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World Heritage, Archaeological Tourism and Social Value in China

Qian Gao

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World Heritage, Archaeological Tourism and Social Value in China

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List of Abbreviations

BCE	Before contemporary era
c.	Circa
CE	contemporary era
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MED	Macmillan English Dictionary
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
PRC	People's Republic of China
r.	Rule
RMB	Renminbi, the official currency of the People's Republic of China.
SACH	State Administration of Cultural Heritage
TALC	Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
WHC	World Heritage Center

Resumen de la Tesis Doctoral

Patrimonio Mundial, turismo arqueológico y valor social en China

Esta tesis doctoral analiza la relación entre turismo arqueológico, Patrimonio Mundial y valor social en China, proporcionando una visión innovadora en las conexiones establecidas entre cada uno de estos tres parámetros. Se pretende examinar el efecto que el turismo arqueológico está teniendo en los valores sociales que las comunidades locales atribuyen a los sitios arqueológicos que, o están inscritos ya como Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO, o que están en proceso de convertirse en tales. El primero de los elementos centrales en este trabajo es el “turismo arqueológico”, concepto con el que nos referimos a la actividad de consumir el pasado a través de la visita a lugares que contienen monumentos y otro tipo de cultural material del pasado. En muchas partes del mundo, los sitios arqueológicos se utilizan cada vez más para fines comerciales sobre todo mediante la promoción del turismo cultural, a la vez que, dada su capacidad para hacer propaganda narrativas nacionales y siguiendo una tradición establecida durante los dos últimos siglos, siguen siendo explotados como medio de promoción del nacionalismo (Trigger, 1989; Díaz-Andreu y Champion, 1996). Con esto quiero dar a entender que estas dos funciones que acabo de exponer más arriba, por una parte la promoción de la identidad nacional y la educación del público sobre la narrativa nacional y por la otra el turismo arqueológico-cultural no son incompatibles, siendo este último el de más reciente aparición pero habiéndose convertido hoy en día en un componente cada vez más importante de la economía local e incluso nacional, puesto que fomenta la generación de ingresos y la creación de puestos de trabajo (Pacífico y Vogel, 2012: 1588).

El segundo de los elementos centrales a esta tesis doctoral es el Patrimonio Mundial. El análisis de la forma en la que el turismo está afectando a la arqueología se centrará no en todos los sitios arqueológicos sin distinción, sino en aquellos que ya han inscritos en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial o están en proceso avanzado de conseguirlo. Con “Lista del Patrimonio Mundial” nos referimos a un catálogo de

propiedades que en la actualidad (mayo de 2016) ascienden a 1.031, que han sido propuestas por los Estados-nación en todo el mundo y que, debido a sus valores universales excepcionales, han sido elegidas por las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (UNESCO) para entrar a formar parte de tal catálogo. El propósito con el que nació la idea de Patrimonio Mundial fue el de alentar y ayudar a la conservación y gestión de los lugares patrimoniales de importancia mundial (Cleere, 2011), pero lo cierto es que esta noción original se ha visto gradualmente desvirtuada por diversos factores. La consecución de la inscripción de un sitio o propiedad en tal lista normalmente garantiza una forma de acreditación internacional que con gran frecuencia lleva al aumento de la tasa de visitas de carácter turístico (Pedersen, 2002). Dada la importancia económica de la actividad turística a nivel mundial, en los últimos años esta se ha visto crecientemente utilizada por los Estados-nación para promover el progreso económico del país y para satisfacer otros intereses nacionales (Salazar, 2010: 134). El patrimonio, y sobre todo aquel que ha sido reconocido como Patrimonio Mundial, ha pasado a ser un negocio.

El valor social, el tercer elemento crucial en esta tesis doctoral, está muy relacionado con la reflexión sobre las comunidades locales en áreas de Patrimonio Mundial. La comercialización creciente de sitios arqueológicos para el turismo, fomentada por el atractivo de pertenecer a la Lista elaborada por la UNESCO, tiene consecuencias de tipo social que afectan sobre todo a las comunidades que habitan en las inmediaciones de estos sitios. Esto ha llevado a una serie de deliberaciones referidas a aspectos como el debate sobre cómo el patrimonio arqueológico se gestiona en la práctica y cómo el consumo impacta en el bienestar de las sociedades que viven en las zonas cercanas a los sitios (por ejemplo, Meskell, 2010; Dáz-Andreu 2013; Zimmerman 1998; Wylie, 2008). Una forma de comprender cómo el turismo arqueológico inscrito como Patrimonio Mundial ha afectado a las comunidades locales que viven en áreas con sitios arqueológicos en la lista es analizar los cambios en los valores asignados a tales sitios por los residentes que están relacionados con ellos o geográfica o culturalmente. Con valor social nos referimos a los significados sociales o culturales que un lugar de patrimonio tiene para una comunidad en particular (ICOMOS Australia, 2013) y esta definición está basada en el entendimiento de que el patrimonio en sí no tiene valor, sino más bien que los diferentes individuos y grupos le atribuyen un valor o más bien

una serie de valores (Mason, 2002: 8). Dado que los valores son expresiones proyectadas, en lugar de cualidades inherentes, están sujetos a la interacción entre la herencia en sí y sus entornos culturales, sociales, económicos y políticos (De la Torre: 2013). La mercantilización turística de los sitios arqueológicos tiene efectos sociales ya que lleva a que los significados sociales y culturales vinculados a los sitios se redefinan y se experimenten de forma diferente por los distintos grupos que tienen contacto con él (Smith y Waterton, 2009: 44). Por lo tanto, se puede argumentar que el turismo tiene un impacto considerable en los valores sociales adscritos a los sitios arqueológicos por las comunidades locales. Esto se debe a que el turismo arqueológico tiene una capacidad de (re)crear y modificar los valores sociales atribuidos a los sitios arqueológicos por su población local, cambiando su función, la capacidad, la calidad y el significado.

Establecido este trasfondo, el objetivo de esta tesis doctoral es el de analizar el impacto del turismo arqueológico en los valores sociales que las comunidades locales atribuyen a los sitios arqueológicos que, o bien están inscritos en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial o están en el proceso de convertirse en sitios Patrimonio Mundial. Esto se realizará observando un país en particular, habiendo sido elegido para ello la República Popular China, nombre oficial para el territorio que también denominaré simplemente como China. Durante las últimas dos décadas, este país ha incrementado la promoción de un gran número de sitios del patrimonio cultural, incluyendo algunos de carácter arqueológico, para utilizarlos como destinos turísticos. El reciente incremento en la importancia del turismo arqueológico en China significa que el análisis llevado a cabo en las próximas páginas será de relevancia para aquellos interesados en el desarrollo de la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico en este país y en un amplio contexto global.

La importancia de la elección de China como objeto de estudio va más allá de la de un simple caso de estudio basado en un país, puesto que las reflexiones que haremos sobre el mismo trascenderán sus fronteras. China es relevante por dos factores. Por un lado, el país está actualmente realizando un enorme esfuerzo en el campo de la mercantilización del patrimonio. Por el otro, el alto perfil de China en el discurso del Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO le hacen uno de los países más activos en la

última década (Meskell et al., 2014: 10). Desde el cambio del nuevo milenio, una serie de sitios arqueológicos chinos se han inscrito con éxito en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial y otros muchos más han sido preparados con gran empeño para su nominación. China se ha convertido en el segundo país líder en el mundo en cuanto a su número de sitios Patrimonio Mundial.

De los 103 sitios que China actualmente ha registrado en conjunto entre la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial y la Lista Tentativa, esta investigación ha seleccionado dos, el Sitio Arqueológico del Palacio Daming y el Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan. El primero obtuvo el título de Patrimonio Mundial en 2014, como uno de los sitios de la inscripción múltiple de "Rutas de la Seda: la red de rutas del corredor Chang'an-Tianshan" (whc.unesco.org/en/list/1442), el cual es una nominación serial a Patrimonio Mundial propuesta por China, Kazajistán y Kirguistán. El segundo sitio, el Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan, es la nominación de China en 2016 para su inscripción en esta prestigiosa lista y la decisión, favorable o no, tendrá lugar en la sesión del Comité del Patrimonio Mundial en julio de este año (2016). El estudio durante el periodo de transición, durante el cual un sitio pasa a ser de interés cultural local a la preparación para llegar a cambiar su estatus a Patrimonio Mundial, representa uno de los principales aspectos de esta tesis. Esto es porque durante este periodo de cambio, el valor social de las comunidades locales implicadas se halla en continuo debate y se ve necesariamente alterado. Este es un momento único en la patrimonialización del paisaje local, momento que he tenido la posibilidad de capturar durante los cuatro años en los cuales esta investigación ha tenido lugar.

El estudio llevado a cabo para esta tesis doctoral tiene cuatro objetivos. El primero es identificar los problemas que han surgido del actual desarrollo del turismo arqueológico en China. El segundo es examinar de manera crítica el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico en los dos sitios —el Palacio Daming y el Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan— la segunda a la espera de la evaluación de su nominación como sitio Patrimonio Mundial, mientras que la primera, que obtuvo este estatus en 2014, necesita retener su designación. Esta tesis pretende como tercer objetivo realizar un análisis en profundidad de las percepciones y actitudes de las comunidades locales hacia este desarrollo en los dos casos estudiados. El cuarto y último objetivo es la

discusión del impacto del turismo arqueológico en los valores sociales atribuidos a los dos sitios por sus comunidades locales en referencia a la influencia ejercida por la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial. La pretensión última de esta investigación es promover una reflexión más a fondo sobre los actuales mecanismos de gestión del patrimonio arqueológico en China y, hasta donde sea posible, en el resto del mundo.

Con la intención de desarrollar estos cuatro objetivos, la investigación llevada a cabo en esta tesis doctoral emplea un acercamiento cualitativo bajo el marco teórico de la etnografía arqueológica. Con el uso de métodos etnográficos, el trabajo de campo ha sido desarrollado alrededor de los dos sitios seleccionados como casos estudio en 2013 y 2014. Basándome en los resultados del trabajo de campo y la información obtenida de una extensa revisión bibliográfica, tres artículos lógicamente conectados han sido compilados para actuar como el principal contenido de esta tesis doctoral. En su conjunto, estos tres artículos han brindado una comprensión relativamente redondeada de la interacción entre el turismo arqueológico, el Patrimonio Mundial y el valor social en la sociedad china actual. Aunque se ha producido una abundancia de estudios sobre el impacto social del turismo arqueológico y la inscripción como Patrimonio Mundial en muchas partes del mundo, este tipo de perspectiva de investigación ha sido raramente explorada en el contexto de China. Esta investigación doctoral es, por lo tanto, innovadora en esta región de interés. Además, es también un trabajo pionero en la aplicación de la etnografía arqueológica como metodología en la cual la investigación de campo se ha basado. El siguiente apartado resume los hallazgos en la investigación de estos tres artículos, de acuerdo con los objetivos general y específicos de la tesis.

Las principales cuestiones que enfrenta el Turismo Arqueológico en China

Las principales cuestiones implicadas en el turismo arqueológico en China se tratan en el primer artículo "Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China" (Gao, 2016a). Este texto resalta que en China el turismo arqueológico es un campo de estudio creciente y con un volumen de literatura en aumento. Sin embargo, las publicaciones existentes consisten principalmente en los análisis de casos de estudio individuales,

los cuales tratan de una variedad de cuestiones que se han suscitado a partir de la comercialización turística del patrimonio arqueológico (e.g. Liu, 2009; Yang, 2002; Zhang, 2013; Zhao, 2011). Aunque las dificultades y oportunidades implicadas en la interacción entre el turismo y el patrimonio arqueológico cambian a través de las diferentes destinos, las cuestiones que han surgido comparten elementos importantes comunes. Una discusión sintética de estas cuestiones es, por lo tanto, tanto necesaria como útil, para entender la interconexión entre los restos materiales del pasado y el consumo turístico histórico en la sociedad china actual. Este artículo ha cubierto el hueco con respecto a la comprensión de esta interconexión mediante la identificación algunos de los factores clave que están detrás del turismo arqueológico en China y los cambios significativos a los que se enfrenta como contribuyente del desarrollo económico, político y social del país. El análisis llevado a cabo en el artículo estuvo basado en un examen de la literatura existente, así como observaciones hechas durante mi trabajo de campo. Como resultado se subrayaron a subrayado una serie de retos a los que el turismo arqueológico se está enfrentando actualmente en China: (a) el dilema entre la preservación y el beneficio económico; (b) falta de regulación del desarrollo turístico; (c) el impacto de la UNESCO a través de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial; y (d) la tensión generada por sensibilidades políticas hacia las cuestiones de las minorías étnicas.

Los retos que enfrenta actualmente el turismo arqueológico en China han mostrado una paradoja existente en la sociedad china contemporánea: por un lado, la necesidad de crecimiento económico frustra la preservación de los sitios arqueológicos, y por el otro, las políticas nacionales promueven la transformación de precisamente esos sitios en atracciones turísticas y promotores de la imagen nacional, principalmente con propósitos económicos y políticos.

