1 Archaeology and Tourism: Consuming, Managing and Protecting the Human Past

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Introduction

Human beings have a long history of mobility for many social and economic purposes, including hunting and fishing, trade, warfare, celebrations and religious pilgrimages. Some archaeologists believe the Turkish site of Göbekli Tepe (10th–8th millennium BCE) to be one of the earliest spiritual gathering places or centers of worship ever discovered. Evidence of religious pilgrimages has also been found from the Vedic age in northern India (c. 1500–500 BCE) during the early stages of Hinduism. Pilgrimages thrived during the Middle Ages in Asia and Europe, although portrayals of this as an early form of tourism have focused largely on the movement of Christians between Europe and Jerusalem, and throughout the lands of the Bible, until the 16th-century Christian Reformation prohibited pilgrimage travel for many Europeans.

Other types of tourism also have a long history. There are records of pleasure travel and 'sightseeing' in Egypt as early as 1500 years BCE (Casson, 1994). During antiquity and the Middle Ages, social elites traveled for 'holiday-making'. Many ancient accounts suggest that nobility, merchants, traders and the aristocracy during antiquity traveled to see sites and places that were already considered quite old. The seven wonders of the ancient world were important destinations during the Greek and Roman empires. In fact, the earliest Greek guidebooks included descriptions and travelers' reviews of the Egyptian Pyramids, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Mausoleum of Mausolus, the Ishtar Gate and the Statue of Zeus at Olympia (Timothy, 2011).

As well, the Grand Tour of Europe (17th–19th centuries) was an activity wherein young aristocratic males traveled to various European destinations on set itineraries to view great works of art, historic cities, ancient ruins, and to learn from the artistic masters. This became a right of passage for many youth of the upper classes and is frequently cited as the early forerunner to modern-day tourism (Towner, 1985). The destination foci of the Grand Tour, the sightseeing and holidaymaking activities during classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, and the contemporary manifestations of modern tourism, as exemplified by Thomas Cook in 19th-century Great Britain, almost always pointed to archaeological sites and other parts of the historic environment.

Even today, archaeology remains one of the most ubiquitous assets of present-day tourism, and many worldwide destinations depend largely, or almost entirely, on archaeological remains and other heritage for their tourism economies. While cultural heritage covers a very broad range of resources, of particular interest in this book is built and tangible heritage, namely archaeology. Although heritage and archaeology are not synonymous, they are overlapping concepts; in fact, the archaeological record is part of the broader realm of heritage (Emerick, 2009). This introductory chapter provides an overview of many of the issues in the crossover between tourism and archaeology and sets the conceptual tone for the remainder of the book. It first examines the relationship between archaeology and heritage, suggesting that they are not synonymous but overlapping. The chapter then examines several of the many relationships between archaeology and tourism, and highlights the contents of the book.

Archaeology and Heritage

Archaeology is the scientific field that studies humankind's past activities by analyzing remnants of material culture. It utilizes techniques, concepts, theories and interpretive tools from the social sciences, physical sciences and humanities. Archaeologists seek to understand past and present human behavior, the origins of humans and their cultures, and the ways in which societies develop over time (Ashmore & Sharer, 2014). Archaeologists use manufactured tools, bones, burial sites, food remains, buildings and other artifacts to discover how people lived in the past and to draw parallels to how we live today. Their work is typically done in three main phases: site surveys to learn as much as possible about the area under study, excavations to uncover buried cultural artifacts or assessments of uncovered buildings and artifacts, and data analysis and publishing the findings.

Site surveys may involve remote sensing to analyze satellite imagery, aerial photographs and drone images, as well as surface surveys. This often entails soil sampling, 'shovel tests', radar and laser checks, metal detecting and other similar exercises. Excavations involve digging layers of strata, artifact discovery, measuring and recording contexts, photographing, sifting soil and cleaning. Data analysis requires researchers to catalogue and compare the results with previous findings; artifacts are also dated and their compositions studied. Many different tests are available to evaluate the biotic and abiotic composition of artifacts and estimate their ages (Ashmore & Sharer, 2014).

Contrary to popular belief, not all archaeologists or archaeological studies utilize buried artifacts in their quests for knowledge. Many also analyze historic buildings above ground and their environs, landscapes and settings to understand past social and cultural contexts. All material remnants of human civilizations are important parts of the archaeological record. In fact, although mainstream archaeology continues to use the material past as scientific evidence and discovery, some archaeologists are increasingly interested in intangible culture as a means of understanding the broader cultural context of archaeological remains (Akagawa & Smith, 2019; Carman, 2009; Smith & Akagawa, 2009).

There is a wide range of sub-disciplines in archaeology. These are frequently classified by geographical/regional specialization (e.g. Near Eastern archaeology), particular cultures or civilizations (e.g. Assyriology), chronological concentrations (e.g. Neolithic archaeology), specific themes (e.g. Biblical archaeology), methods (e.g. carbon dating), purposes (e.g. rescue archaeology) or materials (e.g. stone tools). Although not all of them are noted here, there are many other ways of categorizing archaeological specialties.

Concerns over protecting the archaeological record led to the establishment of a specific field known as cultural resource management (CRM) or cultural heritage management (CHM) during the 1970s, with archaeology being among the most important tools used by CHM specialists (Emerick, 2009). CRM/CHM derived originally from the subfield of rescue archaeology and is primarily concerned with the protection, documentation and assessment, curation, interpretation, preservation and restoration of archaeological remains. More recently, it includes efforts to protect and interpret intangible culture. This subfield of archaeology also draws heavily on history, anthropology, geography, and ecology to understand how best to analyze and protect the built environment and intangible heritage. The employment of CRM as a professional field also entails working with archaeology consumers, including tourists.

Public archaeology, or community archaeology, is a way of practicing the science that is 'by the people, for the people'. While community archaeology has existed in one form or another for decades (e.g. volunteer archaeology), the term and its practice became particularly popular during the 1970s in the United States, the United Kingdom and other areas of Europe and the Middle East. While it initially meant publicly funded explorations, the term has since come to represent an approach to archaeology that democratizes heritage by engaging the public in archaeological work through participation in excavations and building assessments, tours of sites and digs, public lectures, interpretive programs and archaeological site-oriented events and activities.

