritage Site. Its role was to oversee the whole process. Alongside this, three working groups were set up to cover spatial planning, land use and visitor services with a fourth for urban areas, added subsequently. Consultants were commissioned to produce reports on landscape character and visitor management, while ICOMOS-UK was funded by English Heritage to employ an administrator to support production of the Plan. The steering group met eight times and each of the working groups met several times, developing aims on a 30-year time scale, and policies for 5 years for the Plan, in accordance with Feilden and Jokhilehto’s recommendations.

In May 1995, a workshop was held to present the outcomes of the process to a select group of stakeholders and in July the draft Plan was launched for public consultation (English Heritage 1995). Over 700 copies of the draft were issued together with 35,000 leaflets and sent to all affected residents along the line of the Wall. The Plan’s vision and aims were substantially those contained in the final version (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Table 4.2 The 5-year objectives 1996–2000. (Source: Hadrian’s Wall Management Plan (English Heritage 1996b))

1	Clear definition of the extent of the World Heritage Site and its archaeological resources, and UNESCO’s confirmation of this designation
2	Agreement with local authorities of a defined Setting for the World Heritage Site and application by them of co-ordinated planning policies within local plans or structure plans for the whole of the World Heritage Site and its Setting, which distinguish between their separate needs
3	Resolution of the status and contribution to the World Heritage Site of the Wall in the urban areas of Tyneside and Carlisle
4	Within existing legislation, provision of enhanced and focused protection for the World Heritage Site and its Setting; review of the extent of areas scheduled as being of national archaeological importance
5	Establishment of better management regimes for individual sites by seeking agreement with landowners/occupiers and other relevant bodies on indicative targets for monitoring and enhancing all sensitive archaeological sites and their landscape (including geology and wildlife) in the World Heritage Site and its Setting; implementation of these targets by voluntary means (when possible) using all available sources of funding (e.g., EU, MAFF, EH, local authorities)
6	Regular monitoring of the condition of the earthworks and masonry of Hadrian’s Wall and other archaeological sites within the World Heritage Site, and targeting of grants through use of concept of limits of acceptable change to secure recording and consolidation
7	Introduction of Hadrian’s Wall database to provide archaeological and planning information and a management database for the World Heritage Site
8	Formulation of an agreed academic framework for research on Hadrian’s Wall, including the publication of outstanding information from excavation and survey
9	Management by English Heritage of its own sites on the Wall as exemplars appropriate to its World Heritage Status
10	Monitoring the impact of tourists and visitors to the Wall, and encouraging them away from areas at risk of erosion by defining and applying the concept of limits of acceptable change
11	Minimising conflict with existing land uses and safeguarding sensitive locations by management of visitor behaviour
12	Encouragement of steps towards the introduction of an integrated, sustainable transport strategy to improve visitor access to the World Heritage Site and its Setting
13	Explanation of the importance of the World Heritage Site designation and its implications to residents, visitors and decision makers
14	Enhancement of the quality of visitor experience in the World Heritage Site and its Setting
15	Development of a co-ordinated approach to interpretation including non-archaeological aspects such as wildlife and geology at Roman and other sites throughout the World Heritage Site and its Setting and to their marketing to achieve other objectives of the Plan
16	Maximising local benefits of sustainable tourism through the promotion of stronger links with local services and businesses and through appropriate marketing and tourism developments in the wider area
17	Integration of current initiatives (e.g., the Hadrian’s Wall Path National Trail; Hadrian’s Wall Tourism Partnership) within the Management Plan approach through establishment of the Co-ordination Unit
18	Establishment of a Hadrian’s Wall Management Plan Committee, representative of interests encompassing the World Heritage Site, to oversee and co-ordinate the implementation of the plan, and also development of wider means of communication with the local population
19	Appointment of a co-ordinator and a small team to backup the plan, and co-ordinate action on implementing its recommendations

The consultation received over 200 responses and revealed a high level of concern, particularly among landowners and farmers, which had not been anticipated, given that the steering group and working groups had included broad representation of all interest groups. This was exemplified by the front page headline in *The Hexham Courant* (1995), ‘Wall Plan dubbed ethnic cleansing’. This reported a debate in Tynedale Council, in which one councillor claimed that English Heritage intended to prevent arable farming near the Wall and council officers said that the Plan failed to recognise the need for flexibility and needed to look at tourism in a more positive light (*The Hexham Courant* 1995). The controversy received national exposure in a BBC television programme which asked ‘Whose Wall is it Anyway?’ (Baker 1995)

These concerns can be summarised as follows:

- The Plan proposed an archaeological core with a broad landscape zone—broadly, the immediate visual setting of the Wall and the Cumbrian coastal defences as far south as Maryport, giving a zone up to 10 km across, plus possible extensions down the coast to Ravenglass, around Moricambe Bay, on the north shore of the Solway Firth, and around Corbridge in the Tyne Valley. The landscape zone would be managed to protect the setting of the Wall while the archaeological core would be controlled more closely to protect its significance. The archaeological core was thought to be defined too vaguely and the landscape zone was thought to be too broad and affected too much agricultural land.
- Farmers and landowners were concerned that, in the future, further restrictions on their activities could be introduced.
- The impact of conservation policies on agriculture, with potential restrictions on arable farming, together with too much restriction of activities in a living and used landscape, was thought to be too restrictive.
- There was a failure to recognise the potential economic benefits of tourism to the local community, with a need for the Plan to adopt a more positive attitude to it.
- The possible adverse impacts of tourism, particularly as a result of creating the National Trail, was a major source of concern for many landowners and farmers.

As a result, the consultation period was greatly extended with considerable political activity including ministerial involvement. Following on from this, an interim draft of the Plan was issued in February 1996 for a further round of consultation (English Heritage 1996a). The final plan was launched in July 1996 (English Heritage 1996b). It was around half the length of the original and, hopefully, much more accessible.

The major change was seen in the definition of the World Heritage Site which was now restricted to the scheduled archaeological monuments which made up the Wall and its associated features. The landscape zone around the Wall itself and down the Cumbrian coast as far as Maryport was redefined as the Setting of the Wall (in effect, its buffer zone) and the proposals for the areas south of Maryport, on the north shore of the Solway Firth and in the Tyne Valley were dropped (Table 4.1). This area was defined primarily for the protection of the visual setting of the Wall, except in Tyneside and Carlisle where it was intended to mark areas of potential archaeological interest. The policies for the Setting zone to protect the World Heritage property were substantially the same as that for the landscape zone in the first draft of the Plan.

Overall, the 30-year aims and 5-year policies of the Plan were substantially the same as that for the first draft but redrafted to be more consultative and participatory and less directive in tone. They aimed to achieve a balance between conservation, access, sustainable economic development and the interests of local communities, which was broadly acceptable to a wide range of stakeholders (see Table 4.2 and Fig. 4.1). While the Plan provided an overall policy context for the management of the World Heritage Site and its Setting, it was not a statutory document and could only be advisory and consultative. English Heritage committed itself to work to obtain the voluntary commitment to the Plan of all those involved, since the Plan could only work through consensus among them.

The Implementation of the 1996 Management Plan

The Plan, therefore, placed considerable emphasis on the need for effective implementation. It recommended the establishment of a Management Plan Committee serviced by a small Co-ordination Unit and that other initiatives should work within the overall objectives of the Plan as well. The role of the Co-ordination Unit was to oversee and co-ordinate the implementation of the plan.

This arrangement lasted until 2006 (Chap. 5), and the role of the Committee continues to the present day. It is made up of representatives of around 40 bodies along the Wall, including officials from government agencies, local authority officers, site managers and representatives of landowners and farmers. The Committee's role was, and remains, to oversee and co-ordinate the implementation of the plan.

The Co-ordination Unit was funded and staffed by English Heritage and, normally, had two staff only. Its role was basically, but not entirely, that of coordination. Most actions fell to other bodies, either for the whole Wall or for parts of it or for individual sites. However the unit took the lead when no one else would, or when asked, for example in the development of the European Heritage Laboratory Project on archaeological earthworks.¹ It acted as the guardian and champion of the Plan and identified opportunities to implement the Plan. It had a considerable role in brokering partnerships between other stakeholders to achieve this.

There were two other successful Wall-wide initiatives. The Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, with a considerable membership overlap with the Management Plan Committee, dealt with the promotion and management of sustainable tourism. The Countryside Agency's National Trail Officer and his staff were responsible, first, for creating the Trail and, then, for managing it. Both initiatives recognised that they worked within the policies of the Management Plan. In practice, their links with the co-ordination unit were close.

Implementation was supported by an interlocking network of committees and working groups which enabled all interests to be represented. Individual site managers worked within the Plan policies on the whole, though they were clearly free to reject those which did not suit them.

¹ Funded through the European Raphael Fund, the project resulted in the publication of the *Manual of Good Practice* which has encouraged and informed the management of earthworks at other sensitive archaeological sites.

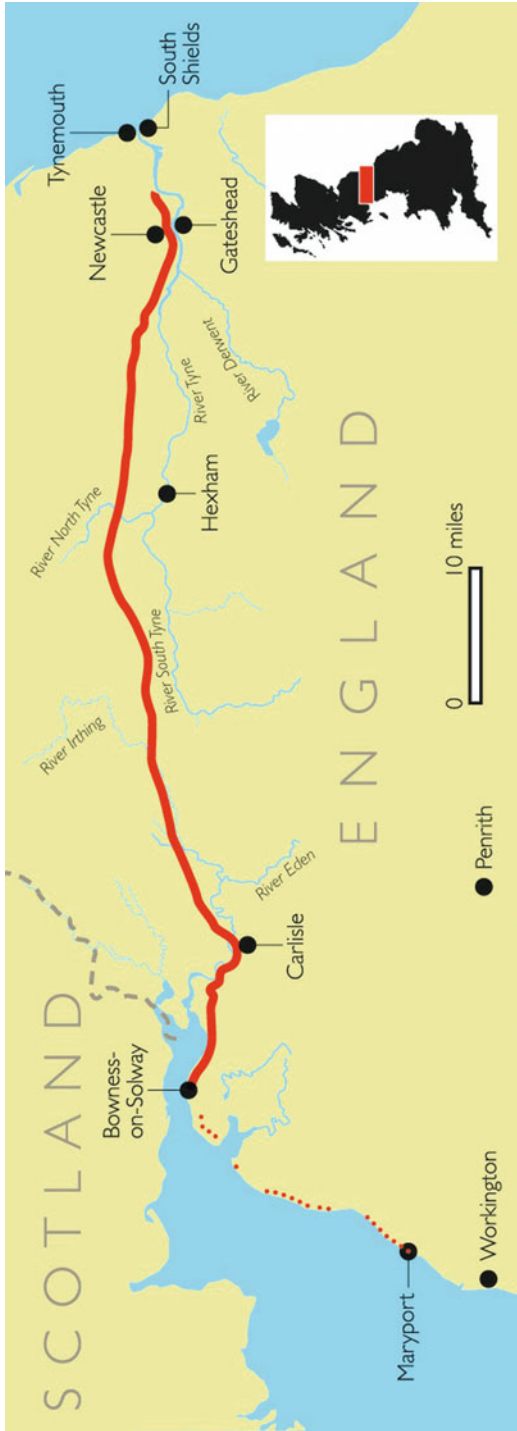


Fig. 4.1 Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site. (Courtesy of English Heritage)

This consensual and co-operative approach was successful to a considerable degree. Progress on the National Trail and of the Tourism Partnership is discussed later in this book (Chaps. 5 and 6) and the co-ordination unit worked closely with both initiatives, for example, on the Interpretation Strategy of 1996. The Plan is also believed to have given confidence to funding bodies such as the Heritage Lottery Fund which gave more than £10 million to projects along the Wall in this period.

The Effectiveness of the 1996 Management Plan

The effectiveness of the 1996 Management Plan was reviewed as part of the work for its replacement, published in 2002 (Austen and Young 2002). A review of progress since 1996 showed:

- The boundaries of the World Heritage Site and the buffer zone were proposed in the 1996 Management Plan and agreed upon by UNESCO in the same year.
- Protection for World Heritage Site had been written into local spatial plans for much of its length and for all of its most sensitive areas.
- Management Plan policies had been used to resolve planning proposals before formal applications were submitted.
- Statutory protection of the World Heritage Site had been reviewed, and scheduling (designation) of the Wall had been revised, as a result.
- One of the three major outstanding pieces of conservation (Thirlwall Castle) in the Wall zone had been completed.
- Better understanding of visitor behaviour and numbers had been established, mainly through the National Trail project. The use of stile counters, in particular, had shown that the numbers of rural visitors were not rising inexorably as had been thought at the time of the first Plan, making it possible to develop more effective policies for future management of access. In particular, it was clear that vulnerable earthworks were at less risk than had been thought of in 1996.
- Much work had taken place to deal with footpath, visitor and animal erosion, and work on future guidance had started. Much of this had been part of the works for the National Trail but some projects, mainly on animal erosion, had been developed by English Heritage.
- An English Heritage project investigated the impact of ploughing on the sites of 12 mile castles.
- An interpretative strategy had been developed and was supported by Local Interpretation Plans for much of the Wall.
- A common branding strategy was developed and implemented for the World Heritage Site.
- The first two Orientation gateways for visitors to the region had been established at Southwaite Services on the M6 and Tyne Quays ferry terminal.
- Joint leafletting and marketing of the World Heritage Site as a whole had been developed.

- There were major Heritage Lottery Fund/EU-funded initiatives at several sites including the European Heritage Laboratory project, the re-excavation and display of Wallsend and agri-environmental schemes in the National Park.
- The National Trail was being developed (finally opened in 2003). The right of way to top of the Wall in the central sector was removed.
- The Management Plan Committee and the Co-ordination Unit were established in 1996 (Austen and Young 2002, 33–42).

The 2002 Management Plan

The 2nd Plan was launched in 2002 (Austen and Young 2002). Written against a background of improved knowledge, it was again developed through consultative processes, involving all key stakeholders. It was also written during the major crisis of the Foot and Mouth epidemic of 2001. The measures necessary to control this animal disease effectively closed almost the entire World Heritage Site to visitors. Apart from the disastrous impact on farming, the epidemic demonstrated the extent to which the economy of the area depended on tourism and on the Wall, as a widely-recognised symbol of northern England. This disaster had considerable effect on the emphasis and policies of the Plan.

The revised Plan was based on a widening understanding of the significance of the World Heritage Site. Its assessment of significance and its policies were expanded to give more emphasis to the natural environment (including geology), the economic significance of the World Heritage Site and the need to use it sustainably. Its policies concentrated on conservation activities, not done in the first quinquennium, such as the research strategy and database, and on sustainable tourism as part of economic revival after the Foot and Mouth epidemic.

It contained even more detailed policies than the first version and these provoked little objection, demonstrating the success of the planning process and the progress made since 1996. More detailed policies are only possible in a management plan of this sort because stakeholders are prepared to agree to them. The fact that they were prepared to do so in 2001–2002 reflected both a growing degree of consensus on what needed to be done, greater experience of working together in multiple partnerships and increased mutual trust among stakeholders.

The effectiveness of the 2nd Management Plan was, to some extent, overshadowed and affected by the studies and discussions leading to the creation of Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd in 2006 (Chap. 5). The key elements of the system created in 1996 were carried forward to the new arrangements including the Management Plan itself, with its recognition of the need to balance conservation, access, the interest of local communities and sustainable economic development and the recognition of the role of stakeholders through the continuing control by the Management Plan Committee of the overall strategy for the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site as a part of what is now the transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage site.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of the management system for Hadrian's Wall was assessed in 2002 as a part of the Getty Conservation Institute's (GCI) research on the values of heritage. Following more theoretical studies, four case studies were developed to illustrate how values are identified and assessed, how they play into management policies and objectives and what impact management decisions have on the values of the property concerned. Hadrian's Wall was one of these.

This case study explored

... how the values of an extensive site, with a complex set of landowners and stakeholders (and where there is no unified ownership of the land or historical features of the World Heritage Site), are conserved and managed in collaborative arrangements. Of interest are issues arising from the large-scale partnership model of management as well as issues related to the conservation and development of specific sites within the regional management framework. (Mason et al. 2003, pp. 3–4)

The study team, from the GCI, the Australian Heritage Commission, Parks Canada, the US National Parks Service and English Heritage visited the site in spring 2002 and interviewed the full range of stakeholders. The report stresses the partnership nature of the management of Hadrian's Wall through the first two management plans and also how that partnership widened appreciation of values of the World Heritage property and its setting and placed conservation in a wider context where other needs had to be recognised. It concluded that:

- The positive results of the partnership since the mid-1990s are clear. Working in concert, a number of objectives have been achieved which, in the opinion of those on the ground, would not have been reached by organisations working independently.
- Managing by consensus is an exceedingly important principle and a major learning point. It is a replacement, one can say, for management by regulation and direct statutory control. There is a remarkably wide buy-in among partners on the protection of the Setting as well as the Wall.
- There are a lot of calculated ambiguities in planning and management. The planning has remained at a strategic level, avoiding the prescription of particular actions for particular sites. This is appropriate given the extensive scale of the whole venture and the need to recognize (and perhaps decentralize) the distribution of power among the various partners and individuals who wield ultimate control over land and resources. It is also flexible and allows the partnership to respond to changing external forces, whether those forces are welcome opportunities (regional regeneration funds) or unwelcome threats (the ravages of the foot-and-mouth disease (FMD)) (Mason et al. 2003, p. 37).

For the UK, the management-plan approach linked to values-based decision-making was quite novel in the early 1990s. Hadrian's Wall was, in many ways, a difficult context in which to have developed these approaches because of its scale and the large number of owners, interests and official bodies involved, along a site stretching for 150 miles across northern England. The development of the 1996 Management Plan was experimental in many ways as nobody in the UK had previously attempted

a plan on such a scale for an archaeological site. Despite a sometimes rocky development process, both the 1996 and the 2002 Plans proved effective in developing and delivering an overall co-ordinated approach to the site at a strategic level. That success can also be seen in the way that its most basic elements have continued through subsequent changes to the management of Hadrian's Wall.

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Chapter 5

Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership

Jane Brantom

Hadrian's Wall is one of the North of England's cultural assets. It is a tourism selling point we can ill afford to ignore, but there is also a widely shared perception that the needs of today should not be met at the expense of future generations. Northumbria Tourist Board is pleased, therefore, to have been able to secure the support of all the key organisations with an interest in Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site to form a new tourism partnership for the promotion of sustainable tourism in the area. (Northumbria Tourist Board 1995)

Introduction

This chapter describes the tourism development of Hadrian's Wall between the early 1990s and 2006, a period when the first Wall-wide organisations, the English Heritage Hadrian's Wall Coordination Unit and the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership were formed and the first Wall-wide tourism development activities were undertaken. It was a time of building up networks and trust through consensual and co-ordinated work, of pooling resources, a time of turning the rhetoric of earlier reports and recommendations into action.

Background

The development of tourism has a chequered history along Hadrian's Wall in large part due to its immense scale and the fragmented nature of ownership of its tourism assets. By the early 1990s, Housesteads, Chesters and Corbridge were well established tourist sites under the management of English Heritage (and the National Trust at Housesteads) as were Vindolanda and the Roman Army Museum under the stewardship of the Vindolanda Trust. Arbeia Roman Fort was also welcoming visitors.

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New developments were in the pipeline. Cumbria County Council was developing plans for Birdoswald, North Tyneside Council was planning facilities at Segedunum, and the Countryside Commission was working on the National Trail. This was within the context of increasing tourism numbers of the region, increasing demand for managed visitor attractions and planned investment in other attractions elsewhere in the North East and North West. It was also in the context of increasing recognition of the importance of sustainable tourism, balancing the environmental, economic, social and cultural impacts of tourism.

By 1992, the tourism sector's view of the Wall was summed up as follows:

There it was: utterly unique in Europe, the subject of stories, research and working party reports, now designated a World Heritage Site, yet with responsibility for management and promotion divided between 13 different agencies from coast to coast. If only we could work together and pool our meagre resources. (Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership 2006)

The new development director at the Northumbria Tourist Board led a series of round table discussions in 1993 and 1994, in which 'we shared our hopes, dreams and fears too: could we encourage more people to enjoy Hadrian's Wall today, adding value to the local economy, yet hand it on in good shape for future generations?' (Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership 2006). A study was commissioned, stakeholders engaged and resources pooled. The first joint Hadrian's Wall leaflet was produced in 1993, and a joint ticketing scheme was launched. Eventually funding was secured, the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership formed, and a project officer was appointed in 1995.

There were two significant phases for the Partnership. Between 1995 and 2000, the core partner contributions levered in the European and other funding, and the small team was based in the Northumberland National Park headquarters. The Northumbria Tourist Board acted as the employing and accountable body. In this period, solid foundations were set and, by the late 1990s, there was unanimous agreement that the Partnership should continue its focus on sustainable tourism development. Phase two was from 2001 to 2006, this time underpinned by significant regeneration funding and with more staff.

Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership—Phase One: 1995–2000

The aim of the Partnership was to develop sustainable tourism around Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site and to do this in ways that added value to the work of other organisations. The objectives were to:

- Develop a high-quality tourism product which meets the needs of the independent environmentally aware tourist;
- Achieve an increase in visitor spending;
- Encourage more people to leave their cars at home and to travel in and around the corridor by public transport and other, non-motorised means, such as cycling and walking;

- Attract more British tourists to take short breaks in the area by extending the tourism season into the quieter shoulder months;
- Stimulate visitor interest in the management and conservation issues surrounding World Heritage Site designations and encourage them to play a part in caring for the area's special features.

Initially, there were 18 core funding partners, including the North East and North West Regional Tourist Boards, the English Tourist Board, English Heritage, the National Trust, the Rural Development Commission, the Countryside Agency, ten local authorities, the Vindolanda Trust and the private and public partners including the railway company. It had high-profile backing and a high-profile launch. The number of core funders varied from time to time over the lifetime of the partnership as organisations merged and changed but 21 partners remained at the end of the Partnership in 2006.

Hadrian's Wall had been firmly placed on the tourism map for decades but when the Partnership started there was very limited joint marketing work, little visitor research, limited cross boundary working and considerable tension between commercial and conservation stakeholders. This was, in part, because of the development of the Hadrian's Wall National Trail and the fear about its impact on the archaeology. Tourism marketing bodies were aware of the tensions, particularly around the popular central section of the Wall and unclear about what they should and should not be promoting. The idea of spreading visitors more widely along the corridor of the Wall was promoted, yet businesses that depended on visitors for their living in the central sector were anxious about, literally, being taken off the map and not featuring in promotional materials. Sites in Tyne and Wear and Cumbria in the west were equally keen to make sure that they were on the map and promoted as well.

The Hadrian's Wall Sustainable Marketing Strategy (ASH/Transport for Leisure 1995) made recommendations for addressing these issues and much of the Partnership's early work was about raising awareness and understanding, creating dialogue and setting work in motion to address issues of balancing tourism and conservation.

An important part of the early work was to achieve a better understanding of the role of marketing the World Heritage Site. Marketing was recognised as being part of visitor management through influencing visitor behaviour, encouraging longer stays and more spend and steering people towards those sites, settlements and footpaths that have the capacity for them and away from any identified sensitive areas. Public attitude surveys had identified much confusion and many negative associations with Hadrian's Wall. There was clearly a need to improve the visitor experience and reinvigorate marketing messages and images. Doing this meant looking at the area as a whole. A decision was taken early on that the work would concentrate on business and other communities in a corridor roughly 10 miles on either side of the line of the Wall and 5 miles inland down the Cumbrian Coast.

Marketing and media policies were agreed upon, which included a change in the emphasis away from the traditional historic values and images to a more popular appeal. These manifested themselves in campaigns such as the Hadrian's Wall and the Borderlands, that included the Scottish Borders and promoted the regions as a

whole using Hadrian's Wall as the hook. For the World Heritage Site itself, media visits were organised to the lesser known parts of the Wall, as well as to the more famous sites. Conservation messages were included in leaflets for the first time and alternatives to the famous iconic images were commissioned and used. With time, and as improvements to footpaths progressed and more trust and understanding was built up, the iconic images returned and are used even today.

During the late 1990s, key alliances were built up with national and international tourism partners to target the UK and the overseas markets and some of the earliest work by the British Tourist Authority (BTA) on market segmentation was undertaken with the Partnership. Joint working with the BTA was also undertaken in respect of branding of the World Heritage Site and, in the late 1990s, an agreement was made for a common branding that would unite the whole Site but still allow for individual brands within it. With UNESCO approval for this approach, the new branding was soon adopted by the partners. Other breakthroughs included establishing the first Hadrian's Wall website in 1997, well ahead of many other World Heritage Sites; the Hadrian's Wall Information Line which handled telephone enquiries from potential visitors; ongoing market research and joint marketing initiatives, including Hadrian's Wall participation at international and national exhibitions.

This marketing work was backed up by the work on business development, expansion and development of visitor information provision, of the already established Hadrian's Wall bus service, improved interpretation and walking and cycling opportunities. The first Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Strategy (Touchstone 1996) was agreed upon in 1996 and underpinned much of the ensuing work. Themes were identified for the different sites and sections of the World Heritage Site and local interpretation plans started developing, the most successful being those around Gilsland and Heddon on the Wall.

In the late 1990s, partners were united in their support for continuation of the Partnership's Wall-wide work. There was a much better understanding of sustainable tourism and of the need for a holistic approach to marketing, business and other tourism developments. It was recognised that there were many opportunities yet to be developed and that a collaborative and co-ordinated approach between different interests was beneficial.

Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership—Phase Two: 2000–2006

In late 2000, the Partnership was awarded £1.6 million from the UK Government Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) to match funding from the European Regional Development Fund, the UK Heritage Lottery Fund and other local contributions. This funding was for a £3.6 million 6-year revenue programme, Hadrian's Wall Enrichment and Enterprise, with a mission to 'Enrich the visitor experience, enrich the lives of local communities and encourage a more enterprising and entrepreneurial culture around Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site' (Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership 2000). An accompanying bid for around £30 million to support capital investment across the World Heritage Site was unsuccessful.

The programme included six areas of work, some of which were relatively new to the Partnership while others were developments of previous activities:

1. Presenting Hadrian's Wall: marketing and visitor information;
2. Hadrian Means Business: business development;
3. Marking the Wall: interpretation, community, arts and education;
4. Roving Romans: training and volunteering;
5. Sustainable Transport: public transport, modal shift and cycling development;
6. Strategic work and capacity building.

In this period, the Northumbria Tourist Board continued to employ the project manager and the marketing and business development staff, while the Northumberland National Park Authority employed the transport staff and Newcastle City Council the education and community team.

Alternative structures for the Partnership were explored at this time including the creation of one organisation for Hadrian's Wall combining the Partnership and the English Heritage Coordination Unit. Co-location of the two teams nearly happened in 2001 when the Partnership moved to an independent premises in Hexham. While institutional and practical reasons prevented this merger, particular efforts were made to encourage the active participation of staff from all the partners in the Partnership's activities. Marketing, site management, education and other meetings brought together partners from across the World Heritage Site to work on common agendas. Duplication of effort was reduced, resources were used more efficiently and there was a better understanding of sustainable tourism and of the Site as a whole.