Subyacente a la paradoja se encuentra el dilema que las autoridades estatales han estado tratando de resolver durante las últimas dos décadas: cómo mantener de manera simultánea el avance del rápido crecimiento económico, mantener la identidad nacional y gestionar el avance del país en una forma tal que justifique la continuidad de la autoridad del Partido Comunista. La existencia de este dilema ha determinado que los valores económicos y políticos atribuidos a los sitios arqueológicos sean

considerados por encima de otras consideraciones en el ámbito del turismo arqueológico, lo que es probable que siga teniendo lugar en un futuro al menos próximo, en el que la explotación del patrimonio arqueológico seguirá desarrollándose muy probablemente bajo la influencia de las fuerzas del mercado y una aproximación de arriba a abajo en la toma de decisiones políticas.

La comercialización basada en el turismo de sitios arqueológicos bajo la influencia de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial

La influencia de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial en la comercialización basada en el turismo de sitios arqueológicos ha sido analizada por muchos investigadores, que han usado una amplia gama de propiedades con carácter arqueológico como referencias (e.g. Aagesen, 2000; Maswood, 2000; West et al., 2006; Timothy et al., 2006; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Menéndez, 2014). Una revisión de estos estudios ha demostrado que, a pesar de su función instrumental y simbólica, la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial (junto con el proceso de inscripción), afecta el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico de manera directa e indirecta. Los efectos directos se refieren a su habilidad para fomentar el conocimiento a nivel mundial de los bienes inscritos y motivar a las autoridades para explotarlos como recursos turísticos mayores. De una manera menos obvia, la lista también influye la manera en la cual los sitios arqueológicos son conservados, gestionados y presentados al público como atracciones turísticas, a través de la presión normativa que se ejerce sobre los gobiernos nacionales.

En esta tesis doctoral, la cuestión de la comercialización turística de los sitios arqueológicos bajo la influencia de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial ha sido discutida a lo largo de los tres artículos. Esta fue analizada en general en el primer artículo “Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China,” y fue ilustrada a lo largo del segundo y el tercer artículos, “Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)” y “Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China),” usando los dos casos de estudio seleccionados como referencias. Basada en

la investigación llevada a cabo en los tres artículos, esta tesis doctoral ha identificado dos maneras a través de las cuales la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO ha dado forma al desarrollo del turismo arqueológico en China desde el inicio del nuevo milenio: (1) la influencia de respaldo mutuo con una estrategia de conservación autorizada por el gobierno, y (2) la presión normativa de la lista en sí misma. La primera estrategia se refiere a la influencia de respaldo mutuo que la lista ejerce con la estrategia de convertir sitios arqueológicos en parques patrimoniales; un método de conservación frecuentemente empleado por las autoridades chinas para promover los Grandes Sitios durante la última década (Li and Quan, 2007). La segunda manera se refiere a la presión normativa de la lista en sí misma, la cual ha dado pie a los gobiernos locales para incrementar el estado de conservación de sus sitios arqueológicos en preparación para la designación de Patrimonio Mundial, de acuerdo con el criterio de Patrimonio Mundial. A la par, la presión normativa de la lista refiere también a su habilidad para detener a las autoridades locales de la explotación excesiva y la sobre comercialización del patrimonio arqueológico.

En la base de la discusión llevada a cabo en el segundo y tercer artículos, mi investigación doctoral ha revelado que, en el caso de del Palacio Daming, la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial ha remodelado su explotación turística principalmente a través de la influencia del respaldo mutuo con una estrategia de conservación dirigida por el estado. Mientras tanto, la presión normativa de la lista ha jugado también un rol menor en términos de prevenir a las autoridades locales de permitir excesivos proyectos comerciales de ser llevados a cabo en el sitio mismo. En el caso del Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan, la presión normativa de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial ha sido sin duda el elemento dominante en la dirección de su transformación turística. Esto lo ha confirmado el hecho de que en la sociedad china actual las consideraciones económicas y políticas ensombrecen cualquier otra preocupación en el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico, y la utilización de este tipo de patrimonio parece que continuará su desarrollo bajo la influencia de la economía del mercado y un mecanismo político de toma de decisiones de arriba hacia abajo. Esto también ha representado que aunque el mandato de la conservación detrás de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial no está por encima de las leyes locales o la soberanía del Estado, la lista permanece como una formidable influencia en el comportamiento del gobierno,

a través de la aplicación de sus ideales políticos y ética moral no obligatorios, para emplear los así llamados "capitales simbólicos" (Askew, 2010: 21).

Las percepciones y actitudes de las comunidades locales para el desarrollo del Turismo Arqueológico

La cuestión relativa a las percepciones y actitudes de las comunidades locales sobre el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico ha sido explorada por numerosos investigadores que han usado una variedad de sitios arqueológicos en el mundo como estudios de caso (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988; Herzfeld, 1991; Fiallo and Jacobson, 1995; Pai, 1999; Meskell, 2005; McClanaban, 2006; Zamani-Farahani and Musa, 2008; Chen and Yang, 2011; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Peutz, 2011; Breglia, 2016; Miura, 2016; Salazar, 2016; Wang, 2016). Muchos de los sitios examinados se han desarrollado bajo la influencia de la designación de Patrimonio Mundial (e.g. Chen and Yang, 2011; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Salazar, 2016; Wang, 2016). Estos estudios han arrojado luz en el impacto social de la comercialización turística del patrimonio arqueológico en las comunidades que han crecido dentro o cerca de sitios patrimoniales, y ellas han revelado una amplia gama de cuestiones que han emergido de la interacción entre la población local y el crecimiento del turismo arqueológico. Un análisis en estas cuestiones ha mostrado que, aunque los retos y oportunidades planteados por el turismo cambien enormemente a través de los destinos, un número de factores críticos tienen una influencia fundamental en la perspectiva comunal del turismo arqueológico. Existe por lo tanto una necesidad de realizar investigaciones que identifiquen el efecto de estos factores a lo largo de destinaciones divergentes, con la finalidad de entender mejor cómo la comercialización turística de sitios arqueológicos ha afectado los valores sociales atribuidos a estas áreas por sus residentes locales.

Este estudio doctoral ha buscado cumplir esta necesidad a través de graduar y comparar las percepciones y actitudes de las poblaciones locales sobre el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico en los dos estudios de caso. Esto ha sido realizado en el segundo y tercer artículos, "Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an

Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)” y “Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)”. Al hacer esto, cada artículo ha proporcionado un análisis a profundidad de la comprensión de la población local del desarrollo del turismo arqueológico, basado en los datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo conducido en cada estudio de caso. Esta investigación implicó una aproximación cualitativa basada en el empleo de tres métodos etnográficos: entrevista, observación participante y conversaciones casuales.

El análisis de los datos de investigación ha traído a la luz los puntos de vista de las poblaciones locales sobre las transformaciones generadas por el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico bajo la influencia de la inscripción en la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial. Este análisis de sus opiniones ha revelado que, entre estos cambios, diferentes temas afectan las percepciones de los residentes y sus actitudes hacia los sitios patrimoniales y su desarrollo. Ocho temas fueron revelados en el caso del sitio arqueológico del Palacio Daming, los cuales se refieren a: (1) mejoras en su entorno físico y conceptual de vida, (2) patrimonio arqueológico como espacio público para el ocio y el entretenimiento, (3) acceso más sencillo a la apreciación del patrimonio arqueológico, (4) descontento con el modelo de desarrollo y su costo, (5) insatisfacción hacia el parque en sí (6) una pérdida del sentido de pertenencia, (7) desagrado respecto a las imágenes de la identidad del vecindario, y (8) insatisfacción con el actual ambiente de vida y compensación por la reubicación. Mientras en el caso del Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan, hubieron seis temas identificados: (1) un incrementado nivel de orgullo como resultado de la campaña de pre-nominación como Patrimonio Mundial, (2) intensificada preocupación de cuestiones ambientales, (3) mejorada representación pública, (4) el resurgimiento de tradiciones étnicas, (5) preocupación sobre los costos y los resultados, y (6) desconfianza de la motivación del gobierno.

Basado en la exploración de estos temas, el trabajo que aquí presentamos ha concluido que, en el caso de estos sitios que están promovidos para su designación como Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO, los residentes locales generalmente expresan un sentimiento general de apoyo hacia la comercialización turística de tales sitios. Sin embargo, este nivel de apoyo varía, dependiendo de cómo se están implementando tales transformaciones y hasta qué punto sus intereses personales

están afectados en este tema. Respecto a las percepciones de la comunidad local y las actitudes hacia el desarrollo turístico de sitios arqueológicos considerados para ser designados Patrimonio Mundial, una deficiencia fundamental en la comercialización turística del patrimonio arqueológico en China es evidente: el desequilibrio del poder de distribución en el uso y gestión de los sitios arqueológicos. Las discusiones centradas en los dos casos de estudio han demostrado que las prácticas relativas a la designación de Patrimonio Mundial son negociadas únicamente realizadas por las clases dominantes, concretamente autoridades gubernamentales y gente de negocios de alto poder adquisitivo, mientras que el público en general no tiene voz en el proceso de toma de decisiones y se le requiere frecuentemente sacrificar intereses personales por la causa de la designación de Patrimonio Mundial. Tales consecuencias no solo afectan a los residentes locales pero también ponen en peligro al bien patrimonial en sí ya que la pobreza y la necesidad de supervivencia pueden causar que la gente lleve a cabo actividades que sean dañinas para el sitio patrimonial.

Los cambios en los valores sociales atribuidos al Patrimonio Arqueológico por las comunidades locales

Esta tesis doctoral es la primera en abordar una investigación del impacto social del turismo arqueológico en las poblaciones locales a través del análisis de los cambios producidos en los valores sociales atribuidos al patrimonio arqueológico. La cuestión del valor social y otras áreas del patrimonio cultural han sido objeto de múltiples reflexiones realizadas por un creciente número de investigadores que este trabajo ha empleado como punto de partida (Johnston, 1992; Walker, 1998; Scott, 2002; Byrne, 2009; Smith, 2009; Jackson, 2014; Díaz-Andreu, 2016a, 2016b; Díaz-Andreu et al., 2016; Douglas-Jones et al., 2016 en prensa/forthcoming). Se ha argumentado que los valores sociales adscritos a un sitio arqueológico residen en los significados sociales y culturales personificados en este que despiertan un sentido colectivo de apego de la comunidad. Inspirado por estos significados, este sentido colectivo de apego está expresado en los sentimientos de los residentes locales y la comprensión hacia el sitio patrimonial. Por lo tanto, los cambios en las percepciones de la comunidad local y las

actitudes hacia un sitio arqueológico representan estos cambios en los valores sociales adscritos al sitio por los grupos comunitarios.

Los cambios en los valores sociales que las comunidades locales atribuyen al patrimonio arqueológico han sido explorados en el segundo y tercer artículos, “Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)” y “Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)”. Los estudios hechos en estos dos artículos han revelado de manera innovadora que el impacto del turismo arqueológico en los valores sociales atribuidos a un sitio arqueológico por su población local es altamente distintivo en diferentes escenarios, de acuerdo con una serie de factores. En los casos de estudio de esta tesis doctoral, estos factores incluyen el fortalecimiento del lazo entre el patrimonio y las comunidades, y el alcance en el cual la función y significado del sitio patrimonial ha sido modificados por el proceso de desarrollo.

La investigación realizada en el caso del sitio del Palacio Daming ha demostrado que ha habido un impacto directo y evidente del desarrollo turístico en los valores sociales que las comunidades locales han atribuido al sitio. Esto ha sido porque la transformación del sitio, que visto una transformación desde unas ruinas arqueológicas abandonadas a un parque patrimonial con un título de Patrimonio Mundial, ha creado una variedad de valores sociales asociados con él por los residentes locales, debido a la modificación e incremento de la función, significado, representación y capacidad del sitio. Sin embargo, esos nuevos valores sociales que han emergido también se han visto frustrados por las indeseables consecuencias del proceso de comercialización turística. La comparación con lo ocurrido en el segundo caso de estudio, el Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan, indica que el impacto del desarrollo turístico en los valores sociales atribuidos al mismo por su población local ha sido imperceptible e indirecto. Esto ha tenido mucho que ver con el hecho de que de hecho ya existía un firme enlace cultural y social entre el arte rupestre y las comunidades locales, dado de que antes de que cualquier cambio fuera implementado por el turismo o la solicitud de inscripción como Patrimonio Mundial, las comunidades locales ya experimentaban un apego a este sitio que estaba fuertemente

imbricado a sus tradiciones locales. Debido a la presión normativa de la Lista del Patrimonio Mundial, la promoción turística de la autoridad local del Área de Arte Rupestre de Huashan ha sido conducida de forma tal que ha resultado benéfica para la conservación y aumento de los valores sociales adscritos al sitio patrimonial por los residentes locales. Sin embargo, la campaña de pre-nominación como Patrimonio Mundial se ha visto empañada por ciertas deficiencias personificadas en el desarrollo del turismo arqueológico en China, poniendo potencialmente los valores sociales asociados con el arte rupestre en riesgo.