Through these outreach actions, the archaeological record becomes better embedded in the community with the aim of stimulating public awareness and interest in heritage, increasing recognition for the need to protect archaeological resources, and helping people connect to their own heritage (Moshenska, 2017). This is especially important for descendent communities, such as indigenous peoples or diasporic groups, who might recognize the value of archaeology in connecting them with their ancestors and deepening their sense of place and rootedness (Davidson & Brandon, 2012). These participatory practices are also viewed as an important way to decolonize archaeology (Tahan, 2010a), which traditionally had been done in a top-down manner by the colonists largely for the good of the colonial metropoles.

This book is first and foremost about the relationships between tourism and archaeology. We recognize that archaeology and heritage are not synonymous, although we do acknowledge that archaeology and its practices and discoveries are a salient part of the much broader domain of heritage and have been considered such for many years (Watson, 2009). Heritage has been variously defined as the present-day use of the past and how modern societies value the past, both its tangible and intangible manifestations (Emerick, 2009; Graham *et al*., 2000; Timothy, 2011).

Waterton and Smith (2009) have suggested that heritage is more fluid than archaeology, that heritage is a cultural process rather than a measurable 'thing'. Thus, archaeological findings are objectively verified phenomena, whereas heritage reflects more dynamism, subjectivity and negotiable interpretations that may exclude certain communities and elements of the past while including others. This distinction is critical, because for archaeology purists, the vagaries, subjectivity and manipulation of heritage defile the purity of archaeology as the singular and accurate interpretation of material culture (Watson, 2009). From this perspective, then, archaeology itself alone is not heritage, but its use and the social 'collectivism' surrounding it may be manifestations of heritage (Fouseki, 2009), particularly in relation to how archaeology provides the fodder for the development (and manipulation) of popular memory, race and nationhood (Hodder, 2012; Watson, 2009; Wilson, 2009).

As previously noted in relation to CRM/CHM, many contemporary archaeologists study the broader notion of heritage to understand the human past more holistically and within broader sociocultural, economic, political and historical contexts. For the purposes of this book, archaeology and heritage are not synonymous. However, the archaeological record as it is used today is part of a long tradition of conflating heritage and archaeology within the cultural industries and in the field of cultural heritage management (Watson, 2009). Thus, the use of archaeology can be seen as part of the broader heritage movement. Although the focus of this book is archaeology, concepts related to other aspects of heritage manifest as well in a variety of settings that are highlighted throughout the book. The very utilization of archaeology and its findings by the tourism industry by definition reflects the heritagization process and renders them a consumable heritage commodity.

Archaeology and Tourism: Relationships and Perspectives

Tourism has several direct relationships with archaeology, but perhaps the most obvious one is cultural artifacts as regional assets for tourism. Many worldwide destinations boast of their archaeological heritage in their marketing activities and branding efforts, where iconic national symbols are imbued with images of famous ancient monuments (Holtorf, 2007). For example, tourism in India is nearly always associated with the Taj Mahal. Peru's tourism is closely attached to images of Machu Picchu and Jordan's tourism is linked to Petra, just as China's tourism is aligned with the Great Wall (Figure 1.1). While tourism that is composed largely of visits to historic sites and archaeological parks is part of the broader concept of heritage tourism, or cultural tourism, several scholars have begun examining it as a unique niche form of tourism that focuses specifically on archaeological localities, ruins and remnants, so that it is more narrowly defined (Babalola & Ajekigbe, 2007; Giraudo & Porter, 2010; Li

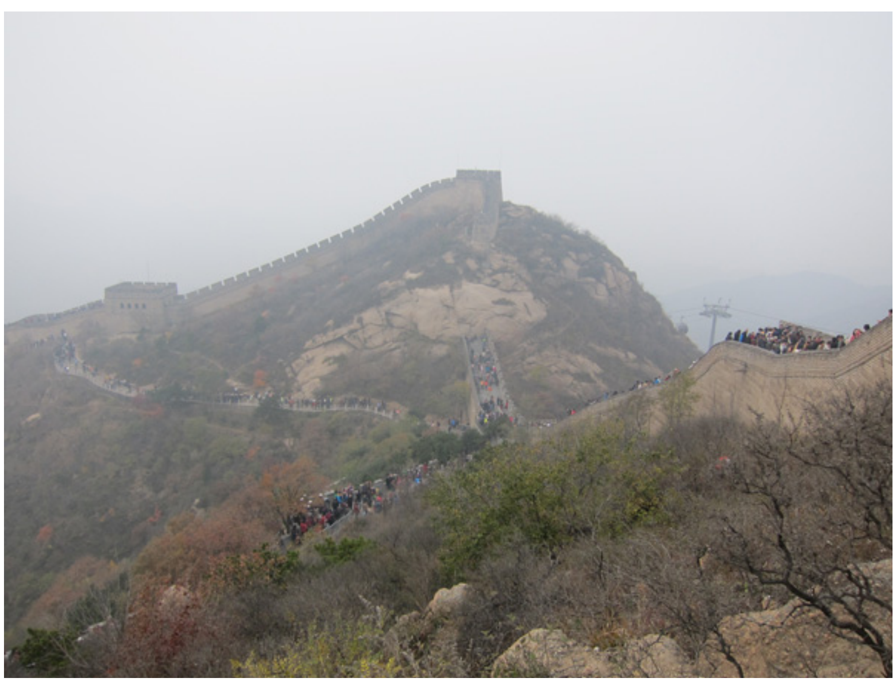

Figure 1.1 The Great Wall of China is an iconic symbol of tourism in China (Photo: Dallen J. Timothy)

& Qian, 2017; Wurz & van der Merwe, 2005) than the broader notion of heritage tourism, which also includes living cultures (Timothy, 2011).