Between 2000 and 2006, the Partnership grew from a staff of 3 to 14 and from an annual budget of approximately £150,000 to £800,000 which gave it an increased capacity to work with stakeholders throughout the Hadrian's Wall corridor. The Partnership had established an innovative and holistic approach to delivering and developing sustainable tourism around the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site.

Marketing

The SRB funding brought more resources to marketing and visitor information provision for Hadrian's Wall. Earlier work on marketing the area as a destination in its own right rather than just a visitor attraction continued. More market research reaffirmed the dated perceptions of Hadrian's Wall in many market segments. *Hadrian's Wall Country* was already established as the descriptor for part of the monument, and following market testing, brand research and work with partner organisations, a new image for Hadrian's Wall Country was developed and launched in 2002. This moved away from the traditional representations to a softer approach that, somewhat controversially at the time, sometimes featured a rather handsome Roman soldier in order to appeal to new markets (Fig. 5.1). The adoption of the Hadrian's Wall Country brand for the whole of the World Heritage Site in 2002 marked a significant breakthrough in the marketing of the Hadrian's Wall. Variations of the brand were

Fig. 5.1 The image of a handsome Roman soldier was used to attract new markets. The approach was somewhat controversial. (Copyright: News and Pictures North)



created for the Hadrian's Wall bus, walking and cycling routes, local produce and for the website to present a more cohesive and easily understood destination. The branding continued to be developed and is still used in 2013.

Orientation boards at the main Hadrian's Wall sites, as recommended by the 1996 Interpretation Strategy, and displays in over 50 businesses were installed (Fig. 5.2). These helped to improve visitor information and understanding about the World Heritage Site as a whole, connections between the sites and, importantly, between the sites and the wider area. To complete the package of visitor information, various leaflets including the *Complete Guide to Roman Sites*, the *Walkers' Accommodation Guide* and the *Winter Guide* and *Summer Guide* were developed. By 2006, these initiatives had greatly improved the position of Hadrian's Wall in an increasingly competitive marketplace.

Business Development

Working with tourism businesses to improve quality and the whole visitor experience, especially in the rural areas was a core part of the Partnership's work. Meeting, talking, involvement in cross boundary work, familiarisation visits, seeking comments on direction and arranging special courses and events to encourage business development had all happened, to some degree, in phase one of the Partnership.

In 1999, the Partnership commissioned a survey of tourism businesses, which identified investment made, employment patterns and business trends from the previous 5 years and highlighted priorities for the immediate future. Visitor research in 2000 also identified areas for improvement such as catering, accommodation and visitor information, while contributions from partners completed the thinking. The SRB funding enabled a dedicated resource to work on business development across the World Heritage Site for the first time. This was very timely as the 2001 foot and



Fig. 5.2 One of the large number of freestanding dispensers for free information produced by the marketing team of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership. (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)

mouth crisis showed how deeply rooted tourism around Hadrian's Wall was in the local economy.

Early work delivered some innovative courses for businesses that built on the unique opportunities offered by Hadrian's Wall, such as Roman cookery events for businesses. The lead-up to the opening of the Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail

in 2003 was an important time for this project, with many business development enquiries to deal with. Workshops and business opportunity days were held for existing and potential businesses for the forthcoming National Trail and National Cycle Route¹. The Partnership acted as a central information hub and provided signposting for businesses in the area to appropriate agencies for advice. Meetings with partners identified gaps and issues and the project worked with the Trail and Cycle Route teams, Business Link, the Department for Rural Affairs and others to address them.

Raising awareness of the special qualities of the World Heritage Site was another important part of the work. Green Advantage courses were held that helped to develop businesses that could act as champions of good environmental practice in the Hadrian's Wall area.

Developing the supply chain so that tourism was more deeply rooted in the local economy was an important part of the Hadrian Means Business initiative. Meetings were held between local craft and food producers and retailers from visitor attractions and the Hadrian's Wall Country Locally Produced project was launched. New networks and opportunities for local producers, back-up materials and branding and an annual Hadrian's Trade Fair were established. Dedicated spaces for local produce soon appeared at some Roman sites and the Trade Fair continues at the time of writing this chapter.

Research in 2005 with 153 of the 434 businesses and retailers involved in the scheme showed that the initiative had been well received. The development of the Locally Produced brand was clearly an achievement and it was felt to be an effective commercial tool that was beginning to grow in its adoption and profile among local businesses. The scheme was also praised for its integration with the overall Hadrian's Wall Country initiative and its profile in the marketing materials produced by the Partnership.

Skills and Training

The first Wall-wide specialist training programme for tourist guides started in 1998 and continued until 2006. Wall-wide professional and volunteer guides' training at Roman sites complemented the Blue Badge guide network² in the area and laid foundations for later work.

Between 2001 and 2006, the Roving Romans skills development programme supported training places at Roman sites and other partner organisations for local unemployed people. Placements included work on creating the inner city part of the National Trail, on interpretation, hospitality and administration at sites. Funding through the Partnership also helped establish the National Trail Volunteers; a part time co-ordinator was appointed in 2001 and, by 2006, 60 volunteers had been

¹ The Hadrian's Wall National Cycle Network Route 72, running from Ravenglass to South Shields was developed by the cycling promotion charity Sustrans.

² The Blue Badge is the highest qualification for professional tourist guides in the UK and is awarded by the Institute of Tourist Guiding.



Fig. 5.3 The Hadrian's Wall Country bus. (Copyright: Deve Photography)

recruited and trained and were regularly out on the National Trail, meeting visitors and identifying maintenance work requirements and other issues.

In all, between 2001 and 2006, the Partnership had encouraged over 400 people to be involved in volunteer work in the area.

Transport and Access

Encouraging travel by means other than car was one of the original objectives of the Partnership. During its early years, the Hadrian's Wall AD 122 bus service, first started in 1970s by the Northumberland National Park to provide greater access to the central sector of the Wall, was extended to cover a longer season and trained guides were introduced on the bus (Fig. 5.3). The service began to receive national recognition for its success, and was further improved and expanded during phase two, cycle racks were provided on some services and, over time, passenger numbers increased and the percentage of subsidy required went down. The bus became a regular fixture in the landscape. At the same time, improved information about walking, cycling and general sightseeing around Hadrian's Wall and how to do this by public transport was developed. The National Trail was finally opened in 2003, together with circular walks and the Hadrian's Cycle Way in 2006. Both followed many years of careful negotiations and acted as catalysts for new business and visitor experiences as described above.

Through the focus on sustainable transport, the World Heritage Site became a more welcoming and accessible place for visitors arriving by all means of transport. The work on public transport won several awards and was used as an exemplar for other sustainable tourism projects.

Community and Education

Community involvement in tourism development was a fundamental principle adopted by the Partnership. Whilst resources were limited in phase one, local communities were actively engaged in activities wherever possible including the local action plans that emerged from the 1996 Interpretation Strategy.

Education was also seen as an important activity for the Partnership to support and, in the late 1990s, the Hadrian's Wall Education Forum was formed, which continues to function today. The group produced the first Education Directory for the Hadrian's Wall in 1999, providing a valuable resource to support educational use of the World Heritage Site.

In phase two the Partnership was able to acquire funding for a dedicated education and community team. The team built on the earlier work of the Partnership and developed modules on Hadrian's Wall for the national curriculum and further education material for the World Heritage Site as a whole. The team worked with teachers and trainee teachers; researched school visits to the Site; produced advice for visits and a learning strategy for the World Heritage Site. The team also developed the existing Roman Road Show, a popular living history project for schools started by the Northumberland National Park Authority, into a bigger event for more schools and local people (Fig. 5.4). Heritage Lottery funding helped set up a simple small grants fund, Reaching the Wall, to support education and community projects and visits to the World Heritage Site. Many of the 267 applications (representing over 11,000 people) received came from groups that had not previously visited the Wall.

In all, more than 5,000 people attended events organised by the community and the education team between 2002 and 2006. The evaluation of the partnership concluded that 'there was a feeling among many of the stakeholders that real pride in the wall has been engendered in the local communities' (QA Research 2006).

Arts

The first major arts project on the Hadrian's Wall, *Writing on the Wall*, was an international creative writing project developed by Arts UK and managed by the Partnership. It celebrated the Wall through new writings, by writers from the UK, about soldiers garrisoned on the Wall and by others from the north of England and Scotland. The project involved writers coming to the Wall and working with local groups and on their own to create new writings that reflected historical and contemporary aspects of the Wall. Writers came from Iraq, Morocco, Romania and the Netherlands and helped remind people of the multicultural nature of the Wall. One of the new writings was a play, *Off the Wall*, performed across the Hadrian's Wall corridor to capacity audiences in village halls, involving local people in play preparations and production. The final publication, *Writing on the Wall*, an anthology of the new work, came out in 2007 (Arts UK 2007). In all, the project introduced some 2,000 people to a new way of looking at their World Heritage Site and helped establish arts as a medium

Fig. 5.4 An education group taking part in the Roman Road Show. (Copyright: Northumberland National Park Authority)



for interpreting and presenting the Wall as a whole, for both visitors and local people alike. The project was an important part and a good example of the holistic approach taken by the Partnership.

The End of the Partnership

Planning for life beyond 2006 and the end of the SRB-funded programme had always been in the mind of the Partnership's Management Group and Board. An external evaluation in 2003–2004 (Northumbria University Business School 2004) made recommendations for the future, including the already apparent need for capital investment on the main Roman visitor sites. The Partnership had been able to inform, cajole and support developments but, ultimately, it had no authority over the independently owned sites. It also had no spare capacity to support capital project development as it was fully occupied delivering the integrated revenue programme.

The Foot and Mouth Disease crisis in 2001 emphasised the vulnerability of the rural economy and the need for capital investment in tourism along the Hadrian's Wall. Following the earlier unsuccessful capital funding bid, the Partnership published *Beyond the Final Frontier* in early 2002 (PLB Consulting 2002) which proposed a £44 million 10-year integrated investment plan for the Hadrian's Wall and was used as the basis for discussions with regional and national agencies. It was clear that any future funding for visitor infrastructure depended on the newly formed regional development agencies (RDAs). A meeting at Birdoswald Fort in 2002 with the two northern RDAs and the Chief Executive of English Heritage helped secure commitment. The RDAs declared their intention to commission a Major Study of the Hadrian's Wall, and consultants were engaged in 2003.

The Partnership continued to deliver its revenue programme while the Major Study was being undertaken, despite many periods of uncertainty. The Partnership's integrated programme of revenue projects came to an end in 2006 by which time an agreement was reached that all of the Partnership's activities, except the community and education work, would continue to be delivered and developed under a new organisation. Some of the Partnership's staff transferred to the new company and the Partnership was finally wound up in the autumn of 2006.

Conclusion

The life of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, from 1995 to 2006, can be described as a decade of building consensual working, trust and stronger relationships across the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site. It was a time of making links between the sites and local communities in ways that had not happened before.

The Partnership left a legacy of an integrated programme of tourism development around the World Heritage Site that contributed significantly to the implementation of the Site's Management Plan. Conservation and commercial interests, whilst not always agreeing, were able to communicate and work to common agendas. As a result of the Partnership's activities, by 2006, Hadrian's Wall was being developed as a contemporary destination in its own right, a destination with a choice of places to stay and visit, things to do, local produce to buy and was being promoted via centralised marketing and information. This was a huge step forward from the fragmented and very traditional approaches which existed in 1995. In the words of one partner, it was 'the closest you'll get to a practical example of sustainable tourism' (QA Research 2006).

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Chapter 6

Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail and the World Heritage Site. A Case Study in Heritage Access Management

David McGlade

Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail provides an important case study in heritage access management, and today visitors to its eponymous World Heritage Site are better managed and the Site's archaeology is better protected than at any time in the past 60 years. In 1976, a catalogue of visitor-oriented problems were documented in a critical report (Dartington Amenity Research Trust 1976) which highlighted visitor overcrowding and erosion of the fabric of the monument as symptomatic of a lack of strategic thinking or coordinated management.

The report was published less than 30 years after the *National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949*, which gave the post-war nation the opportunity to stretch its legs via a new Public Rights of Way network, National Parks and, crucially for Hadrian's Wall, long-distance walking and/or horse-riding routes, known today as National Trails. The decision to endorse the 1947 Hobhouse Report's proposed list of ten long-distance routes (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1947) meant that the 1949 Act would lead, eventually, to the development of two National Trails along parts of the Wall: the Pennine Way and Hadrian's Wall Path.

The first National Trail, the Pennine Way, opened in 1965 and today there are 15 National Trails in England and Wales extending to 2,500 miles (4,000 km). The decision to allow the Pennine Way to shadow Hadrian's Wall for 9 miles with scant regard for the fabric of the monument exposed not only the looming visitor management issues but also the archaeology itself. The countryside management profession was still in its infancy and lacked the resources, knowledge and experience necessary in order to translate early ideas about carrying capacity, such as the *Limits of Acceptable Change* (Sidaway 1994) approach pioneered in the USA, into site-based solutions. Hadrian's Wall, in common with many UK heritage and countryside sites, would be forced to play catch-up.

This period also predated the appointment of National Trail Officers—professionally trained countryside managers responsible for coordinating the strategic and day-to-day management of long-distance routes—and it showed. Today, for

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example, National Trail Officers offer expert advice to guidebook authors, but in the 1960s professional advice was in short supply with the attendant risk of mistakes appearing in print. Wainwright, in his *Pennine Way Companion*, incorrectly described the Pennine Way, in Wall-mile 44 on Hadrian's Wall, as being 'on foundations of the Roman Wall' (1968, p. 39) instead of the correct alignment which lay further to the south. Editorial decisions can have a long shelf life, especially so in the countryside, and, in 1995 at the outset of the Hadrian's Wall Path implementation project, a timber stile was still to be found inviting walkers onto the Wall-mound which was used as a flight of stairs. The stile, which had been in place for at least 30 years, had encouraged significant, avoidable damage to the Wall. Its removal has eliminated this immediate invitation to do unintentional damage.

The 1976 Dartington Report was timely. Without a change of direction, the archaeological remains would continue to tumble, unrecorded, down the slopes of the Whin Sill; the Report also helped to promote a discussion about the management of public access to the wider countryside beyond the Wall. The discussion reached the House of Commons and in 1981 the MP for Skipton, John Watson, complained about the failure of the Yorkshire Dales National Park and the Yorkshire tourist authorities to cooperate on policies to solve the then serious erosion problems on the Pennine Way in Yorkshire. 'The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority and the Countryside Commission have noted with concern that the number of people using the Pennine Way, up Pen-y-Ghent in particular, has become so great that the hillside is being eroded—a sort of pedestrian erosion' (Watson 1981). Countryside management, in other words, was beginning to be taken more seriously.

The Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee was established with the task of considering the Dartington Report and to prepare a strategy to seek its implementation. Some 8 years later in its own report, *The Strategy for Hadrian's Wall*, the Committee recommended the creation of a long-distance footpath 'close to but separate from the line of the Wall' (Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee 1984, p. 8), and the management of its immediate hinterland as an access corridor.

The Strategy's clear analysis of the situation and its aims and objectives were both insightful and far-reaching and, together with its landscape-wide approach, novel for the time. The strategy and its landscape-wide approach are reflected today in the policies, aims and objectives of the current *Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan* (Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan Committee 2008).

In the 1980s, proposals for new National Trails in England were the responsibility of the Countryside Commission, the UK Government's advisor on the countryside in England. The Commission appointed a Project Officer tasked with researching a route that was acceptable to both archaeologists and the farming community, as well as to nature conservation and other local interests. It was not a straightforward task and the proposed route proved to be unpopular with farmers, who foresaw problems associated with visitors and their inevitable litter and dogs. At the same time, archaeologists, unimpressed with the management response to the already well-documented, visitor-induced erosion problems further to the south on the Pennine

Way, anticipated only more of the same impact on the fabric of the Wall and its associated earthworks.

Both points of view were understandable but, by the mid-1980s, attitudes were beginning to change with the Countryside Commission acknowledging the importance and value of countryside management project officers in the delivery of a more sustainable countryside. Although the title National Trail Officer would not appear until 1989 following a Countryside Commission exercise to rebrand long-distance routes as National Trails, the first full-time project officer appointment was made to the Norfolk Coast Path in 1981 closely followed by Offa's Dyke Path in 1982. If Hadrian's Wall Path succeeded in obtaining ministerial approval then, the Commission agreed, it would sponsor a similar arrangement.

The research into a possible route far exceeded the scrutiny hitherto required of other National Trails, and in 1991 a landform and condition survey assessed the potential impact of walker pressure on the surviving archaeology of Hadrian's Wall. The survey not only provided a baseline record of the condition of the path and monument (still referred to today) but also informed the route's alignment and identified the principal agents of damage and erosion. It is worth noting that the research, planning and scrutiny into the development of the new Hadrian's Wall Path also influenced events on other Trails, notably on Offa's Dyke Path where, in the mid-1990s, an alignment project was established to review and, wherever possible, legally divert the National Trail off the eroded crest of the Saxon earthwork monument to a more level ground alongside.

A proposed route was presented to the government in the form of a *Submission Document* (Countryside Commission 1993) but not before a final welter of opposition from farmers, archaeologists and that of Hexham constituency MP Peter Atkinson who, in April 1993, tabled in the House of Commons a 1,600-strong petition of local farmers and other residents set against the National Trail:

I have the honour to present a petition protesting against a plan by the Countryside Commission to create a Hadrian's Wall National Trail. It is signed by more than 1,600 people in my constituency, all of them either residents, farmers, landowners or those who have an educational or commercial interest in the Wall and the surrounding area. (Atkinson 1993)

The Government, however, had to evaluate the public benefits of the Trail, including the potential for economic development, against the risk of further erosion damage to the monument and any adverse impacts that it might have on agriculture. Finally, some 28 years post Dartington and 47 since Hobhouse, ministerial consent was granted in November 1994, although it was not unconditional. English Heritage insisted that the *Submission Document* include a critically important clause, subsequently endorsed in the Ministerial Consent letter, 'The most appropriate footpath surface is a green sward path. This will be aimed for wherever practical, using vegetation management techniques as part of a regular maintenance regime' (Countryside Commission 1993). The maintenance of an unbroken green sward is considered to be the best way of protecting any near-surface archaeology; it presents the Wall and its associated earthworks in the most sympathetic of settings; it protects farmers' grazing and it is also the surface that most visitors prefer to walk on. Today, and after almost

20 years, the green sward undertaking continues to influence every management and maintenance decision undertaken by the National Trail Officer and team.

Feelings were running high when the National Trail's implementation project began in June 1995 with the newspaper headline 'Woman hiker attacks boy on Hadrian's Wall' (Hexham Courant 1995, p. 1) doing little to help the situation. Many archaeologists were also sceptical with Fowler (1997, p. 11) expressing the views of some that the '20,000 walkers expected to trek end-to-end a decade hence, plus more day-walkers than at present, will exact the price of non-elitist access—significant environmental and mural degradation.' These were difficult times for the National Trail project but it took the view that constructive criticism and scrutiny was a healthy facet of the reality of life along Hadrian's Wall, a view that stands to this day.

Recreational user groups and local councillors also took issue with the *Submission Document's* aim to legally divert the Public Right of Way, west of Housesteads Roman Fort, off the crest of the masonry Wall onto level ground alongside, claiming the public's right to walk on the top of Hadrian's Wall (Hexham Courant 2006). The matter was subsequently resolved but not before lengthy negotiations culminating in an open-air meeting at Housesteads had first taken place. The lead-in to the publication of the 1996 *World Heritage Site Management Plan*, as the following press headline suggests, only added to the maelstrom: 'Landowners go into battle at the Wall—A row has broken out over the proposed management of land around Hadrian's Wall' (Northern Echo 1995). The National Trail and newly appointed Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership Officers, together with the English Heritage Management Plan Coordinator, would attend public meetings attended by suspicious, sometimes vociferous, audiences intent on a close scrutiny of the triumvirate's intentions.

Another tension not apparent at the outset of the project, and one that remains disappointingly unresolved, although it is not unique to Hadrian's Wall, is the matter of what should happen when two strands of the conservation movement collide with no consensus as to a satisfactory way forward. The Wall's landscape is endowed with both archaeological and nature conservation statutory designations which afford a degree of statutory protection to both; however, from time to time, the management objectives of one will come into conflict with the other. The dilemma remains thus: in the event of an irreconcilable conflict between archaeological and nature conservation, notwithstanding the added concerns of farming which may conflict with both, which should take precedence? The 1991 Edwards Report reflected on the 1974 Sandford Committee's recommendation that 'where the two purposes are irreconcilable. . . priority must be given to the conservation of natural beauty.' (Countryside Commission 1991, p. 8). Although the so-called Sandford Principle was enshrined in the 1995 *Environment Act* (Department of the Environment 1995), which obliged National Parks to uphold the precautionary principle, the same Act unfortunately did not conclusively resolve this problem.

Although the World Heritage Site is, quite rightly, actively promoted as a visitor destination, the region experiences particularly high levels of precipitation and, based on the 30-year mean calculated by the Meteorological Office, the underlying soils between November and April are at field capacity, or saturated. The fact that access legislation allows for unrestricted public access for 365 days of the year

means that, unless novel management solutions are constantly researched, tested and implemented, the Trail and its underlying archaeology will be at a greater risk of damage when saturated winter (and sometimes summer) soils reduce the ground's carrying capacity.

Therefore, it is essential that a holistic approach be taken to the physical management of both the Trail and the Wall, as well as to their marketing and promotion, because when and how people access the site is just as important as how they are managed when they have arrived. A coordinated and holistic approach requires that the National Trail and the monument be managed as one and the same; for the purposes of practical management the two are inseparable, and to that effect the Trail's Development and Management Strategy mapped out the following principles:

- A commitment to the long-term view with clear aims and objectives;
- An aspiration to achieve, whenever possible, a convergence of aims with key partner organisations;
- The appointment of independent archaeological consultants;
- A regime of proactive grassland and visitor management including the pioneering development of a Generic Scheduled Monument Consent¹ to guide practical works undertaken in the field;
- A regime of periodic field-based monitoring and surveying to record the condition of the path and monument;
- Regular visitor counts;
- Research into the correlation between soil moisture, people counts and ground conditions;
- Research into the best practice techniques and materials used elsewhere for the management of visitors in sensitive landscapes; and
- The promotion of the World Heritage Site as an access corridor, thereby helping to spread the visitor load over as wide an area as possible. (Countryside Commission 2007, p. 17).

Although the Management Strategy set it on a theoretically stable long-term trajectory, when the Trail opened in May 2003 it did so without adequate resourcing to cover its immediate maintenance needs, and the general condition of the path and monument deteriorated rapidly. By late summer of 2004, after only two walking seasons, the grass sward was under severe stress and many new erosion pinch points and wear lines, some serious, had appeared; the integrity of the archaeology, once again, risked being compromised.

There followed almost a year of scrutiny from both the press and the archaeological profession. In April 2005, an article and leader appeared in *The Times*, and the Trail project was criticised once again by Fowler:

I was really quite alarmed. The problem is that the Trail is very close to the Wall and it doesn't seem in any significant way to be being managed. It's not the walkers, it's the lack

¹ Any physical works associated with a Scheduled Monument in England requires individual consent from English Heritage

of management of the walkers and the lack of management of the Trail which is causing the erosion and the wearing of the path which in places is 10–15 cm deep. (Fowler 2005)

The Countryside Agency responded with a statement saying that it took protecting the Wall very seriously and there were robust systems in place to monitor and manage the Trail. The Agency had already appointed the first of the Trail's two field staff, or lengthsmen, in October 2004 and a second was subsequently appointed in January 2006, each to immediate and noticeable effect.

After eight years almost all of the high-priority erosion pinch-point sites identified in 2004 have been restored and the practical management techniques that they employ, codified in the Trail's *Generic Scheduled Monument Consent* (McGlade 2008a), continue to evolve. First drafted in 1998, it provided a novel approach to the landscape-wide management of protected archaeological areas. It contains a menu of preapproved field-based management prescriptions that not only avoids the need to apply for a Scheduled Monument Consent every time that surface maintenance is required but also enables the lengthsmen to carry out their tasks with the knowledge and confidence that what they are doing is legal. The generic consent approach has also influenced the national agenda with the concept of area-wide management agreements featuring in the debate on heritage protection in the UK (see Chap. 12, p. 128). The lengthsmen remain essential to the long-term success of the project; they apply their expertise and knowledge of visitor- and surface-management techniques on a field-by-field basis and it is clear that, without their efforts, the archaeological integrity of the World Heritage Site would very soon be compromised.

All countryside management projects need an effective means of monitoring and recording what is happening in the field and Hadrian's Wall Path is no exception. The National Trail's first monitoring sites were established in 1996 with others introduced incrementally as the Trail was developed and, by 2003, every Wall-mile outside the urban areas of Newcastle and Carlisle had been allocated at least one photographic monitoring site. Today, the exercise is repeated at some 90-plus sites every April, August and November, that is, before, during and after the main walking season, with both east- and west-bound views taken. This methodology is considered to provide an exemplar for monitoring of sensitive archaeological sites (Young, personal communication).

Expressed statistically the scores indicate that, since November 2004, the condition of the Trail and monument has shown a steady gradual improvement coincident with the appointment of the two lengthsmen and their regime of regular proactive grassland management (Fig. 6.1). This continuity of data provides the Trail project with an unrivalled archive of condition-monitoring information for both the path and monument. Experience has underscored the importance of understanding long-term trends in the condition of the Trail and the monument, and in avoiding conclusions based on short-term observations; the data set is now long enough to enable informed management decisions that stand up to scrutiny. The exercise, however, while essential, can only record snapshots in time and it is backed up throughout the year with regular site visits, lengthsmen reports, and every autumn the route is also field-walked by the Trail Officer, lengthsmen and the Trail's archaeological consultant.