En vista de la interacción entre turismo arqueológico, Patrimonio Mundial y valor social en la sociedad china actual, la pregunta persiste sobre cómo orientar el valor social hacia una mejora positiva a través de la aparentemente inexorable tendencia de la comercialización turística, con la asistencia del discurso del Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO. Una de las respuestas proporcionadas es la de promover la participación de las comunidades locales en los diferentes niveles de la exploración del patrimonio. De hecho, la participación local no es sólo una obligación ética para los practicantes del patrimonio en todo el mundo, sino también un requisito obligatorio para las autoridades estatales en el proceso de nominación a Patrimonio Mundial y la gestión de los bienes Patrimonio Mundial de acuerdo con las Directrices Prácticas para la aplicación de la Convención del Patrimonio Mundial (Díaz-Andreu, 2016b: 185). Sin embargo, se debe hacer mención que, con el turismo jugando un rol mayor en el mercado económico, los sitios arqueológicos en China se han convertido en un campo de disputa para la implicación de la comunidad (Shan, 2015). El esfuerzo de las autoridades chinas para integrar elementos de las aproximaciones participativas en los proyectos de conservación para sitios arqueológicos sólo toca superficialmente lo relativo a la cuestión de la participación local. La implicación de los residentes locales está restringiendo dentro de la esfera de la participación pasiva después de que la fase de desarrollo del proyecto ha sido terminada, mientras sus voces no tienen parte para participar en el proceso de toma de decisiones.

La comprensión sobre la diversidad y variación de los valores atribuidos por las comunidades locales a los sitios arqueológicos ayuda a dar pie al discurso de la participación de la comunidad y cumplir así con el potencial retórico del patrimonio.

Esta investigación doctoral, por lo tanto, aboga por el establecimiento de un marco de gestión colaborativo que se mantenga sensible a los sentimientos públicos y que tenga la habilidad de genuinamente incorporar la consideración de los valores sociales de las comunidades dentro del nivel de planeamiento del turismo arqueológico. Cómo construir este marco es un reto que no es exclusivo a China, pero es, de hecho, uno al que se enfrentan la mayoría de los países en el mundo. Enfatizar la importancia del valor social debe considerarse como una forma potencial que las autoridades gubernamentales pueden tener para reconducir el impacto de la excesiva comercialización y controlarlo y además como modo de prevenir que las poblaciones locales terminen dependiendo estrechamente en la industria turística. Incrementar la visibilidad de esta dimensión fundamental del patrimonio tanto entre el público como entre las autoridades es un paso necesario hacia la consecución de una gestión con implicación comunitaria. Esta aproximación participativa, de hecho, es la que viene siendo promovida por la UNESCO, que la incluyó como un requisito esencial en el discurso del Patrimonio Mundial como así se desprende de las Directrices prácticas (WHC, 2012: para. 12). Lo ideal sería, por tanto, estrechar la distancia entre los ideales propugnados por la UNESCO y la realidad cotidiana a la que se enfrentan las comunidades locales que conviven en sus territorios con los sitios de Patrimonio Mundial.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis explores the relationship between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social value in contemporary China. It intends to provide an innovative insight into such connections by scrutinizing the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values that local communities attribute to archaeological sites that are either inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites or in the process of becoming one. Archaeological tourism refers to people's activity of consuming the past through visiting places of archaeological significance. In this doctoral thesis, the discussion concerning archaeological tourism focuses on specific types of archaeological sites; those that are either inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List or are in the process of achieving World Heritage Status. The growing commercialization of archaeological sites for tourism, compounded by the rising influence of the World Heritage List, has greatly affected the lives of communities in the immediate vicinity of archaeological sites. One way to comprehend such an effect is to analyze the changes in the social values assigned to those sites by their local residents. This is because archaeological tourism has an ability to (re)create and modify those social values attributed to archaeological sites by their local population, by changing their function, capacity, quality and meaning. In this process, the UNESCO World Heritage List also plays an important role in providing advice on the touristic transformation of these sites in preparation for World Heritage inscription, especially during the pre-nomination period.

Set against this background, this doctoral thesis aims to analyze the impact of tourism on the social values that local communities attribute to archaeological sites that are either on the UNESCO World Heritage List or in the process of being assigned World Heritage status. The Daming Palace archaeological site and the Huashan rock art area are taken as its case studies. Both sites are excellent examples when it comes to representing Chinese archaeological sites in the two main phases of attaining World Heritage status; nomination and full designation. In order to achieve the general aim

of this doctoral research, four objectives are proposed. The first is the identification of the main issues that have emerged from the current development of archaeological tourism in China. Secondly, this thesis critically examines the development of archaeological tourism at the two case study sites. Thirdly, an in-depth analysis is made of the perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards such development in the two cases studied. The final objective is the discussion of the impact of archaeological tourism on social values attributed to the two sites by their local communities with reference to the influence of the World Heritage List. To attain these objectives, the investigation undertaken in this doctoral thesis employs qualitative approaches under the theoretical framework of archaeological ethnography. The ultimate goal of the research is to encourage further reflection on the existing management mechanisms of archaeological heritage in China and worldwide.

Chapter one

World Heritage, Archaeological Tourism and Social Value in China: an introduction

This doctoral thesis deals with the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social value in China. In recent years these three aspects have often been combined in discussions related to archaeological sites, but this will be the first time in which they will be dealt with together. The recent growth in importance of archaeological tourism in the People's Republic of China means that the analysis undertaken in the following pages will be of relevance to those who are interested in the development of archaeological heritage management in this country and in a broader global context. In recent decades, a significant factor in the management of archaeological remains is the burgeoning role of tourism in world economies (Ardren, 2004: 103). In many parts of the world, archaeological sites are increasingly used for commercial purposes through the promotion of cultural tourism, while, following a tradition established over the last two centuries, they continue to be exploited, due to their ability to propagandize national narratives and bolster nationalism (Trigger, 1989; D áz-Andreu and Champion, 1996). In most countries, therefore, archaeological heritage is not only used to promote national identity and educate the public, it has also become an increasingly important component in cultural tourism attractions, serving to generate income and to create jobs (Pacífico and Vogel, 2012: 1588). In this doctoral thesis, the way in which tourism is affecting archaeology will focus on specific types of archaeological sites; those that are either inscribed on the World Heritage List or those that are in the process of achieving World Heritage Status. The World Heritage List is a catalogue comprising a selected number of sites, there are currently 1,031 (May 2016), which are proposed by nation-states worldwide, before being chosen by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) due to their outstanding universal values. The original purpose of World Heritage designation was to encourage and assist the preservation and management of

places of heritage significance (Cleere, 2011). However, because the registration of sites on the World Heritage List generally guarantees a rise in visitation rates, while representing a form of international accreditation (Pedersen, 2002), in recent years the list has been progressively used by nation-states to promote economic advancement and to satisfy other domestic interests (Salazar, 2010: 134). Therefore, the list currently plays an instrumental role in the development of archaeological tourism in most countries in the world.

The commercialization of archaeological sites for tourism, compounded by the influence of the UNESCO World Heritage List, is increasingly presenting communities in the immediate vicinity of these sites with a whole range of complex issues. Discussions of these issues often concern how archaeological heritage operates in its everyday production and how consumption impacts the well-being of societies living nearby (e.g. Meskell, 2010; D áz-Andreu 2013; Zimmerman 1998; Wylie, 2008). One way to comprehend how archaeological tourism under the influence of World Heritage designation has affected those local communities living in areas with listed archaeological sites is to analyze the changes in the social values assigned to such sites by residents who are geographically or culturally linked to them. Social value refers to the social or cultural meanings that a place of heritage holds for a particular community (Australia ICOMOS, 2013). The concept of social value is based on the understanding that heritage itself does not have values, but rather that values are ascribed to it by different individuals and groups (Mason, 2002: 8). Since values are projected expressions, rather than inherent qualities, they are subject to the interaction between heritage itself and its cultural, social, economic and political environments (De la Torre: 2013). The tourist commodification of archaeological sites involves a social effect through the way those social and cultural meanings attached to the sites are redefined and experienced by different communal groups (Smith and Waterton, 2009: 44). It can therefore be argued that tourism has a considerable impact on the social values ascribed to archaeological sites by local communities. To understand this impact one needs to probe into individual perceptions and attitudes that influence how local community members view heritage.

Aim and objectives

Set against this background, the aim of this doctoral thesis is to analyze the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values that local communities attribute to archaeological sites that are either on the UNESCO World Heritage List or in the process of becoming World Heritage Sites. This will be done by looking at a particular country, in this case, China. Over the last two decades, China has increasingly promoted a number of cultural heritage sites, including archaeological locations, to serve as tourist destinations. In comparison with most countries in the world, however, China stands out due to two factors. On the one hand, the country is currently making an immense effort in the field of heritage commodification. On the other, China's high profile in UNESCO World Heritage discourse makes it one of the most active state parties during the last decade (Meskell et al., 2014: 10). Thus, since the turn of the new millennium, a series of Chinese archaeological sites have been either successfully inscribed on the World Heritage List or vigorously prepared for nomination. China has today become the second leading country in the world with respect to its number of World Heritage Sites. From the 103 sites that the country currently has registered on both the World Heritage List and the UNESCO Tentative List, this research has selected two, the Daming Palace Archaeological Site and the Huashan Rock Art Area. The former obtained its World Heritage title in 2014, as a component of the "Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor," which is a serial World Heritage nomination proposed by China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The second site, the Huashan Rock Art Area, is China's nomination in 2016 for inscription on this prestigious list and the decision as to whether or not it will be designated will take place at the World Heritage Committee meeting in July this year. The transitional period, during which the sites selected as my two case studies, will be used to transform them from local cultural properties to World Heritage status, represents one of the main aspects of this thesis. This is because during this period of change, the social of values of the local communities involved are both challenged and necessarily altered when applied to a specific site. This is a unique moment in the

heritagization of their local landscape, and one that I have been able to capture during the four years during which this research has taken place.

The study undertaken for this doctoral thesis has four objectives. The first is the identification of the main issues that have emerged from the current development of archaeological tourism in China. Secondly, this thesis will critically examine the development of archaeological tourism at the two sites – the Daming Palace and the Huashan Rock Art Area – the latter is awaiting judgments on its nomination as a World Heritage site, while the former, which has held this status since 2014, needs to retain its designation. Thirdly, an in-depth analysis will be made of the perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards such development in the two cases studied. The final objective will be the discussion of the impact of archaeological tourism on social values attributed to the two sites by their local communities with reference to the influence of the World Heritage List. In order to be able to develop these four objectives, the investigation undertaken in this doctoral thesis employs qualitative approaches under the theoretical framework of archaeological ethnography. From the in-depth study of the two sites, some more general conclusions will be reached that are related to the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage status and social value. The ultimate goal of the research is to encourage further reflection on the existing management mechanisms of archaeological heritage in China and worldwide.

Tourism and Archaeological Sites: an Interplay

In the past few decades, tourism has developed into an immensely popular global industry, serving as a key driver of economic progress in both developing and developed countries through the creation of revenues, jobs, infrastructures and enterprises (UNWTO, 2011). Statistical information also confirms that tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world (UNWTO, 2016). Beyond its economic facet as an industry, tourism is also a remarkable socio-cultural phenomenon (Jafari, 2000: 585), whose impact has reached many aspects of different societies in terms of its ability to commodify the past, relocate social resources and reshape local culture (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). According to the most basic definition, tourism is “the business of providing services for people who are traveling for their holiday (MED, 2007).” Etymologically, the word *tour* derives from the Latin, “*tornare*,” and the Greek, “*tornos*,” meaning “a lathe or circle; the movement around a central point or axis” (Theobald, 2005: 6). The word suggests the action of movement around a circle, which implies that tourism is essentially an activity of moving around, in which people temporarily depart from their usual place of residence, while it also has the meaning of looking for fun, relaxation, experience, health, spirituality and business, with the intention of coming back (Leiper, 1979; Minca and Oakes, 2006; Church and Coles, 2007).

Tourism, as a mass phenomenon, emerged from the technological advancements in transportation that occurred during the Second World War and the economic boom that followed the war, especially in North America and Western Europe (Walker and Carr, 2013a: 21). However, the roots of tourism can be traced all the way back to the activity of travel in ancient societies, where visitors wandered around places of significance, and sometimes brought home an actual object as a souvenir (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). In the Western world, the origin of tourism is often associated with the “Grand Tour,” a traditional trip undertaken by the younger members of wealthy European elites, who visited the most important capital cities in Europe during the

sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (Towner, 1985: 303; Bonet, 2013: 389). The aim of the Grand Tour was to educate the young members of the elite by exposing them to the legacy of classical antiquity and the Renaissance, as well as to the noble society of the European continent (Chaney, 2014). After the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution, which took place first in England and then spread across the whole world, prompted intensive development in manufacturing, agriculture, mining and transportation, making the privilege of having leisure time possible, not only for the upper classes but also the less well-off in society (Towner and Wall, 1991: 75). These early tourists preferred the sunny beaches of the seaside as their travel destinations (Urry, 2002: 26). After the Second World War, tourism, an “industry without chimneys”, became an ever-more lucrative business that embraced all social classes (Ballengee-Morris, 2002: 234). For most of the twentieth century, the industry was dominated by sunbathing resorts in different forms. After the 1970s, cultural tourism started to grow, a fact that gradually led to a major transformation in the entire market (Bonet, 2013; Díaz-Andreu 2014).

Cultural tourism came to be recognized as a distinctive product category in the 1970s when tourism marketers and researchers realized that some people traveled specifically to gain a deeper understanding of the culture or heritage of a destination, instead of pursuing the standard sand, sun, and sea holidays (Tighe, 1986). It was initially perceived as a specialized activity that only involved a small number of well-educated tourists. It is only since the fragmentation of the mass market in the 1990s that cultural tourism has been recognized for what it is: a high-profile, mass-market activity (McKercher and du Cros, 2002). The rise of cultural tourism was built upon the extensive global recognition of heritage and the following trend of heritagization (Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Roigé and Frigolé 2010; Salazar and Zhu, 2015). Heritage, by definition, is a broad concept that includes tangible places, sites and monuments, such as natural and cultural environments, encompassing landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as intangible assets such as past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experience (ICOMOS, 1999). Archaeological sites, or sites of archaeological significance, count as an important

component of heritage. In the last few decades, archaeological heritage sites represent a type of cultural tourism destination that has become much more popular with a wide variety of tourists than it was previously (Russell, 2006). Meanwhile, a growing number of archaeological sites around the world have been extensively commodified and increasingly integrated into the global tourism offer.