The most common archaeology-related heritage assets that form the tourism product include ruins and archaeological dig sites, ancient monuments, historic buildings, museums, industrial archaeology and interpretive centers. Most tourists see what has already been excavated, restored and preserved and often appears as part of an archaeological park. At other sites, digs are in progress, which enables tourists to see the activities of archaeologists and learn from the scientific process (Ramsey & Everitt, 2008) (Figure 1.2). Archaeology-based tourism occurs in a wide range of physical settings, including national parks, national monuments, archaeological parks and active dig sites. Archaeological work is happening nearly everywhere – wherever there has been past human activity. While every country has an archaeological record, or at least cultural remains, several countries have become famous archaeological locations and subsequently famous destinations for archaeology enthusiasts. Geographic scale, or reach, is an important consideration in this regard. A handful of countries are home to some of the world's best-known archaeological icons. Among these are Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, China, Palestine, the United Kingdom, Cambodia, Thailand and India. The Roman Forum is one of Italy's tourism claims to fame. The same is true of Stonehenge in England and Angkor Wat in Cambodia. However, even the smallest countries have archaeological remains that are an important part of their national

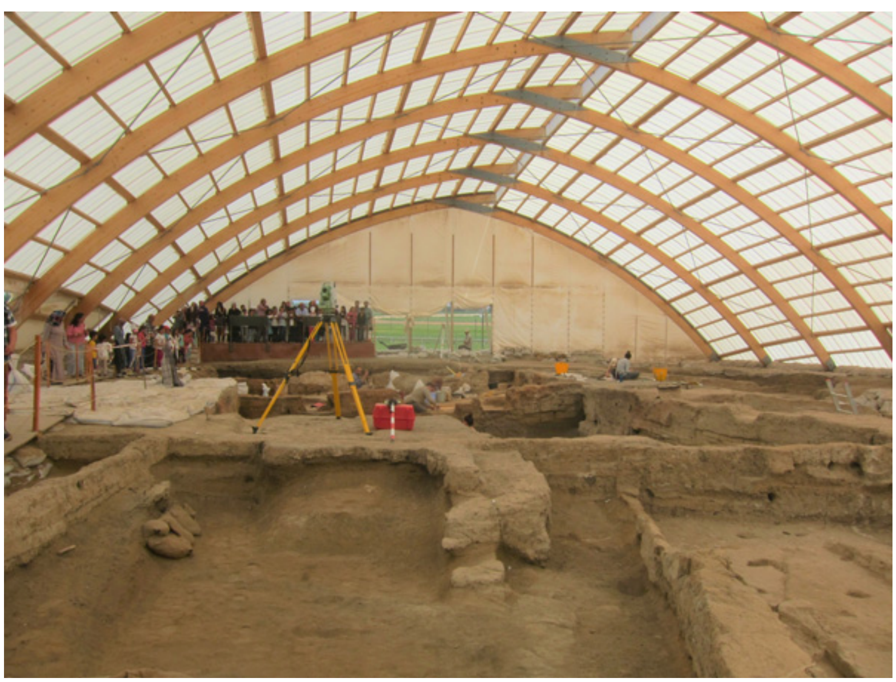

Figure 1.2 Tourists visiting the active excavation site of Çatalhöyük, Turkey (Photo: Dallen J. Timothy)

identities. While the cultural artifacts of Liechtenstein and Monaco might not wield a sense of global importance, they are certainly of national importance as they help justify the existence of these improbable micro-states and materialize the foundations of their national heritagescapes.

The tourism market for heritage sites has been well researched over the years (Adie & Hall, 2017; Jewell & Crotts, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The motives for visiting archaeological and other historic localities vary widely from person to person and site to site. Many people visit for educational reasons – informal education as they seek edification and experience, and formal education, when such visits are required as part of a prescribed school curriculum. Other people visit to fulfil their curiosity about a place, person or event, while some consumers drop in to satisfy a personal interest or hobby. Timothy (2011) suggests that motivations for visiting can be seen on a spectrum. On one end are deep-seated motivations of personal interest that cause people to visit heritage sites to learn or become immersed in something beyond their normal routines. These may be referred to as serious or hard-core heritage enthusiasts, who meticulously prepare for their visits by studying and planning. On the opposite end, casual heritage consumers often visit archaeological sites to use up excess time, stop by because they happened upon an interesting locality along the route, or desire to take a 'selfie' in front of a well-known monument as part of their broader tour itinerary. Between these two extremes are various other types of tourists who may demonstrate varying degrees of interest in archaeology.

Although relatively few studies have been undertaken on the tourist demand for archaeological experiences specifically, the demand for archaeological attractions is very similar to the market for heritage sites in general (Blasco López *et al.*, 2020; Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006). The average ages of heritage visitors vary widely, depending on where they travel and the types of activities they undertake. Nonetheless, overall they tend to be middle-aged or slightly older than other tourist segments. They are generally better-educated, more affluent, stay longer in the destination and spend more money on average than other tourists do (Adie & Hall, 2017; Alzua *et al.*, 1998; Light & Prentice, 1994; Richards, 2001; Timothy, 2011).

Higher levels of education often translate into deeper desires to explore the world and experience archaeological remains as serious heritage tourists. Likewise, higher-than-average incomes facilitate archaeology enthusiasts to travel more frequently to exotic locations, in many cases, 'collecting' archaeological sites. While many heritage tourists visit sites that are somehow connected to them personally (Poria *et al.*, 2006; Timothy, 1997), such as monuments that commemorate a battle one's grandparent might have participated in, a farmstead where an ancestor farmed, or a familial village in a diasporic homeland, it is unlikely that ancient archaeological sites would be considered personal heritage among tourists today.

Tourism and archaeology: A natural symbiosis?

While many of the earliest 19th-century excavations were funded by private institutions or wealthy individuals, oftentimes so that they could accrue artifacts for their own collections and galleries, archaeological funding later fell under the primary domain of public institutions, national or regional governments. However, during the past half century, like many other public funding priorities, archaeology has suffered from government austerity measures, so that archaeological work is now funded largely by non-profit organizations/NGOs and membership societies.