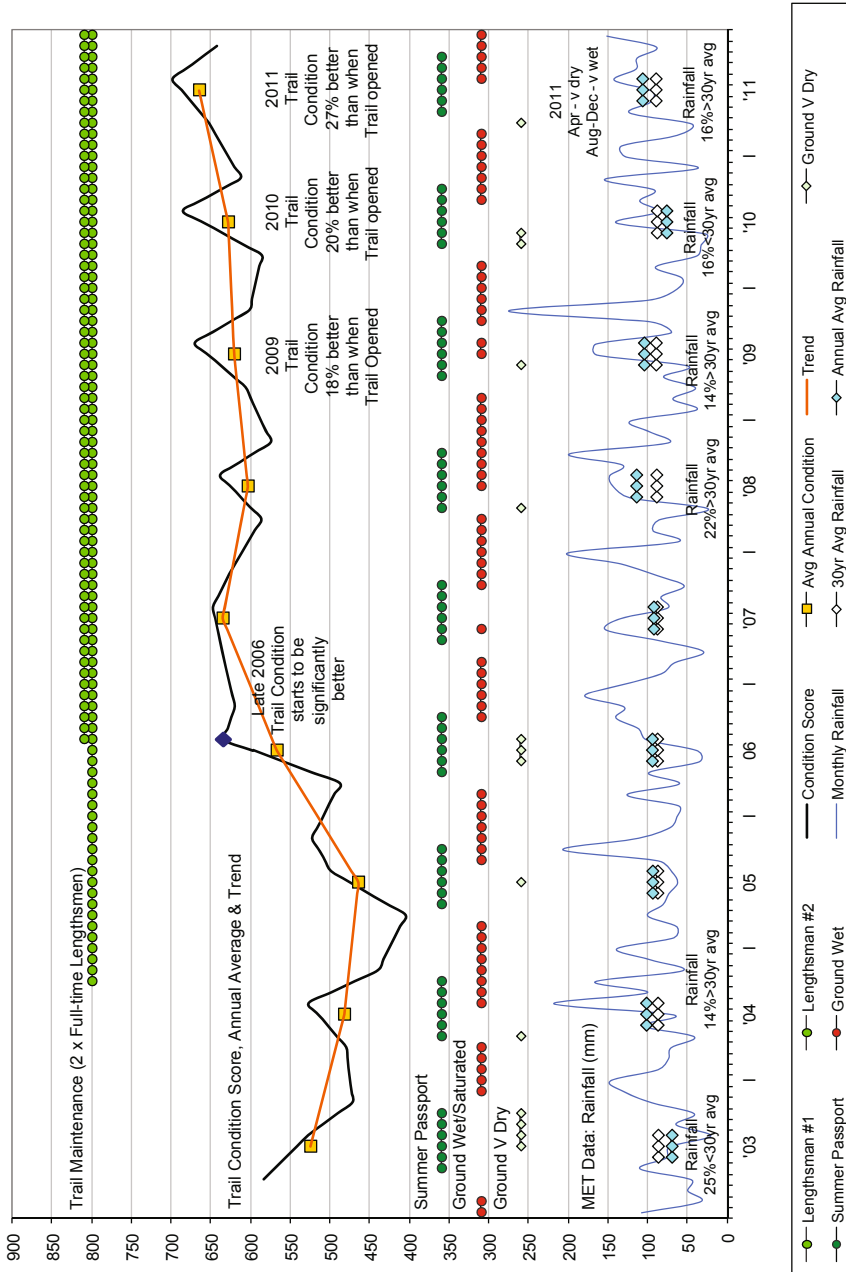


Fig. 6.1 Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail condition 2003–2011 (Fixed-point photographic monitoring, MET data and maintenance). (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)

Uniquely in the UK, efforts have been made to influence the seasonality of long-distance walkers using the Trail towards what are normally the drier months of the year when the Wall's underlying soils are in moisture deficit and thus more capable of withstanding wear and tear. Central to this has been the summer Passport Scheme whereby walkers collect a set of seven passport stamps between May 1st and October 31st of each year and, once their card is completed, they may claim their achievers' badge and certificate (Fig. 6.2). The scheme is very popular with the vast majority of walkers carrying the Passport and it remains an essential part of the Trail project's strategy for conservation management.

Visitors are also encouraged to engage with the conservation management process. The Trail project has developed some conservation tips for walkers which amount to a few simple measures that can and do make a significant contribution to the sustainable management of the Trail and to the conservation of the World Heritage Site. Visitors are requested, when walking in a group, to walk side by side instead of in single file; by doing so, the carrying capacity of the grass sward is effectively doubled without any effort on their part. Small pictorial notices at regular intervals along the Trail help to promote the conservation tips, and the lengthsmen have observed sufficient numbers of walkers entering into the spirit of the exercise for it to make a noticeable difference to the condition of the grass sward. Although it may appear counter-intuitive and contrary to the message promoted in the UK's mountainous regions, where visitors are asked to contain erosion damage by walking single file in an already-scoured-out scar, on Hadrian's Wall the aim is to prevent erosion from occurring in the first place.

Visitors are also asked, for rather more obvious reasons, to resist the temptation to walk on top of Hadrian's Wall itself. Although much of the extant masonry has been consolidated and might appear to be structurally sound, walking on it is a potentially damaging activity and Roman masonry can and does become dislodged.

Although site-based information is clearly important, it is also helpful to the conservation management process for visitors to have an awareness of the issues prior to their decision to visit the World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Site's main website portals—www.nationaltrail.co.uk/hadrianswall and www.hadrians-wall.org—promote the conservation messages, and every opportunity is taken to influence other web-based platforms. A Hadrian's Wall Path case study based on the experience of a group of 800 walkers visiting the Wall in January 2003 when soils were saturated and causing considerable damage to the monument and the Trail (McGlade 2008b) is published on *Best of Both Worlds* (www.bobw.co.uk). This Natural England-sponsored website is directed towards organisers of mass-participation countryside events in an attempt to promote responsible behaviour in sensitive natural and historic environments.

Publishers of National Trail maps and guides, including Harvey Maps, Footprint Maps, Cicerone Guides, Trail Blazer Guides and Rucksack Readers, have also responded very positively by printing the conservation messages. While these publishers have given prominence to the conservation messages, the fact that they do so is the result of a considerable investment in time and effort in developing long-term relationships with the publishing industry. The opportunity cost of not developing the relationships would be greater still.

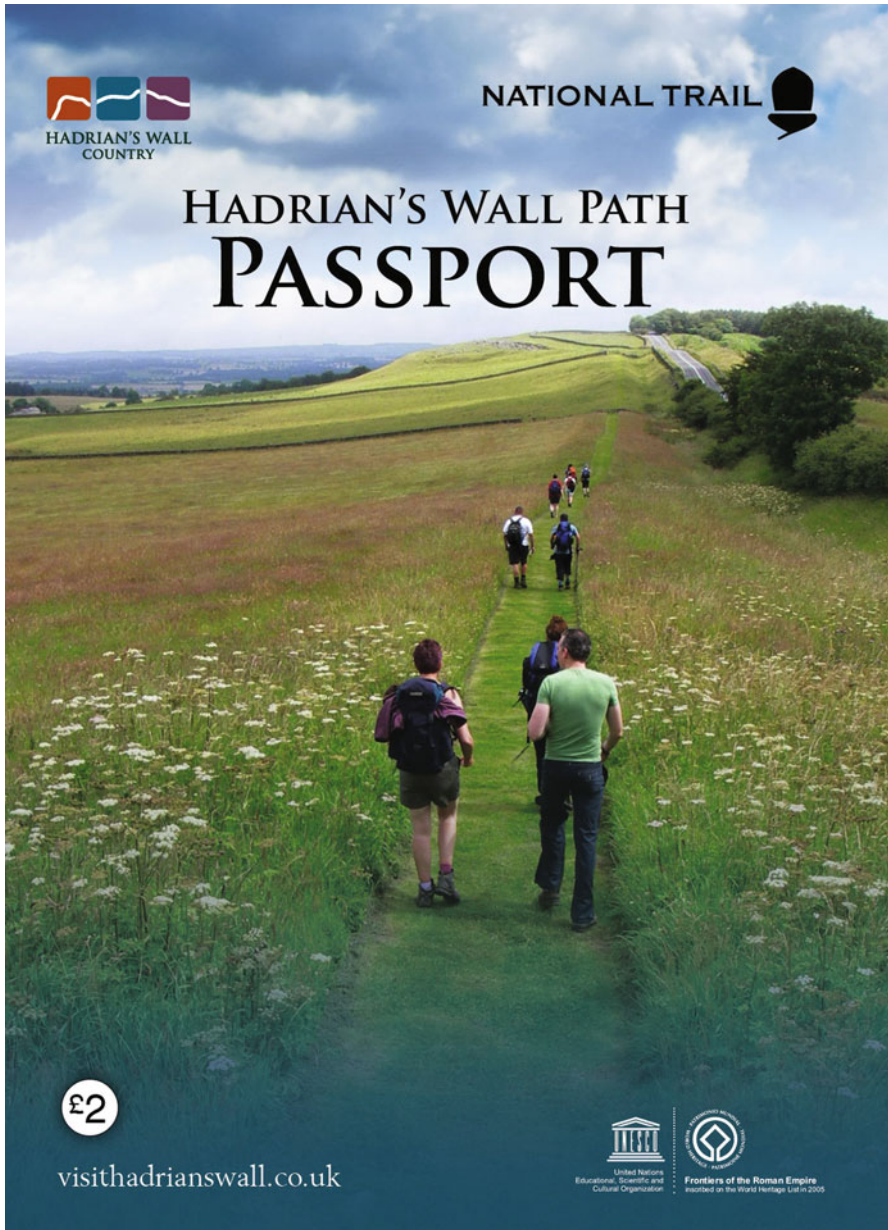


Fig. 6.2 Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail Passport. (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)

The Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail project is attempting to do something different. No other site in the UK provides as extensive a public access to such a historically unique and sensitive landscape. The risks are potentially great and the watchful eye of the archaeological community is a reminder that scrutiny, and at times criticism, is close at hand. The archaeology is a finite resource, and if any part

Fig. 6.3 1991 condition survey. Visitor management ideas contrast sharply with those of today. (Copyright: Natural England)



Fig. 6.4 July 2010. Another era but with new aims and objectives with a green sward cover protecting both buried archaeology and the setting of the monument. (Copyright: D McGlade)



of it is lost it can never be replaced, and when the archaeology in question belongs to a World Heritage Site then the challenge to manage it in a sustainable way is unambiguous.

Since its outset, the National Trail project's boundaries and scope have been stretched to the limit and this has led to innovative thinking. Some of the solutions have been greeted with scepticism and inertia but the project today has an accumulated experience which enables it to anticipate issues, often before they become apparent, and enact an appropriate management response. The barriers to some of these solutions are not necessarily financial; in fact, most of the countryside management undertaken in the field alongside Hadrian's Wall is relatively low cost and straightforward in terms of its implementation (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4).

The evolution of the grassland management approach along the National Trail, as opposed to hard engineering solutions, has many successful outcomes, in particular where level ground and shallow gradients are concerned. Most of the areas recorded in the 1991 condition survey as being under severe stress with exposed pinch-point wear lines and a loss of the top soil horizon today have a healthy grass cover. Wear

Fig. 6.5 Fixed-point photographic monitoring Wall mile 30, April 2003. (Copyright: A Whitworth/Hadrian's Wall Trust)



Fig. 6.6 Fixed-point photographic monitoring Wall mile 30 November 2004. Fowler's concern was not without foundation. (Copyright: A Whitworth/Hadrian's Wall Trust)



lines on slopes are more challenging but new ideas there have also met with recent success. Today's management techniques and materials, allied to the principle of spreading the visitor load over a marginally wider area, means that hard landscaping, as described in the *Submission Document* (Countryside Commission 1993, p. 48), remains the option of last resort, although differences of opinion leading to robust discussions with partner organisations can and do occur.

The fixed-point photographic monitoring scores, expressed graphically, also demonstrate that the condition of the Trail and the monument has improved significantly since the appointment of the lengthsman in 2004 (Figs. 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9). The seasonal Passport, one of the Trail's key foundations, has also contributed towards this success and it continues to influence walkers towards what are normally the drier months of the year. In the winter months, visitors are encouraged instead towards a suite of circular walking routes that connect to alternative and more robust destinations; this also helps to spread the visitor load, as well as the economic benefits of tourism, over a wider area.

Fig. 6.7 Wall mile 30, April 2006. The fixed point photography records changes in Trail and monument condition, showing an improvement, in response to management inputs, climate, land use and visitor pressures between 2006 and 2009. (Copyright: A Whitworth/Hadrian's Wall Trust)



Fig. 6.8 Wall mile in August 2009. (Copyright: A Whitworth/Hadrian's Wall Trust)



Fig. 6.9 Wall mile 30 in April 2012. After an extremely wet summer, the Trail shows signs of wear: only by constant management can the 'grass sward' be maintained. (Copyright: A Whitworth/Hadrian's Wall Trust)



Fig. 6.10 1991 condition survey showing active pinch-point erosion due to recreational activity.
(Copyright: Natural England)



Fig. 6.11 October 2010. Ground and monument condition has improved as the result of proactive grassland and visitor management.
(Copyright: D McGlade)



National Trails in England and Wales have become widely regarded as flagships for countryside access management. They give people, some for the first time, the confidence to venture out into the rural landscape and in doing so they spend money which benefits the local economy. Many challenges remain, however, and from time to time farmers are unfortunately inconvenienced by walkers, but it is the job of countryside managers to devise solutions, bespoke if necessary, to such situations. The difference between 1976 and today is that National Trails exist within the context of a well-managed countryside staffed by experienced countryside management professionals. In the case of Hadrian's Wall Path and the wider World Heritage Site their management thinking is founded, post Dartington, on more than 15 years of practical experience in the field. The fact that archaeologists and countryside managers now collaborate towards common aims and objectives is a very positive development. Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail is today a successful project because it plans for the long term and understands and adheres to its core aims and objectives (Figs. 6.10 and 6.11).

Fig. 6.12 A group of walkers enjoying a walk on the Trail to the south of the turf wall. It is the result of careful, daily, maintenance that such activity can happen without damage to the world Heritage Site. (Copyright: D McGlade)



Lessons were learnt in 2004 after only two walking seasons resulting in resources being found to employ the lengthsmen and the situation today is generally a very positive one. Differences of opinion between partner organisations are inevitable but experience has shown that it is always better to have a discussion, robust if necessary, rather than to ignore the issue. Nothing, though, is immutable, and the spectre of uncertainty over resources is never distant. In 2012, Natural England undertook a public consultation on the future funding, governance and management of National Trails in England with the aim of establishing a more flexible management model based on local partnerships empowered to determine spending priorities. It is hoped that the forthcoming conclusions of this process may make Government funding to local partnerships conditional upon the continued employment of Trail Officers, hitherto regarded as key to the long-term success of National Trails. This uncertainty, in the light of the damage caused to the World Heritage Site in 2012 following record levels of rainfall throughout the summer, together with an anticipated reduction in funding from 2013, is to many Wall watchers a cause for grave concern.

The lessons learnt in planning for the sustainable management of Hadrian's Wall Path and its eponymous World Heritage Site were hard-won. Let us hope that the knowledge gained will not go by the wayside (Fig. 6.12).

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Chapter 7

The Hadrian's Wall Major Study and 3rd Management Plan

Peter G. Stone

Introduction

By the end of the twentieth century, the extreme opposition to the early draft of the 1st Management Plan (Chap. 4) had faded in the minds of most of those involved in the Wall. The gradual realisation that the Management Plan was not the vehicle for the imposition of a hidden conservation-dominated agenda developed into an understanding that the Plan could actually bring people and sites to work together more effectively. The gradual but steady success of the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership had created an environment where different stakeholders could work in relative harmony when and where mutual benefit was identified. It had also stimulated a real interest from new stakeholders, businesses and communities, along the length of the Wall as the advantages of co-operation became clearer (see Chap. 5). However, much harmony was, in reality, superficial. Perhaps not unnaturally, managers still prioritised the needs of their site over those of the Wall as an entity. Thus, while there were joint leaflets produced by the Partnership, all sites continued to produce, and prioritise, their own marketing materials, and the Partnership's ideal of joint ticketing, achieved for a short period in the early 1990s, remained an elusive, unachieved, aspiration. The National Trail, while welcomed as an opportunity by many small businesses along the Wall, continued to be opposed by archaeologists who feared about the potential damage to the World Heritage Site, and farmers, who loathed the idea of any increase in walkers across their land (see Chap. 6). Such was the situation at the start of 2002 when five issues came together that were to have a significant impact on the management, development and interpretation of Hadrian's Wall.

First, the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership began serious discussions as to its future after 2006 when the externally funded 6-year *Enrichment and Enterprise* project would come to an end: was it to shrink back to a team of two people or have some larger, longer-term, more securely funded, role?

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Second, and as part of the above deliberations, the Tourism Partnership identified the North West and North East Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) as potentially key partners in its more secure future.

Third, a series of high-profile, large-capital projects for sites in the central sector of the Wall (including a major new orientation centre at the National Park's once brewed interpretation centre, new visitor facilities and interpretation at Housesteads and Chesters forts, and the possible reconstruction of the Vindolanda Trust-owned fort at Carvoran) were being developed. These projects began to refocus minds on the need for an overall strategy for the Wall's management and interpretation.

Fourth, the One North East (ONE) RDA identified, rightly or wrongly, and outside the scope of this review, that the management of the North East RDA's tourism strategy and product was in dire need of fundamental overhaul.

Finally, the review of the 2001 major outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the region revealed that, in addition to the loss of revenue to farming, there had been a major, and initially unexpected, highly detrimental economic impact on the region's tourism industry (National Audit Office 2001).

Taken separately, any one or two of these issues might have been absorbed into 'business as usual' along the wall. However, the combination of the five issues, and in particular the heightened interest in the Wall from the RDAs, took the management of the Wall to a completely different level of intensity and activity. By turning to the RDAs for support, the Tourism Partnership, perhaps unwittingly, opened the door to a completely new set of economic-focussed drivers that were to have a significant impact on the ways in which the Wall was to be viewed and managed. Put simply, the RDAs saw Hadrian's Wall, first and foremost, not as a cherished archaeological monument or even an important World Heritage Site but rather as an obvious and outstanding vehicle for their centrally driven economic-regeneration roles: an attraction that had seen '30 years lack of investment' (undated, presumably August 2003, ONE Briefing paper¹) and a consequent drop in tourist numbers (undated, presumably August 2003, NE England Objective 2 Programme Measure 3.1: Hadrian's Wall). ONE also saw the Wall as an integral part of its planned restructuring of tourism development in the North East and that any project related to the Wall needed to be 'firmly grounded in the aspects of the Agency's responsibility for tourism' (ONE minutes, 20 January 2003). The RDAs thus arrived at, what was essentially, a totally new understanding as to why the management of Hadrian's Wall was important. They also had the political power and financial resources to suggest, and if necessary drive through, hitherto undreamt of activity. With such different agendas, it is not surprising that the next period in the history of the management of the Wall was perhaps as, and frequently more, contentious as any that had gone before.

The Regional Development Agencies

Set up in 1999 under the Regional Development Agencies Act 1998 and with a single central budget funded by a variety of Central Government departments, the nine RDAs in England were non-departmental public bodies, charged with driving

¹ All references to ONE and other documents refer to copies held by the author.

economic development and regeneration, business efficiency and competitiveness, employment and skills relevant to employment, and sustainable development in their regions. These tasks were perhaps all the more important for the northern RDAs faced with the economic aftermath of the rapid collapse of their traditional economic base—the heavy industries of coal mining, steel production and ship building—together with increasing pressures on the farming industry. The RDAs' main role was to develop, and deliver against, a rolling 5-year Regional Economic Strategy, in partnership with stakeholders in the public, private and civil society sectors. This Regional Economic Strategy was required to dovetail with the government's National Economic Strategy. The RDAs were given responsibility for managing the deployment of regeneration funding from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the UK's Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and the Rural Development Programme, each of which had supported the Tourism Partnership's activities.

The economic potential of the World Heritage Site had been mentioned in the 2nd Management Plan and the Tourism Partnership had been advocating, and leading on developing and delivering, a more economically focussed vision for the Wall. However, it was very clear from the start that the RDAs regarded the Partnership's efforts as amateurish and, if not ineffectual, falling far short of what, in their view, could, and should, be achieved (see later text). An oft-repeated RDA mantra that 'Hadrian's Wall was not punching its weight economically' (Thornberry, personal communication) became a quickly accepted reality.

The RDAs' perception that there had been a failure to invest in the World Heritage Site over the previous 30 years does not, in fact, fully reflect reality. In the central part of the Wall, a re-display of Housesteads Museum, a new Museum at Corbridge and enhanced visitor facilities at Chesters in the mid-/late 1980s had been matched by significant investment at Birdoswald and major new interpretation at Vindolanda and the Roman Army Museum. In the east, the reconstructed gateway at Arbeia had been erected and a new educational centre developed on-site; the re-excavation, re-display and new museum at Segedunum alone cost some £9 million. These developments were achieved through a mixture of government and private funding and it was during the latter part of this period that some £6 million was invested in the development of the National Trail (see Chap. 6). Thus, while it could be suggested, with some justification, that investment in sites had been unsystematic, that much of the interpretation at sites was looking extremely tired and that visitor facilities (especially *between* the paying sites) were of patchy quality or were non-existent, it would be wrong to accept that there had been no investment; on the contrary, there had been significant investment.

Equally, the claimed drop in visitor numbers masked a more complex situation. Visitors to those sites open in the 1970s did indeed peak in 1973 (at 457,000) but, as other sites opened, this figure had risen to 502,000 by 1993. By 2002, numbers were actually still on the increase, 23.7% up on figures for 2001 (the year of foot-and-mouth disease outbreak when most of the sites were closed) and 5.1% up on 2000 data (de la Torre 2005, p. 179). Nevertheless, the *perception* of lack of investment and falling visitor numbers without doubt provided the background for, and influenced, the events outlined below.

The Need for a Whole Wall Vision

A preliminary meeting between the Tourism Partnership and the Chief Executive of English Heritage was followed up by another meeting between the Partnership, the RDAs, the Countryside Agency and English Heritage's Major Projects Team on 7 August 2002. The meeting acknowledged the 'incompatibility' between capturing 'the full potential of Hadrian's Wall' and the delivery of the proposed capital projects in the central sector to European funding deadlines noting the 'situation is exacerbated by a lack of management and project development capacity to take things forward' (ONE 08/08/2002). It is clear from the minutes that it was exactly these skills that the RDAs saw themselves bringing to the table. Those present considered that progressing the capital projects would be inappropriate before the Wall had a clear strategic vision and direction: a clear case of the cart before the horse. With the RDA involvement, perhaps for the first time, a group came together that might have the opportunity, and crucially the authority and financial power, to draw the disparate organisations involved in the Wall into an effective, cohesive whole. The North West RDA emphasised its interest in developing, and helping to fund, a 'world class vision' for the whole Wall—with the clear implication that it was mystified why no such vision existed already. The meeting created a Steering Group, made up of the Tourism Partnership, both RDAs and the Northumbria and Cumbria Tourist Boards, to drive the agenda (ONE 08/08/2002). It is notable that, despite the presence at the meeting of the Countryside Agency and English Heritage, neither were part of this initial Steering Group that emerged and nor were any of the conservation or archaeological organisations with an interest in the Wall.

It might be thought that the opportunity to bring together a group that wanted to think strategically about the whole World Heritage Site, and not just its disparate, constituent parts, would be welcomed by all stakeholders, especially as the group might be influential enough to translate strategic thinking into practice. However, the decision to exclude conservation interests, the thinly veiled criticisms of the Tourism Partnership and the overt and strident economic agenda served only to raise fears of exclusion, undermine communication and create downright mistrust along the Wall. The intervention of the RDAs, and the early associated meetings, nevertheless, brought three issues, that had lain unspoken and undisturbed, into stark focus.

First, as clearly and immediately identified by the RDAs, and despite the reports and endeavours outlined in previous chapters, neither the Co-ordination Unit nor the Tourism Partnership had the capacity, role, resources or authority to really drive a perspective or vision for the whole Wall; the National Trail initiative did relate to the whole Wall but was entirely focussed on the creation of the long-distance path. As a result, as a default position, all parties—site managers, local authorities and businesses, national agencies and regional and academic interest groups—had always focussed on the needs and aspirations of their own activities and parts of the Wall with little regard for or interest in the work or activities of others. Despite the best endeavours, and successes, of the Tourism Partnership, most sites saw, and continued to see, themselves not as mutually supportive parts of a whole but as direct competitors.

Second, while it was true that the 2nd Management Plan had been produced with far greater co-operation, and addressed more fully a wider range of issues, than had the 1st Plan, it was also true that the drafts produced by local members of the Management Plan Committee (MPC) had subsequently been substantially edited and published by English Heritage 'on behalf of the MPC' (Management Plan 2002–2007, 1). However well English Heritage understood the issues, the local perception remained that the Plan continued to be an external document, albeit produced with more consultation, through the MPC, than the originally disparaged 1st Plan.

Finally, individual stakeholders' focus on particular issues relating to 'their bit' of the Wall precluded anything but cursory consideration of fundamental infrastructure requirements (such as roads, accommodation and a range of food outlets) that could benefit all. Where general issues were confronted, as, for example, in a traffic study commissioned by English Heritage in the late 1990s, they frequently got no further than the written page, in this instance, because it suggested speed limits on the B6318 Military Road that were totally out of the control of those involved (Young, personal communication).

It was little surprise therefore that the RDAs concluded that 'the full potential of Hadrian's Wall as a World Heritage Site and driver of economic regeneration is not being realised' (ONE Management Team Meeting 12/09/2002). The RDAs noted that there was an enormous amount to do if the Wall were to become a roadworthy vehicle for any significant economic regeneration. The RDA Steering Group immediately recognised the need for an individual to implement its aspirations and the development of the required vision, and there was much relief that English Heritage allowed Anita Thornberry, who had been leading on the English Heritage aspects of the central section capital bids, to be seconded to ONE to lead the project; while Anita's background was in history, rather than archaeology, her appointment also partly addressed the need for conservation expertise on the Steering Group. Senior managers in the RDAs agreed that they needed to 'look at the entire offer and the supply chains—cafes, accommodation highways, etc.' and that they were looking for 'a fresh opinion from someone who has the credibility, vision and entrepreneurial flair to spot real opportunities for economic regeneration. . . what is the true potential of Hadrian's Wall and what do we need to do to realise it?' (e-mail 04/10/2002).

Despite deciding not to include conservation bodies on the original Steering Group, there was a clear understanding, from at least some senior staff, in ONE that RDA involvement originated from issues identified by the editors of the 2nd Management Plan. ONE recognised that they had the ' . . . opportunity for a visionary, innovative and high economic impact project. . . ' *only* if they did not 'upset UNESCO and ICOMOS' (e-mail 15/10/2002; the author's italics) and as long as there was "*some sensitivity* to the partnerships already in place" (e-mail 08/10/2002; the author's italics). There was also concern raised within ONE that there was no academic input into the work of taking the project forward (e-mail 04/10/2002).

The Major Study

At a Steering Group meeting on 23/01/2003, the Group was expanded to include English Heritage (in addition to Thornberry's secondment, both their North West and North East offices were to be represented on the Group), Cumbria County Council and Northumberland Strategic Partnership (Steering Group Terms of Reference, 24/01/2003). While the Steering Group discussed whether the Tourism Partnership might act as consultants on the project (Steering Group minutes 23/01/2003, 2), the RDAs had seemingly already decided that there was not enough expertise or capacity within the region and funding was allocated for the appointment of consultants to '... excite, challenge and deliver a step change in the contribution made by the Wall to the economies of the north of England' (ONE 08/01/2003). The core task was therefore entirely economically focussed and, while the brief for consultants identified the Management Plan as a 'potential constraint', World Heritage Site status was to be seen as 'an opportunity and not a barrier to progress' (ONE 23/01/2003).