The interplay between tourism and archaeological sites has created a steadily growing archaeological tourism market, in which both the preservation and the reconstruction of those sites have played a fundamental role in the translation of the past for the purpose of marketing heritage (Duke, 2007; Ashworth, 1995). The concept that an ideal relationship between tourism and archaeological heritage exists is based upon the expectation that these two factors are able to mutually benefit each other (Slick, 2002). The increased demand by tourists provides a powerful economic and political justification to finance archaeological projects and expand conservation activities (Weaver and Oppermann 2000; Young, 2006), while the tourism industry makes use of the presentation of the surviving aspects of the past, profiting from their artistic, historical and educational values (Holtorf 2006). Due to the huge potential of archaeological tourism, it is not surprising that all over the world, both government authorities and enterprises are clamoring to get on the auspicious archaeological-tourism bandwagon by promoting and repackaging archaeological sites for tourist consumption. However, in practice, the partnership between tourism and archaeology often contains no innate mechanism by which harmonious compatibility may be achieved. In many cases, the tourism industry has recklessly overused archaeological heritage resources in order to satisfy the apparently insatiable desire of tourists for experiences that connect them to the past, without taking into consideration the fact that remains from the past are a resource that is neither inexhaustible nor instantly renewable (Ashworth, 1995: 72). This has therefore created a situation in which tourism, as a profit-oriented industry, has often become a major threat to the integrity of many archaeological sites in the modern capitalist world (Herbert, 1995). There are a substantial number of examples regarding the consequences of archaeological resources when overused by tourism; such as the closing of the cave of Altamira to

the public in 1977 after the paintings on the rock face had been severely damaged by the carbon dioxide from the breath of large numbers of visitors. (Martín Moreno, 2002). Other examples can also be seen in the encroachment on Petra, a world-renowned archaeological site in Jordan, by the overdevelopment of the hospitality industry around the site (Comer, 2012), as well as the severe damage to Machu Picchu, a unique ancient Inca citadel, and the main tourist attraction in Peru, which has been caused by an excessive number of sightseers (Silverman, 2002).

Another issue emerging from the connection between tourism and archaeological sites relates to authenticity. It is undeniable that tourism as an entertainment industry has directly or indirectly promoted an idealized image of leisure time regarding the past, by presenting positive representations of romanticized ancient remains and exotic local histories (Cornelissen, 2005). Indeed, it has been demonstrated that positive images are a determining factor in persuading prospective tourists to choose a certain destination (Araña and León, 2008: 301). For archaeological stories to acquire wider relevance for a public audience, they need to be transformed into something different than what archaeologists believe they ought to be (Holtorf, 2006: 20). Therefore, as tourism requires a fantasy-like, standardized, easily recognizable and mass-reproducible cultural experience, the presentation of archaeological sites tends to be tailored to the needs of the industry (Ashworth, 1995: 78). As Duke observes in the case of Crete, tourists to the island are offered archaeological sites and museums as an entertaining pageant full of mystery, wonder, and myth, glossed to be sure with the apparent certitude of science, but nevertheless a performance to be enjoyed (Duke, 2007: 15). Besides, with the rising popularity of archaeological tourism, today the average visitor to an archaeological site is often just as interested in the provision of entertainment facilities on the site, as with the exhibition of archaeological remains (Gazin-Schwartz, 2004; Costa, 2004). In fact, entertainment has surpassed motivations such as personal education, and it is now the number one motivation for most tourists to visit archaeological heritage sites (Slick, 2002: 223). As Bender (1998) noted at Stonehenge, the famous British archaeological site, at the time of her study

tourists spent more time in the gift shop and cafe than actually appreciating and learning about the heritage.

Moreover, political factors continue to play a significant part in the practice of presenting the past to the general public. The archaeological past, which is represented both in the sites open for visitors and as design motifs for the souvenir market, is fundamentally involved in the tourism industry and its inequities (Ardren, 2004: 104). Archaeological sites contain physical remains that reveal many significant periods of history. The exhibition and interpretation of those remains are more than mere narrative practices. The selection of what to include and also what to exclude has demonstrated that particular social groups – mainly the better-off classes – have had the privilege of being able to interpret the sites, basing their imperatives of what is important on their own sense of history and identity. The way an archaeological tourist attraction is designed, accessed, explained, and used reinforces the “spatial legitimization of class difference” (Mont, 1994: 19; Harvey, 1996). Taking archaeological tourist sites in Israel as an example, scholars argue that many of these sites have been used and transformed as a significant force to symbolically displace Palestinians from the history of the land, through intentional practices that are political, economic, semiotic and discursive (e.g. Raz-Krakotzkin, 1993; Bauman, 2004).

Archaeological tourism not only changes and challenges the conception, management and interpretation of archaeological sites, it also dramatically affects the economic and political strategies of the nation in which the sites are located, as well as the lives and livelihoods of the surrounding population. In an increasingly globalized world, countries and communities are building and claiming their heritage on the basis of those archaeological sites that they wish to develop as tourist destinations. Today even remote villages seek to market themselves as tourist attractions, taking advantage of their noteworthy sites and related cultural performances (Silverman, 2007). Regions within a country and even countries themselves compete with each other for tourists, spending lavishly on slick advertisements in upscale magazines in

an attempt to capture a larger share of the market. The restoration and preservation of archaeological sites resembles a theatrical performance of architecture for consumption by a tourist audience. Behind the huge wave of archaeological commodification, lies the fact that tourism, through its multi-edged effects, cultivates a cultural transformation in local communities (Hall and Lew, 2009). Those relatively positive effects include, for instance, the fact that indigenous people who act as tour guides, demonstrate a growing interest in learning more about their own culture through the books given to them as gift by tourists, and by their attendance at workshops and conferences organized by archaeologists and heritage specialists (Medina, 2003: 362). However, in many cases archaeological tourism also has negative effects on the culture of local communities, such as forcing them to change their traditional lifestyles and to become overly dependent on tourism to support themselves (Giraud and Porter, 2010). Furthermore, even though site visits are fundamentally involved in the commercial success of some regions, this does not necessarily mean that local communities always benefit from their success. Taking the archaeological tourism industry in Mexico for instance, few native communities in Mexico economically benefit from the country's widespread ancient heritage resources, due to the fact that multinational corporations and federal agencies control most of the revenues that come from tourism (Clancy, 1999).

Even though archaeological tourism, or tourism to sites with archaeological significance, is not a recent phenomenon, only in recent decades has it become a topic of academic attention. And it is only in the years immediately before the turn of the twentieth century that researchers worldwide started to pay attention to the effects on archaeological heritage by the act of people visiting such heritage (Hoffman et al., 2002). This today is a growing field of study with publications exploring a diversity of related issues, many of which overlap one another. These issues include authenticity in the commodification of the past (McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Cole, 2007; Lovata, 2007; Gustafsson and Karlsson, 2014), community participation and archaeological heritage (Erickson, 1998; Little and Shackel, 2007; Hodder, 2010), ethics in archaeological tourism (Hodder, 2003; Meskell and Pels, 2005; D áz-Andreu,

2013; Bowers, 2014; Herrera, 2015), the sustainable development of archaeological tourism (Walker and Carr, 2013; Duval and Smith, 2014; Criado-Boado et al., 2015), and the management of archaeological tourism (Chhabra, 2010; Zan and Lusiani, 2011; Comer, 2012; Hofman and Haviser, 2015). The recent surge of interest in archaeological tourism has also produced a growing body of literature in China, which is one of several countries where archaeological tourism is becoming a key economic asset. Recent publications on this topic consist predominantly of analyses that look at issues such as conflicts between site conservation and tourism demand (Liu, 2009), stakeholder management (Yang, 2002), tourism planning (Zhang, 2013), and sustainable development (Zhao 2011). Even though some Chinese scholars have begun to analyze the social impact of archaeological tourism (e.g. Cai, 2010; Chen, et al., 2007), little attention has been paid to the influence of the UNESCO World Heritage List on this matter. This doctoral thesis aims to fill this gap.

The UNESCO World Heritage List and its Influence on Archaeological Tourism

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is neither the originator nor the sole custodian of the leitmotif ‘heritage’. However, none could dispute that it is unarguably the most influential and powerful global institution in the mobilization of resources, the reproduction of dominant arguments, the establishment of programs and policies, and the dispensing of status surrounding the conservation and preservation of a site of heritage (Askew, 2010: 19). Known as the "intellectual" agency of the United Nations (UNESCO, 2016), UNESCO was created in 1945 in order to respond to the strongly-held post-war belief that political and economic agreements were not enough to build a lasting world peace, and that peace must be established on the basis of humanity’s moral and intellectual solidarity (Hoggart, 2011). Since its inception, UNESCO has striven to build networks among nations that enable this kind of solidarity. Among its many goals and tasks, UNESCO

was established with a constitution mandating ‘the conservation and protection of the world’s inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science’ (Meskell et al., 2014: 1). Soon after, this commitment was transformed into proactive international assistance, which was demonstrated by the rescue mission, launched in 1959, to save the Nubian monuments of Egypt from the threat posed by the construction of the Aswan Dam (S äve-S öderbergh, 1987).

The term ‘world heritage’ was initially construed in 1965, when the idea of a World Heritage Trust was proposed during the White House Conference in the United States (Allais, 2013: 7). The year 1972 counts as a noteworthy milestone in the institutionalization of heritage. In that year, UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) (UNESCO, 1972), which set up an international agenda for the recognition and protection of outstanding heritage sites for present and future generations (Smith, 2006b: 27; Jokilehto and Cameron 2008). In the process, the convention established the World Heritage List, which soon became one of UNESCO’s most popular and celebrated programs (Labadi, 2013: 1). According to Schmitt (2009: 119), the World Heritage List serves as a reference for what is worth preserving for future generations. The principal requirement for including properties on the World Heritage List is that those sites nominated must meet the threshold of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), which means that a site submitted for inclusion on the list should represent or symbolize a set of values that are so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and are of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity (Rao, 2010). The registration of sites on the list began in 1978, and the amount of designated World Heritage Sites increased rapidly. As of July 2015, a total of 1031 areas (802 cultural, 197 natural and 32 mixed sites) located in 163 States Parties have obtained this coveted status. Italy is home to the greatest number of World Heritage Sites with 51 sites, followed by China (48), Spain (44), France (41), Germany (40), Mexico (33), and India (32) (UNESCO, 2015c).

According to the convention, States Parties are responsible for selecting and nominating sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 1972: articles 3, 4 and 5). It is also the duty of States Parties to take the appropriate financial, technical, legal and administrative measures to create inventories, to adopt all the essential measures for the conservation and presentation of sites to the public, to facilitate the research and study of their heritage, to withdraw from taking deliberate measures damaging to it, and to involve local communities and the wider population in the appreciation and conservation of their heritage (ibid: Article 5). To guide the States Parties, UNESCO has provided the operational guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, which explain the procedure for the evaluation of nominations of sites for inclusion on the list, as well as the format and content of the nomination dossiers (UNESCO, 2012a). According to the operational guidelines, the procedure for the evaluation of nomination dossiers is as follows: States Parties must first compose what is known as a “Tentative List” to be sent to UNESCO. Such Tentative Lists include cultural and natural sites that States Parties plan to nominate in the next five to ten years. Sites inscribed on Tentative Lists can then be nominated for designation on the World Heritage List. It is the responsibility of States Parties to prepare nomination dossiers of sites that they wish to be registered. Once received, the nomination dossiers are sent to Advisory Bodies for independent evaluation. Taking the Advisory Bodies’ views into account, recommendations on individual nomination are prepared for the World Heritage Committee by its bureau. The committee then makes the final decision on each site during its annual session (Labadi, 2013: 31) (Fig.1).