Tourism has now become the standard operating procedure for many archaeological projects as it provides symbiotic economic benefits. For archaeology, tourism covers much of the cost of continued excavations and the protection of cultural resources (Ramsey & Everitt, 2008). In fact, nowadays tourism is frequently singled out as one of the primary justifications for digs, building analysis, interpretive programs, conservation efforts and public archaeology outreach. Entrance fees into museums and archaeological parks supplement many excavations and research projects throughout the world. In some localities, entrance tickets and visitor donations are the sole source of revenue that keeps the excavations in operation (Helmy & Cooper, 2002).

For tourism, beyond its scientific, educational and conservation value, the archaeological record also wields considerable economic value (Burtenshaw, 2015; Gould & Burtenshaw, 2014; Kinghorn & Willis, 2008). As previously noted, archaeological remains are among the most visited heritage attractions in the world and are an enormous engine for economic development (Giraudo & Porter, 2010). Babalola and Ajekigbe (2007) even suggest that archaeology-based tourism is a form of pro-poor tourism – that which can benefit all segments of society, including the impoverished. While archaeology's tourism value is obvious, less apparent are its socioeconomic values, including promoting resident well-being by providing recreational and volunteer opportunities, community buy-in and civic pride, and artifacts make localities more attractive for potential new residents and outside business investors.

Tourism growth and niche market development

Many archaeologists and other heritage stewards have traditionally scorned the idea of mass tourism, because tourism can be a destructive force and is sometimes seen as antithetical to the scientific discovery and conservation roles of archaeologists, cultural resource managers and curators (Burtenshaw, 2014; Deacon, 2006). However, there is a growing realization that tourism is justifiable as a funding source and a means of educating the public about the cultural past. Archaeology-based tourism is increasingly being recognized as a manifestation of public archaeology (Lenik, 2013; Newell, 2008), so despite some heritage managers' initial reluctance to become involved in tourism, many now see it as a necessity to ensure operational longevity.

Tourism has grown significantly and exponentially since the Second World War as transportation technology improved, borders became more open, families became more affluent, education levels increased, and the world in general became a smaller place. In 1950, approximately 25 million international journeys were taken. By 1990, the number of international trips had increased to 457 million, and in 2000, 698 million international arrivals were recorded. The year 2013 surpassed the 1 billion mark, and in 2017, 1.323 billion international trips were estimated to have occurred. Tourism has grown at a steady rate of 4–6% per annum, and it is forecasted to continue growing as more destinations open up to tourism and as more people are able to travel.

Much of the growth in tourism in general, and heritage tourism specifically, can be attributed to massive marketing efforts by destinations, promotional intermediaries, government agencies, and individual business owners. While there are ways in which marketing can effectively support the sustainable use of archaeological resources (Chhabra, 2010), most global destinations have adopted a blind promotion approach (boosterism) in which increasingly higher numbers of visitors are the ultimate goal through place branding.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, archaeological sites and other heritage remains have been the focus of massive branding efforts for decades, which has created iconic images of tourist destinations associated with certain heritage artifacts. Some countries have their own heritage brands. For instance, in the United States, the US National Park Service maintains the National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Landmarks program, both of which designate special places throughout the country as being particularly meaningful to the historic American identity, and may have a tourism value. At the international level, the most obvious brand is the UNESCO World Heritage Site identifier (Poria *et al*., 2011). Almost every country on earth has one or more World Heritage Sites (WHS). Several countries are clambering to inscribe as many of their historic localities as possible on the list, under the assumption that the UNESCO brand will somehow increase tourist visitation (Chih-Hai *et al*., 2010; Vargas, 2018), multiply government or international funding, and expand a region's cultural sophistication and national pride and identity on the world stage (Jimura, 2011; Tarawneh & Wray, 2017). Critics of the WHS brand have noted the overly political nature of UNESCO's inscription process and the concomitant favoritism, nepotism, and prejudices associated with it (Meskell, 2015; Vargas, 2018). In fact, according to Adie *et al*. (2018: 399), WHS designation's 'importance may be tied more to political interests than economic advancement'.

Several studies have concluded that WHS listing does not guarantee increased visitation. Most studies show a considerable mix of results in questioning whether or not the WHS trademark enhances arrivals (Adie *et al*., 2018; Buckley, 2004; Hall & Piggin, 2001; Huang *et al*., 2012).

One characteristic of 21st century tourism is the growth of niche tourisms, or at least the recent recognition of niche markets that might have already existed. Archaeotourism, as noted earlier, is recognized as a unique form of heritage tourism wherein the goal of traveling is to visit places of archaeological significance and to learn about the cultural heritage of places through excavations, displays and interpretive programs. Archaeology-based volunteer tourism is another important niche product that involves people paying their own travel costs and program fees, and donating time and energy to participate in archaeology fieldwork. Their motives may be altruistic, such as conservation mindedness and a desire to help the communities where the digs are located, or they may be more self-oriented, such as earning course credits, practicing a language, or experiencing a unique tourist destination.

A third niche market is religious tourism, which includes both pilgrims and non-pilgrim tourists. Religious tourists are prodigious consumers of archaeology. Many of the shrines and buildings they visit and worship in, or the relics they desire to see, are of ancient origin and built upon the ruins of previous historic structures. Much religious travel also venerates archaeological ruins that were once important holy places (e.g. the Cathedral of St Andrew, Scotland) or shrines that have been revered and continuously inhabited since ancient times (e.g. the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem).

Even the broad notion of sport tourism may have elements of archaeology, particularly when enthusiasts visit the cultural hearths of certain games, or early stadia and arenas, such as the famous handball courts of the Maya civilization in Mesoamerica (Magnoni *et al*., 2007) (Figure 1.3). Agritourism is another special interest form of tourism that involves visiting farms, participating in food production, and enjoying agricultural landscapes, and while this type of tourism is not commonly associated with archaeology, it sometimes is. For instance, the ancient rice terraces of East and Southeast Asia and the agricultural systems that formed them are part of an ancient agrarian system that continues to link the past with the present and has become a focal tourist attraction in places such as China, the Philippines and Indonesia (Sun *et al*., 2010, 2011).