On 1 April 2003, ONE appointed the London-based Economic Research Associates (ERA) to undertake the *Hadrian's Wall Major Study*, with a completion date of no later than 31 March 2004, for a fee of almost a quarter of a million pounds. The report of the appointments committee noted that ERA were the only applicants to identify the need for change management, in hindsight a veiled link to the perceived need to restructure management of the North East's tourism offer (undated ONE document, presumably March 2003). Although the formal contract was with ONE, the North West RDA contributed funding towards the project and was seen, in all practical terms, as an equal commissioning partner.

Underlying tensions, beyond the scope of this chapter, surrounding the control of tourism in the North East surfaced almost immediately, with the Northumbria Tourist Board (NTB) refusing to share with ERA without payment some previous branding research that would enable Hadrian's Wall-specific information to be extracted from the broader work (NTB e-mail 29/05/2003). ERA then upset both regional Tourist Boards at the first briefing meeting by asserting that Hadrian's Wall was 'a World Heritage Site—that the world doesn't yet know'. According to the NTB, the whole presentation emphasised only negative aspects of the Wall (e-mail 29/05/2003). The need for a constant and inclusive feedback loop of communication stressed at every possible opportunity by the Tourism Partnership, MPC and almost all other local stakeholders (see previous chapters) fell on deaf ears as ERA recommended not to consult the wider community at the early stages of developing a vision, suggesting rather that consultation only take place once there were 'concrete proposals to get feedback on' (undated ERA document). The scene was set for an uncomfortable year (and more) in which non-RDA members of the Steering Group complained of lack of discussion at meetings and ERA were perceived to ignore all local stakeholders other than the commissioning RDAs; when ERA did speak with local stakeholders, the frequently repeated reaction was that the meetings were perfunctory and only carried out for show.

This book does not provide space to cover all of the Wall-related activity, confrontations or heated meetings of the year in which the Study was undertaken. In parallel to the *Major Study*, the Tourism Partnership commissioned Northumbria University to review the Partnership's overall effectiveness and project delivery. Then, in late 2003, Anita Thornberry resigned to take up a post in London. The current author was asked to take on the role (including wider World Heritage work for the RDAs) as a 6-month, 2-day a week secondment to ONE from Newcastle University, thereby partially addressing ONE's earlier concern of lack of academic input. Despite giving considerably more than the 2 days officially funded by ONE, the short-term and part-time nature of this appointment was a considerable hindrance to the smooth management of the project.

It would be unfair to suggest that ERA, or the RDAs, did not make presentations to local stakeholders during the year. It would be equally fair to say that what was presented frequently left more questions unanswered than answered and a palpable sense of unease. Presentations were made to a joint meeting of the Tourism Partnership Board and the MPC in mid-December 2003 and those present were given the opportunity to make comments by 31 December. Given the timing, few managed to do so although this was interpreted by the consultants as 'only a few... have taken the opportunity...' (ERA Report 05/01/2004). A further presentation was made to the January 2004 MPC where the *Goal* to grow tourism revenues to the North of England by establishing Hadrian's Wall as *The Greatest Roman Frontier* with an *Agreed Vision* to move Hadrian's Wall from a Northern 'ought to see' to a global 'must see, stay and return for more' were presented. At a time when discussions were already underway to incorporate Hadrian's Wall into a transnational World Heritage Site called the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Chap. 11), the idea of identifying Hadrian's Wall as the *greatest* part of the frontier was met with annoyance and incomprehension by those on the MPC with an eye for international political harmony. The suggestion that there could be an *agreed vision* when no one had been consulted on it was met with thinly veiled ridicule. These concerns were viewed by the consultants and RDAs as attempts by stakeholders not to change the *status quo*; a rearguard action by those who simply did not understand the scale of the opportunity, or resources, being offered.

The presentation continued by stressing that this *Goal* would be achieved by ensuring all actions would:

- Safeguard and enhance the heritage,
- Protect the environment,
- Improve the visitor experience,
- Motivate incremental tourism visits,
- Encourage inward investment and
- Support economic regeneration.

No mention was made of the fact that the above list had been presented in reverse order during a presentation to the RDAs the day before.

The plan was to: (a) introduce Preview Centres at points on the edge of the region, perhaps at motorway service stations, where members of the public might be

prompted to visit the Wall and, perhaps two, potentially new-build, Story Centres where more detailed information would be available concerning the Wall and opportunities it provided; (b) upgrade existing attractions; (c) develop new attractions; (d) introduce Orientation Points to enable visitors to manoeuvre their way between attractions more easily; and (e) develop significantly improved web-based information. Reaction varied from derision that some £250,000 had been spent on ideas that were decades-old, and mostly reiterated a few years before in the 1996 Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Strategy (Touchstone 1996), to utter bemusement as to what possible use a new-build Story Centre(s) would be other than as a commercial rival(s) to the already struggling, and competing sites, to open hostility to consultants calling Roman archaeological sites *attractions*.

Following earlier Report recommendations, but making no reference to them, ERA suggested that the existing attractions (or sites) should differentiate their interpretation as, for example, Maryport might focus on Roman maritime history and building and provisioning the Wall, while Chesters might focus on the legacy of Victorian archaeologists and Roman sanitation. At this stage, ERA estimated £48.5 million would be needed to deliver their plans. Few listening believed, incorrectly, whether such levels of investment were anything other than total fantasy. Particular derision greeted the standard consultants' refrain that additional work would need to be commissioned regarding the continuing management of the Wall and how any future developments might be delivered through a so-called *Master Plan*.

Other feedback from existing stakeholders continued to be negative. One example epitomises the distance between the so-called *blue sky thinking* of the consultants and the engrained pragmatism of local stakeholders: ERA's proposal that legislation might be changed to enable the National Trail to be closed when necessary being met with '... not practical! Not realistic!' (e-mail 22/01/2004). It is fair to say that many local stakeholders failed to grasp the potential of the opportunity that had been created by drawing the RDAs, with their financial and political power, into the frame.

By the time ERA submitted its Report to the RDAs in April 2004 (ERA 2004), it was becoming increasingly clear that the proposed capital projects in the central sector were going to have to become part of the Major Study funding package as it was unlikely that they would be ready to apply for ERDF funding as originally planned. Further, the link between the management of Hadrian's Wall and the perceived failures of the NTB came to the fore, as the decision was taken to close the NTB and for ONE to assume direct control of tourism in the region: a decision met with anger and a campaign to *Save Northumbria: say no to one north east* (letter 07/05/2004). One implication of the decision was that the majority of staff from the Tourism Partnership, who were employed by the NTB, had to be transferred to the RDA's payroll. While obviously of paramount importance to those involved, this added to the already tense environment surrounding ERA's work and provided an additional and frustrating distraction to the main business of the delivery of the Major Study as change management consultants, involved in the contested transition of management of tourism from the NTB to ONE, joined almost every meeting and discussion.

When the report was submitted in full to the RDAs in May 2004, one key recommendation, previously discussed but which now became formalised, was that fundamental change to the organisational framework and management of the Wall was required if any investment were to be considered positively or delivered effectively. ERA suggested, not unreasonably, that there was currently no suitable organisational or management infrastructure to deliver the vision effectively and to budget and proposed that a single body be created to deliver the anticipated investment. Little else of substance had changed except that more detailed financial work had taken the estimated expenditure required to deliver it to £58 million over 10 years, mainly to incorporate the costs of the central sector projects.

The lack of an appropriate organisation, noted in the Major Study, to drive its recommendations appeared to be vindicated when the Northumbria University review of the Tourism Partnership reported in June 2004. While the review was essentially positive, it noted that there had been mixed performance against targets and that exit strategies across the *Enrichment and Enterprise* project were underdeveloped. Most critically, ONE noted that the review suggested that 'the number of partners and different agendas had resulted in a strongly consensual management model that *is unable to provide clear leadership and strategic direction*' and 'effectiveness of the Tourism Partnership is diminishing over time' (presumably as the *Enrichment and Enterprise* project wound down) and that by 2006 the Partnership '*will not be viable*' (ONE 07/06/2004 item 6.5; the author's emphases).

While it is difficult to identify the source for the figures or indeed understand their precise meaning (do the visitor numbers refer to staffed sites only, where from other data they appear too high, or all visitors to the Wall, where they appear too low), an internal RDA document circulated on 7 May 2004 suggested that the impact of the implementation of the Major Study would be over 1,300 new jobs created, an increase in visitor numbers from 776,000 in 2003 to 1,038,000 in 2011 and growth in visitor spend from £36.2 million in 2002 to £62.9 million in 2011. Again, no statistics that are easily comparable appear to have been collected, but figures produced by Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd (HWHL) appear to suggest that at least some of this growth has been attained (Chap. 8). Much to the chagrin of local stakeholders, the RDAs argued that the ERA Report was confidential and refused to divulge immediately the Report's findings arguing that they needed time to review and understand the implications of the study.

It was not until October 2004 that the RDAs made the full Major Study publicly available. By this time, they had agreed to implement its main recommendations, including the creation of a new, stand-alone organisation that would have an overview of the whole Wall and that would act as the catalyst and facilitator for the rest of the Major Study. The current author's secondment had finished in June and the RDAs appointed a single external consultant to oversee the creation of the new organisation, to draft the proposed Master Plan and to take the opportunity to submit a multimillion-pound application to a new government initiative—the Big Lottery Fund—for expensive, high-profile projects. The consultant was to report to a new Hadrian's Wall Steering Group (that included representatives of the RDAs, Northumberland Strategic Partnership, The Tourism Partnership, Northumberland National

Park, National Trust, English Heritage, the Countryside Agency and the Chair of the MPC) set up in 2004. The principal task of this new Steering Group was to ‘make recommendations on the most appropriate organisational structure for a new single body to manage Hadrian’s Wall’ (RDA letter 18/04/2005). The RDA-appointed change consultants also attended. Despite the expanded nature of the group, concerns regarding lack of consultation with those who lived and worked along the Wall and who would be most affected by developments continued to be raised (e.g. MPC minutes 24/01/2005)—not least the impact on the farming community and local roads following the aspired increase in tourist numbers. As the year passed by, stakeholder confidence reached its lowest ebb, a situation not helped by the publication in July 2005 of a Report that drew attention to the poor state of much of the National Trail (Fowler 2005 and see Chap. 6). The Report, which built on concerns originally raised in a *Times* leader and article on 11 April 2004, followed by a story on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)’s Radio ‘PM’ programme the following day, criticised the management of the Trail and suggested that it was failing to protect the outstanding universal value of the World Heritage Site and exposing it to perhaps disastrous and irreversible damage. The Report attracted national media interest and was a main story on the BBC’s *Country File* programme. While the Report said very little more than an article by English Heritage, produced in response to the concerns raised in 2004 (Austen and Young 2005), its media profile guaranteed its impact and it was greeted by the RDAs as further proof that a new organisation was necessary—and by stakeholders that externally driven initiatives only served to cause problems along the Wall. Whether the Report provoked or coincided with the decision to employ an additional ‘lengthsman’ (Chap. 6) is open to debate.

***NewCo* and Hadrian’s Wall Heritage Ltd**

The creation of the new organisation, known in planning as *NewCo*, took much longer than anyone expected or hoped and it was not until July 2005 that the RDAs formally submitted an application to the Secretary of State at the Department of Trade and Industry to create ‘Hadrian’s Wall Heritage Ltd’ (HWHL) and it was not until October 2005 that formal permission was granted (DTI letter 31/10/2005). By the beginning of 2006, plans for the Master Plan had been quietly dropped and the application to the Big Lottery Fund had failed.

HWHL was to be funded by a combination of support from the two RDAs: by English Heritage transferring its funding and staff from the Co-ordination Unit, and by the Countryside Agency transferring its funding for the National Trail and the Trail staff, to the new organisation. The Tourism Partnership’s sustainable access officer, marketing officer and Trail volunteers’ co-ordinator were also transferred into HWHL from the National Park, although there was no funding linked to these transfers as staff had been employed on SRB temporary funding. The company was to be run by a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) supported by a Board made up of four members representing the above four funding agencies and four independent

members appointed through advertisement and interview. After much debate, it was decided to break from what was becoming the norm for World Heritage Sites in England and not to include Local Authorities on the Board and not to ask them for financial contributions. It was argued that most other World Heritage Sites only dealt with one Local Authority and that it would be extremely difficult and time consuming to get the 12 Authorities involved in the Wall to agree to work together. It was also clear that the RDAs felt that Local Authority support for the initiative was an unnecessary 'nice to have' as they, the RDAs, were in a position to secure the necessary funding on their own. This decision was later to cause significant problems for the new company (Chap. 8).

Events continued to conspire against the smooth development of HWHL as recruitment of a CEO in early 2006 failed and the interim CEO who was appointed was unable to gain the trust of the MPC. It took until October 2006 for a CEO to be appointed—a full 2 years after the submission of the ERA Report. The CEO took over an organisation that should have been welcomed along the Wall as a huge opportunity. Instead, an MPC minute noted just before the appointment that 'the new company will have a legacy of mistrust due to the poor communications levels now and in the past' (MPC 23/6/06: 3.4).

The 3rd Management Plan

As slow progress continued to be made towards the creation of HWHL during the summer of 2005, those who had been involved in the management of the Wall for some time turned their thoughts towards the need to start the process of producing the 3rd iteration of the Management Plan, whether or not, or in what form, HWHL would be established. While there was no explicit agenda set out from the beginning, the experience gained from the production of the 2nd Plan, and the significant concerns raised in the minds of the membership of the MPC over the RDAs handling of the Major Study, combined to ensure that activity over the next 2 years was driven by a desire to:

- Achieve as much transparency and as wide a consultation as possible,
- Engage as many stakeholders as possible in the creation of the Plan,
- Ensure that control of the Plan resided in the hands of the MPC, and
- Empower stakeholders with the responsibility for delivering and measuring the success of the Plan.

Discussion at the MPC meeting of 18 October 2005 noted that based on previous experience, and allowing adequate time for public consultation, some 18 months would be needed to prepare the 3rd Plan and thus planning would need to start in Spring 2006 at the latest (MPC 18/10/05: 8). A draft timetable was tabled at the next MPC meeting (24/1/06: 8) that suggested previous practice of creating a Steering Group to oversee the process be followed and indicated a final publication date of January 2008. The document identified those sections that would require writing as:

- ‘Statement of significance
- Description of the WHS
- Interests in the WHS
- Assessment of the 2002 Management Plan
- Issues for 2008–13 for Protecting, Conserving, Using and Enjoying, Managing Policies and
- Actions, identifying who responsible for carrying out’ [sic].

At the MPC meeting on 23 May 2006, a suggested list of ‘interests for the Steering Group’ was tabled under the three headings ‘Protection, Conservation, and Use & Enjoyment’ (MPC 23/5/06 item 7). While the MPC noted and welcomed the long-awaited appointment of a full Board and Interim CEO for HWHL, concern was again raised that the slow progress in setting up HWHL would inevitably lead to a delay in the production of the Plan as staff, yet to be transferred to HWHL from English Heritage’s Co-ordination Unit, were to be responsible for the Plan’s production. Concern was also voiced as to which organisation—HWHL or the MPC—would have final ‘sign-off’ on, and responsibility for, the Plan. The meeting, attended by the HWHL Interim CEO and two members of its Board, agreed that the intention was that HWHL was to produce the Plan on behalf of, and guided by, the MPC and that the Plan was therefore to be very clearly ‘owned’ by the MPC (MPC 23/5/06: 7). The meeting also accepted the proposal that an ‘Issues Paper’, already in draft form and produced by English Heritage, be circulated. This was, in fact, only tabled at the next meeting of the MPC on 29 September 2006 following the official transfer, and multi-office moves, of relevant staff from English Heritage and other organisations to the newly created HWHL on 1 July 2006 and the substantial modification and expansion of the document. The Issues Paper reiterated the clear decision of the MPC in May 2006, that the MPC would have ‘overall responsibility for the preparation. . . [and] . . . implementation of the new Plan’. It also, however, raised the question:

Does the MPC work well to reflect stakeholder interests in the WHS and to ensure the objectives of the MP are achieved? Could, for instance, smaller groups meeting more regularly to oversee particular aspects of the MP be a more effective and focussed method? Would there still be a need for an overall stakeholder committee? (Issues Paper 29 September 2006 Section M)

It also noted that the 2002–2007 Plan had questioned whether a wider forum of those interested in the Site, but not represented on the MPC, might meet. This concern was eventually addressed by the introduction of the annual Hadrian’s Wall Conference in 2009 (see Chap. 8).

Finally, the Issues Paper suggested the creation of a small Working Group, comprising representatives from English Heritage, farming and landowning, tourism, and Local Authorities, alongside the Chair of the MPC and two staff from HWHL to act as a ‘virtual authoring group’ [sic] in addition to the 3rd Plan Steering Group that had been proposed in January. This larger Steering Group was to include a number of subgroups made up of representatives of national government agencies; heritage managers, site operators and museums; (non-site) museums; local authorities; archaeologists; tourism; farming and landowners; natural environment and

rural interests; local communities; those involved in presentation, interpretation and education; and MPC officers and relevant HWHL staff. The composition of these subgroups, which were soon referred to as 'interest groups', was slightly odd: for example, 'government agencies' included the National Trust but not Natural England, which was listed under 'natural environment and rural issues'. However, the basis of the idea was set that there were 11 subgroups that included 36 individuals; a somewhat cumbersome arrangement that was intended to ensure maximum consultation and involvement (Issues Paper 29 September 2006 Appendix B).

At the September 2006 meeting, the MPC reiterated its central position with respect to the next iteration of the Plan and it was noted that '... the production of the Plan was [to be] supported by HWHL. However, the Management Plan was not to be a HWHL document. The revised Plan would be submitted to the Department for Culture Media and Sport (the national Government Department responsible for World Heritage) by the MPC and not HWHL' (MPC 29/9/06: 5.3). Accepting this fully, the HWHL directors present noted further that it was essential that responsibility for individual projects and actions needed to be clearly defined (MPC 29/9/06: 5.4) and that clear objectives and monitoring procedures needed to be established (MPC 29/9/06: 5.7). These points were taken up at the next MPC meeting when the Chair (the current author):

... raised the issue of whether the next version of the Plan should take a stronger, more "proactive", approach regarding the monitoring and evaluation of the Management Plan. Hadrian's Wall has set a standard in WH Management Plans and a more explicit approach to monitoring and evaluation would raise the standard again. (MPC 30/1/07: 1.3)

Staff from HWHL confirmed that the idea that the new Plan should take a more explicit approach to monitoring and evaluation had been raised at a recent ICOMOS-UK meeting of World Heritage Co-ordinators and the proposal had met with a favourable response. However, as a legacy of the perceived secrecy of the RDAs over the whole Major Study process and in particular with respect to the ERA report, the relationship between the MPC and HWHL, and of both organisations to the Plan, continued to worry the MPC membership. In particular, there was concern over the amount of potential/probable overlap between the objectives of the new Plan and those of HWHL and whether HWHL would, in effect, have the power of veto over the MPC. The staff of HWHL reassured the MPC that it was no part of their role to undermine the MPC and re-emphasised that the HWHL Strategy was entirely guided by the Plan and the needs of sustainable tourism in the region (30/1/07: 4.8). It would not be an exaggeration to note that the reassurance failed to convince more than a few members of the MPC.

Four issues noted above therefore came together to influence the first meetings of the Interest Groups held in the early months of 2007: first, the desire for the MPC to retain clear control of the next iteration of the Plan; second, the question of whether the full MPC or smaller, more focussed, groups might better reflect stakeholders' interests; third, the desire of HWHL for responsibility for individual projects and actions to be well defined and that clear objectives and monitoring procedures be established; and finally the suggestion that the Plan become more proactive. As each group met, these issues were debated and the groups accepted the idea that not only

should the Interest Groups draft the relevant parts of the Plan, including the identification of relevant issues, policies and related actions, but that they should continue in existence, as subgroups of the MPC, to deliver and monitor the success of the Plan. By suggesting they take on the responsibility of not only drafting but also implementing and monitoring elements of the next Plan, the Groups addressed the four issues head on: overall control would be retained by the MPC through the smaller, more focussed Interest Groups, which would enable the Plan to become more proactive by providing and delivering on clear objectives and monitoring procedures. Such robust clarity was a statement of ownership over the Plan by the MPC.

The MPC meeting of 3rd July 2007 noted that the timetable had slipped and publication was not expected until summer 2008 (MPC 3/07/07: 4.1). The MPC supported fully the idea of the Interest Groups working throughout the lifetime of the next Plan but noted the time and financial costs that such a development might have on HWHL on whose staff the support for such groups would presumably fall. It was agreed, however, that if suitable resources could be put in place by HWHL then the continuation of the Interest Groups would be welcomed, with the MPC (which usually met twice a year but which had been meeting more frequently during the Major Study) taking a more strategic overview. It was felt that two meetings per year for the MPC, with a clear framework, possibly devoted to one or two substantive issues per meeting, would be sufficient (MPC 3/07/07: 4.6). The MPC also discussed the suggestion that such closer monitoring might be best achieved through three geographically based subcommittees rather than thematic groups. This was discussed at length, with the MPC finally rejecting the geographic zone suggestion and agreeing that a thematic approach should be retained, mainly as the former would require attendance at perhaps all geographical groups by the same individuals from larger organisations. Finally, the large number of Interest Groups was also considered and it was agreed that there was scope to reduce the number further and give them a closer remit in order to facilitate discussion.

The final draft of the Plan was therefore produced by six Interest Groups that not only discussed issues but which also produced policies and actions that they would be responsible for during the lifetime of the new Plan. The groups were:

- Planning and Protection,
- Conservation, Farming and Land Management,
- Access and Transport,
- Visitor Facilities, Presentation and Tourism,
- Education and Learning and
- Research.

Work, as ever, took much longer than anticipated: with transparency and inclusiveness comes delay. This delay was partly because the disparate writing styles of the Interest Groups had to be edited into a common style, but other issues, including ill health and the retirement of a key colleague, conspired to slow activity. It was not until 24 December 2008, therefore, that the 3rd Plan was made available electronically and not until 30 June 2009 that a letter was sent out (by the current author in the capacity of Chair of the MPC) to members of the MPC announcing the final publication of the 3rd Plan covering the period 2008–2014. The letter emphasised that:

While the Plan continues to be based on an unequivocal belief that its fundamental purpose is to ensure the effective protection of the Site for present and future generations, it is equally unequivocal and explicit in asserting that good heritage management in the twenty first century is much more than this: it is the mechanism through which we strive to understand not only the history of the Site, but also its use and values for the present and the future. Management based on the values of the Site is a core principle, and the consultation, discussion and consensus building achieved during the process of writing this third Plan will play a crucial part in the future successful management of the Site.

Such were the aspirations. Time alone will show how realistic they continue to be.

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Chapter 8

The Management of Hadrian's Wall 2006–2012

Linda Tuttielt

As noted earlier (Chap.7), the genesis of the new umbrella organisation to oversee the delivery of the Major Study was not entirely smooth. It had been anticipated that Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd. (HWHL) would be fully operational by 1 April 2006, subject to Secretary of State Consent. In the event, the transition was not complete until August 2006 by which time staff responsible for previous activities that were to be continued by HWHL had been transferred and new staff recruited. A second Interim Chief Executive, this time from within the new staff appointed to the Company, was replaced finally by a permanent Chief Executive in January 2007. The legacy of suspicion and distrust generated through the Major Study had not dissipated in the 2 years that had elapsed before the new organisation was formed, and which then found itself faced with the major task of relationship rebuilding. This protracted period of transition to the establishment of the new company also created considerable uncertainty and anxiety for the staff transferring from across the various partnership organisations.

As a company limited by guarantee HWHL was to be controlled via a membership rather than shareholders. Four organisations—English Heritage, the Countryside Agency (later Natural England) and the two RDAs—each of which was the company's principal funders, became its founder members. As noted earlier, the idea that the 12 Local Authorities across which the World Heritage Site (WHS) is situated would also become members of the company, with other stakeholder organisations to a maximum membership of 30 bodies, was finally rejected. The omission of any Local Authority representative on the Board had serious repercussions as it excluded an invaluable source of stakeholder input and compromised future negotiations for local government support and resources. It seems the reason for this decision was that RDAs felt that a transformational change was needed, requiring a more focussed and strategic approach, which they felt could not be provided by comprehensive stakeholder membership of the company.

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An Executive Board with eight directors was established made up of four directors nominated by each of the founder members' organisations, plus four other independent directors and an independent chairperson. The operational structure was headed by the Chief Executive initially supported by a Director of Operations, a Director of Communications and a Director of World Heritage and Access, together managing a core team of 14 further permanent employees.

The new Board determined that the company's mission should be to:

Realise the economic, social and cultural regeneration potential of Hadrian's Wall and the communities and environs through which it passes—by sustainable tourism development, management and conservation activities that benefit the local community and the wider region, in a way that reflects the values embodied in the World Heritage Site Management Plan (HWHL 2010, p. 3).

As such, there was a direct strategic fit with The Major Study's aspiration to move Hadrian's Wall to become a global 'must see, stay and return for more' destination (ERA 2004, p. 66) and with the stated purpose and objectives of the RDAs, specifically, of achieving a step change in the tourism and leisure industry that linked into the broader economic regeneration agenda.

Alongside the RDA's economic development objectives, the fulfilment of its obligations to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for managing the World Heritage Site was clearly the company's core responsibility. This area of the company's work was overseen by the Hadrian's Wall WHS Management Plan Committee (MPC), for which it acted as secretariat. In conjunction with the MPC, the company successfully coordinated the production of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan 2008–2014 and the development of the MPC's Interest Groups to coordinate the implementation of the Plan's policies and actions. Wider participation in these processes was achieved through broadening the membership of the MPC to include more private sector stakeholders and the establishment of the annual Hadrian's Wall Conference in 2009.

Without inherited assets and as a wholly new operating entity, it was anticipated that HWHL would be, at least in its first 5 years of operation, wholly dependent upon public funding contributions. The main source of income came from the RDAs which had both made provisions in their Corporate Plans for 2005–2008, with additional support for specific activities from English Heritage and Countryside Agency.

Estimated annual core costs for the company were projected to be in the region of £1 million and its initial funding was based on this figure. In reality, this was an underestimate of the total cost of running the activities inherited from the previous partnership, which had had 24 full-time, eight part-time staff and a minimum cost base of £1.3 million working over six organisations. This underestimation of costs created difficulties in finding funding for several key activities—including that of the Hadrian's Wall Bus Service, due to the RDA's reluctance to become involved in subsidising public transport—and left other activities short of the resources required to create an immediate step-change in their impact.

After 2007, when the full costs of running HWHL were analysed, the North West RDA agreed an additional contribution of £200,000 to then match the annual

contribution of £600,000 from ONE North East. Core funding was also received from English Heritage and Natural England. The company then had a working budget of approximately £1.5 million that broadly covered delivering the essential new objectives of creating investment and enhancing the promotion of Hadrian's Wall, while ensuring the ongoing care and protection of the World Heritage Site.

The core funding received did not include provision or provide scope for the capital funding of individual projects, which, it was envisaged, would be obtained from the company's project development work in conjunction with partners operating individual sites. HWHL, therefore, needed to establish credibility not only with the primary sources of funding, namely the RDAs and the Heritage Lottery Fund, but also with the partner organisations wishing to realise investment projects. In reality, both projects and funding came forward organically. After exploring all potential site developments, a natural prioritisation emerged out of those projects which were most robust and deliverable and most able to respond to funding opportunities as they arose.