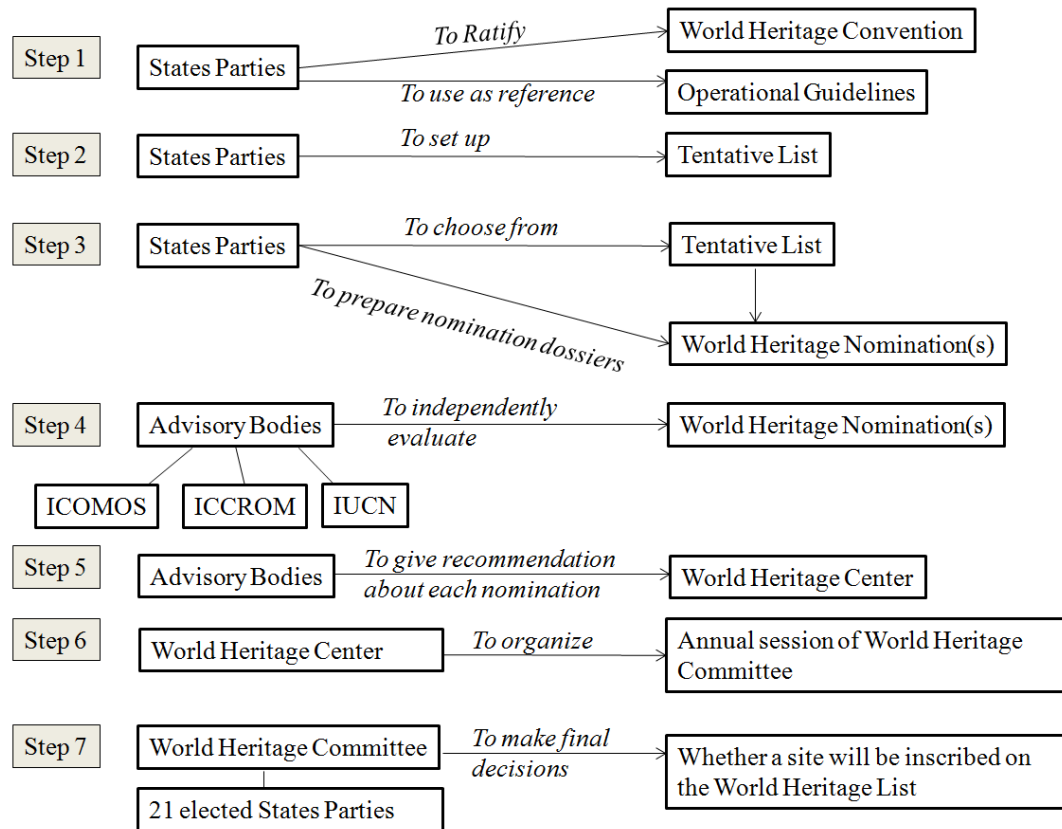


Fig.1 The UNESCO World Heritage List site-registration process.

In order to assist the World Heritage designation procedure, UNESCO established the World Heritage Center in 1992 to act as the Secretariat and coordinator for all matters related to the Convention. The Center, along with the Advisory Bodies, advises States Parties on the preparation of site nominations (Meskell, et al., 2014). It also organizes the annual sessions of the World Heritage Committee. The Advisory Bodies are comprised of international experts who conduct monitoring missions and evaluations: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Center for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). However, in recent years, the work of the Advisory Bodies has been subject to increasing criticism from the States Parties, especially those from non-Western nations, due to issues such as

factual error and Eurocentric bias (Rico, 2008; Meskell, 2013; Willems, 2014). The World Heritage Committee is made up of twenty-one States Parties, which are elected by all the States Parties at a general assembly. The elected States Parties serve a term lasting several years. At the annual sessions, the Committee has the final say on whether or not a site is registered on the World Heritage List. Therefore, in practice, those States Parties represented on the Committee are in fact the most powerful decision-makers in the discourse of World Heritage inscription (Askew, 2010).

In recent years, committee representatives have shifted from being academic specialists in favor of state-appointed ambassadors and politicians. This is a move in line with the fact that World Heritage List has become a political tool for nations to bolster their sovereign interests (Hoggart, 2011). Furthermore, concern for local and indigenous community involvement has been similarly diminished by powerful nation-states (Logan, 2013), despite UNESCO's own attempt to recognize indigenous voices. Collective decision-making and the overarching responsibilities for the conservation of sites, once the remit of national delegates with heritage expertise, have also been substituted by excessive backstage lobbying by politicians (Cassel and Pashkevich, 2013). With the growing dominance of strategic political alliances among States Parties based on geography, religion, trade partnerships or anti-Western sentiment, the recommendations of the Advisory Bodies have been increasingly overturned (Jokilehto, 2011). Besides, wealthy countries can easily spend millions on the preparation for nomination dossiers and thus expect that their investment to guarantee site inscription (Rao, 2010: 164). In the last decade, at the annual meetings of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, when deciding as to whether a site was to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, the overall trend was to push all final decisions towards the category of inscription. (Meskell et al., 2014: 5).

Through its instrumental-symbolic function, the UNESCO World Heritage List has engendered generally unintended and uncontrolled impacts on the development of archaeological tourism. The most direct impact is its contribution to encouraging the international awareness of designated World Heritage archaeological sites on the

tourism market, and consequently increasing the income from tourism that is related to those sites. Although some scholars argue that the link between World Heritage status and increased visitation above existing tourism trends is somewhat tenuous (Hall and Piggin, 2002), it is generally acknowledged that the whole process of listing, whether intentional or not, has enhanced the global visibility of World Heritage Sites and has contributed to an increased number of visitors to cultural heritage destinations, in which archaeological sites are recognized as an important component (Villalobos Acosta, 2011: 31). To many tourists, the sites selected for inscription on the World Heritage List are considered to be the foremost cultural and natural wonders of the world, and therefore worth visiting (Yan and Morrison, 2008: 185). The influence of World Heritage status on the tourism market is so conspicuous that World Heritage Sites have been described as ‘magnets for visitors’ and World Heritage inscription is ‘virtually a guarantee that visitor numbers will increase’ (Shackley, 1998).

Apart from directly bolstering site visitation, the process of listing also reshapes conservation and management, as well as the presentation of archaeological sites to the public in a contradictory way. On the one hand, it encourages the abuse of archaeological heritage for cultural hegemony and state nationalism. On the other, it restrains the development and exploitation of such heritage with the normative power of the listing process. In fact, the double-edged effect of World Heritage listing has influenced not only designated World Heritage archaeological sites, but other forms of heritage sites that are also inscribed on the list. In the past decade, the thirst for ‘global accreditation’ among nation-states has led to a veritable explosion of World Heritage listed sites. One of the key reasons why States Parties have shown such an enthusiasm towards the World Heritage List is because it enables them to use the whole nomination process for their own domestic agendas. In other words, nations use the alleged cosmopolitan ideals of the World Heritage Convention for their own commercial and nationalistic purposes (Labadi and Long, 2010: 6). However, the scramble for World Heritage designation equally demonstrates the weight of World Heritage status in those considerations on heritage strategies and policies made by national authorities. The World Heritage title is perceived as a form of soft power, as

well as a means of communicating a state's cultural, social and even environmental credentials to the world. Therefore, even though the World Heritage Convention cannot override national sovereignty in terms of legal power, the list casts a supervisory influence on the sphere of heritage, through the application of normative pressure and the harnessing of symbolic capital for state authorities (Askew, 2010: 21).

Archaeological Heritage and Social Value

With the expansion of tourism and the influence of the UNESCO World Heritage List, archaeological heritage sites are increasingly exploited for their potential as revenue generators, public education providers, national identity promoters, and for many other roles. It should be noted that these potential roles are defined by the numerous values that different groups and communities attribute to the sites. In fact, value has always been the reason underlying the protection and exploitation of any place of heritage. It is a self-evident fact that no society makes an effort to conserve what it does not value (De la Torre, 2002). In considering the matter of heritage values, there remains a fundamental question: whose values are we addressing? To answer this question, one needs to understand the relationship between heritage and values.

Heritage is a comprehensive and dynamic concept. Ashworth (1997) described heritage as almost anything inherited from the past or destined for the future. Another perspective is provided by Herbert (1995), who suggested that heritage encapsulates notions of history, politics and identity, which are often embodied in historical artefacts and sites. Such a perspective is further developed by Choay (2001) and Smith (2006b), who perceive heritage as a cultural process through which certain values that a society or sections of a society wish to preserve evolve, negotiate and transmit. Over time, heritage is no longer considered to be a static set of objects with fixed meanings (De la Torre, 2013: 158). A progressively accepted point of view

argues that heritage itself does not have values, and instead values are ascribed to heritage sites by different groups and communities (Pearce, 2000; Avrami, 2009; De la Torre, 2002, 2013; Smith, 2009). This point of view recognizes value-production factors outside the object itself and emphasizes the important social processes of value formation (Pereira, 2007; De la Torre, 2002: 8). The most important characteristic of heritage values is that they are always attributed and never inherent. That is to say, even though a place of heritage has many inner features, such as age, size and material, these have no value until meanings and significance are ascribed to them by people (De la Torre, 2013: 159-160). As Lipe (1984: 2) argued, value is learned about and discovered in heritage by human beings, and thus it depends on the particular cultural, intellectual, historical, and psychological frames of reference held by the particular individuals or groups involved. That is to say, a place of heritage has value only when people project their own understandings and interpretations onto it, the latter of which are based upon their own needs and desires, and shaped by their current social, cultural and economic circumstances (Spennemann, 2006). Therefore, to answer the question raised earlier, it is the values of people themselves that we are addressing when considering the matter of heritage values.

Based on this understanding of heritage values, the research undertaken for this doctoral thesis argues that the values associated with an archaeological site do not simply derive from its material composition, but from the people who project their interpretations and understandings onto the site in their interaction with it. It is essential to recognize that archaeological heritage is not merely a passive presentation of the past, but an active agent through which different information and meanings are recreated, negotiated and formulated. Practices concerning places of archaeological heritage usually take two forms: one focuses on the management and conservation of the places, and the other is tied to the visitation of the places within tourism and leisure activities (Smith, 2006b: 12). These practices are both directly involved in the fabrication, transfiguration and regulation of a range of values and meanings ascribed to heritage. It may therefore be stated that, apart from site conservation and management, archaeological tourism is also an active player with a marked influence

on the negotiation, recreation and maintenance of those values attributed to archaeological sites by different groups and communities.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, there have been many attempts to categorize the varieties of heritage values. Alois Riegl (Riegl, 1903) was among the first to do so, and his effort has been followed by a number of scholars and institutes from different disciplines (De la Torre, 2002: 11). An important moment arose in 1979, when social value, as a new type of heritage value, was recognized and mentioned in the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, which is commonly known as the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1988). This document developed the concept of 'cultural significance', to which a value-based management is closely related (Russel and Winkworth, 2009: 4). Value-based management, in which the consideration of social value played an important part, was created to challenge the traditional material-based approach of value assessment (Bentrupperbäumer et al., 2006). The initial recognition of social value was cultivated in a global context where social movements concerning the rights of indigenous people have prevailed in Australia and North America (Díaz-Andreu, 2016a: 70-75).

In Australia, the Aboriginal land rights movement has, since the 1960s, led to the development of legislation protecting and regulating Aboriginal heritage places (Greer et al., 2002). Because of the new laws, archaeologists there have been required to obtain consent from indigenous people whose cultural heritage has become the subject of investigation (Davidson et al., 1995: 83). This change in policy has produced an audible presence of indigenous voices in the heritage field, through explicit mention of work carried out in consultation with a particular community (e.g. David et al., 1990) or as dissenting voices in opposition to archaeological programs (TALC, 1996). In North America, the civil rights movements in the 1950s and 1960s helped Native Americans, like other minority groups, to gain support for the idea of returning and reburying ancestral remains (Fine-Dare, 2002; Hill, 2001). Within the activist climate of this era, the repatriation issue has not only had a profound effect on the way archaeologists conduct research in this region, but it has also encouraged

many Native Americans to reconsider their rights and roles in the realm of heritage (Mihesuah, 2000). It is the enhanced presence of indigenous voices in the heritage field of these regions that has gradually changed the way in which heritage values are considered.

After its initial proposal in the Burra Charter, the idea of social value was further elaborated by a series of publications that were produced in the heritage field during recent decades (e.g. Johnston, 1992; Walker, 1998; De la Torre, 2002; Smith, 2009; D áz-Andreu, 2016a, 2016b). Social value, as referred to in this research, has recently been defined as “the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them”, as stated in the 2013 revised version of the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 4). Based on this definition, it can be argued that social value refers to the social and cultural meanings that a place of heritage holds for a particular group of people. The social values attributed to archaeological sites are contemporary, dynamic and subjective. They vary in accordance with the perspectives of different individuals and communities, and evolve over time, while being subject to changes in social, cultural, economic and political contexts. Their existence resides in a community’s collective sense of attachment to an archaeological site that embodies meanings that are culturally or socially significant to the community members. It is because of these meanings that the site has become emotionally, culturally and socially important to this community in the first place. On being inspired by those meanings, a collective sense of attachment is expressed in individual feelings and in the activities of members from the community, sometimes unconsciously. It is this shared attachment that makes a place of archaeological heritage ‘alive’ to a society or to segments of a society.

The changes in the social values that people attribute to heritage may result from modifications in the external environment, such as those in the function of a place. The tourist commercialization of an archaeological site promotes changes to the social values associated with the site, as the decisions taken during the process have a

marked impact on the daily lives of large numbers of people. In the development of archaeological tourism, in theory, the multiplicity of values attributed to a place of archaeological heritage deserve to be equally conserved. In practice, however, this is not possible. When transforming archaeological remains into tourist destinations, stakeholders must favor certain values over others. These preferred values are then promoted by designation and conservation, which will enhance their significance. Those values considered as being less important will remain in the background and may gradually fade away. Stakeholders in charge of protecting and commercializing archaeological sites have a pronounced influence on which values are to be prioritized. These stakeholders generally include two groups of people: one formed by government officials and the other by heritage professionals; a situation described by Marta de la Torre in 2002 (De la Torre, 2002: 17-18). For government authorities, economic and political values are undoubtedly those best understood and prioritized. These values are also used to justify investment in any heritage-related project (De la Torre, 2013: 161). The choices made by heritage professionals may include a different range of values, but these choices remain biased and are highly influenced by the cultural beliefs of the experts, as well as by their disciplinary, national and personal backgrounds. Despite the insistence made in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines in terms of extending the public base in the management of World Heritage Sites, the situation has not changed substantially since 2002 (D íz-Andreu, 2016b).