Likewise, spa tourism has existed for centuries and became particularly popular during the Roman Empire in locations throughout Europe and the Middle East. While many ancient spa ruins have been excavated and function as generic heritage attractions, there remain several important spa destinations that have been in use since ancient times. For example, the thermal baths in Bath, England, which the Romans developed and frequented, were revived by the British aristocracy in the 17th century and

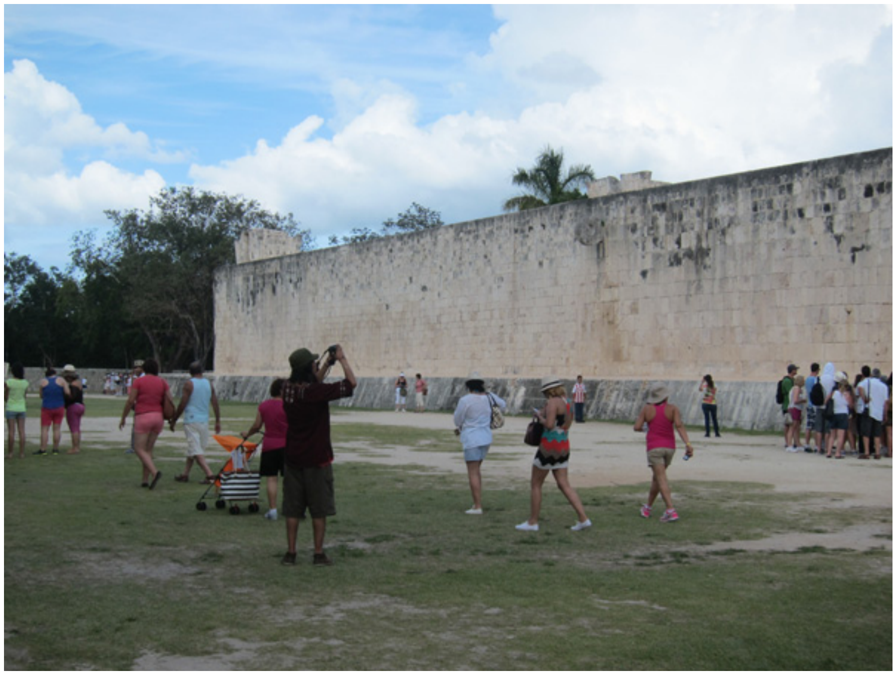

Figure 1.3 Handball courts at the ancient Maya city of Chichen Itza provide archaeological evidence of the ancient development of sport (Photo: Dallen J. Timothy)

have remained popular since that time (Murphy, 2012), although visitors are no longer permitted to swim in the original Roman bath due to health concerns. The city's thermal waters have been diverted to newer baths. Similarly, the therapeutic hot springs of Spa, Belgium, have been used continuously since the 14th century.

While many scholars have argued that niche types of tourism, special-interest tourism, and alternative forms of tourism (e.g. Agarwal *et al*., 2018; Novelli, 2005; Weaver, 2006) exhibit fewer of the negative impacts commonly attributed to mass tourism because they have smaller markets that are more narrowly focused, and are more sensitive in their behaviors, what we are now beginning to see is the growth of mass alternative tourism or mass special-interest tourism. This 'massification' of niche and special-interest tourisms generates the same problems and issues that face traditional leisure-oriented travel, including resource destruction.

The destruction of archaeology: Tourism and physical development

Tourism is widely acknowledged as a positive force from an economic development perspective. As previously noted, it brings in tax revenues, stimulates entrepreneurial activity and provides employment for destination residents. It can also help justify conservation and interpretive programs at archaeological sites. However, there is a distinct downside to tourism almost everywhere it occurs. Tourism brings in its wake many negative social, cultural and environmental challenges, which are exacerbated and magnified when tourism is allowed to grow spontaneously, without careful planning (Comer, 2014; Timothy, 1994, 1999).

Post-World War Two tourism grew organically in most cases, bringing with it discontent and discord in many destination communities, where residents began to despise outsiders and what they represented: disrespect, prostitution, drugs, crime and crowdedness. As well, tourists' demand for tangible artifacts and intangible culture caused living heritage to be altered to meet the needs of the visitors. Neocolonialist relationships underscored by socioeconomic inequity, advantage-taking and thuggery became the norm in many destinations, and many places became too reliant on tourism for their economic well-being, which is particularly problematic among small states that have few other development options.

Together with these socioeconomic and cultural challenges, mass tourism also caused the deterioration of natural and built environments, permanently affecting certain species of flora and fauna, and deteriorating the material culture substantially through graffiti, vandalism, excess rubbish, and physical wear and tear (Timothy, 1994, 2011; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009a). It should be noted, however, that ancient graffiti before the advent of mass tourism, is now recognized as part of the valued heritagescapes of many archaeological sites and monuments (Figure 1.4). At Luxor, Egypt, excessive visitation has caused increased moisture in the air, which has faded colors in some of the reliefs, and tourists climbing the pyramids, urinating on them, and entering structures that were marked off limits have damaged the ancient structures (Enseñat-Soberanis *et al.*, 2019). In ancient Petra, Jordan, masses of tourists walking on and touching delicate sandstone surfaces have severely damaged its sculptures and monuments (Comer, 2012; Mustafa & Abu Tayeh, 2011; Tarawneh & Wray, 2017) and the explosive growth of tourism in Cambodia since the 1990s has brought about many negative impacts on the temples of Angkor Wat (Winter, 2008).

While tourism is often faulted for its destructive characteristics, some scholars acknowledge that the industry also plays a role in conserving and protecting the past (Hoffman *et al.*, 2002). Earnings from tourism, as discussed previously in this chapter, not only help prolong the archaeological inquiry in a specific locality, they can also be utilized to effect conservation and restoration programs, including the establishment of archaeological parks and museums.