Delivery and Evaluation

An independent evaluation of HWHL's operation was commissioned by the two RDAs, and completed in late 2008 (ERA 2008). This evaluation was very positive with most stakeholders expressing pleasure at the amount of profile achieved for the destination and the range of capital projects being taken forward. It also acknowledged that the Company's decision not to progress the Major Study's controversial proposal that a Hadrian's Wall Story Centre should be built at Haltwhistle had been strategically correct. The alternative strategy adopted by HWHL of working to advance capital projects across the World Heritage Site and, in so doing, of developing a network of distinct yet interconnected sites and attractions to spread more visitors across the whole Site had also been widely welcomed.

The evaluation recognised that the practice of integrating the three core functions of conservation, investment and communications within one operational structure had been highly beneficial. It noted that the organisation had begun to develop an international reputation, having received heritage managers from Vietnam, Slovakia, Korea, China, Germany and Poland, and provided consultancy advice to the Torres Vedras Lihnes in Portugal, the State Museum Service in Russia, the Brest Fortress in Belarus and the Municipality of Weissenburg in Bavaria.

In this period, Hadrian's Wall also became a 'Signature Project' within the North East Regional Tourism Strategy, which acknowledged the importance of the World Heritage Site within the region's overall tourism industry. Similarly, the Wall was identified as an opportunity within the subregional strategy for Cumbria, which identified substantial potential to expand and to develop tourism, with particular emphasis being placed on its World Heritage status. To support this, HWHL produced a Development Plan in 2007 to provide a framework for the development of investment projects with partner organisations. The Plan placed an initial emphasis on seeking

to address the historic imbalance in investment between the central section of the Site and the eastern and western ends of the frontier system. The role of HWHL in the process of project development varied, depending on the particular requirements of each project and the capabilities of their respective leads or sponsoring bodies. Across all projects HWHL sought, where possible, to ensure that development proposals did not duplicate provision of facilities and that resulting visitor attractions were sufficiently differentiated yet complementary, thereby enhancing the overall visitor offer across the World Heritage Site.

In relation to revenue-based projects such as events, business support activities and sustainable access initiatives, HWHL played a more central and leading role in the development process, which often extended to taking responsibility for the subsequent implementation and operation of projects. This was partly a function of HWHL's World Heritage Site-wide remit, which distinguished it from most other partners, but was also an expression of the principle that development initiatives should have relevance and impact across the whole corridor of the Wall.

The overall emphasis on capital and revenue project development was based on an appreciation of the range of factors that contribute to the development of a successful visitor economy and visitor destination. These include not only the principal visitor attractions of museums and sites but also the wider range of facilities and infrastructure necessary to generate a positive experience for visitors. In addition to these physical building blocks, a successful visitor economy is also dependent on the functioning of a range of services that cater for visitor needs. Thus, work was undertaken to improve standards in the hospitality sector, to enhance the quality of sources of information for visitors, each underpinned by the development of a strong brand identity for the World Heritage Site, Hadrian's Wall Country, and its effective communication. This combination of activities was intended to not only increase overall visitor numbers, through greater awareness and satisfaction resulting in recommendations and repeat visits but also increase visitor dwell times at sites, length of stay within the area and spend per visitor.

Progress towards these objectives was monitored by key performance indicators (KPIs) that informed the planning of activities and development work and in turn supported case making for further investment funding. These KPIs also provided a measure of the overall performance of the organisation by which stakeholders could judge its effectiveness.

HWHL thereafter measured all activity against:

- Value of the visitor economy,
- Degree of influence with stakeholders,
- Number of tourism-related start-ups,
- Number and value of capital projects,
- Level of brand awareness,
- Level of community engagement and
- Visitor satisfaction levels.

Delivery against these KPIs led to a restructuring of the team in early 2008. Four small teams were created reporting to the Chief Executive: Sustainable Development,

World Heritage and Access, Communications and Brand Building and Finance and Operations. Annually thereafter, strategic development, business plans and operational plans and budgets were provided to the Board to ensure good governance of the company and to give confidence to potential investors and funders.

By 2012, HWHL was able to identify the following elements of successful performance:

- The number of visitors staying within Hadrian's Wall Country had risen to 3.5 million per annum, with an overall value to the local economy of £880 million following successive years of steady growth.
- Three new visitor attractions opened in 2011 with HWHL development support representing investment of over £8.5 million at Vindolanda, the Roman Army Museum and the Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House in Carlisle.
- Occupancy levels in guest accommodation had grown by 21 % since 2008, outpacing growth in the Lake District and the North East generally.
- The value of media coverage generated for the Wall by HWHL since 2007 had totalled £9.5 million.
- Over 1 million people visited Hadrian's Wall's forts, sites and museums in 2011—equal to the number of visitors to Stonehenge and a growth of 69 % over the previous 4 years.
- Fifty percent of the enquiries regarding Hadrian's Wall now come from international markets.
- The Illuminating Hadrian's Wall project was covered by international media and attracted visitors from all over the world. It generated over £3 million for the local economy in one weekend.
- Two major Hadrian's Wall cultural events in the London 2012 Olympiad programme and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee were delivered—increasing awareness of Hadrian's Wall and engagement with it, substantially.
- A total of 41 Hadrian's Wall Country businesses asked to take part in the 2011 Regional Growth Fund bid, providing £27 million of private sector investment, giving a total bid worth of £37.4 million with the prospect of creating 616 full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs across Hadrian's Wall Country.
- The condition of the Hadrian's Wall National Trail had improved by 27 % since 2004, whilst the number of end-to-end walkers had grown by 67 % since 2006.
- The successful development of international cooperation with the Antonine Wall and the Upper German–Raetian Limes, Hadrian's Wall's sister Sites in the transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site.

A National Change of Scene

In 2010, amidst severe cutbacks in public spending in the UK, the new Coalition Government announced the disbandment of the RDAs, and funding for HWHL was put at risk after March 2012. Immediate reductions were announced in funding from both agencies of 10 % in 2009–2010 and a further 20 % in 2010–2011. This

necessitated an entirely different approach to be taken to funding the company and a reorganisation of its structure. Considerable uncertainty was caused to the many capital and revenue projects already underway or in various stages of development.

The Board of HWHL, together with its main funding partners, agreed that the company should become a charitable trust with a commercial trading arm in order to become financially sustainable. Considerable goodwill amongst local businesses and communities towards supporting the future management of the World Heritage Site had been generated through a range of business support, arts and other events. The importance attached to the Wall by the local populace and a wider recognition of the value of protecting Britain's heritage offered an opportunity to support fundraising to assist the ongoing management of the Site. The company took professional fundraising advice and began to approach several major foundations and to build communications with other potential private sector benefactors. It became clear that although many major foundations had not been approached previously nor had they considered supporting the World Heritage Site, there was clear interest in sponsoring broad and transformational programmes of work, especially in the fields of communications, education and learning across the Wall.

The organisation began, with the support of its funders, the process of transforming itself into a charitable trust, and the legal costs of this process were substantially supported by ONE North East. The proposed trust would be able to continue to fulfil its responsibilities for the care and protection of the World Heritage Site, its promotion and associated economic development, and to meet specific charitable objectives in relation to education, learning, and community engagement.

During late 2011, plans were prepared for all prospective funders showing how operating costs and overheads could be cut and a focus placed on essential activities to meet these charitable objectives. All staff were put on notice of redundancy pending funding for 2012–2013 onwards being secured. Effectively, more than £1 million had been lost from HWHL's budget, leaving insufficient funding to carry out its proposed core activities. Two models of prospective operation were developed. A minimum-case scenario requiring approximately £625,000 per annum would enable only the obligatory functions of managing the World Heritage Site to be maintained. The second, more optimal model retained three additional staff and, at a budget of £840,000 per annum, would allow the organisation to continue work to deliver its strategy and ensure that valuable time and resources already invested in initiating major projects and initiatives would not be wasted.

The (now 11) Local Authorities containing part of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site including the Northumberland National Park Authority were invited to a meeting at the end of September 2010, and advised of the funding shortfall which would occur post-April 2012. Following an extensive series of meetings with senior officers and the Leaders of each Local Authority, formal letters requesting financial support from the Authorities were sent out during August 2011.

Between September 2011 and January 2012, some progress was made in gaining commitments from four of the Local Authorities, this was, however, conditional upon each of the other Authorities making comparable contributions. The Minister

for Tourism and Heritage was made aware of the situation and indicated his desire to see the company's activities continue for the benefit of the World Heritage Site and its communities. A further meeting was held in February 2012 with the Local Authorities, English Heritage, Natural England and Visit England to discuss the future of the Site. One of the larger Local Authorities argued that only the bare minimum should be done to maintain the Wall's World Heritage status; others were equally concerned that economic development activity should be maintained. Eventually, a contribution of £100,000 was agreed between all the Authorities towards the organisation's core work. This required all other activities to be maintained, and further efforts then began to fill the funding shortfall, which remained at approximately £150,000.

Behind this debate was the feeling amongst some Local Authorities that central government should meet the costs of managing World Heritage Sites, while, in practice, most other UK Sites are funded by their respective Local Authorities. Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site was caught between central government not wishing to create a precedent by funding one World Heritage Site, and local government struggling to meet its statutory obligations following successive cutbacks in funding from central government, and, therefore, feeling unable to contribute sufficiently to the management of the Site.

By May 2012, following many months of uncertainty, additional project funding to fill the shortfall that existed in August 2011 was eventually secured and funding agreements for the new Hadrian's Wall Trust were agreed with English Heritage, Natural England and the Local Authorities.

The Hadrian's Wall Trust 2012 Onwards

Over the 5 years in which HWHL had operated, it had managed to balance significant tensions arising from the different priorities of its four core funders, while also successfully progressing projects initiated in partnership with local communities and other stakeholders. In defining the core objects of the new Hadrian's Wall Trust (HWT), the opportunity arose to realign priorities and properly reflect UNESCO's priorities of protecting and conserving the World Heritage Site, promoting understanding through research, education and learning and facilitating sustainable development including engagement with local communities and businesses and marketing and communications. In addition, the Trust's Memorandum and Articles now allow for an expanded and more inclusive membership, reflecting its wider charitable objectives. The demise of the RDAs has also led to a reorientation of the Trust's funding base with a focus on project funding, charitable and philanthropic donations, sponsorship and commercial activity.

Although constrained by lack of funding, the new operating model has some distinct advantages over that represented by HWHL which should enable the new Trust to overcome the legacy of mistrust. A Wall-wide, holistic, interdisciplinary and partnership-based approach is central to the Trust's operating values.

The HWT has now had time to settle in to its redefined role, structure and status, and it is appropriate to review its relationship with the MPC and reflect upon the relative strategic and operational functions between the two. The process of producing the fourth iteration of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan, which must be completed in 2014 together with the recent appointment of a new Chair of the MPC, each suggests that such reflection is now timely.

Equally importantly, major changes in the focus of English Heritage nationally, due to reductions in its overall budget, from promoting the heritage environment as a whole towards a project-based approach focussed on protecting heritage at risk, have required HWT to develop a completely new proposition in its application for English Heritage funding for 2012–2015. In addition, Natural England, during 2011 and 2012, completed a national review of the funding of National Trails and determined that Local Authorities should provide a minimum matching funding contribution of 25 % to its much reduced grant offer, and that the Trail must be managed by a partnership between HWT and the highways authorities. As a result of each of these changes, an enormous investment of time by HWT will be required to arrive at sustainable responses although all partners wish HWT to remain the managing agent and lead partner for the Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail due to its inextricable connection to the protection of Hadrian's Wall. The shortfall in public funding for the protection of the Wall must be met by success in fundraising.

One-third of the staff of HWHL were made redundant in early 2012 due to the reductions in its funding, and the 11 remaining staff in the HWT now focus work on heritage protection and management, learning and research and sustainable development. The latter includes community engagement, development and capital project delivery, development of events, business development and marketing and communication of Frontier narratives inspired through the Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework (Adkins and Mills 2011). The physical scale of this World Heritage Site and communications with the number of organisations involved in its care really need additional capacity within HWT going forward.

The partners, staff and Trustees of HWT remain confident that the successes achieved over the recent years can be built upon to further enhance the enjoyment local communities and visitors each take in Hadrian's Wall as one of Britain's most popular and iconic World Heritage Sites, whilst deeper understanding of the site and its role in Britain's history is now possible.

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Chapter 9

Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage: The Museums

Lindsay Allason-Jones

It is one of the curiosities of the World Heritage inscription that the artefact collections associated with these important sites are not included within the designations. This exclusion is because artefacts, by their very nature, are portable and can be easily separated from their contexts and are therefore difficult to protect by legislation. In the case of Hadrian's Wall, this anomaly is particularly marked, as it is through the frontier's very rich material evidence that we know so much about the history of the military zone, its installations and the people, both military and civilian, who lived and worked along its length.

The museums which house the artefacts from Hadrian's Wall are very diverse, ranging from site museums, such as Birdoswald, whose purpose is to display and explain the material evidence from an individual site, to the major museums, such as the Great North Museum at Newcastle and Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery at Carlisle, which have a wider remit than archaeology and, indeed, a wider archaeological remit than just material of Roman date. These larger museums often find it difficult to conform to the needs of the World Heritage Site management because of this wider remit; for example, attempts to provide an overall brand image for the Wall is not possible because the major museums cannot use a solely Roman image or logo if they are to do justice to their other collections. The diversity of the Great North Museum and Tullie House, however, is important because they can put the Roman frontier into its natural and chronological context: the central sector of Hadrian's Wall runs along a natural geological fault, called the Whin Sill; to the west and east, there are more complex geologies which often affect the positioning of the Wall, its forts and the Vallum (Johnson 1997). The Great North Museum and Tullie House contain much primary evidence regarding this geology as well as the flora and fauna which existed in the area before the Romans arrived as well as during their occupation and after they abandoned the province of Britannia. Understanding the natural landscape of the past is important in managing the heritage of the area today

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and the museums' archives, particularly their collections of aerial photographs and reports on coring samples, play a vital part in this management.

Although all the museums are represented on the Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Committee (MPC), as noted above, the collections do not form part of the World Heritage Site. However, since the creation of the MPC and certainly since the founding of the Tourism Partnership, there has been an attempt, wherever possible, to integrate the museums into the work of the MPC, in particular, perhaps with respect to marketing and interpretation. As noted later, this is not always straightforward given the varied ownership of the collections, but significant strides have been taken and the integration of the museums into the work of Hadrian's Wall Heritage Limited (HWHL) has certainly benefitted individual museums as noted later. All the museums along the Wall are accredited by the Arts Council and include acknowledgement of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conventions in regard to material culture, illicit trade in antiquities and human remains, in their Acquisition and Disposal Policies. They all have policies on Working with Children and Vulnerable Adults, Health and Safety, Security, Equal Opportunities and Diversity, Equal Pay, and Records Management; these policies are all legal requirements for any British Museum and have to take priority over any demands of the World Heritage Site Management Plan.

The earliest surviving collection along the frontier is now housed in the Senhouse Museum at Maryport. The collection grew from the interest of the local landowner, John Senhouse, in the inscriptions found on the site of the Roman fort and town of Alauna in the mid-sixteenth century. The collection was already well established at Senhouse's manor house at Netherhall when William Camden visited in 1599 (Camden 1600, pp. 694–697). In the late eighteenth century, a man was employed by Colonel Humphrey Senhouse to identify Roman stones amongst the many thousands of tons which were being removed from the site to build the new town of Maryport. By 1797, the collection included 101 objects, mostly sculpture and inscriptions but with some bronzes, pottery, glass and coins (Webster 1986; Wilson 1997).

In 1870, 17 altars, mostly dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, were found (Fig. 9.1). At the time, these were considered to have been ritually interred, but excavations in 2011 revealed that they had been used as packing stones for the posts of a significant building (Wilmott and Haynes forthcoming). This discovery does not detract from their importance for our understanding of the Roman Empire as it is through their inscriptions that it is presumed that the usual length of time a commanding officer was in post at a fort was 3 years.

In the nineteenth century, Humphrey Senhouse V bought the passenger shelter at Wigton railway station and re-erected it at his property at Netherhall to house 120 of the smaller artefacts (Ashmore 1991, p. 3). By the mid-twentieth century, however, Netherhall was largely abandoned and the collection almost lost in the undergrowth when Brian Ashmore and Roger Senhouse recovered it and arranged a display in the coach house. In 1985, a Trust was formed to safeguard the collection and seek more appropriate permanent accommodation. Two heritage problems were solved in one when the Senhouse Museum Trust bought The Battery, a listed building erected in 1885 as a Royal Artillery Volunteer Reserve Drill Hall, and converted it to a museum.

Fig. 9.1 A display of the Roman altars found at Maryport in Senhouse Museum. (Copyright: Senhouse Roman Museum)



The future of this building and the collection are now included in the Roman Maryport Project, following the purchase of the scheduled area of the Roman fort and town by HWHL.

In Newcastle, in 1813, on the other side of the country, 17 Newcastle gentlemen met in the Long Room of Loftus's Inn 'for the purpose of adopting the best measures to promote enquiry into antiquities' (Allason-Jones 2009, p. 1). From their inaugural meeting they gathered artefacts to further their knowledge. The first archaeological item in the Society's catalogue is a millstone, sadly no longer identifiable, but the second object, an altar to Belatucadrus from Brough in Westmorland, is still in the collection. The acceptance of this evidence for religious activities on the Roman frontier shows that the Antiquaries' interests were never confined to Newcastle but included the archaeology of the whole of the north of England and particularly the sites along the length of Hadrian's Wall. Today, their collection is the largest in the region and includes most of the more important evidence for Hadrian's Wall and its population.

In 1849, the Society moved their collection from the Literary and Philosophical Society to the newly renovated Keep. The Antiquaries continued to store and display their collections in the Keep and the thirteenth-century Black Gate, but by the 1930s, the Society's Council began to be concerned that medieval buildings run by volunteers were not ideal for an archaeological collection of international importance and began discussions with the University of Durham for a new Joint Museum. A grant of £5,000 was acquired from the national University Grants Committee and plans were well advanced when war broke out in 1939; the idea was put on hold but revived in the late 1940s.

The Joint Museum was first established in October 1953 at 11 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne, where a temporary exhibition of the sculpture was set up. In

1949, a building, designed by W. B. Edwards and Partners for the Northern Coke Research Laboratory of the Department of Physical Chemistry, had been erected at the east end of the Quadrangle of the Newcastle Campus—a position that had been earmarked for the Museum before the War. When it became vacant, the building was converted into The Museum of Antiquities of the University and Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne; the conversion was completed in 1959 and the Museum formally opened to the public in April 1960.

Throughout their changes in venue, the Society's archaeological collection has not remained static but continues to expand. Their Acquisitions Policy states that the object of the Society is 'the study, investigation, description and presentation of antiquities and historical records in general and of those of the historical counties of Northumberland and Durham and the City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne' (Allason-Jones 2009, p. 4). When the Society was first formed, it was the only institution collecting archaeological artefacts in the north of England and its collection reflects this, but the development of other museums in the past 200 years has resulted in the Society confining its geographical scope to the County of Northumberland and the City of Newcastle upon Tyne, as well as the Roman frontier zone westward from the mouth of the River Tyne to the River Irthing with the exception of sites provided with their own museums. The chronological scope of the archaeological material covers all periods up to c. 1600 (or later in the case of multi-period sites where the whole assemblage must be kept together).

Although considered state-of-the-art when opened, the Museum of Antiquities was soon inadequate in size and presentation as more and more excavations were carried out. In April 2008, the Museum closed and its collection was transferred to the new £27.75 million Great North Museum (Fig. 9.2). This museum incorporates the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, the Natural History Society of Northumbria and Newcastle University as well as archaeological material belonging to Newcastle City Council. The building is owned by the Natural History Society and run on behalf of the University by Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums. The archaeological collections still remain in the ownership of the Society of Antiquaries, the Duke of Northumberland and other individuals and institutions.

The *Carlisle* Literary and Philosophical Institute was founded in 1835 and within a year had already gathered a small museum collection which was displayed above the fish market. In 1841, this moved to larger premises at the Athenaeum on Lowther Street. As an entrance fee, 6 d was charged, but this was found to dissuade visitors and was soon dropped. Financially, however, this was a mistake as the Society was bankrupted and its building and collection seized by the landlord, George H. Head, in 1860. In 1870, the building was bought by the government with the aim of establishing a post office. The collection was catalogued and put up for auction, but the efforts of a local committee of concerned citizens persuaded George Head to donate the collection to the City. His agreement was subject to the proviso that the City Council would provide accommodation and employ a curator. This was partly acknowledged as the museum was housed in the Academy of Art on Finkle Street but no curator was employed.

Fig. 9.2 The model of Hadrian's Wall in the Great North Museum, Newcastle. (Copyright: Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums)



In 1874, a committee of 'Carlisle working men' (*Carlisle Journal* 15.7.1864) began to lobby for something to be done about the collection. With the support of Richard Saul Ferguson, a former Mayor and a founder member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society, the committee redisplayed the collection and staffed it for public opening in 1877. The constrained space, however, meant that this could only be a temporary solution and pressure continued to grow for better accommodation allied with the demands for a public library in the city. In 1890, Charles Ferguson, Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, proposed to purchase Tullie House, a late seventeenth-century house in Castle Street, which had been the home of the Tullie family and was now facing demolition, with the intention of using it as a centre for arts and sciences. Ferguson used his local contacts to raise the £3,825 required and was so successful that he was able to buy the house and its neighbouring cottages and convey them to the City with a £676 surplus. Tullie House was officially opened as an 'Institute of Science, Literature and Art' on 8 November 1893 (*Carlisle Journal* 10.11.1893. pp. 5–7). It was, however, not until the Museums Act of 1900 that the City Council acknowledged its responsibility for managing and displaying the collection.



Fig. 9.3 A view of the entrance to the new Roman Gallery, Tullie House Museum. (Copyright: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery Trust)

Carlisle as a city saw major redevelopment in the 1980s, and this led to a considerable number of developer-funded excavations with a resultant surge in archaeological artefacts from the Roman sites. In 1988–1989, Tullie House was redeveloped to become a major regional tourist attraction. In 2001, The Millennium Gallery and Rotunda were added to the museum; a further redevelopment was completed in 2011 (Fig. 9.3). This most recent redevelopment was heavily influenced by the draft Interpretation Framework (see Chap. 10) and included a style of, and approach to, interpretation not seen previously on the Wall (see Chap. 12).

The original collection was composed of archaeological finds of all periods and natural history specimens along with some works of art and curiosities. This was added to by the collections of local intellectuals, notably Richard Ferguson, whose excavations confirmed that Tullie House lay over part of the fort of Luguvalium. There is now a fine collection which complements the material held in Chesters and Newcastle to provide a comprehensive data set for the Roman frontier.

The Museum contains a good selection of assemblages from the Wall forts in the west, as well as some outpost and hinterland forts. Of international importance is the organic material from Carlisle, including wooden weapons and building elements as well as leather from shoes and tents and rare examples of basketry. Of particular note is the scrap of a wooden inscription, found near Birdoswald, which is not only the only inscription from the Turf Wall sector but also a rare piece of evidence that the Roman army erected building inscriptions in wood. The Museum is a joint owner with the British Museum and the Potteries Museum of the Staffordshire Moorlands Pan (Breeze 2012; Fig. 9.4). This artefact gives the names of some of the forts in the western sector of Hadrian's Wall, all of which are within the Museum's collecting area.

The museum at *Chesters* is almost entirely the result of one man's endeavours. John Clayton (1792–1890) was Town Clerk of Newcastle upon Tyne and did not begin

Fig. 9.4 The Staffordshire Moorlands Pan which lists the names of some of the forts in the Western sector of Hadrian's Wall. (Copyright: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery Trust)



excavating on the Wall in earnest until his retirement in the 1840s, starting with the site of Cilurnum at his family home at Chesters. Clayton grew increasingly concerned that Hadrian's Wall was being destroyed by people seeking building stones, so he developed a policy of buying any land that came on to the market that included a Roman site. His investigations at these sites resulted in an important collection of material relating to the Central Sector of the Wall. The artefacts which were uncovered were initially displayed in his house at Chesters or, in the case of the larger stones, in The Antiquities House, a wooden structure in the garden. On his death, he left his collection for the enjoyment of the future owners of Chesters. Within a month of his death, however, his successor, Nathaniel George Clayton was writing about 'Mr Rich's plans for the Museum' (Newcastle City Library, Ref. No. L728 C527/958656A). The listed building we see today was opened in 1903 and a catalogue published by E. A. W. Budge (1907), based on a hand-list prepared by Mr Hall.

When the Chesters estate was sold in 1930, the collection was transferred to the ownership of the newly created Trustees of the Clayton Collection, although the museum building remained the property of the owner of the estate, as it still does. When the site was placed into guardianship of the Secretary of State in 1954, the lease of the museum building was included, although the artefacts remained in the care and ownership of the Trustees. From 1972, curatorial care was provided by Newcastle University, but in 1984, the post of Joint Curator was created and curation of the collections at Chesters, Housesteads and Corbridge became the responsibility of English Heritage.

The museum collections at Corbridge relate to the excavations on the site from 1906. In 1929, the temporary wooden museum was described as dilapidated, damp and insecure and the material was transferred to the South Lodge of Beaufront Castle by invitation of Lady Rayleigh. In 1933, her son, Captain David Cuthbert, gave Corbridge Roman Site to the nation. Finds found before this date are the property of the Trustees of the Corbridge Excavation Fund, whilst those found after 1933 belong to the nation. In 1974, the Museums and Galleries Commission set up the Hadrian's Wall Museums Working Party which recommended that a modern museum be built at the site. This was opened to the public in 1984 and displays material from Corbridge fort as well as storing material from Housesteads and Chesters. Some of the larger stonework from Corbridge is housed at the English Heritage store at Helmesley in North Yorkshire.

Although there had been excavations at Housesteads from the early seventeenth century, it was not until 1935 that the National Trust built a museum on land presented to them by Dr G. M. Trevelyan. This housed material from the site excavations and was managed by the Housesteads Management Committee, which had been established in 1930. In the 1970s, Newcastle University undertook the curation of the collection until the creation of the Joint Curator post in 1984.

The earliest record of archaeological discoveries at South Shields was in 1682 but much of the land at the mouth of the Tyne remained agricultural until 1874 when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners resolved to sell the land for housing. The Rev. R. E. Hooppell campaigned to have the site protected and excavated with the support of Robert Blair, a South Shields solicitor who was also Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the antiquarian Rev. John Collingwood Bruce. A public meeting was held on 8 March 1875 when a proposal to excavate the site was carried. It was agreed that any finds would be lodged in the Free Public Library, although, as it turned out, a high percentage of the artefacts found their way to the Antiquaries' Collection and are now in the Great North Museum. The central part of the fort was preserved as the Roman Remains Park.