Scholars have argued that the UNESCO World Heritage List has a marked influence on the process of deciding which values are promoted over others, through the implementation of the “authorized heritage discourse (e.g. Smith, 2006b: 29-30; Labadi, 2013: 12-13; Smith and Waterton: 2009).” Although the idea that heritage values are extrinsic has been extensively accepted in the academic world, the belief in the intrinsic value of heritage has remained a central position in mainstream heritage discourse (Labadi, 2013: 12). This has much to do with the normative activities and ethics embodied in the UNESCO World Heritage List and its essential concept of Outstanding Universal Value. In the initial years of World Heritage designation,

iconic monuments such as the Egyptian pyramids and Greek buildings were among the first to be given the World Heritage status. Such sites were believed to possess intrinsic and unquestionable universal significance, which has later been frequently referred to as the best demonstration of the Outstanding Universal Value (Cleere, 2011). This has triggered the very process of listing in order to specifically focus on the innate qualities of heritage sites, such as their aesthetic, scientific and historical values. Embedded within this discourse is the idea that only experts know the proper way to protect heritage and its associated values, because they are the only ones with exclusive knowledge and the abilities to identify and understand those inherent values contained in places of heritage (Smith, 2006b: 29-30). Therefore, this official interpretation and constitution of heritage, which is termed as an authorized heritage discourse, muffles the voices and opinions local populations, who are in fact considered to be ignorant of the significance of their own heritage and in need of education on this matter from external experts (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008: 474; Criado-Boado et al., 2015: 56).

In recent decades, despite of the influence of authorized heritage discourse, social value has become an increasingly important consideration in national and international documents concerning heritage (Cooper 2008; Keitumetse, 2011; D áz-Andreu et al., 2016, forthcoming). The identification and conservation of social values have long been argued to be effective towards protecting heritage sites, as such a practice is believed to encourage community initiatives in creating and maintaining meanings and life for the sites (UNESCO, 1976; Johnston, 1992; UNESCO, 2007). The benefits of enhancing community participation in heritage management have been emphasized by many researchers (Simmons, 1994; Harrison and John, 1996; Meskell, 2005; Smith and Waterton, 2009; Criado-Boado et al., 2010; Castillo and Querol, 2014; Castillo, 2015; Cochrane, 2015). In fact, practices in heritage preservation and tourist commercialization have converged on the view that activity at a community level is essential to their successful development (Labadi and Gould, 2015: 201-202). Whatever the form is, community engagement has become an ethical obligation for most heritage practitioners in recent years (Low, 2003). Moreover,

UNESCO has established the involvement of local communities as a compulsory requirement for States Parties to fulfill in the World Heritage nomination process and in the management of World Heritage properties (D íaz-Andreu, 2016b: 185). Even though a disparity exists between UNESCO's request and current practices, examples of efforts in terms of community engagement have been observed in numerous community-based projects undertaken all over the world (e.g. Goudie et al., 1999; Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Kerr, 2000; Moser et al., 2002; Dowdall and Parrish, 2003; Smith, 2004a; Smith 2004b; Aas et al., 2005; Lilley and Williams, 2005; Landorf, 2009; Walker and Carr, 2013). The notion of considering social values attributed to heritage places from the perspective of local communities is an endeavor to allow previously marginalized stakeholders to express themselves, and is essentially a political effort towards equity and democracy (Castillo, 2014).

China: a Contested Ground for the Interplay between Archaeological Tourism, World Heritage, and Social Value

When compared to most countries, the People's Republic of China (China) serves as an extreme example when analyzing the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage designation, and social value. China is prominent on the international stage for several reasons. Firstly, it is a country developed on a vast landmass that has been continuously inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups for thousands of years, and which now boasts the largest population in the world. Secondly, tourism development in China has taken a unique path, due to the country's unique historical and political background. Thirdly, China has surpassed all expectations with its rapid and constant growth in both economic terms and in its global status, to become a strong participant in the international tourism market and the UNESCO World Heritage community.

A Brief Overview of the History of Archaeological Tourism in China

Even though archaeological tourism in China officially came into existence after 1978, its roots can be traced back to early travel-based activities that had pervaded in the country for centuries. Travel was seen as an indispensable source of inspiration for a number of ancient scholars, and a significant component in the training of intellectuals (Ny íi, 2011: 7). The activity of visiting famous sites started to become popular among well-to-do scholars in the Tang Dynasty (618-907CE) and thrived in the Song Dynasty (960-1279CE) (Shepherd and Yu, 2013: 6). The well-known saying that "travelling ten thousand *li* (about 0.5 kilometers) is as important as reading ten thousand volumes" was followed by many intellectuals (Strassberg, 1994: 57). During the Ming and Qing era (1368-1911CE), travelling activities extended to the upper classes who, during their visits, referred back to the writings of their predecessors and expressed the sheer pleasure of visiting places in their travel writings (Brook, 1998: 180; Rubi és and Oll é 2016: 284-303).

When China was forced to open its doors under the impositions of the West in the mid-nineteenth century, modern travelers began to pour in, along with embassies, businesses, missionaries and scholars (Wang, 2003: 37). International travel to China reached its heyday in the 1920s, which resulted in the birth of the Chinese tourism industry (Zhang et al., 2000: 282). During the same period, European scholars introduced archaeological field methods, which led to important discoveries, as well as the establishment of archaeology as a scientific discipline (Debaine-Francfort, 1999: 24). However, in the late 1930s and 1940s, a series of upheavals, including the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945 CE) and the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949 CE), wracked the country and essentially prevented all recreational travelling and archaeological excavation. After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, ideologically, tourism was considered to represent a bourgeois capitalist lifestyle and was therefore, unacceptable as a form of economic activity (Zhang, 2003: 15). Therefore, for almost three decades, freedom to travel in China was restricted (Chow, 1988:207), and tourism was held tightly in the hands of the state machinery as

a propaganda tool, serving political rather than economic purposes (Zhang et al., 1999: 473). Archaeology as a discipline was resumed after 1949, and a range of magnificent discoveries was made nationwide (Liu and Chen, 2012: 8). Nevertheless, during the thirty year period mentioned above, neither archaeological sites nor any other cultural heritage sites were promoted as tourist attractions. Instead, tourist destinations focused on the material achievements of Communism, such as model factories, schools, and communes of revolutionary peasants, regardless of the visitors' true interests (Ny í, 2011). When the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) swept across the nation, the "Four Olds" (ideas, customs, culture, and habits), especially the continuing influence of traditional philosophies and a reverence for past imperial dynasties, were ruthlessly attacked by the "Red Guards." This cultural catastrophe led to the wholesale destruction of cultural sites on a scale so massive that it may never be fully calculated (Trigger, 1984; Fowler, 1987). Nevertheless, even though some archaeological findings were destroyed during the catastrophe (e.g. Yang and Yue, 2007), most archaeological sites remained untouched (Liu and Chen, 2012: 11).

1978 was a key year in Chinese history. In that year, the Communist Party of China made an epic decision to shift emphasis from political struggle to economic development, and to end the country's isolation from the outside world, following Deng Xiaoping's "Reform and Open" policy (Lim and Wang, 2008: 450). At the beginning of the post-1978 era, one major task faced by the Chinese government was to resolve the conflicting tensions generated by its desire to modernize the country rapidly, the need to restore China's national identity after the trauma of the Cultural Revolution, and the challenge of managing the country's transformation in a way that justified continued Communist Party rule (Denton, 2005: 581). It is under these circumstances that tourism was renewed and cultural heritage was promoted to reconcile the tensions. Many Chinese cultural heritage sites are archaeological sites, a fact that marked the beginning of modern-day archaeological tourism in China. According to the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics (State Council, 2013)," archaeological sites are a form of '*wenwu*' (literally meaning 'cultural relics' or 'cultural properties'). The concept of *wenwu* refers to

monuments and sites as unmovable cultural properties, and artifacts as movable cultural properties.

In its early years, after 1978, and to a great extent today, archaeological tourism was perceived as a means of educating the Chinese about their own collective past, and reconstituting a shared cultural landscape and national identity (Shepherd and Yu, 2013: 19). The promotion of archaeological tourism has also been fostered by its perceived diplomatic function. Since the 1980s, some magnificent archaeological sites, such as the Terracotta Army and the Great Wall, have been frequently used to showcase Chinese culture to important foreign guests (Debaine-Francfort, 1999: 34). Furthermore, archaeological sites in China have been increasingly commercialized as tourist attractions. Many outstanding archaeological sites, such as the Terracotta Army, the Mogao Cave, the site of Yin Xu, and the site of Jinsha, are among the most popular destinations for both domestic and international tourists, and have produced remarkable tourism revenues for local government coffers (Tian, 1999; Demas et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2009; Cui, 2007). In general terms, in over little more than a quarter of a century, China's archaeological tourism has gone from playing a minor role in the country's economy to being a major source of income at national, provincial and local levels, while its development is actively encouraged by the government (Gao, 2016a).

Archaeological Tourism and the UNESCO World Heritage List

The development of archaeological tourism in China has been intertwined with the influence of the UNESCO World Heritage List in China. In 1985, the central government ratified the World Heritage Convention and began to inscribe its outstanding cultural and natural sites on the World Heritage List. Twenty years later, in 2015, China has managed to place 48 heritage properties on the list, among which, 34 are cultural sites, 10 are natural sites, and 4 are mixed sites (UNESCO, 2015a).

World Heritage nomination in China is a highly politicized process. From central to provincial and local government levels, there are several administrative sectors involved. At the central level, there are two departments in charge of UNESCO World Heritage nomination: the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), for the applications of cultural sites, and the State Ministry of Construction, for natural and mixed sites. The nomination process for cultural sites begins at a local level. In general, a local government chooses sites that have the potential of becoming World Heritage Sites in its own administrative territory and suggests them to the provincial government. The provincial government makes a preliminary selection and submits a short-list to the SACH, which has the final say on which sites are designated on the Tentative List. China updates its Tentative List every three to six years, and each time, those sites that have already been included on the list need to be re-assessed in order to retain their status.

The inclusion of a site on the Tentative List is made together with a request to the pertinent local government body to promote the research, preservation and management of the site, in preparation for becoming an official nominee (SACH, 2012). Today there are 55 sites on the Tentative List in China, 45 of which are cultural sites (UNESCO, 2015b). However, due to current UNESCO regulations, each year States Parties like China, which has already had sites inscribed on the World Heritage List, can now only put forward two sites (including at least one natural site) from its Tentative List to be considered for designation. This means that many sites on the current list will have to wait for up to decades before being officially considered for nomination. In practice, the selection of sites on both the World Heritage List and the Tentative List is a result of power negotiations between authorities at different levels and in different regions. As only one cultural site can be nominated every year, the Chinese central authorities tend to choose the candidate which is most likely to succeed. This criterion, however, may be overridden by another factor, which is the Chinese government policy aimed at maintaining a balance among the provinces.

China's enthusiasm for World Heritage designation has had a huge effect on the tourist commercialization of archaeological sites. This largely concerns a series of successful World Heritage inscriptions in the late 1990s, which effectively triggered the transformation of a few, previously unknown sites into top tourist destinations in the country (Zheng 2011: 169). The potential economic benefit of World Heritage inscription has encouraged regional governments to pursue this international accreditation for sites located in their territories. Besides, a successful World Heritage inscription is also considered to be a great political achievement for government officials, whose promotion largely depends on their successes in their administrative jurisdictions. Therefore, during the last two decades, regional governments have scrambled to inscribe as many heritage sites as possible on both the World Heritage List and the Tentative List. In preparation for nomination, local governments usually launch a number of projects to enhance the preservation status of their sites. Such projects often include plans to renovate and establish infrastructural and tourist facilities around the sites, so fostering the development of archaeological tourism. However, these projects may also cover possible changes in the location of local communities, factories and businesses, and often require the demolition of buildings that do not match the criteria for World Heritage inscription (Qiu, 2010; Zhu, 2012). Therefore, in spite of theoretically facilitating archaeological tourism, in practice the preparation for World Heritage nomination means that most sites have to endure what is sometimes a tremendous transformation (Han, 2008). Such changes, despite being perceived to be positive to the preservation of heritage, have more often than not, affected local communities in a negative manner.

The impact of the World Heritage List can also be seen in the vigorous promotion by the Chinese authorities of the "Great Sites" (da yizhi), from the turn of the last century. According to the SACH, the term 'Great Sites' refers to ancient cultural remains of a large size, diverse contents, and prominent values, including prehistoric settlements, the ruins of cities and palaces, cemeteries, and more generally, any important historical remains pertaining to human activities (SACH, 2006). In other words, the terms covers archaeological sites. In the year 2000, the State Council incorporated the

idea of enhancing the conservation of fifty Great Sites into its “Five-Year Plan”; the master plan drawn up every five years to direct the country’s future development (Lu, 2005: 120). Since then, the central government has gradually enlarged allocations for conserving Great Sites (SACH, 2009). The successful World Heritage inscription of the archaeological remains of the Koguryo Kingdom in 2004, after the implementation of a series of conservation projects, has effectively encouraged the state authorities to willingly raise funding for protecting Great Sites (Zhou, 2008: 30). In the following Five-Year Plan, which was issued in 2005, the central government decided to carry out conservation projects on another one hundred Great Sites nationwide (SACH, 2006). With these increased investments, many archaeological remains, including the Great Wall and sites along the Silk Road, underwent large-scale renovations (SACH, 2009).