Clearly, tourism is not the only culprit of the destruction of the archaeological record. Agriculture, heavy industry and traffic pollution, development projects, religious fanaticism and war, and looting are even more destructive to cultural artifacts and the historic record than tourism is. Clearing land for agricultural purposes, tilling soil and applying fertilizers

Figure 1.4 The graffiti left behind by Medieval pilgrims in the Holy Land has become part of the heritage appeal of some attractions (Photo: Dallen J. Timothy)

and pesticides all have impacted the archaeological record (Navazo & Díez, 2008). Mining has been known to destroy archaeological remains, and the airborne and waterborne toxins from heavy industry and air pollutants from heavy vehicle traffic discolor historic structures and deteriorate the physical integrity of ancient monuments and cultural remains (Kuzmichev & Loboyko, 2016). One of the best documented instances of this on an ancient monument is that of the Taj Mahal in India, which has experienced considerable decay in recent decades (Gauri & Holdren, 1981; Pandey & Kumar, 2015). Road construction and the development of other infrastructure also has a poor record of damaging the archaeological record. While most developed countries today require impact assessments for large development projects, some regions remain without adequate legislation or choose not to enforce existing impact assessment laws for fear that such actions will add significant time and cost to construction projects.

In recent years, the strong link between religious fanaticism and the destruction of cultural property has been at the forefront of archaeology and heritage resource management discussions. The 2001 destruction of the ancient Buddha statues in the Bamyan Valley, Afghanistan, by Taliban rebels seems to have precipitated this phenomenon in the 21st century (Ashworth & van der Aa, 2002). Religious fanaticism's impacts on archaeology has been especially poignant since 2014 with the rise of ISIS in Syria and Iraq, and the terror organization's destruction of ancient heritage under the fictitious claim of false gods and idol worship (Turku, 2018). Relatedly, war itself is known to destroy the archaeological record of places, especially when artifacts become targets of annihilation for their national or cultural identity value.

Another salient concern is looting. Pillaging archaeological sites and looting cultural artifacts has been a problem for centuries and derives primarily from economic motivations as diggers loot sites to sell artifacts to intermediaries and collectors. People travel to collect or purchase ancient artifacts, or to deal in them. This has led to the widespread pillaging of archaeological sites throughout the world. When tourism provides a marketplace for the illicit trade in ancient artifacts, there will always be suppliers who are willing to dig in archaeologically sensitive areas.

While destruction by farming, heavy industry and traffic, infrastructure development, religious fanaticism, war, and looting might appear disconnected from tourism, it is far from being disconnected. In fact, there are very clear connections between tourism and these other forces. For example, in heavily touristed areas, increased food production is required to meet the needs of tourists' alimentary demands. A vibrant tourism industry increases vehicle traffic considerably; the need for access to destinations and attractions accelerates road building; a growing tourism sector requires additional hotels, resorts and restaurants; war and religious fanaticism have been known to be funded, in part at least, by collectors' (including tourists) expenditures on looted artifacts (Mustafa, 2019), and looters sell their spoils to unsuspecting leisure tourists, serious antiquities collectors and unscrupulous middlemen (Di Lernia, 2005).

Given tourism's negative impacts on historic environments, as well as the adverse effects of war, anti-heritage extremism, farming and physical development, the need for archaeological protection has never been more absolute. The growth of public archaeology has helped alleviate some of these concerns, but much more work is required. The caretakers of archaeological heritage work hand in hand with governments to enact protective legislation, develop interpretive programs, and establish effective site management plans.

Enseñat-Soberanis and his colleagues (2019) analyzed the management strategies of 11 well-known archaeological sites in Europe, the Middle East, China and Latin America. They concluded that the most common approaches to mitigating the negative impacts of tourism on tangible heritage are threefold: restrictive strategies, redistributive strategies and interpretive strategies. Restrictive policies include limiting visitors' ability to touch or make physical contact with relics and also to limit the number of people who can visit at one time or during one period, by establishing carrying capacities. Secondly, common redistributive strategies include dispersing visitors through time and space. This entails, allocating groups to less busy times and perhaps enacting quotas on visitor numbers during peak periods, as well as allowing visitors or certain group sizes to access only certain areas of a site. Third, interpretive strategies aim to educate visitors by communicating the importance of the heritage value of the site and persuading visitors to change their behaviors (Enseñat-Soberanis *et al*., 2019). The results of their study reflect findings similarly to those of many other studies over the years that have examined how best to manage visitors in delicate archaeological areas (Timothy, 2011).

Devising innovative conservation and heritage management tools is critical in today's fast-paced consumer and technology-driven society. Traffic control and visitor flow and congestion management are key in protecting resources and providing satisfying consumer experiences. Other common means of managing heritage and its visitors include limiting contact with artifacts, pricing policies, providing high-quality experiences that will encourage visitors to be more respectful, utilizing principles of sustainability in promotion efforts, and providing entertaining, engaging, and informative interpretive programs (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Politics of the past

The very concept of heritage is extremely partisan and contested. Archaeological heritage is frequently at the forefront of the politicization of the past as governments or agencies maneuver heritage to achieve a desired result and exercise authority over places, people and processes. Authorities manipulate tourism in many different ways (e.g. embargoes, travel warnings, visa restrictions and siding with allies), some of which are directly related to heritage. One of the most obvious is the use of heritage to foster domestic patriotism, national solidarity and a heroic state narrative (Timothy, 2007).

In this sense, the archaeological record is employed to authenticate state territorial claims, legitimize governments in power, venerate national heroes, idealize the homeland, empower certain population cohorts while simultaneously disempowering others, and corroborate the official textbook version of history. Similarly, archaeological heritage is commonly used as propaganda for foreign visitors to 'discredit negative events from the past, while extolling the virtues of the past and present' (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009b: 46). In this situation, foreign tourists are encouraged to visit cultural sites that best reaffirm the nationalist chronicle and reinforce national ideals (Murakami, 2008). Likewise, during and after European colonial rule, museums and other heritage sites were programmed to reflect colonial worldviews, thereby downplaying or simplifying the importance of local heritage (Tahan, 2010b). Finally, archaeology is sometimes deployed to erase or disprove opposing views and parts of heritage that do not play into the national story, creating a sense of social amnesia (Adams, 2010; Timothy & Boyd, 2003) which, in extreme autocratic situations, can be supported by the state-engineered or state-discredited archaeological record, raising the question about 'whose archaeology is excavated and for what purpose'. According to Timothy (2007: xiii), 'Unfortunately and predictably, most victims of societal amnesia have been ethnic and racial minorities, women and other "marginal" peoples, and this has resulted in their lives and struggles being hidden from public view'.