The material which remained in South Shields soon outgrew its allocated room in South Shields Public Library and Museum, and by 1940, the Roman Remains Park had become much neglected. A letter, dated 1948, from the Ministry of Works reminded the Council of their responsibilities; this led to a restoration of the Park and further excavations, led by Prof. Ian Richmond (Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, p. 14). In 1950, it was decided to open a museum on the site and to transfer to it the material in the Public Library and Museum. Due to post-war building constrictions, work could not start until October 1951 and the museum was not officially opened until 1953. In 1975, Local Government Reorganization led to the transfer of the administration of the site and its museum to Tyne and Wear County Museums Service.

The site museum has continued to house and display the material from the annual excavations. In 1995, Time Quest (the Barbour Archaeological Resource Centre), an interactive display for children, was opened. Further display space was provided in the reconstructed gateway in 1988 and the commanding officer's house and a barrack block in 2011. The main gallery was also refurbished in 2011.

The earliest investigations of the site at Vindolanda began around 1716. After some work in the nineteenth century, further excavations were carried out by Eric Birley in the 1930s and it was he who placed the fort in state care in 1939. Further excavations were carried out by his son, Robin Birley, between 1949 and 1969. The Vindolanda Trust was founded in 1970 to administer the Roman fort and the site museum, which is housed in Chesterholm, the Birley family home, built at the Roman fort in 1832. The building was first transformed into a museum in 1974 with the aim of housing and displaying the material emerging from the excavations of the known fort and its *vicus*. Over the years, the museum has expanded and developed as the annual excavations have become increasingly productive, and in 2011, the museum was completely redesigned with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and One North East (ONE) (Fig. 9.5). As an indication of the value of collective management, it is clear that this funding would not have been forthcoming had the project not been supported by HWHL and had it not fallen under the aegis of the draft Interpretation Framework (see Chap. 10).

Fig. 9.5 A view of the new display in the site museum at Vindolanda. (Copyright: Vindolanda Trust)



Fig. 9.6 A view of the new display at the Roman Army Museum. (Copyright: Vindolanda Trust)



Vindolanda is unusual in the Military Zone in having the ground conditions to preserve rare organic material, particularly wood and leather. The 2011 developments of the museum have created the perfect conditions to display textiles, a remarkable collection of shoes, wooden tent pegs and combs and some of the important writing tablets. The majority of the Vindolanda writing tablets are housed in the British Museum, but the examples that have returned to Vindolanda are representative of these famous documents which have changed our understanding of the minutiae of life on a Roman frontier in the first and second centuries AD (Bowman and Thomas 2003).

In 1972, the Vindolanda Trust acquired the Roman site at Carvoran, where the farm buildings now house the Roman Army Museum. Although its presence has been known since the sixteenth century, the site (Magna) has received little archaeological investigation (Birley 1961, pp. 192–196), so few artefacts from the site are displayed in the museum. The museum was recently transformed as part of the Vindolanda Trust's HLF/ONE-funded development project (Fig. 9.6). The displays place a Roman soldier into his empire-wide context via artefacts, mostly found at Vindolanda, and full-scale replicas. The displays also profile the native people who played active parts in the Roman conquest of Britain. The landscape and grandeur of Hadrian's

Fig. 9.7 The exposed excavated Roman fort of Segedunum at the East end of Hadrian's Wall. The viewing tower can be seen at the rear of the photograph. (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)



Fig. 9.8 General visitors and school groups use the viewing tower to get a 'bird's eye' view of the fort laid out below them and cross reference their view with artists illustrations on the screen in front of them. (Copyright: Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums)



Wall are captured in *Edge of Empire: The Eagle's Eye*, a three-dimensional (3D) film which takes visitors on a spectacular aerial journey along Hadrian's Wall as it is today and as it may have looked in the Roman period.

At Wallsend, the fort of Segedunum has always been an inherent part of the local community and there is evidence that the name *Wallsend* dates back at least as far as the eleventh century. In 1975, the Victorian terraces were demolished to make way for a modern housing development. Rescue archaeology carried out by Newcastle University revealed the level of survival of the fort and the Council took the far-sighted decision to save the site for posterity. It was proposed that when funding became available, a museum/visitor attraction would be created to display the artefacts found on the site. In the meantime, a small heritage centre opened on Buddle Street and a volunteer guides from the local community provided tours of the exposed remains. In June 2000, Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum opened to the public in a £9 million project (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8). North Tyneside Council owns the site and Museum and provides the revenue funding. Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums manages the site on behalf of the Council. In 2011, the third-floor galleries were refurbished to create a larger, more flexible temporary exhibition space and an innovative new permanent gallery entitled *Strong Place*.

The most recent museum to be established on the Wall is at Birdoswald and it is the smallest, displaying only a proportion of the material found in the excavations of the fort between 1987 and 1992; previously discovered material is at Tullie House in Carlisle. The site and its museum were administered by Cumbria County Council from 1984 to 2004 when both were transferred to English Heritage.

Conclusion

The museums along Hadrian's Wall have all emerged from different beginnings and are the responsibility of a range of different organizations. These organizations have their own budgets, as well as their own aims, objectives and priorities, and this leads to difficulties in delivering a coordinated Interpretation Framework. The curators of the museums invariably have to juggle the aspirations of the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan with the harsh realities of their budgets and the often conflicting demands of their local authorities' problems in balancing statutory and non-statutory activities, the needs of visiting school parties, the Higher Education Funding Council's expectations in regard to teaching and research and the legal requirements of the Charity Commissioners with the needs and expectations of visitors. Even something as apparently simple as creating a recognisable brand for the Wall museums or coordinated advertising products becomes a headache as the different organizations all have their own brands or design criteria, which are set by their funding bodies. A leaflet or poster which has to include all the contributors' logos can look extremely messy as these are all of different sizes, shapes and colours.

Coordinating their work can be difficult but the staff of the museums made a point of meeting regularly through the Hadrian's Wall Museums Committee from the 1970s to 2008. With the smaller museums, the person who represented their museum on this committee was often the same person who sat on the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, the Hadrian's Wall Education Committee or the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan Committee, and this person would have a grasp of the wider picture of the Wall and their own museum, but the larger organizations were often represented on the various committees by different people. This occasionally led to duplication of effort, but more often led to a lack of progress as poor reporting lines resulted in actions not being dealt with between meetings. A lack of understanding of the needs of collection management or the commitments of other staff in an organization occasionally resulted in plans being agreed in the MPC that could not be implemented. That said, since 2008, the staff of the museums have endeavoured to communicate with each other on a personal level or informally through other bodies, such as the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne or Museums North, and in 2013, attempts are being made to revive the Hadrian's Wall Museums Committee. Curators exchange ideas and endeavour to ensure that different stories are told at the museums along the Wall so visitors are not faced with repetitive graphics or bland uniformity.

With any major archaeological site, and particularly one which is a World Heritage Site, there is pressure to excavate, either to provide a spectacle for visitors or to uncover vital information about the site. This can result in pressures on the site museums as new material needs to be conserved, displayed and stored. This is not a problem confined to the Hadrian's Wall museums—throughout Britain museum storage is becoming an issue and museums are being encouraged to consider shared, off-site storage. Corbridge, Housesteads and Chesters already have material stored in an English Heritage facility at Helmsley in Yorkshire, which complies with current conservation requirements but is inconvenient for researchers. There is further pressure to incorporate the latest designs and technologies into the museum displays as visitors develop more sophisticated expectations. As seen earlier, all the museums along the line of Hadrian's Wall have undergone regular redevelopments and it is hoped that this will continue into the future. However, current financial constraints are taking their toll as local authority funding, both direct and indirect, has been cut for the museums along Hadrian's Wall. This is already leading to a shortage of staff to deal with visitor enquiries, conservation, the needs of researchers and work on new displays. The Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Management Plan refers to increased visitor figures, better facilities, further excavations and regular refreshment of displays. This has been achieved in the past 10 years and the visitor experience along the Wall has never been better, but without more museum staff and more reliable funding, we may be witnessing the apogee of Hadrian's Wall.

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Chapter 10

Managing Interpretation

Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills

Introduction

In April 2007, Josh Roberts, a travel writer for *USA Today*, wrote a feature recording his visit to Hadrian's Wall titled 'Better than Stonehenge, Hadrian's Wall is England's top ancient monument' (Roberts 2007). However, despite such plaudits, in 2004, the Hadrian's Wall Major Study reported that for the past three decades, visitor numbers to the main sites in the central section of Hadrian's Wall had fallen by an average of approximately 1.65 % each year (Economics Research Associates (ERA) 2004, p. 14).

Successive research by Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, the consultants undertaking the Major Study and subsequently Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd (HWHL) identified a number of reasons for this decline. Non-visitors perceived it as just a Wall, with not enough there to warrant a visit (ERA 2004, p. 50). Visitors perceived the sites along Hadrian's Wall to be very similar offering little reason to visit more than once; they felt that the standard of interpretation at sites was poor and lacked a *wow* factor; and many remembered the Wall by the individual site they had visited, having little sense of an overall Hadrian's Wall experience (ERA 2004, p. 50). Local people who had visited the Wall as schoolchildren saw little change to motivate a repeat visit (ERA 2004, p. 50). Visitor spending in the region was therefore much less than it could be if visitors stayed in the region and visited more than one site. As a linear monument stretching over 118 km with 13 major visitor attractions and a number of smaller sites, this presented a significant management issue and opportunity.

In creating the 3rd *Hadrian's Wall Management Plan 2008–2014*, the World Heritage Site Management Plan Committee (MPC) recorded the following lessons

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learnt during the previous Management Plan period as presenting challenges to the management of the World Heritage Site:

- For visitors, the component parts of the World Heritage Site need to be both differentiated from each other and clearly related to each other.
- The quality and variety of interpretation and visitor facilities need to be upgraded (World Heritage Site Management Plan Committee (MPC) 2008, p. 37).

The MPC also recognised that in resourcing the management of the Site, the solution—the improvement of the visitor offer—‘will require significant investment sustained over a period of time, including periodic reinvestment in refreshment and upgrading of facilities’ (MPC 2008, p. 38).

The Major Study had identified that the solution required a site differentiation interpretation strategy (ERA 2004, p. 109) echoing the objective of the Interpretation Strategy for Hadrian’s Wall produced in 1996 (Touchstone 1996). Some progress had been made in implementing the Strategy’s proposals including orientation panels at gateway sites (MPC 2008, p. 36); however, the proposal for local partnerships to develop Local Interpretation Plans had not progressed and was not taken forward into the 2008–2014 Management Plan. This reflected a key finding of the Major Study—the combination of a large and dispersed site, multiple stakeholders and visitor attraction operators, and increased competition resulting from declining visitor numbers had resulted in poor collaboration along Hadrian’s Wall in the implementation of earlier Management Plan proposals (ERA 2004).

Recognising the need to foster greater collaboration whilst being able to progress the site differentiation interpretation strategy identified in the Major Study, the Hadrian’s Wall Management Plan 2008–2014 identified the need to develop a new overarching framework for interpretation in collaboration with partners (MPC 2008, p. 67), echoing the approach adopted for conservation and research. The glossary of the plan defines the term *interpretation framework* as the ‘proposed mechanism and set of principles which will guide development of interpretation across the World Heritage Site’ (MPC 2008, p. 87).

Interpretation Framework for The North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire

A key proposal in the Major Study was the requirement for a new organisation, and HWHL was subsequently established in 2006. HWHL carried out a review of the Major Study findings and determined that the Framework should encompass the wider narrative of the Roman frontier in North Britain rather than focussing narrowly on the Wall itself. This conclusion was influenced in part by the re-designation of Hadrian’s Wall within the newly created transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site in 2005 and in part by the recognition that the development and

functioning of Hadrian's Wall could be better understood and presented to the public in the context of the wider narrative of the Roman frontier. The exercise concluded that for interpretive purposes, Hadrian's Wall should be redefined as *the North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire*, offering unparalleled opportunities to:

- Broaden the themes and messages and appeal of the World Heritage Site so that its true composition, context, nature and significance can be better communicated and understood;
- Explore the bigger picture by setting Hadrian's Wall in the context of Rome's occupation of Britain and the wider Roman Empire;
- Use the many sites and the environment of Hadrian's Wall to communicate the various aspects of this story in unique, individual and complementary ways;
- Engage and interest visitors in the cultural values of the north-west frontier story in contemporary society—going beyond an appreciation of archaeology to fostering understanding of the frontier, of Britain as a Roman colony, of modern frontiers, walls and barriers and of issues of citizenship, identity and multiculturalism (Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 2).

The review also determined that the interpretation framework should embrace the landscape through which the Wall runs and the Wall's legacy within that landscape. This decision was influenced by the Tales of the Frontier project that explored the legacy of the Wall in history, culture and landscape (Hingley 2011). Different funding streams resulted in the work to develop the framework being progressed through two separate work strands: one for the primary theme, the Roman Frontier in North Britain, and another for the secondary theme, the landscape through which the Wall passes.

In 2009, the Centre for Interpretation Studies was appointed to work collaboratively with HWWL and partners to create the *Interpretation Framework for the North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire*. The project brief specified three areas of enquiry:

1. Visitors and stakeholders—a survey and consultation on user values, requirements and interests.
2. New audiences, new stories, new approaches—a user-driven interpretation and development framework.
3. Advocacy and good practice—a guide to inform development.

It also suggested a focus on the 13 major sites along Hadrian's Wall. It was hoped that by focussing on these, the Interpretation Framework would influence projects already under development at Roman Vindolanda, Roman Army Museum, Tullie House Museum and Roman Maryport, and would enable all major, minor and linked sites along Hadrian's Wall to be both differentiated from and clearly related to each other.

Table 10.1 Interpretation Framework project methodology

Phase	Action	Output
Inform and design	Desk research—previous studies and strategies; market and visitor research	
	Site research	
	Site visits	
	Stakeholder consultation (1:1 meetings)	
	Design public engagement strategy	Public engagement strategy
Research	Drafting Interpretation Framework principles and themes	Draft Interpretation Framework principles and themes
	Focus groups (qualitative)	Results
	Telephone survey (quantitative)	Results
	Community consultation days	Results
	Site visitor research	Results
Findings and feedback	Coach operator survey	Results
	Stakeholder workshops	
	Stakeholder consultation (1:1 meetings)	
Reporting	Review Interpretation Framework principles and themes	
	Good practice case studies	
	Prepare public engagement appendices	Public engagement appendices
	Draft Interpretation Framework as advocacy and good practice document	Interpretation Framework

Interpretation Framework Project Methodology

The methodology designed to deliver these outputs was iterative and evolved during the project into four main phases: inform and design, research, findings and feedback, and reporting (see Table 10.1). Although this reflected existing interpretive planning models (Brochu 2003; Uzzell 1998), the urgent priority to focus on the visitor needs resulted in the design of a process which would enable rigorous decision-making based on audience data collected before and during the project. Formative evaluation and testing was central to the process, as was bringing together a staff involved in the management, operation and interpretation of Hadrian's Wall to work to achieve consensus in making decisions based on audience as opposed to individual organisations' needs.

Also reflected in the methodology was the need to produce a document defined in the Management Plan as a guide, whilst also providing the advocacy and good practice required by the brief. Guided by these requirements, the project deliberately stopped short of specifying a particular proposition for each site (*what* and *how*) as might be expected of an interpretation strategy. It also stopped short of specifying how a particular proposition should be delivered (*what*, *how*, *when*, *who* and *how much*) as might be expected in an interpretation plan. Indeed, a more prescriptive approach would have required significantly more resources (time and budget) than were available, and would have been redundant within a few years as circumstances

changed. Moreover, there was a general recognition that site improvement and development would likely take place at different rates and timescales according to the opportunities and resources that become available.

Instead, the need to create an interpretation framework through which sites could be both differentiated from and yet clearly related to each other led to a focus on analysis of audience needs, thematic planning and the creation of a vision for the visitor experience of Hadrian's Wall. These elements would create the intellectual framework within which strategic and detailed interpretation planning could take place and through which each site and museum could build on its own particular strengths and opportunities to create distinctive, differentiated and complementary experiences for visitors.

Inform and Design

The initial phase of the project focussed on gathering and reviewing all available audience data, site visits, and widespread consultation with stakeholders which informed the drafting of initial interpretation principles and themes and the design of a public engagement research strategy. These activities were also fundamental in evolving the methodology for the project and in planning the final Interpretation Framework document. Stakeholder consultation revealed considerable differences between and within organisations in their understanding of the word *interpretation*, its benefits, what constitutes good practice, how to plan interpretation and what was meant by the term *interpretation framework*. It also revealed that whilst many site staff along Hadrian's Wall had a good understanding of market and visitor data, they were less aware of the government agenda for audience development and the opportunities in adopting audience development principles (Adkins and Holmes 2011, p. 83). In response, the project team reviewed the project methodology and framework document plan to maximise communication and understanding of these topics and the advantages they could bring to the World Heritage Site, fostering support for the framework and implementation of its guidance.

Site visits to review the interpretation at locations along Hadrian's Wall revealed that visitor perceptions identified in previous studies largely reflected evidence on the ground. Many staffed sites had displays that, whilst clean and well maintained, appeared dated. In addition, many sites featured collections—rich displays supported by detailed descriptive labels that provide little opportunity to provoke, reveal or relate—fundamental elements of good interpretation (Tilden 1977, pp. 8, 9). Interestingly, these visits established that sites managed by locally based organisations and teams provided the most contemporary and most well-maintained interpretation, corroborating the audience research which consistently ranked the sites in the care of Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums and The Vindolanda Trust most highly in terms of visitor enjoyment.

The market and visitor research work undertaken by the Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, the Major Study consultants and HWWL meant that there was a

widespread understanding of the existing audiences for Hadrian's Wall by stakeholders, as well as consensus on the potential audiences to be developed, namely:

- UK ABC1s,¹ predominantly over 45 years old with no dependent children and living within 3-h drive of Hadrian's Wall;
- North Americans and northern Europeans with a similar demographic profile to the UK ABC1s;
- Families with children;
- Specialist audiences with the same profile as UK ABC1s but with an active interest in heritage, walking or cycling;
- Schools and educational visitors;
- People visiting friends and relatives in local communities.

The ready identification of existing and potential audiences for Hadrian's Wall enabled the development and approval of a public engagement research strategy which explored and measured the views of a number of different audiences and stakeholders, all of whom were important to the future sustainability of Hadrian's Wall.

Research

Acknowledging that much research already existed, the aim of the public engagement research strategy was to provide greater detail about visitor and non-visitor perceptions of Hadrian's Wall, and about the visitor experience and visitor needs, and to formatively evaluate and test the draft principles and themes that had been developed.

To achieve the level of detail required, it was agreed that qualitative research with a small number of focus groups would be followed by quantitative testing of initial findings through a larger-scale telephone survey. Three focus groups of non-visitors (i.e. people who had not previously visited Hadrian's Wall sites) were held in identified target catchment areas—Manchester, Edinburgh and Newcastle. A fourth focus group of visitors (i.e. people who had previously visited Hadrian's Wall sites) was held in Newcastle. All participants were selected according to the audiences identified above, all visited heritage sites in the UK and all were parents or grandparents of children aged 9+ years. The key aim of the focus groups was to identify needs and to explore the proposed interpretive principles and themes in depth. *Mood boards* comprising collages of images and ideas were used to visually communicate the various suggested themes, supported by written and spoken descriptions.

The focus groups were followed by telephone interviews with 307 people, each lasting around 20–25 min. Participants lived across the UK and visited heritage sites in the UK at least twice a year. The key aim of the telephone research was to quantitatively measure findings from the qualitative stage, specifically:

¹ UK demographic categorisations of socioeconomic status, widely used in the segmentation of consumer markets.

- Knowledge and perceptions of Hadrian's Wall;
- Awareness of various facts about Hadrian's Wall, including the sites and museums along its length and World Heritage Site status;
- Interest in the proposed principles and themes of the interpretation framework;
- Needs and wants when visiting a heritage site, including interpretive methods and media preferences.

Alongside the focus groups and telephone survey, two site interview and feedback activities took place at Housesteads Roman Fort, which is the most iconic site on Hadrian's Wall itself and the one which receives most visitors. The first aimed at gaining feedback from existing visitors to the site including English Heritage and National Trust members, and the second aimed at gaining feedback from a sample that had not previously visited the site and were not members of either organisation.

Two community consultation events were also conducted at Hexham and Bramp-ton. These provided local people the opportunity to find out about the Interpretation Framework, see the mood boards, hear the responses from the focus group and tele- phone research and input their own experience and ideas. Finally, a telephone survey took place with coach tour operators. The research was undertaken during 2009 and 2010 and published in 2011 (Adkins and Holmes 2011).

Findings and Feedback

The research established a number of key findings relating to people's knowledge, perceptions and experiences of Hadrian's Wall, making it clear that a number of barriers need to be overcome if audiences are to be developed and more people are to appreciate and visit the monument (Adkins and Holmes 2011).

- Hadrian's Wall is not well known, understood or perceived as an easy place to visit (see Fig. 10.1). Respondents had a perception that they would have to do a lot of work to make the visit worthwhile and enjoyable;
- People do not know where to find out information about Hadrian's Wall or how to plan a visit;
- Many participants are unaware of the different sites along Hadrian's Wall and what they have to offer. Forty-three percent of participants in the telephone survey (base: 307) had not heard of any of the major sites along Hadrian's Wall;
- Hadrian's Wall is not perceived as an attractive place to visit. Telephone survey respondents frequently used the following terms to describe Hadrian's Wall: *remote, desolate, moorland, bleak landscape, windy, long, old*;
- World Heritage Site status is not fully understood and is generally associated with sites outside the UK, such as the pyramids of Giza, Egypt;
- Many participants had a limited knowledge of Roman history, understanding it as *facts* rather than different viewpoints, ideas or people. (This point is in part due to many people having experienced Roman history in primary school where it had been taught as a series of simple facts. This contrasts with modern teaching,

particularly of periods such as the Second World War or Britain's imperial past in which pupils are encouraged to look at the evidence from different viewpoints.);

- The general perception that sites along Hadrian's Wall are very similar gives little reason to visit more than one or two sites;
- The latter point appears to result from a combination of (a) the typological naming of sites (e.g. Arbeia Roman Fort & Museum, Birdoswald Roman Fort, Chesters Roman Fort); (b) a focus on the archaeology of Hadrian's Wall in site presentation and interpretation; and (c) limited audience knowledge of Roman history which means that they are unable to understand more subtle functional and archaeological differences between the sites.

The research also sought to establish what aspects create a good visitor experience for the identified target audiences. Over half of respondents in the telephone research (56 %) identified the following as characteristics of a favourite site that they visited regularly:

- Lots to see and do, which has a special appeal to the visitor group, such as activities for children;
- Some familiar elements that can be relied upon;
- Some changing elements, such as temporary displays or events;
- Located within easy travel distance;
- Sites that visitors can feel connected to, usually as a result of good interpretation;
- Sites that provide clear information about what is available and that enable people to plan and manage their visit and travel;
- Good facilities and amenities;
- Availability of saver ticket or season ticket that provides value for money.

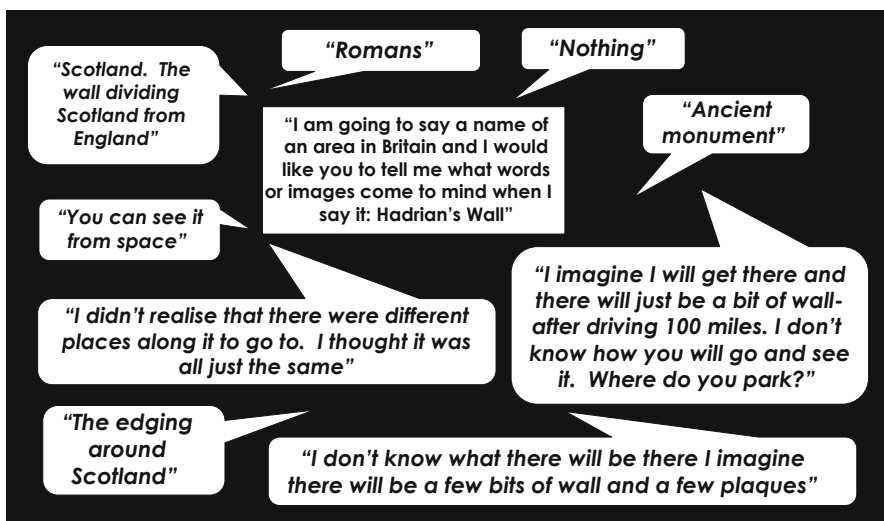


Fig. 10.1 Focus group participant's responses to the question 'I am going to say a name of an area in Britain and I would like you to tell me what words or images come to mind when I say it: "Hadrian's Wall"'.

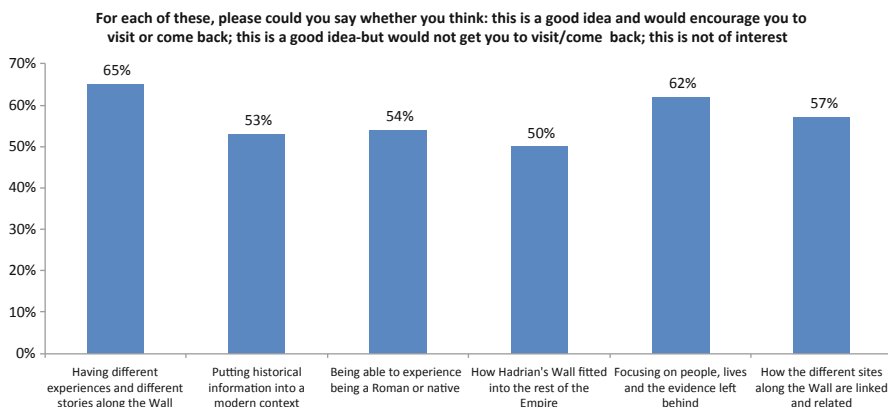


Fig. 10.2 Telephone survey responses to Interpretation Framework draft principles

Many of these aspects were reflected in the initial interpretation principles which were tested in the focus group, telephone survey and community consultation events. Figure 10.2 shows the percentage of telephone survey participants (base: 307) who considered each principle a good idea that would encourage them to visit or come back. All principles tested very positively with the target audiences, with *different experiences and different stories* and *people, lives and the evidence left behind* being received most positively, reflecting the emphasis audiences place on such aspects.

Initial themes developed through consultation with stakeholders (see Table 10.2) were also tested and evolved throughout the research phase.

All initial themes tested well with focus groups and telephone survey participants for both understanding and interest. Focus group participants highlighted that the themes were interrelated and that it was not the theme alone that determined its appeal; all themes could be appealing if presented well and interactively. In the telephone survey, all themes scored highly with respondents saying that they were good ideas and would encourage them to visit Hadrian's Wall—higher than that generally found in such research (Holmes, N., personal communication). However, themes of *Frontier Lives* and *Before and After* had the most universal appeal. This supported ideas embodied in the initial interpretation principles—interpretive approaches that involve people and provide context to which visitors can relate, compare and contrast and develop their knowledge are more appealing than presentation of information.