During the past decade, the dominant method employed to conserve the Great Sites has been to transform them into archaeological heritage parks: a concept that aims to combine the protection and display of ancient cultural remains with their function as public spaces (Li and Quan, 2007). This method has been strongly supported by the central authorities, as demonstrated by the 2010 SACH implementation of a list of “National Archaeological Heritage Parks” (SACH, 2010). In the past five years, the number of archaeological parks included on the list has more than tripled (SACH, 2013a). The numerous projects involving the conversion of Great Sites into heritage parks were facilitated by the Chinese government’s constant enthusiasm for World Heritage designation. In turn, these projects have contributed to the successful inscription of several archaeological sites on the World Heritage List, such as the site of Yin Xu (inscribed in 2006) (Fig.2), the site of Xanadu (inscribed in 2012) (Fig.3), and the sites along the Silk Roads (inscribed in 2014) (Fig.4).



Fig.2 Part of the Yin Xu archaeological site, Anyang, Henan Province, China (Obtained from: www.photohn.com).



Fig. 3 The Xanadu archaeological site, Tin ringler, Nei Mongol Autonomous Region (Obtained from: www.huaxia.com).



Fig.4 The Maijishan Grottoes (Tianshui, Gansu Province), part of the World Heritage site series:
“Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor”
(Photo: October 2009. Author).

The emergence of archaeological heritage parks in recent years has not only substantially promoted archaeological tourism in China, but also encouraged Chinese authorities and scholars to pay more attention to issues concerning the relationship between heritage and the public (Yan, 2014). It has also prompted discussions of an alternative value assessment mechanism that would go beyond the traditional focus on historical, artistic and scientific facets, to include extrinsic aspects such as social and economic values (e.g. Zhang, 2006; Liu, 2011). In fact, with respect to heritage values, the changes in the narrative description of Chinese legislation and official documents have demonstrated a gradual recognition of extrinsic values by the country's authorities and academic professionals. In the discourse of heritage conservation, like most countries, China initially only recognized the intrinsic values of archaeological sites. This is shown in China's preliminary legislation on heritage protection, which

demanded regional governments to select, evaluate and categorize immovable cultural possessions within their administrative territories, based on the historical, artistic, scientific, and commemorative values of these belongings (State Council, 1961). Later, China's formal legislation on heritage conservation – the “Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics,” which was first issued in 1982 and recently revised in 2013 – also addressed only the historical, artistic, and scientific values of archaeological sites (State Council, 2013). However, in the last decade, the sole emphasis on intrinsic values has gradually been substituted by a progressive appreciation of extrinsic values. This has been triggered by the increasing economic and political benefits brought about by the touristic commercialization of archaeological remains, as well as the growing influence of international political, cultural, and ideological trends. These reflections on value assessment have led to changes in China's official documents, as shown by the “Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites of China” document, which is commonly known as the “China Principles”. Initially published in 2002, this national instruction document on the conservation practices used for heritage sites explicitly detailed, for the first time, the social and cultural values of heritage sites in its 2015 revision (ICOMOS China, 2015) (Fig.5).

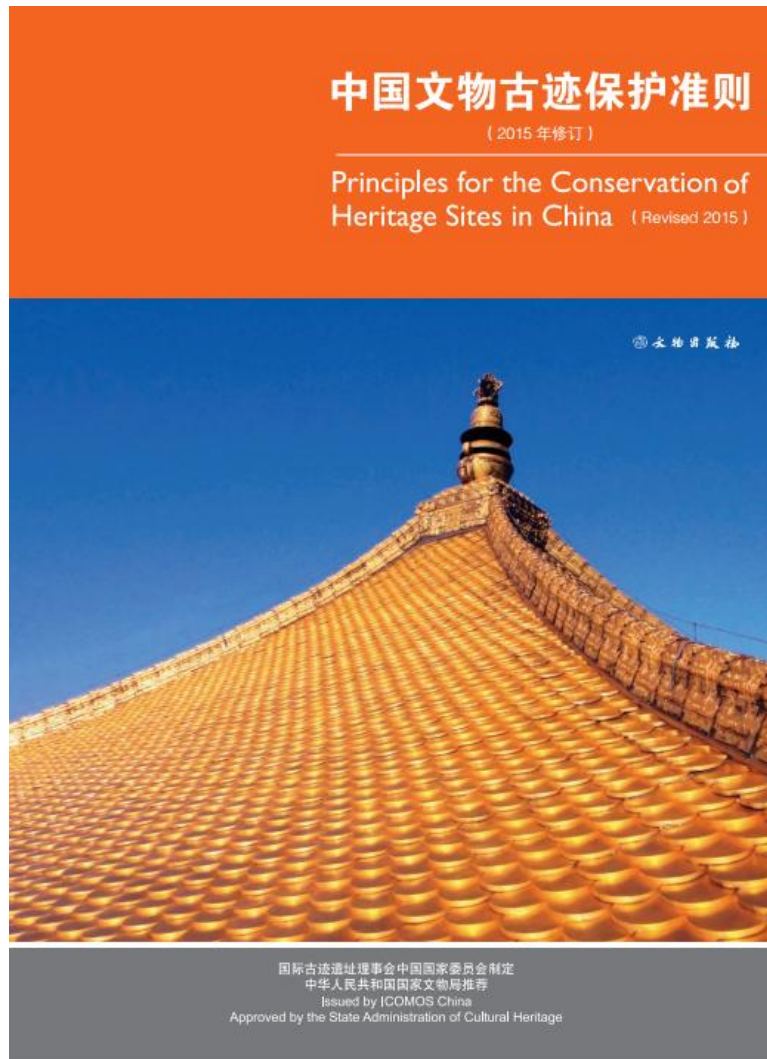


Fig.5 Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites of China (2015 revised version), issued by ICOMOS China.

Two case-studies: the Daming Palace Site and the Huashan Rock Art Area

In order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage designation, and social value in China, the research for this doctoral thesis has chosen two sites for its case study: the Daming

Palace archaeological site, and the Huashan Rock Art Area (Fig.6). These two sites are excellent examples because they represent Chinese archaeological sites in different stages of tourism development and World Heritage status. The first case, the Daming Palace archaeological site, is already a World Heritage site and a well-developed tourist destination. Meanwhile, the Huashan Rock Art Area, the second case-study, is still pursuing its World Heritage inscription and is in the early stage of tourism development. The Daming Palace site has also been chosen because it stands out among all those sites that have recently been transformed into archaeological parks, due its phenomenal size, lavish investment, and large-scale residential relocation. Furthermore, the Huashan Rock Art Area has become a focus of research focus due to its unique characteristics: it is the first rock art heritage site nominated by China for World Heritage status.



Fig.6 The location of the Daming Palace archaeological site and the Huashan Rock Art Area in China.

The Daming Palace archaeological site is located in the northern suburb of Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province. It comprises the archaeological remains of a large, royal palatial complex, which was constructed in the Tang Dynasty (681-907CE). The site covers an area of approximately 320 hectares. Before its tourism-orientated transformation, the site was situated among a mish-mash of urban and rural spaces, mingled with a jumbled layout of densely populated shack-houses, farmsteads and industrial buildings. In 2007, the Xi'an government initiated the "Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform" project, which transformed the site into a large archaeological heritage park (Fig.7). The construction of the park took place between 2008 and 2010, during which local communities were greatly affected: 7 villages, 80 factories, 27,000 commercial tenants – in total, approximately 100,000 people – were removed from the site (Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform Office, 2015). World Heritage was a key element behind the heritization of the area. The Xi'an government's decision to convert the site into a tourist park was partially motivated by the fact that the site could be incorporated as a part of the "Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor" cultural heritage project, a serial World Heritage nomination proposed by China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In 2014, the nomination was successfully inscribed in the World Heritage List and the site has retained this status since then. Nowadays, the relocated former inhabitants of the site are still trying to find their feet in their new living environments, while the heritage park is used mostly by nearby neighborhoods as a public green area for leisure and relaxation (Fig.8).



Fig.7 The Daming Palace archaeological heritage park, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province (photo: August 2014. Author).



Fig.8 The Daming Palace archaeological site, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province (Photo: August 2014. Author).

The Huashan Rock Art Area is an archaeological heritage site whose development in terms of tourism has also been hugely affected by World Heritage nomination. The area consists of eighty-one rock art sites that are located in what is today a sparsely populated region of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous region. Along the Zuojiang River Valley, the sites are scattered in a picturesque landscape featured with green limestone peaks, meandering water, and interspersed tablelands (Fig.9). Most of the sites are located on cliffs facing the water, above river bends, and comprise reddish motifs painted high on the cliff surface (Qin et al., 1987). It is generally believed that the paintings were created between the Warring States Period (403-221 BCE) and the reign of the Eastern Han Dynasty (26-220 CE), by an ethnic group named Luo Yue, who scholars believe to be the ancestors of the present-day Zhuang people (Gao, 2013). The Huashan Rock Art Area is named after the eponymous Huashan rock art site, which is arguably the most extraordinary in the area (Fig.10). Tourism development in the rock art area was almost at a standstill until the turn of the century, when the local government started to promote the Huashan rock art site for World Heritage designation. In 2010, the provincial authorities decided to promote the entire rock art area, instead of just one site, to become a World Heritage Site, under the name of “Huashan Rock Art Cultural Landscape.” For the rock art area, the preparation for World Heritage inscription is undoubtedly the most significant impulse in terms of encouraging archaeological tourism in this region. Preparing for the area’s official nomination in 2016, the pre-nomination campaign has had contradictory effects on tourist commercialization. The campaign has also reshaped the social value of local communities who are associated with the rock art sites. They perceive the sites as sacred places and themselves as the descendants of the people who created the paintings.



Fig.9 The Huashan Rock Art Area, in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Photograph courtesy of the Longzhou World Heritage Nomination Office).



Fig.10 The Huashan Rock Art Site, Ningming County, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (photograph courtesy of Huang Wenwei)

The Public and World Heritage in China

In China, the consideration of those social values that inspire local community attachment to archaeological heritage has never been high on the list of either academic or governmental priorities. However local populations are those groups mostly affected by the development of tourism and the consequences of World Heritage designation. Moreover, it is their appreciation and understanding of heritage, in other words, the social values that are ascribed to the site from their perspective, that help to maintain the cultural significance of the site and manage it in a sustainable manner. To understand social values and how they have changed under the effect of tourism and UNESCO World Heritage designation, one needs to probe into individual perceptions and attitudes that influence the ways in which local community members view the heritage site. The very process of gauging community-level changes in perception and attitude lays the foundations for apprehending the social impact of archaeological tourism and the World Heritage List itself.

Methodology: Archaeological Ethnography

The doctoral thesis “World Heritage, Archaeological Tourism and Social Value in China” is designed to use archaeological ethnographic methods to assist in exploring the research objectives in the two specific cases: the Daming Palace archaeological site, and the Huashan Rock Art Area. By doing so, it calibrates community-level changes in perception and attitude to the rise of archaeological tourism under the influence of World Heritage designation at the two sites. Changes in the perceptions and attitudes of community members to the development of the heritage site reveal how those social values attributed to the property in question by the local community have been affected by such development. The methods employed in the case studies are based on the theoretical framework of archaeological ethnography. In recent years, ethnographic methods have been increasingly used in archaeological projects under the rubric of archaeological ethnography (Hamilakis, 2009: 65). This is because a great deal of archaeological research has recently centered on the realm of heritage management, which has brought many communities into contact with archaeology (Hollowell and Nicholas, 2009: 142). However, in most parts of the world, heritage management is undertaken in such a way that it shows bias in favor of a top-down perspective and value system. Such a practice often creates issues concerning the ownership, interpretation and management of a heritage location among different stakeholders, especially between the authorities and local communities. Scholars believe that ethnographic approaches provide an appropriate methodological framework for revealing the diverse meanings and interpretations of particular social phenomena (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The understanding of these phenomena helps to tackle the multiple issues produced by unilateral practices in heritage management. Therefore, archaeological ethnography, as an innovative and unconventional ground for archaeological study, involves the introduction of ethnographic methods into archaeological projects in order to address those complex issues that concern ethical, political, economic, and social engagement between

archaeological sites and the diverse public areas affected (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009: 66).

The application of archaeological ethnographic methods has yielded a range of publications that have aimed to scrutinize those complexities that arise in the involvement of different stakeholders in archaeological heritage. To name but a few, these publications include Herzfeld's inspection into the conflicts between archaeologists and the residents of the Venetian and Ottoman quarter of Rethymno in Crete (1991), Castañeda's examination of the Maya's interconnection with archaeological tourism in Chichén Itzá, Mexico (1996), and Meskell's discussion of the spiritual and economic role played by national archaeological heritage in South Africa (2005). Furthermore, this method has been undertaken in Antoniadou's exploration of those local practices that archaeologists routinely characterize as 'looting' in Kozani, Greece (2009). Comer (2012) also employed this method in his investigation of community participation in the archaeological tourism of Petra, Jordan. Despite the fact that the archaeological ethnographic method has been extensively applied all over the world, in order to unravel diverse social and cultural issues in archaeological tourism, it has not been proactively implemented in China. This research is therefore innovative with respect to its region of interest, and is a pioneering work in this area.