There are many examples of this throughout the world. Tahan (2014) discusses how Lebanese museums have long favored the country's Christian history over its Muslim past because of its desire to portray a stronger western orientation. Two of the best documented examples can be found in the United States. In that country, societal amnesia and selective archaeological records long plagued the European and Native American story, where heritage and archaeology were politicized to favor the white American notion of 'manifest destiny' – the 19th-century dogma that the territorial expansion of the United States through the frontiers of North America was inevitable, justifiable, righteous, and endorsed by God. Taming the land for white habitation was part of the goal, which included 'taming' the 'savages' that occupied the land. Likewise, the powers that controlled the national narrative for centuries also chose to de-emphasize the archaeology of African American slaves far into the 20th century to favor the white American storyline (Singleton, 2016). Similar conditions were perpetrated by European metropolitan powers in the Asian, African, Pacific, Caribbean and Latin American settler societies they created through colonialism.

While tourism has played a role in perpetuating these biased narratives, proving its role in the disempowerment of native peoples and ethnic minorities, tourism that is based on truer and more balanced renditions of indigenous archaeology has the potential to empower native peoples socioeconomically and politically (Vargas, 2018). Only in the latter part of the 20th century and into the new millennium have we seen this condition improve and demoralized communities become increasingly empowered through more objective archaeological interpretations and tourism (Gallivan, 2011; Meskell & Preucel, 2004; Parks, 2010; Singleton, 2016). These issues appear to be particularly poignant in descendant communities who feel they have legitimate claims to ownership of local ruins (Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Parks, 2010).

Part of heritage politics lies in archaeological interpretation. In the context of heritage, interpretation means to tell the story, to reveal the significance of the place or site. Although interpretation is typically discussed in the context of cultural resource management, owing to its value in providing information, controlling crowds, eliciting better tourist behavior, and offering safety and protective warnings, interpretation has also been the focus of much debate on the politics of archaeology (Li & Qian, 2017; Timothy, 2011; Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

There has been a lot of research on the interpretive responsibilities of tour guides at cultural sites and their role as brokers of knowledge (e.g. Ababneh, 2018; Weiler & Black, 2015). Their position wields considerable power in disseminating knowledge to tourist consumers, as they explain events, people and places according to what they want, or have been trained, to provide to visitors (Ababneh, 2018; Zhao & Timothy, 2017).

The Focus of this Book

This collection of essays aims to provide a conceptually sound overview of many issues confronting the interface of archaeology and tourism. While this crossover between tourism and archaeology is extremely diverse and could encompass many volumes, we have managed to examine several main themes that are particularly relevant today.

The following three chapters examine the symbiotic relationships between tourism and archaeology. In Chapter 2, Laurence Gillot describes how archaeologists have not always got along with tourism and its promoters, although these relationships are on the mend as archaeologists realize the need to work with, rather than against, tourism. This sometimes antagonistic relationship stems from the direct and indirect damage that frequently occurs to cultural artifacts and historic environments through mass tourism. Gillot suggests that nowadays, archaeologists are more willing to play a larger advocacy role in tourism because they see the need for the visitor industry – a realization that has changed the relationships from one of confrontation to one of collaboration. In the next chapter, Paul Burtenshaw continues to explore the mutually beneficial relationships between tourism and archaeology, particularly from and economic values, or economic capital, perspective. Owing to its socioeconomic value, tourism's use of archaeology can foster symbiotic relationships in a way that generates employment and regional income in the destination. Tourism, Burtenshaw contends, is one important way archaeology can give back to the community to which it belongs. Site and destination planning must be carefully considered as tourism is promoted and continues to grow. In her chapter 'Privatization, Archaeology and Tourism', Işilay Gürsu ponders the role of privatization in the heritage/archaeology sector. By transforming ownership from the public domain to the private sector, state goods and services become private goods and services, which can increase efficiency and save state budgets for other public needs. Tourism has an important role to play in archaeological privatization, although there is still much resistance among heritage stewards, some government officials and some community stakeholders against private ownership of archaeology.

The focus of the next three chapters is the growth of archaeology-based tourism through marketing efforts and the identification of niche forms of archaeotourism, namely volunteer archaeology vacations and religious tourism. Chapter 5, by Alan Fyall, Anna Leask and Sarah Barber, provides a fascinating overview of marketing in the realm of heritage/archaeology tourism. Using empirical evidence from Mexico and a marketing campaign in Scotland, they argue that marketing archaeological heritage can be effective in distinguishing heritage destinations from their competitors. In this sense, archaeological remains provide a competitive advantage over other would-be competitor destinations. Fyall, Leask and Barber discuss other critical marketing principles, such as product bundling, through the creation of archaeological routes, which strengthens a region's heritage product even more. Branding, especially the World Heritage Site brand, is increasingly being used as a mechanism to build awareness, entice people to visit and once again to create a competitive advantage over other attractions and destinations. The authors also acknowledge the increasingly important role of virtual reality, augmented reality and other digital tools in creating place images and being more competitive in the tourism marketplace.

The focus of Chapter 6 (Dallen Timothy) is archaeology-based volunteer tourism. While volunteer tourism is a growing niche market, particularly in the developing world, we know relatively little about archaeology volunteering as a form of volunteer tourism. Timothy reviews the motives of volunteering in archaeological settings and provides an overview of the market, suggesting that many people pursue this work activity during their leisure time either as a personal, self-oriented pursuit or for more altruistic purposes that aim to discover and provide enjoyable heritage experiences for visitors. He outlines three examples of reasons people desire to volunteer at archaeological excavations or in related tasks – to further their own hobby interests, religious devotion, and an academic fascination with the place, time or culture under study. There is a vast network of intermediaries, agencies, promoters and scientists that all work together to facilitate archaeology-based volunteer tourism as a growing commercial enterprise.