Overall the *Walls and Barriers* and *Edge of Empire* themes appealed most to older respondents who were more likely to have previously visited Hadrian's Wall, suggesting that such themes might be best suited for use at Housesteads whose visitors tend to be older and National Trust or English Heritage members. However, use of people-based and contextual approaches to presenting these themes would help broaden their interest for younger and family audiences.

Edge of Empire in particular attracted strong responses in the focus groups. Given that participants were also interested in the themes *Before and After* and *Walls and*

Table 10.2 Evolution of themes for the Interpretation Framework

Initial themes	Themes evolved through focus groups	Final themes evolved in feedback workshops with stakeholders and communities
Citizens of Empire	Citizens of Empire	People of the Empire
Frontier Lives	Frontier Lives	Frontier Lives
Edge of Empire	Edge of Empire	Edge of Empire
The Imperial Province of Rome	The Imperial Province of Rome	Britain—a Roman Province
The Roman Army	The Roman Army	The Roman Army
Conquest and Legacy	Before and After	Before and After
Contemporary Resonances in a Globalised World	Walls and Barriers	Power and Control
Exploration, Discovery and Values	Exploration, Discovery and Values	Exploration, Discovery and Values The Frontier and its Environment

Barriers, it appears that the idea of a frontier, of dividing people and of conquest are of interest to people, whereas the bare facts about Hadrian's Wall are not.

Interestingly, the phrase 'the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire' initially had little meaning to focus group participants and Hadrian's Wall was neither understood as a frontier nor as the edge of the empire. However, when explained, the idea of Hadrian's Wall forming part of a frontier between the Roman Empire and the non-Roman world held immense fascination. Unprompted, participants compared Hadrian's Wall with known modern frontiers, walls and barriers built to separate people for political, social and economic reasons, such as the Berlin Wall.

This immediate and significant change in participants' knowledge and perception of Hadrian's Wall suggests how public knowledge and appreciation of the World Heritage Site would be improved through a broader approach to site interpretation and presentation. By interpreting Hadrian's Wall and its associated sites as part of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire instead of providing a narrow focus on the Wall and its archaeology, the scope for visitor understanding and experience is immediately expanded.

The issue is therefore one of how best the concept of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire can be interpreted in appealing, engaging and different ways across the 13 major sites and 118 km of Hadrian's Wall.

Along with reviewing the principles and themes for the framework, the research investigated responses to a central theme (see Fig. 10.3). The role of this central theme is to pull together seemingly disparate themes into a single unifying statement or message which should guide all interpretation. As such, it will not be presented as part of the visitor experience but will guide thinking and decision-making as interpretive proposals are developed.

Hadrian's Wall is at the centre of the dynamic story of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire. This frontier evolved from the first to the fifth centuries AD in response to changing political, social, economic and demographic forces within the Roman Empire and the changing status and role of Britain as an Imperial Province. The heavily militarised frontier zone has left a rich physical and cultural legacy through which we can explore its story and understand its resonance with the modern world.

Fig. 10.3 Central theme for the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire (Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 30)

Reporting

In preparing the Interpretation Framework, the project team was careful not to create a prescriptive document. Instead, it presents a persuasive argument for the use of interpretation to develop audiences for Hadrian's Wall. It provides principles, themes and examples of good practice to guide site teams in developing their interpretation, whilst setting out the findings of audience research and widespread consultation which has underpinned their development. It is presented as a guide and advocacy document created by working with audiences and stakeholders to achieve consensus in decision-making, and in which all partners have a stake in delivering.

To facilitate its implementation, the Framework incorporates work carried out with major site project teams and staff to map the interpretation framework themes to sites. The initial site concepts developed illustrate how each site can play a distinct role in telling the story of the *North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire*, creating the different visitor experience demanded by visitors. In addition, in response to both the lack of and variation in interpretation planning across the World Heritage Site, a simple planning process is suggested to guide stakeholders in developing future interpretation and development projects.

Perhaps the most significant guidance in the document relates to the opportunities to broaden the appeal of sites through the use of more varied presentation and interpretation methods and media. A consistent finding across all audience research is that the narrow focus on archaeology—both as a theme and through the use of traditional, object-focussed methods of presentation—contributes significantly to audience perception that sites are the same. Therefore, future interpretation and site developments need to exploit the widest possible interpretive methods and media to meet audience needs. Moreover, the Framework makes it clear that harnessing the support of volunteers, local communities and business to help deliver the Framework is critical in dispersing its benefits into wider communities and the local economy.

Delivering Change on the Ground

The 2008–2014 Management Plan identified that an interpretation framework was needed to guide development of interpretation across the World Heritage Site (MPC 2008, p. 68). Following a project process designed to maximise audience and

stakeholder input, a framework was created that demonstrates how interpretation can be used to create both a cohesive and holistic yet highly differentiated visitor experience along Hadrian's Wall.

An overarching central theme was created to give meaning to the concept of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire around which all stakeholders can focus their interpretation and site presentation, helping to link sites intellectually. It can also form the basis for the development of a new brand identity for Hadrian's Wall or the Hadrian's Wall element of a wider Hadrian's Wall Country brand. Informed by this central theme, a number of interpretive themes were developed. These exploit the archaeological and historical assets of the World Heritage Site but broaden the narrative potential of Hadrian's Wall by identifying themes which maximise opportunities to communicate wider stories of people, contemporary relevance, the natural and cultural landscape and World Heritage status and its universal values.

As with all such projects the success of the Interpretation Framework will be measured by its impacts on the ground. Already, the framework has informed and helped secure more than £8 million in funding for major projects at Roman Vindolanda, the Roman Army Museum and the Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House Museum, with other projects under development at Housesteads Roman Fort. With visitor numbers at Roman Vindolanda, the Roman Army Museum and the Roman Frontier Gallery having already increased, the benefits of the Framework are fast being seen and felt. The following review of the Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House indicates the potential impact of the approaches advocated in the Interpretation Framework if applied widely across Hadrian's Wall: 'This small gallery, built on the site of Carlisle's first Roman fort, has an importance beyond its 500 square metres. It is brilliantly conceived and beautifully executed. I was struck by the obvious deep concentration of visitors. They lingered, pondered and considered' (Lewis 2011, p. 49). In the context of the general economic recession, cuts to the English Heritage budget and the dismantling of Regional Development Agencies, it is critical that sites become more financially sustainable by attracting wider audiences.

The project has also provided the impetus to review collaborative working along the World Heritage Site. With more than 50 organisations and 700 private owners within Hadrian's Wall's sphere of influence (Adkins and Mills 2011, p. 6), joint working is a challenge. With revised working groups established for education and interpretation and an increasing number of collaborative interpretation exhibitions, events and publication projects being brought forward, this is an exciting time for the World Heritage Site.

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Chapter 11

The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

David Brough and John Scott

Serial Transnational World Heritage Sites and the Creation of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

The Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) World Heritage Site was created by the decision of the World Heritage Committee in 2005 in respect of the nomination of the Upper German–Raetian Limes, which is that section of the Roman frontier system in Germany which runs between the Rhine and the Danube. The Committee determined that the Site should not be inscribed as a World Heritage Site in its own right but as an extension to the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, inscribed in 1987, and the two elements combined into the renamed FRE World Heritage Site. The decision further recommended that 'the nomination be seen as the second phase of a possible wider, phased, serial transboundary nomination to encompass remains of the Roman frontiers around the Mediterranean Region' (UNESCO 2005).

The decision to create the FRE World Heritage Site was in part a response to the objective of the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* (UNESCO 1994), which sought to limit the number of new Sites in Europe. It had, however, been initiated by the international community of Roman frontiers archaeologists, within which the potential to present and protect the remains of the Roman frontier system as a coherent entity had been under discussion since 2001 (Breeze, personal communication). The FRE World Heritage Site can therefore be seen as having resulted from a convergence of World Heritage policy with archaeological aspiration (Figure 11.1).

The concept of serial World Heritage Sites emerged towards the end of 1990s, and by 2005, it appeared regularly in World Heritage proceedings. Although no formal

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Fig. 11.1 The Frontiers of the Roman Empire

definition of serial Sites had been declared, from 2006, any Site consisting of more than one geographically separate element has been categorised as *serial* in the records of Committee proceedings. The majority of these Sites have contained elements solely within the territory of one State Party to the World Heritage Convention and are termed *serial national Sites*. Those with elements in the territory of two or more State Parties are termed *serial transnational Sites*. At present, the World Heritage List identifies 26 inscribed Sites within the territories of more than one State Party, of which 15 are geographically contiguous and are termed *transboundary Sites*.

The concept of serial Sites has been advocated as providing a means of accommodating different types of heritage beyond the primarily monumental traditions which have characterised the List, and thus of representing what may be termed *dispersed or aggregated Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)*. Serial transnational Sites have also been welcomed as promoting international cooperation in heritage protection, which objective lies at the heart of the Convention.

Thus far, 11 serial transnational Sites have been inscribed, through a sequential process of nomination of extensions to already inscribed Sites, as were the FRE and

Table 11.1 Serial transnational World Heritage Sites, August 2013

Serial transnational Sites	State Parties	No. of elements	Size (ha)	Date inscribed ^a
<i>Cultural Sites</i>				
Jesuit Missions of Brazil and Argentina	Argentina, Brazil	5	n/a	1983, <i>1984</i>
Frontiers of the Roman Empire ^b	Germany, United Kingdom	> 400	527	1987, <i>2005</i> , 2008
Belfries of Belgium and France	Belgium, France	55	n/a	1999, <i>2005</i>
Struve Geodetic Arc	Belarus, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Ukraine	34	n/a	<i>2005</i>
Stone Circles of Senegambia	Gambia, Senegal	93	9	2006
Coa Valley/Sega Verde	Portugal, Spain	2	n/a	1998, <i>2010</i>
Alpine Pile Dwellings	Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland	111	274	2011
Wooden Tserkvas of the Carpathian Region in Poland and Ukraine	Poland, Ukraine	16	7	2013
<i>Natural Sites</i>				
Aggtelek Karst/Slovak Karst	Hungary, Slovakia	7	56, 651	<i>1995</i> , 2000
Uvs Nuur Basin	Mongolia, Russia	12	898,064	2003
The Beech Forests of the Carpathians	Germany, Slovakia, Ukraine	10	968,393	<i>2007</i> , 2011

^aDate in italics indicates the date at which the property became a transnational property

^bThe Frontiers of the Roman Empire could potentially include over 2,000 elements across the territories of 18 State Parties

the Belfries of Belgium and France, through single joint nominations, as with the Struve Geodetic Arc and the Alpine Pile Dwellings, or through a combination of both, as in the case of the Beech Forests of the Carpathians. Table 11.1 identifies that of those currently inscribed serial transnational Sites, the majority include elements in the territories of only two State Parties, and that the FRE World Heritage Site, with potentially over 2,000 different elements in up to 18 modern-day countries, is likely to be the most complex of the serial transnational Sites. A number of prospective serial transnational nominations are also in various stages of development, including the Silk Roads of Central Asia and the Main Andean Highway in South America, each of which may become of similar scale and complexity to the FRE, and are likely to adopt the multiphased approach to nomination pioneered by its originators.

Following the emergence of the concept, it became widely recognised that the World Heritage policy did not adequately provide for the requirements of this new

type of property, notably in respect of the required standards such properties must meet to demonstrate their OUV. The 2008 edition of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* stated that serial properties presented as a single nomination could be accepted if ‘it is the series as a whole—and not necessarily the individual parts of it—which are of outstanding universal value’ (UNESCO 2008, paragraph 137), whereas serial properties submitted through a series of nominations could be accepted ‘provided the first property nominated is of outstanding universal value in its own right’ (UNESCO 2008, paragraph 139). These provisions raised concerns that they could each result in serial properties including elements that did not meet the absolute standards of OUV required of non-serial properties, thus devaluing the quality of the World Heritage List and the World Heritage brand.

The other principal issue raised by serial Sites and in particular by serial transnational Sites is what management arrangements are appropriate for them and how far such Sites once inscribed should function as one entity.

These concerns together with other procedural and administrative issues raised by serial Sites were debated by the Committee at its meetings in 2008, 2009 and 2010, at meetings of groups of natural heritage experts at Vilm in 2008 and 2009 and at a wider meeting of natural and cultural heritage experts and officials from the World Heritage Centre at Ittingen in 2010. Despite these deliberations, the only substantive amendment made to the *Operational Guidelines* relating to serial Sites is that ‘each component part should contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of the property as a whole in a substantial, scientific, readily defined and discernible way’ (UNESCO 2012, paragraph 137), thereby partly clarifying the guidance cited above.

The uncertainties regarding the requirements of serial Sites have been reflected in the experience of the establishment of the FRE World Heritage Site, in terms of both progress towards the inscription of all sections of the Roman frontier and emergence of common structures representing a single unified entity.

Progress in the Development of the FRE World Heritage Site

In 2008, the Site was further extended with the inscription of the Antonine Wall in Scotland. Further sections of the Roman frontier system have been included on the Tentative Lists for Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Austria, the Netherlands and Tunisia and draft nominations have now been prepared for Slovakia’s Limes Romanus, Ancient Roman Monuments on the Middle Danube, and the Ripa Pannonica, the Roman Limes in Hungary. In addition, extensive preparatory work, largely in relation to the identification and mapping of the archaeological remains of the Roman frontier system, has been undertaken on further sections of the Danube frontier in Austria, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria, and on the Rhine frontier in Germany and the Netherlands. Apart from Tunisia’s inclusion of some elements of its Roman frontier system on its Tentative List, relatively little work has been undertaken in progressing potential nomination of sections of the frontier elsewhere in North Africa or in the Middle East.

In anticipation of the Committee's decision to create the FRE World Heritage Site, an Intergovernmental Committee (IGC) was established in 2005 between the UK and Germany to coordinate responsibilities between the State Parties. The creation of the IGC had been envisaged by the *Summary Nomination Statement* (Breeze and Young 2008) prepared at the behest of the World Heritage Centre in late 2003 to explain what a potential FRE World Heritage Site might comprise and how it would be governed. The Statement also declared an intention to develop common management principles for the Site in which local management traditions and circumstances could be accommodated (Breeze and Jilek 2008, pp. 25–28). The Statement and the decision of the Committee in 2005 also recognised the role of the Bratislava Group, an assembly of Roman archaeologists and heritage managers that had been established in 2003, in providing scientific advice on the identification and delineation of the Site and its conservation, preservation, protection, management and presentation. While the IGC has met intermittently, the Bratislava Group has convened more regularly and has focussed its work on extensive activity in support of the preparation of potential nominations of further extensions to the property, but has become less directly involved in the coordination of management of the inscribed sections of the Site. As a result, in 2009, the FRE Management Group (also referred to as the Hexham Group) was established to explore the potential for greater collaboration and the exchange of good practice between managers of the World Heritage Site.

This structure has reflected three principal purposes: the provision of a formal body (the IGC) through which engagement with the World Heritage Centre and responses to formal World Heritage obligations can be met; the advancement of further extensions to the property in order to secure the protection of the Roman frontier as a whole to preserve and present its historical integrity (via the Bratislava Group); and the sharing of good management practice (through the Management Group) by which its protection and presentation can be enhanced post-inscription. Coordination and communication between the three groups within this structure has, however, been mutually recognised as having been limited, and despite recent moves to address these issues and define relationships and responsibilities between them, there has to date been no mechanism which brings together all interests involved in potential extensions to the FRE World Heritage Site with those responsible for its currently inscribed sections.

Challenges Facing the Future Development of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

The challenges facing the future development of the FRE World Heritage Site may be considered in terms of those affecting its future geographical expansion towards the inscription of the whole Roman frontier system, and of those influencing progress towards its establishment as a functional entity.

The nomination of potential extensions to the World Heritage Site is complicated by two primary factors. Firstly, despite the extensive evidence which confirms that

the Roman imperial frontier functioned as one integrated system under the aegis of the imperial administrative structures and military practice, and despite a degree of uniformity in Roman military architecture and design, the fabric of the frontier varied considerably across its approximate 5,500 km. These variations reflected responses to the differing geographical, climatic and political environments in which the frontier was situated. These environments were not static and the forms of frontier fortifications were modified locally over the course of the four centuries in which they functioned. Similarly, the degree to which the archaeology of the system has survived varies across the frontier as a result of the different levels of subsequent urban and industrial development and of varying changes in land use as well as differing impacts of natural erosion. The problem this presents for prospective nominations of extensions to the Site is one of delineation and definition of the property proposed for nomination, and of the subsequent implications for the evaluation of their integrity and authenticity within the context of the overall World Heritage Site.

Secondly, the process of nomination of extensions varies because of the differences in national customs and practices of heritage conservation, designation, protection and presentation, which results in variations in how the archaeology is identified and managed between different sections of the frontier system. These inconsistencies are compounded by the varying levels of significance attached to Roman archaeology between different modern-day cultures and a resulting variance in the degree of interest in and priority given to Roman cultural heritage. Thus, the degree of enthusiasm for seeking inscription and therefore the willingness to commit resources to that process also varies.

The objective of establishing the FRE World Heritage Site as a single functional entity is compromised by a range of issues. Each of the countries containing sections of the Roman frontier have their own management, administrative and legal structures relating to the archaeological heritage, with responsibilities of the different aspects of management of the property differently assigned, thus complicating endeavours to provide international coordination and exchange of good practice. These structural difficulties are compounded by barriers of language and some variation in interpretations of concepts, as well as the practicalities and costs of liaison across the vastness of the former Roman frontier. These issues are already apparent between the six regulatory areas of the currently inscribed Site in the UK and Germany, and are likely to become more challenging once the coordination between Europe, the Middle East and North Africa is embarked upon.

Perhaps of most significance in relation to aspirations for the FRE World Heritage Site to function as a single entity is the current policy concerning serial transnational Sites, which simply fails to provide adequate guidance on what it means to be a serial transnational Site and how one should be structured and functional. It is not clear what degree of consistency there should be in how the property is managed across each of its different sections or if, and if so, how far, or in what ways, the whole site should function as one entity. To an extent, this situation provides an opportunity for those responsible for the management of the Site to answer these questions themselves, but this process will take time to develop its conclusions, and, as Jilek has noted, the FRE World Heritage Site is 'a challenging concept with no real precedent' (Jilek 2009, p. 18) and has not been able to benefit from

the examples of the experience of other comparable serial transnational Sites. The general view currently held by those concerned with the management of the World Heritage Site is that the degree of consistency in management practice that might be established and the extent to which it might function as a single whole are likely to be limited. The principal limitations identified are the impracticalities of integrating diverse regulatory and administrative structures which operate across a range of cultural, political and economic environments, and a shared uncertainty regarding the benefits and desirability of establishing the FRE World Heritage Site as a wholly homogeneous entity.

The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site in Practice

While the policy, conceptual and administrative issues facing the FRE World Heritage Site are undoubtedly problematic and leave many unanswered questions, those directly responsible for its day-to-day management face the practical challenge of making it function as a single World Heritage Site. The lack of clear official guidance on what this actually means in practice and the absence of wholly comparative practice elsewhere, nevertheless provides its managers with the opportunity to address this issue themselves. Since regular communication between the coordinators of each inscribed section of the Site began in 2009, a structure of coordination across the FRE World Heritage Site has begun to evolve.

This process has been enabled by the Site's defining concept of the frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is itself a coherent whole in which its vast and varied components functioned as an integrated entity. The Roman frontier system was and remains today an international and multicultural phenomenon; as such, the task of bringing together or reuniting its component parts and representing them within a single World Heritage Site is itself a coherent proposition. This task is given further resolve not only by the extraordinary scale, diversity and richness of the frontier system but also equally by its singular appropriateness as a metaphor for, and an exemplar of, the Convention's core objectives of promoting greater international cooperation and understanding and of celebrating the shared cultural heritage of humanity (UNESCO 1972). The central proposition of the FRE World Heritage Site project offers those responsible for its development a unique opportunity to contribute to a remarkable endeavour. The shared acknowledgement of this provides the incentive and motivation to make it work.

Challenges and Opportunities

Despite the fundamental consensus between managers of the FRE World Heritage Site that its further development is a desirable undertaking, the process of translating this aspiration into practice faces many challenges.

Like most, if not all, World Heritage Sites, the challenge most frequently cited by officers on the ground is that of finding the time and resources to not only fulfil the daily obligations and responsibilities of managing the Site but also develop and grow its activities and functioning. Yet, the FRE World Heritage Site is unlike most other Sites in its sheer scale and complexity, each of which significantly expands the basic day-to-day management tasks of communication and engagement.

The inscribed sections of the Site already extend over 700 km and the inherently linear nature of the frontier means that within each of its sections, there are many hundreds of stakeholders involved in its day-to-day running as it crosses numerous jurisdictional or physical zones. Each of those stakeholders requires a subtly different outcome from its interaction with the World Heritage Site, and those sometimes conflicting outcomes require balancing. The accommodation of different interests in the making of policy and management decisions within each section of the Site is then compounded by the aspiration to develop common standpoints and practices between each of the Site's inscribed sections.

Although sharing a common archaeological heritage, each of these sections operates under different administrative and regulatory structures and to some extent with differing heritage management traditions and practices. These differences lie not only between the UK and Germany but also between the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall and between each of the four Lander through which the Upper German–Raetian Limes runs. Each of these six sections operates within differing planning and protection regimes and their coordinators are employed within differing administrative structures, each of which have differing priorities, resources and responsibilities. For instance, within Germany, the role of the coordinators is primarily focussed on providing archaeological input into local planning processes and, unlike their UK counterparts, are not normally expected to be actively linked in to tourism development.

The degree of local and political interest that may support the heritage agenda and particular initiatives is important in both the UK and Germany, although local authorities in Germany generally have a greater degree of budgetary discretion and therefore are of greater influence than their equivalents in England and Scotland. As a result, the Upper German–Raetian Limes has seen in some places enthusiastic celebration of the FRE World Heritage Site through local reconstructions and re-enactments of various quality, whereas other localities have ignored and under-resourced the monument. This suggests that the process of gaining approval for any future project spanning the whole of the World Heritage Site would likely be an extremely complex and a problematical undertaking.

There are obvious challenges facing a transnational Site, where working closely with other countries is essential to develop understanding and move the FRE World Heritage Site forward. Language barriers and the practicalities of managers from across the Site meeting together are only the very simplest of those issues. Normally, those managing any World Heritage Site would be expected to meet regularly to share information, monitor progress and plan and coordinate future activities. The time and cost of such gatherings limit the extent to which they can happen and, to date, the Management Group as a whole has only met for a few days once each year. Although

e-mail and other media allow communications to be maintained, each offers only a partial solution for developing a common understanding of issues and experiences.

While language barriers between English and German speakers are currently and largely offset through a reliance on everyone understanding English and a degree of shared technical terminology, many important nuances or shades of meaning are inevitably lost in translation. The challenge of effective communication across the FRE World Heritage Site will only grow as further native tongues are added to its proceedings.

The challenges that arise from differences in the heritage management customs and practices across the World Heritage Site are perhaps less immediately obvious but are nevertheless significant. The lineage of the heritage movement is not universally the same; principles and common agreed points of reference engrained in years of training and practice change as you move across countries. There are variations in the degree of importance attached to communication and interpretation as a tool for conservation and protection; the level of engagement and practice is not uniformly observed across the FRE World Heritage Site, resulting in different messages and styles of message about the very fabric and purpose of the Site in different areas. Similarly, the use of invasive research techniques is accepted and actively promoted in some areas, whereas they are only used in respect of rescue excavations in advance of development in others. Most strikingly, attitudes vary regarding the acceptability and standards required of in situ reconstruction projects. The cumulative impact of each of these somewhat technical differences in interpretation of heritage management concepts is to limit the extent to which management practices across the FRE World Heritage Site can be made uniform. The Summary Nomination Statement prepared at the birth of the FRE World Heritage Site anticipated this conclusion, but those responsible for managing the Site remain aware that theoretically they share responsibility for the whole World Heritage Site, and in theory, any management practice within any part of the Site which may be deemed to be damaging to its OUV could jeopardise the World Heritage status of the whole of the FRE World Heritage Site.

In the meantime, the approach adopted is one of pragmatic positivism and a realisation that each part of the World Heritage Site cannot simply be a mirror of its other parts but that together they represent a combination of elements within a coherent (if diverse) entity. Against this backdrop, the Management Group has been able to develop effective relationships and communications through a collective willingness to share, learn and operate as closely as is practically possible as one coherent World Heritage Site. As such, it is a working and an evolving model responding to the demands of compliance to World Heritage policy as best as it can with the resource in hand. Already, individual projects focusing on small-scale areas of the Site have access to a wealth of prior knowledge, current best practice and research theory. There is still room to develop greater understanding of each other's activities, constraints and experiences, allowing for greater exchange of skills, and learning and building an organic network of support and advice.

These early experiences of the benefits of international cooperation are likely to encourage its continuation and growth, but the necessity to fulfil the requirements of World Heritage regulation will continue to oblige it. This has already happened

with respect to organising the production of the Periodic Report for the FRE World Heritage Site, which necessitated close working between officers from across the Site in the preparation of a single consolidated report for the whole World Heritage Site. At present, each element of the FRE World Heritage Site has its own bespoke Management Plan, and there is a clear consensus between the Site's managers that a consolidated Site-wide plan would be undesirable because it would have little practical value in guiding the management of its component parts. There is, however, scope for each of these documents to in turn inform and influence the next iterations of each of the Management Plans across the World Heritage Site, slowly bringing integration of their structures and policies, although not of their content.

The Future Functioning of the World Heritage Site

Many of the challenges already encountered in seeking to coordinate the management and functioning of the FRE World Heritage Site are likely to continue and grow as the Site itself expands and its scale, diversity and complexity increases. At the same time, experience and confidence in the benefits of international cooperation is already growing and building some momentum. The maintenance of this progress is, however, dependent upon many factors, some of which are within the power of the Site's managers to influence and some of which are not.

Much of the progress has been built on personal relationships developed over time. As such, they are vulnerable to changes in personnel whether necessitated by personal circumstances or by organisational and budgetary changes. This may be mitigated by extending the network of participation in the processes of international cooperation and joint working.

The practical, political and environmental limitations already noted on further integration of the management of the FRE World Heritage Site are likely to continue, but the most significant influences on further integration are anticipated to be the level of obligation to operate as a single Site demanded by the World Heritage policy and the degree to which those responsible for its management see further integration as a desirable and beneficial objective.

The scope for the FRE World Heritage Site to influence the future development of the World Heritage policy in respect of serial transnational Sites in general and in relation to the FRE World Heritage Site itself is dependent upon the degree to which the Site is able to represent its views into that process. This in turn is dependent upon the extent to which consensus on policy issues within the FRE World Heritage Site can be established and the effectiveness of the mechanisms by which that consensus might be represented. Given the other priorities facing those managing the Site, it is likely that the forging of such consensus and the development of those mechanisms will be conducted in response to particular policy developments as they arise rather than proactively in anticipation of them. The degree to which further integration of management practices and arrangements across the World Heritage Site may become perceived to be desirable by its managers is likely to be gradual and incremental,

with each stage based solely on the identification of specific, practical benefits of further integration. Perhaps the most attractive opportunity for further collaboration surrounds the potential for each of the Site's component parts to shift the focus of their presentation from their own sections of the frontier towards the wider story of the whole of the Roman frontier system.