Like the two before it, the focus of Chapter 7 by Nour Farra-Haddad, is understanding an increasingly important tourism niche – religious tourism, or pilgrimage – and its interdependence with religious archaeology. Archaeology is an important medium between religious tourists and the sacred sites they visit. Utilizing empirical evidence from Lebanon and various other countries, Farra-Haddad illustrates how some places are believed to be divinely appointed as sacred, regardless of who visits and what religion controls the sacred space at any given time. Religious site stratigraphy supports this conclusion, as many religious structures have been built one upon the other over centuries or millennia. From this, she identifies a religious archaeology lifecycle – discovery, acceptance, veneration, decline and disappearance – which may also include a revivification of the locale by a different faith later in history. Religious archaeology reflects how places were sanctified in the past and how their religious geography remains in the present.

The third group of chapters emphasizes the overgrowth of tourism and how it has damaged the built environment and caused the consumption of archaeological remains. They also provide an understanding about the need to protect these resources for and from tourism. In Chapter 8, Lina Tahan summarizes many forces that contribute to the direct and indirect destruction of the archaeological record. She considers the salient role of urban development, agriculture, road building, natural disasters, religious fanaticism, and mass tourism as destroyers of the tangible human patrimony. Modern-day mass tourism has become one of the most destructive forces against cultural artifacts through direct contact, wear and tear, vandalism and physical development. Good planning, pro-heritage policies and careful implementation are necessary to protect the archaeological record.

Continuing with the notion of damage, Dallen Timothy's chapter (Chapter 9) on the illicit trade in antiquities and cultural artifacts spotlights the problem of looting and the illicit antiquities trade. Much of this problem began with the world's exploration periods during the Middle Ages and throughout the colonial era, as the elites, including many museums in the European metropoles, vied for the treasures of their faraway colonies. Collectors who are willing to pay high prices for valuable relics continue to fuel the trade in illegal antiquities, and tourism is part of the problem. Tourism feeds looting in a variety of ways, including peddlers selling found items to tourists, licensed retailers selling to tourists, licensed dealers hawking illegal artifacts, brokers traveling to buy and sell, and tourists digging or finding artifacts themselves. These activities can also result in fake artifacts and setting tourists up to be ripped off. Timothy also examines the critical role of tourism's unlawful consumption of cultural artifacts contributing to the activities of terrorist organizations in various unstable countries, where archaeological sites are routinely pillaged and the loot sold as tourist consumer goods.

The destruction of the tangible past as described in Tahan and Timothy's chapters, leads Jennifer Mathews to write about 'protecting the archaeological past in the face of tourism demand'. In Chapter 10, she articulates how tourists frequently have a shallow sightseeing experience; their appreciation of heritage is usually tangential and is part of the global phenomenon of mass tourism. Mathews considers community engagement as an important tool for protecting the built environment, in tandem with an increased appreciation of a more ethical treatment of archaeological remains. This line of thinking will help balance the needs of tourism, the community's economic needs, and heritage site protection. By becoming more involved in the management and sustainable marketing of heritage sites, archaeologists can help protect the record they seek to learn from and conserve.

The final two content chapters deal specifically with many political aspects of archaeology and tourism. In Chapter 11, Sue Hodges eruditely scrutinizes the role of interpretation in educating the public and inducing action on the part of visitors and communities whose heritage is only display. Interpretation has a long history, but it has continued to evolve, and it is extremely complex. Today, not only is interpretation and its various media an important tool for learning, teaching and enjoying, it is also a highly political instrument that is manipulated by people in power to create the narrative they wish to convey. In fact, it is one of the most political elements of the archaeology and tourism stage. Archaeological interpretation has been used to uphold disputed claims for authority and authenticity, and it nearly always has multiple meanings that prescribe heritage to one group and proscribe it to another, thereby fortifying one group's claims over another. This has been a problem in the past with regard to indigenous and colonial peoples and slaves and slave masters, for example.

Gai Jorayev (Chapter 12) also deconstructs the political inner lining of archaeology and tourism in the context of nationalism. He describes the frequent political manipulation of archaeology for the purpose of nation building and examines the state's role in marketing, branding, interpreting and conserving the archaeological record. Archaeology is often treated as a conduit for advancing the ideologies of the state, such as territorial claims, boundary changes, ethnic identity and indigeneity, or racial segregation. UNESCO's World Heritage Site inscription, according to Jorayev, is a driver of nationalism and tourism, so that what was previously national heritage becomes universal heritage through this inscription process.

In conclusion, the relationships between archaeology and tourism are heterogeneous, complex, and challenging. That archaeological remains are among the most visited heritage attractions in the world is without question, and they are frequently used by the state and its tourism machinery to brand itself and create an advantage over its market competitors. Despite the world's political, economic and security vicissitudes, tourism continues to grow unabated. Archaeologists have now come to terms with the idea that they too must be involved in tourism from at least two contemporaneous perspectives. First, tourism provides a social and economic justification for archaeologists' scientific explorations, and second, their skillsets in managing material culture are extremely important in protecting the built environment from an industry that has the potential to destroy the very assets upon which it is based. These evolving perspectives have manifested in traditional archaeology having expanded beyond dig sites to include cultural resource management training that enlarges archaeologists' and other heritage stewards' role into the sphere of management and the visitor interface. Tourism is, in a sense, the ultimate form of public archaeology.

Beyond its tourism-specific challenges, archaeology and tourism is a highly political relationship that can simultaneously empower communities or disempower them. Governors determine what histories will be told, and interpreters function as the on-site storytellers who perpetuate certain myths or truisms that lend a touristic intrigue to heritage localities. There has been an obvious pattern of archaeological and heritage manipulation to meet the needs of the people in power.

As the chapters in this book make abundantly clear, there is growing research interest in issues surrounding the juxtaposition of tourism and archaeology. The exponential appearance of articles that meld the two themes in journals such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *Tourism Management*, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Public Archaeology* and *World Archaeology*, attests to the growing interest in archaeology among tourism scholars and interest in tourism among archaeologists. The aim of this book is to complement, rather than replace, the excellent work already done by Walker and Carr (2013), Gould and Pyburn (2017) and others in their analyses of the unique relationships between archaeology and tourism. Despite their efforts and ours, we have a long way to go before the multifarious relationships between the two phenomena are fully understood, if that is even possible.

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