Each of these processes will, however, be dependent upon the commitment of resources. The process of identification and securing of additional resources itself requires the commitment of resources to develop proposals and negotiate applications. In this regard, the probable continuation of public budgetary constraint across many countries may provide the catalyst to stimulate the effort required to find additional funding to support the development of the FRE World Heritage Site.

Whatever the future holds for the FRE World Heritage Site, it offers all those fortunate enough to be involved in its development a unique and exciting opportunity to play a part in the creation of an extraordinary World Heritage Site, which exemplifies the values at the centre of United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO)'s World Heritage endeavour.

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Chapter 12

The Transformation of Management on Hadrian's Wall. . . Ask not what World Heritage Can Do for You. . .

Peter G. Stone

Introduction

This book chronicles the development—the *transformation*—of the management of Hadrian's Wall since the mid-1990s. A summary of the period might be that this transformation was extensive, not without controversy, but in the main extremely positive: new interpretation has been provided at a number of sites including Segedunum, Housesteads, Vindolanda, the Roman Army Museum and Tullie House; the National Trail has opened and proved extremely popular; and individuals and businesses along the Wall corridor have begun to interact with and contribute to the management of the Wall as never before. Such a summary should note, however, a failure to realise the full potential of opportunities arising, particularly in the period after 2003. This failure had many causes that changed over time and was not the fault of one specific group. In the period before 2003, there were undoubtedly issues of lack of resources and authority that combined to produce a positive consensual management system that was, however, unable to deliver strong, cohesive, Wall-wide management and vision. After 2003, a combination of intransigence on the part of some long-term stakeholders matched the failure by the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) to give sufficient regard to, or their inability to understand, the views of various stakeholders, a combination that slowed and frustrated every step of the Major Study process. The initial failure of the RDAs to win the trust of long-term stakeholders added to this discord, as did the failure on the part of many long-term stakeholders to fully comprehend the scale of the opportunity with which they were being presented.

The above needs clarification and justification. It is apparent that the answer to the question 'Why do we manage Hadrian's Wall?' has changed—as evidenced in the metamorphosis of the Management Plan through its three iterations. Put overly simply, Hadrian's Wall was managed at the start of this period in order to conserve

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the Wall as an archaeological monument, with other issues such as the management of tourism and education introduced as subsidiary roles. As time passed, the wider context of English Heritage's broadened remit began to become widely accepted and the academic and professional understanding of heritage management broadened in scope as mentioned in Chap. 1. As a result, these secondary issues took up more and more of the time of English Heritage's Co-ordination Unit staff and they took on therefore a more central position in the Wall's management. Thus, by the 3rd Plan (2008–2014), while the conservation of the monument was acknowledged as the bedrock on which all else would be built, it became only one of the six areas of interest (i.e. reasons for management): planning and protection; conservation, farming and land management; access and transport; visitor facilities, presentation and tourism; education and learning; and research (2008/14, 4). Such an expanded recognition of interests has made the management of the Wall significantly more complex and has required an equal expansion in the number and expertise of those who participate in, and implement, the management of the Site.

This is a massive change in approach and the Getty Conservation Institute's review of the management of the Wall identified the management system as 'consensual' (Mason et al. 2003, p. 37). However, the change from essentially top-down management as epitomised in the early history of the first Management Plan (although with consultation) should be regarded as a transformation to *collective*, but not necessarily *consensual*, management; as McGlade comments "Differences between partner organisations are inevitable but . . . it's always better to have a discussion, robust if necessary, rather than to ignore the issue. . ." (Chap. 6, p. 59). In order for collective management to be successful, it may not always be possible to achieve a full consensus, but for it to be effective it must be transparent, consultative and open to debate. Only through such an approach can trust, essential to good collective management, be achieved. We now have a position where those most directly involved with the Wall, as represented on the Management Plan Committee (MPC), have not only identified issues that need addressing during the lifetime of a Management Plan, but also have the authority, and responsibility, to take action and monitor and measure their success.

It could be argued that the process championed in the 3rd Management Plan of giving responsibility for the functions of identifying and addressing management issues, and of monitoring and measuring success, to the same individuals is a recipe for self-congratulatory smugness and stasis. On the contrary, by combining these functions this approach demands they are undertaken responsibly. Most importantly, the approach bestows trust on those accepting the responsibility. The approach has already influenced and modified general heritage management practice, with English Heritage, building on a pilot at Vindolanda, allowing those managing the National Trail to work under the so-called 'generic consent', thereby removing the burdensome requirement of having to submit multiple applications for scheduled monument consent (i.e. permission to undertake work on a Scheduled Ancient Monument). Generic consent gives the responsibility to undertake limited conservation intervention, easing the official system to provide better management (Chap. 6). This approach became part of English Heritage's proposals for Heritage Reform under

the last government and has now been carried into law with provisions for class consents and Heritage partnerships (which identify works which do not require specific consent) in the Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act 2013, a clear example of the national impact of management practice on Hadrian's Wall.

There are, of course, external agencies (not least the UK Government and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), through the latter's periodic reporting cycle) that would be quick to point out deficiencies or omissions if major failings became apparent. Nevertheless, the real success of the management of Hadrian's Wall over the period covered in this book can be claimed and identified as the emergence of an environment where most, perhaps now all, stakeholders accept and believe in the collective management, with responsibility, of the Site. Rightly or wrongly, those who signed up to, or at least accepted, the first plan did so in the knowledge that, if anything went dramatically wrong, someone else (presumably English Heritage) would carry the responsibility. This is no longer the case and that is a major transformation.

Missed Opportunities

The above discussion notwithstanding, with the 20/20 vision of hindsight, as noted earlier, it is clear that there have been missed opportunities. Such failures, if missed opportunity can be so defined, are perhaps an inevitable result of the pioneering nature of much of the management of the Wall. The build-up to the 1st Plan was, as we have seen, riddled with controversy and mistrust of the stated agenda of a national conservation body (Chap. 4). This may have been a failure on the part of English Heritage to anticipate how its good intentions might be misinterpreted; it may equally have been a failure by some of those involved to accept there was no hidden agenda behind the early drafts of the first plan; it almost certainly reflected an intrinsic fear and mistrust of change. Nevertheless, of perhaps greater relevance was the fact that those involved, both from English Heritage and locally, were treading new, totally untested ground. Yes, the 1st Plan could have been much stronger, could have integrated management more fully and could have been a stronger platform for holistic Wall-wide co-operation, but actually, given its initial reception it was, in reality, a quite astonishing feat of compromise that identified a future direction of travel: opportunity missed, opportunity taken.

The opportunities provided by the involvement of the RDAs, perhaps more obviously, utterly failed to deliver anything like their full potential. If the enormous political and financial leverage and power of the RDAs had been harnessed in collaboration with the developing synergy along the Wall, epitomised in the second plan, so much more could have been achieved in terms of higher investment, greater consensus, better co-ordinated management activity and simply more work being delivered. However, through their actions the RDAs made it impossible for any trust to develop. Why the RDAs essentially ignored the good advice of the Tourism Partnership and others and effectively, perhaps consciously, decided to *impose*, rather

than work collaboratively *for*, change remains a total mystery: it was certainly anything but collective management. It may have been, as suggested by some, that the RDAs were staffed by those who knew nothing of, or cared little or nothing for, local knowledge and experience. It may have been that they believed that they knew best and had a monopoly on ‘strategic thinking’, that they, and their London-based and (in the eyes of many) disengaged consultants, had the right vision for the Wall and that they felt they had to impose the correct management structure that would allow the vision to be delivered. It may have been that the RDAs really believed that those involved along the Wall were unwilling and intransigent locals who did not understand the political and economic realities and as a result were blocking the potential of the Wall from being realised.

The particular events along the Wall perhaps reflected a wider discord between central authority, driven by Key Performance Indicators, economic targets and an almost obsession with monitoring, measuring and reporting, and those with the day-to-day responsibility of local delivery. This disjuncture, between central authority and those at the interface of delivery, was seen across the UK from school and university education, to public service providers such as the Police, to the National Health Service. The RDAs personified this central authority approach and actually may have been institutionally incapable of interacting with stakeholders along the Wall in a flexible, consensual way. By 2003, only 5 years after they had been created, the RDAs were already coming under significant pressure from the central government to deliver or be disbanded. As a clear consequence, the RDA view may have been, in fact *was*, that they had regional economic targets and regeneration performance indicators to meet, that Hadrian’s Wall was an obvious vehicle to deliver these and that they had to drive through reform in the short timescales demanded of them by the central government. All this was to be done for the benefit of the local population—effectively whether that population liked it or not. As put to me several times during the period of the Major Study, RDA staff had little time for the ‘touchy-feely’ consensus building, regarded as essential practice for success along the Wall since the initial reaction to the 1st Management Plan, but rather had to get on and *deliver*.

As a consequence, from the earliest meetings in 2002, the RDAs approached the management of the Wall with the grace and agility of a blind and aggressive bull in a shop full of the most expensive and delicate china. Perhaps the greatest problem stemming from this was the failure to include, and lock-in, the Local Authorities in the management of the Wall as part of the creation of Hadrian’s Wall Heritage Ltd (HWHL); the assumption of the RDAs that they would always be there and therefore did not need local authority support is, in retrospect, astonishing. This failure was to prove almost terminal for HWHL when the RDAs were disbanded and it was only deft negotiation at the ‘eleventh hour’ (and beyond) that saved an, albeit much reduced, overarching presence along the Wall, which has transposed into the Hadrian’s Wall Trust (HWT; Chaps. 7 and 8). Time will tell if this hastily applied, last-minute local authority-financed intervention will be enough to allow the Trust to continue to operate. There is no guarantee that even the reduced remit of the Trust is viable in the medium term without substantial private investment. The last-minute Local Authority investment has provided the breathing space for the Trust to convince

the Authorities of its value for money (and thus of the need for the Authorities to continue to underwrite its existence) and to search for external funding. The fact that the Local Authorities were able to identify funding to ensure the, albeit limited, future of the Trust, at a time when they were the recipients of swinging budget cuts from the central government, underlines the importance of the Wall to the economy of the region and vindicates the RDA's original identification of the Wall as crucial to their work.

The response at the time of those involved in the management of the Wall was equally frustrating, and yet fully understandable, given the secretive and almost Machiavellian approach taken by the RDAs. Yet, frustratingly, had the two groups been able to work closely together the speed of change would almost certainly have been quicker and much more might have been achieved. As it was, the near contempt the RDAs showed for the expertise and experience of potential partners contrived to turn them into reluctant, and on occasion, obstructive and belligerent adversaries. Some of this was undoubtedly due to individuals and their personal opinions and *modus operandi*. It was more perhaps a reflection of two different, and unstable, worlds colliding. Unstable, as those already involved in the management of the Wall were still in the very early stages of coming together as a cohesive, collective force (a process actually speeded up and intensified by the perceived threat posed by the RDAs), while, as noted above, the RDAs themselves were searching, increasingly desperately and ineffectively, for evidence to justify their very existence to the central government. Given this situation, it is perhaps churlish to identify missed opportunities, as we should rather be celebrating the positive elements that did come from the Major Study that should be regarded as significant achievements. Nevertheless, it cannot be avoided that much more could have been achieved. If a clear lesson is to be learned from the period of the Major Study, it is that top-down, uninformed, centrally driven management without stakeholder acceptance is extremely unlikely to reap the full potential of invested effort.

The Future

The collective management that has developed along the Wall since the mid-1990s has been without doubt motivated by varying agendas and aspirations on the part of stakeholders. However, it is underlined by an increasing acceptance that management needs to be holistic and integrated. For most of those on the MPC, management is no longer something done by a small group but is part and parcel of the work and responsibility of all of the interests represented on the MPC: holistic management is delivered though *all* of the MPC's Interest Groups. Thus, for example, for most partners along the Wall, provision of high-quality visitor services is no longer regarded as something added to a site or museum managed by one partner but is accepted as an integral part of the management of that particular site or museum (see Chap. 9). With such a mindset, the management of the Wall should move from strength to strength in the years to come with the Interest Groups overlapping and providing a sum greater than their constituent parts.

At the same time, such a ‘maturity of management’ should enable management to move on from a totally inwardly looking perspective (how to manage the World Heritage Site or even parts of the Site) and embrace an equally important outwardly focussed perspective. A clear example of this is the emerging responsibility towards, and integration of, the management of Hadrian’s Wall into the management of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) World Heritage Site. There is a real challenge and, equally, an opportunity, here. Young (Chap. 3) notes that the whole management of World Heritage is showing signs of strain and points out the lack of clear guidance on some issues from the World Heritage Centre and the World Heritage Committee. However, to paraphrase President Kennedy, surely World Heritage Sites should not be asking what inscription can do for them, but rather what they, as individual World Heritage Sites, can do for UNESCO; how good inward management can be built upon to have an outward-looking perspective. Obviously, one World Heritage Site, (even a transnational one) cannot change the world, and the lead must come from the World Heritage Centre and Committee. However, one Site *can* provide exemplary practice to be used as an example by the Centre and Committee. In 2005, when visiting the UNESCO Regional Office in Bangkok, and with my host totally unaware of any links I might have with the Wall, the 1996 Plan was taken off the shelf and presented as aspirational practice. The management of Hadrian’s Wall and of World Heritage in general has moved on—but there is nothing to suggest that the developed practice epitomised in the 3rd Plan (and beyond) should not continue to be at the forefront of (World) heritage management. The only things preventing this are lack of ambition, failure to recognise this opportunity and lack of resources. While the latter is obviously crucial, it is more often than not the case that resources follow the identification of opportunities and the ambition to realise them. This ambition must be established, consolidated and sustained.

It is clear that the management of the Wall will continue to throw up challenges. Not surprisingly, Breeze (Chap. 2) champions the need for further archaeological investigation of the Wall, while at the same time Allason-Jones (Chap. 9) warns of overflowing museum stores incapable of assimilating the finds from future major excavations. Young (Chap. 3) identifies a failure on the part of all World Heritage Sites in the UK to effectively engage with UNESCO’s educational aspirations, and the failure of the Tourism Partnership’s Community and Education team to produce a strong educational legacy is a significant regret that must be addressed by the HWT as soon as possible. Tuttielt (Chap. 8) notes that HWT has the opportunity to move on from the legacy of mistrust inherited from the Major Study by HWHL. This opportunity must be seized with both hands and integral to the opportunity being realised is the continuation of the close working relationship between the MPC and the Trust. As Tuttielt (Chap. 8) suggests the maintenance of effective communications and stakeholder engagement remains a huge challenge. A challenge openly accepted and engaged with by the Trust that was ignored by the RDAs. The MPC is, and in particular its Interest Groups are fundamental to the success of the HWT just as the Trust is fundamental to the continuing successful management of the Wall. To fail to maintain the embryonic close relationship would be disastrous and a significantly retrograde step. Tuttielt also notes (Chap. 8) the ever-present need to balance priorities

Fig. 12.1 The controversial reconstructed North Gate at Arbeia. (Copyright: Hadrian's Wall Trust)



with inadequate resources, while Brough and Scott (Chap. 11) anticipate that the challenges will only increase with the growth of the FRE World Heritage Site. There again, no one said heritage management should be easy and the model of collective management with responsibility that has emerged along the Wall should provide a flexible and reflective means of addressing these, and no doubt many other, future challenges.

Another iteration of the future challenge of responsibility *to* World Heritage, and through it *to* UNESCO, is responsibility through interpretation. Over the past hundred or so years, archaeological activity along the Wall led to the establishment of a number of site museums (Chap. 9). It should be no surprise that these museums reflected their own collections, the bulk of which related to the Roman Army and its deployment along the Wall. The interpretation in these museums therefore naturally extrapolated from the specific collections to discuss the Roman army, the Frontier and the Empire. These disparate developments were managed, essentially in isolation, by a variety of national and regional agencies and local Trusts, with little if any regard for the interpretation at other museums along the Wall. Much of this interpretation was 'text-book standard'—worthy, but perhaps a little dull. Some were not only 'cutting edge' but seriously controversial: in one instance various stakeholders took different sides in a public inquiry set up to determine whether or not *in situ* reconstruction should be allowed when Tyne and Wear Museums applied for permission to build a reconstruction of the gateway at Arbeia fort (Fig. 12.1).

However, as noted in several reports and the Major Study, on-site interpretation suffered from the same disjointed approach. As collective management emerged and developed, this approach was simply not practical, and HWHL should be congratulated on the development of the *Interpretation Framework* (Chap. 10). The Framework provides a massive opportunity to provide visitors with an integrated interpretation 'offer' along the length of the Wall—inward-looking management through interpretation. However, as noted above, with opportunity comes responsibility: those involved should not, *must* not, restrict their work, however important, to inward-looking management—only producing differentiated interpretation of the Roman past in order to tempt visitors to visit multiple paying sites, thereby attracting them to stay in the region for longer and thus contributing more fully to the local

and regional economies. This, in itself, is, of course, extremely important but based on the success of such inward-looking management, outward-looking management through interpretation should investigate how interpretation of the Roman past can resonate with the present and future.

Many, if not all, Sites on the World Heritage List wear the World Heritage badge with pride and, where possible, use it to attract more visitors and as an economic asset (although see Rebanks 2009 and PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007 on whether World Heritage status delivers real economic value to all Sites on the List). While, this is only one aspect of World Heritage status, it should surely be at the heart of the management of all World Heritage Sites. It is admittedly big picture stuff—much bigger, in fact, than the aspirations of the Major Study. We need to remember that the opening lines of the UNESCO Constitution suggest that ‘Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.’ In order that a unanimous, lasting and genuine peace may be secured, the Preamble declares that the States Party to the Constitution believes ‘in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge’ (UNESCO 1945). While archaeologists and others have long questioned the possibility of ever finding ‘objective truth’ (e.g. Ucko 1989), the message and rallying cry are clear. On a daily basis, the link may be subsumed within the details of practical management and delivery (inward management), but it should not be forgotten that *everything* that UNESCO does should support this aspiration—outward management. Taking interpretation as an example, the implication for World Heritage Sites and their management is, or should be, significant. It would be unrealistic to think that every World Heritage Site could make a major contribution to the development of world peace, but it is not unrealistic to ask every World Heritage Site to look beyond its narrow chronological or topical focus. It should not be forgotten that the fourth of Tilden’s seminal Six Principles of Interpretation states that ‘The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation’ (Tilden 1977, 8 and 9). By managing through interpretation, we should be aspiring to send visitors away discussing, debating and questioning significance and meaning.

World Heritage Sites are inscribed for their outstanding universal value (OUV) to all humankind and the OUV of the FRE relates to the Roman past. However, this is not to say that this OUV cannot, and should not, be brought into the present and related to our lives today. The Living Wall element of the new Roman Gallery at Tullie House Museum in Carlisle does just this (Fig. 12.2). Here, the Roman Wall is compared to walls and other frontiers that have been constructed across the world and through time. It nestles side by side with the Great Wall of China, the American/Mexican fence, the Berlin Wall, the wall in Palestine and many others existing today from around the world of which, to my shame, I had never even heard of, nor even understood. With eyewitness evidence from historic texts and living individuals, the exhibition explores the impact of such boundaries and asks, implicitly, how and what they achieve and what they signify. One visitor was moved to confess in feedback that ‘I have been visiting Hadrian’s Wall for 30 years but I had never *thought about it before*’ (his emphasis). This is excellent, provocative, interpretation of the highest

Fig. 12.2 The 'Living wall' at Tullie House Museum in the newly refurbished Roman Gallery; interpretation at its best. (Copyright: Redman Design)



calibre of which Tilden would be proud. However, staff at Tullie House are the first to admit that they only made this bold step away from traditional interpretation with the support of the team at HWHL and because the exhibition could be fitted into, indeed was itself provoked by, the overall *Interpretation Framework*. This was collective outward-looking management through interpretation, with staff from both organisations working closely with the strong support of the MPC. And this is what not only Hadrian's Wall, as part of the FRE World Heritage Site, but also *all* World Heritage Sites should be looking to achieve. Cultural World Heritage Sites should not be allowed to reflect on and interpret only their particular chronological, historical story; they should not be allowed to be managed with an inward perspective only. If a place has outstanding universal value for all humankind, it must surely be encouraged to reflect on this universal value in the contemporary world. To do any less is to shirk responsibility; and if the transformation in management with respect to Hadrian's Wall over the past 20 plus years has taught us anything it is that with management, comes responsibility.

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Index

A

Aerial photographs collections, 90
Antiquarians, 96
Antiquarians Society of, 93
Antiquaries collections, 91
Antonine Wall, 9–12, 83, 118, 122
Archaeological artefacts, 92, 94
Archaeological collections, 92
Archaeological heritage management, 2, 3
Archaeological monuments, 1, 4
Artefacts, 89–91, 95–98
Artefacts collections, 89
Avebury, 23

B

British Tourist Authority (BTA), 36

C

Carlisle Literary and Philosophical Institute, 92
Centre for Interpretation Studies, 103
Consultative Committee, 22
Countryside Agency,
Countryside Commission, 22, 23, 34, 48, 49

D

Dartington Report, 22, 48

E

English Heritage, 2, 5, 18, 22–24, 26, 27, 31, 35, 49, 66–68, 72, 74, 79, 80, 85, 86, 95, 99, 100, 109, 112, 128
Fowler's concerns of, 6
intentions of, 23
lacunae of, 129
management of, 33
English Heritage's Co-ordination Unit, 128

European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), 65

F

Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) management group, 119
Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) World Heritage Site, 115, 117–123, 132, 133, 135
aspirations of, 120
challenges and objectives of, 121
developments in, 119
functioning of, 124
future of, 125
issues of, 124
management of, 124
objectives of, 120
purpose of, 115
scope of, 124
Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site, 3, 83, 102

G

Getty Conservation Institute, 128
Grassland management approach, 56

H

Hadrian's Wall, 1, 4, 9, 11–13, 23, 34, 35, 69, 80, 81, 89, 101, 104–107, 109–111, 134
artefacts of, 89
as a World Heritage Site, 19, 21, 67, 68
building of, 9, 10
campaigns of, 35
conservation of, 21
history of, 9
management of, 13, 21, 31, 64, 70, 127, 129, 132
management system of, 31
museums of, 99

narrative potential of, 112
 research on, 13, 22
 Hadrian's Wall Advisory Committee, 22
 Hadrian's Wall Advisory Panel, 23
 Hadrian's Wall bus service, 36
 Hadrian's Wall Conference, 2009, 80
 Hadrian's Wall Consultative Committee, 22, 48
 Hadrian's Wall Country, 82
 Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd (HWHL), 71, 72, 74, 75, 79, 82, 83, 85, 101, 102, 130, 132
 evaluation of, 81
 funding of, 83
 working strategies of, 81
 Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework, 86
 Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Strategy, 70
 Hadrian's Wall Major Study, 68, 101
 Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Committee (MPC), 23
 Hadrian's Wall museums, 100
 Hadrian's Wall museums working party, 95
 Hadrian's Wall National Trail, 49
 developments in, 35, 86
 project of, 55
 Hadrian's Wall Tourism Partnership, 4, 23, 27, 33, 34, 36, 63, 99, 101, 105
 developments in, 4
 Hadrian's Wall Trust (HWT), 85, 130, 132
 Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, 34, 84
 management plan, 48, 99
 Heritage Lottery Fund, 18, 29, 81
 Heritage management, 1, 2, 4, 132, 133
 concepts of, 123
 practices of, 128
 traditions and practices of, 122, 123
 understanding of, 128
 Historic buildings and monuments commission, 2

I

Interest Groups, 26, 66, 75, 76, 131, 132
 Interpretation Framework, 4, 96, 103, 105, 107, 111, 112, 133, 135
 definition of, 102
 developments in, 94

K

Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), 82, 130

L

Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 91

M

Major Study, 3, 68–71, 73, 75, 79–81, 101, 102, 105, 127, 130–134
 criticisms of, 3
 key proposal in, 102
 Management Plan, 1, 3, 4, 19, 30, 31, 63, 67, 73, 75, 90, 102, 104, 111, 124, 127, 128, 130
 focus of, 5
 for Hadrian's wall, 23
 implementations of, 19
 policies of, 27
 Management Plan Committee (MPC), 27, 30, 67, 80, 90, 99, 101, 128
 Management Plan of 1996
 development of, 31
 effectiveness of, 29
 Management Plan of 2002
 effectiveness of, 30
 Military Way, 11
 Museum collections, 95, 133
 Museum of Antiquities, 92
 Museums, 74, 82, 89, 90, 98, 99
 developments in, 92

N

National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, 47
 National Trail, 4, 5, 12, 13, 22, 34, 49–51, 56, 59, 63, 66, 70, 72, 127, 128
 developments in, 47, 65
 fiscal aspects of, 86
 implementation project of, 50
 management of, 60
 monitoring sites of, 52
 projects on, 29
 proposals of, 23
 National trails, 48
 Natural England, 54, 60, 75, 81, 85, 86
 North east regional tourism strategy, 81
 Northumbria Tourist Board (NTB), 34, 68

O

Operational Guidelines, 17, 18, 118
 Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), 16, 72, 116, 118, 134, 135
 standards of, 118

R

Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), 64, 66, 112, 127

interventions of, 66
 oppurtunities in, 129
 perception of, 65
 Regional Development Agencies Act, 1998,
 64
 Roman archaeology, 120
 Roman Empire, 11, 90, 103, 110, 112
 frontiers of, 121
 Roman frontier system, 118

S

Sandford principle, 50
 Scheduled Monument Consent, 128
 Serial world heritage sites, 115
 Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne,
 92, 96, 99
 Society's archaeological collection, 92
 Stakeholders, 4, 19, 22–24, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35,
 63, 65, 66, 68–71, 75, 81, 85, 111, 127,
 129, 131, 133

T

Tourism Partnership, 66, 69–71, 90
 Trail's development and management strategy
 principles of, 51
 Trail's generic scheduled monument consent,
 52
 Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, 105,
 133

U

United Nations Educational, Scientific and
 Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 1,
 15–18, 20, 67, 80, 85, 129, 132, 133

constitution of, 134
 conventions of, 90
 initiatives of, 15
 missions of, 19
 role of, 20
 Upper German-Raetian Limes, 83, 115, 122

V

Value-led conservation planning, 1

W

World Heritage
 in sustainable development, 19
 role of UNESCO in, 20
 World Heritage Centre, 17, 118
 World Heritage Committee, 16, 132
 World Heritage Convention, 1, 16, 17, 116
 objectives of, 17
 UK's involvement in, 18
 World Heritage Fund, 16
 World Heritage inscription, 89
 World Heritage List, 2, 16, 18, 19, 116, 134
 World Heritage Site Management Plan, 23
 World Heritage Site, 1–3, 16, 26, 85, 90, 100,
 105, 111, 118, 119, 121–124, 132, 134
 economic potential of, 65
 management of, 17, 84, 89, 102, 121
 managing costs of, 85
 requirements of, 3
 significance of, 30
 World heritage status, 16, 19
 economic impact of, 5
 World Heritage Trust
 creation of, 16