Similar methodology was used for the basis of this doctoral work in the case studies of the Daming Palace and the Huashan Rock Art Area. Data sources included primary and secondary sources of information. Primary data sources were obtained through qualitative ethnographic methods, namely participant observation, interviews, and casual conversation. Qualitative methods are well suited to the study of social processes over long periods of time (Babbie, 2010: 276), and in both cases, the development of tourism at the archaeological heritage site concerned has been underway for approximately a decade. Since qualitative research is mainly based on the theoretical principles of interpretive science, the data analysis involved does not usually contain the application of mathematical formulas (Sarantakos, 1997). This

ethnographic study therefore involved an interpretative focus and it sought to produce a ‘thick description’ in which reality could be re-conceptualized through various articulations of a different individual’s viewpoints on the social phenomenon under consideration. Primary data was supported by a variety of secondary data, including academic literature, newspapers, online information, official documents and statistics.

With respect to the Daming Palace, fieldwork was conducted in July and August 2014 around the Daming Palace Archaeological Heritage Park. The site went from being on the Tentative List to being designated as a World Heritage property (UNESCO, 2014) during the time I was undertaking my fieldwork. In total, ninety-seven individuals participated in the interview. Among them sixty-seven were from the communities that had been relocated away from the site, nineteen belonged to the neighborhoods adjacent to the park, and the remaining eleven were citizens from other districts of Xi’an. Data was required from all three groups, as each one of them represented a distinct local community with different levels of attachment to the archaeological site. For the other case study, the Huashan Rock Art Area, fieldwork began in March 2013, with a follow up survey in July 2014. In total, seventy-nine local residents were interviewed. In both cases, the interviews were carried out in an informal, open-ended manner. This method was chosen because this lack of formality helped to ease the respondents’ fears regarding divulging sensitive information, while open-ended questions allowed for a wider range of responses and a varied interpretation of questions. In both cases, interviewees were chosen in a way that maximized the opinions of people with a wide range of social backgrounds. In doing so, a short list of key informants was first selected with the help of local people, especially local government officials. Once data had been gathered from these sources, a method of snowball sampling was applied (Babbie, 2010), as those interviewees from the short list were asked to assist in identifying and contacting more diversified participants. Each interview lasted from between twenty minutes to one and a half hours. On a number of occasions, interviewees were interviewed more than once in order to clarify questions and add further insight.

Similar interview questions were designed for both cases in order to assess the emotional and attitudinal transition of individuals regarding the touristic commercialization of the two cultural properties under the influence of World Heritage inscription. Interviewees were first asked to provide information regarding their personal background, including age, ethnicity, and occupation. They were then asked to remark on their personal understanding of heritage, as well as their perceptions and attitudes towards the impact generated by archaeological tourism and World Heritage discourse on the heritage site and on their personal lives. Queries were also made about their participation in the planning, developing, and management process of archaeological tourism, and they were also asked about those conflicts that arose between local communities and the authorities during the developmental process. Interviewees were also encouraged to share their concerns, expectations, and suggestions regarding the future development of the sites. All the interviews were made and recorded in personal notes in Mandarin Chinese. However, in the case of Huashan, because many of the interviewees did not speak Mandarin Chinese, these interviews were conducted with the help of three voluntary interpreters who are fluent in both Mandarin Chinese and the local dialects (Fig.11).

Questions asked to the local community members of the Daming Palace archaeological site	
Questions to Group one, two, three	
1	<i>What did the Daming Palace archaeological site personally mean to you, before and after the construction of the park?</i>
2	<i>How do you think of the archaeological heritage park?</i>
3	<i>Do you support the transformation project? Why?</i>
4	<i>What do you think has changed after the park was constructed? How do you think of the changes?</i>
5	<i>Do you think the park has improved or reduced the quality of your personal life? How?</i>
6	<i>Do you think the park has affected the quality of the whole area in general? How?</i>
7	<i>Have you ever participated in the tourist transformation project of the site in any way (consultation, public education, mobilization meeting) and in any stage (planning, developing and current stages)?</i>
8	<i>Has there been any conflict between the local communities and the government? If so, what happened?</i>
9	<i>Do you have any concerns about the archaeological heritage park?</i>
10	<i>What are your personal expectations and suggestions regarding the park in the future?</i>
Questions only to group one	
1	<i>What is your personal experience of the relocation program?</i>
2	<i>How do you feel about your new life compared to your old life, before relocation?</i>
Questions asked to the local community members of the Huashan rock art area	
1	<i>What did the Huashan rock art area personally mean to you, before and after the start of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign?</i>
2	<i>What do you think of the tourism development in the area that has been fostered by the campaign?</i>
3	<i>Do you support the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign? Why?</i>
4	<i>What do you think changed after the campaign started? What do you think of the changes?</i>
5	<i>Do you think the campaign has changed your personal life? How?</i>
6	<i>Do you think the campaign has promoted or impeded the development of the region in general? How?</i>
7	<i>Did you participate in the pre-nomination campaign of the rock art heritage in any form (consultation, public education, mobilization meeting) and in any stage (planning and developing stages)?</i>
8	<i>Has there been any conflict between the local communities and the government? If so, what has happened?</i>
9	<i>Do you have any concerns about tourism development in the rock art area and the campaign?</i>
10	<i>What are your personal expectations and suggestions regarding the rock art area in the future?</i>

Fig.11 Questions asked in the interview at the two case studies.

In the two case studies, apart from interview, the method of participant observation was undertaken to observe and understand the relationships between local communities and the heritage sites. The data collected included the daily lives of the local community members, their interaction with the archaeological sites, and their participation in cultural events related to the heritage locations. All the observation data was recorded in notes and photographs. This has helped to gain knowledge about local behaviors and events related to the archaeological heritage asset, as well as meanings attached to those behaviors and events. Casual conversation was employed to gain a wider range of knowledge concerning the history and development of the archaeological sites, and to obtain insights from a broader spectrum of the local population. The information collected through participant observation and casual conversation was used to fill in the blanks left by interview data. All the collected data was entered into a computer, and analyzed by coding. Themes were identified to generate descriptive statistics for each of the open-ended questions. This analysis helped to determine common issues in the development of archaeological tourism in China, and to identify those factors that might have affected the social values ascribed to the two archaeological sites by local communities.

The Three Articles behind this Doctoral Dissertation

This doctoral thesis is formed by an introductory chapter (this document), three articles and a concluding chapter. It is a doctoral thesis in the form of a compendium of articles. This PhD format for students in my doctoral program (H0301) requires a minimum of two articles, these must be articles published in journals included in either the Journal Citation Reports of Thomson Reuters (ISI) or the European Reference Index for Humanities (ERIH) (see Appendix C). I have fulfilled these requirements, as the first and second articles have been already published, while the third is still under consideration. The first article, “*Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China*” (See: Appendix A), has been published in the *International*

Journal of Historical Archaeology (Print ISSN 1092-7697), which is included in the ISI list with details showing that it is registered under Q1, SJR 0,431, H Index 17 (see: <http://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?category=1204>). The second article “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*” (See: Appendix B) has been published in the *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies* (ISSN 2039-7895), an academic journal which is included in ERIH PLUS (see erihplus.nsd.no). This article won in the category of “The Best PCA Article of the Year for Authors under 35 years of Age” (see Appendix 2). The third article is entitled “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: An Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*”. It was submitted to the journal *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* (ISSN 1753-5522) in February 2016, however, 15 days after its submission I was notified that the editor was on research leave and that the evaluation process would take much longer than usual. I still considered that this journal was the most suitable for the publication of the article, and I therefore opted to continue with this procedure. The CMAS journal is on the ISI list, Q2, SJR 0.135, H Index 4.

With respect to the main content of the work presented here, I have written the three articles in a logically-connected way in order to attain the four objectives of this doctoral research. The four objectives, as mentioned earlier, refer to (1) the identification of the main issues that have emerged in the current development of archaeological tourism in China, (2) the critical examination of the development of archaeological tourism at the two sites under the influence of World Heritage designation, (3) the in-depth analysis of the perceptions and attitudes of local communities to such development in the two cases, and (4) the discussion of the impact of archaeological tourism on social values attributed to the sites by their local communities with reference to the influence of the World Heritage List. The first article, with the title “*Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China,*” has mainly responded to the first objective. This article was written on the basis of an extensive literary review, as well as the data gathered from the fieldwork at the two case-study sites. It explored the challenges that Chinese archaeological tourism is currently

facing and has identified four aspects to guide the discussion: the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability, unregulated tourism development, the influence of UNESCO World Heritage designation, and the sensitivity of the authorities to ethnic issues in archaeological tourism. Understanding the challenging issues in the interplay between archaeology and tourism in contemporary Chinese society has provided the fundamental background information in which to contextualize the discussion of the two individual case studies. This article is closely connected to Objective One (Fig.12).

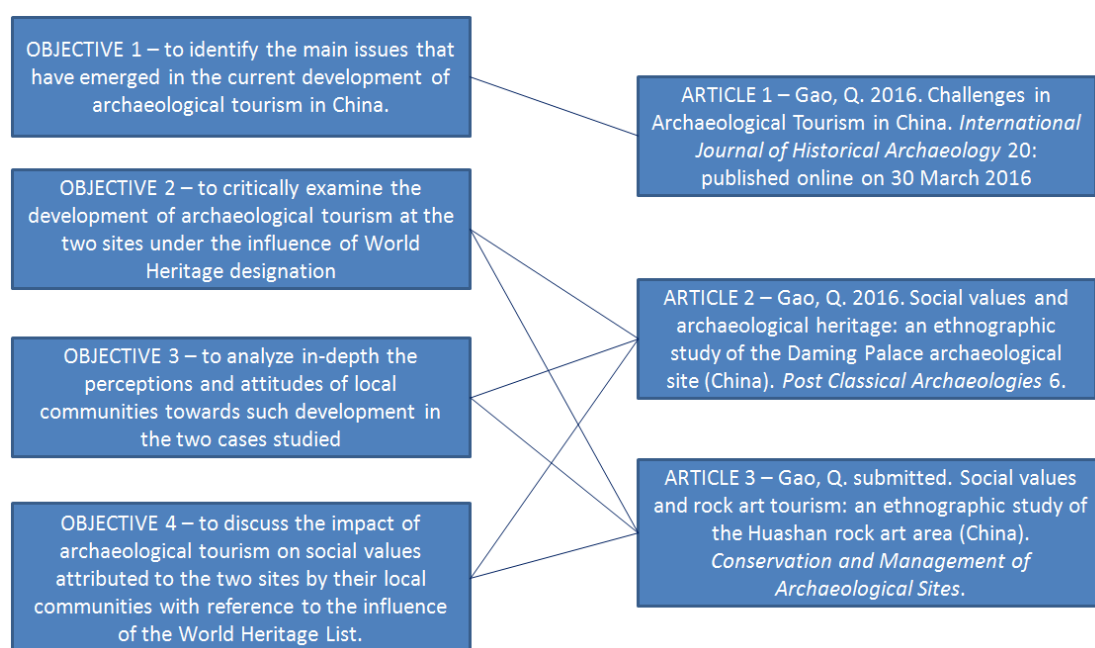


Fig.12. The connection between the four objectives and the three articles.

Centering on the case study of the Daming Palace archaeological site, the second article presented here is entitled “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: An Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China).*” The reason for choosing the Daming Palace, as mentioned above, was due to its phenomenal and controversial status among all the recently constructed archaeological heritage parks

in China. The article, which explored the issue of social values associated with the site from the perspective of local communities under the influence of tourism commercialization and UNESCO World Heritage designation, was written after fieldwork had been conducted on the site in July and August 2014. It offered a detailed analysis of the touristic transformation of the site under the effect of its appearance on the World Heritage List. It also provided an interpretative discussion of the impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage inscription on the social values attributed to the site by local communities, which was based on the robust data collected through calibrating the perceptions and attitudes of community members from a wide-ranging social spectrum. By doing so, this article has responded to the second, third and fourth objectives of the doctoral research, in terms of archaeological assets that have already been designated as World Heritage Sites.

The third article, entitled “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: An Ethnographic Study of The Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*,” has taken longer to develop. The Huashan Rock Art Area was the research focus of my Master’s dissertation. I have therefore been investigating this rock art heritage site since 2011. My initial research perspective, as demonstrated in my previous publication (Gao, 2013), analyzed the relationship between the rock art heritage site and the understanding of the site itself by its local communities. I decided to continue using Huashan as one of the case studies in my doctoral thesis for two main reasons: first, it was the only rock art heritage site included on China’s Tentative List for World Heritage nomination. Second, its developing process represented the deep influence of the World Heritage List in China on archaeological sites that had been barely considered for tourism in the first place. The first version of the article was written in May 2013 after fieldwork had been conducted around the Rock Art Area in March 2013. However, the intensive development that had been taking place in the area since the early 2013, due to a World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, convinced me that this case study would be more conclusive in a year or so after the full implementation of the campaign. I therefore waited until July 2014 to carry out a follow-up survey in the same area, with a broader inclusion of participants. Having the two periods of fieldwork together

provided me with sufficient data. I began writing the third article in late 2015. This new article aimed to explicate the tourist commercialization of the Huashan Rock Art Area under the dominant influence of a World Heritage pre-nomination campaign. It also examined the changes in social values ascribed to the heritage site by the local communities under this influence, through analyzing the perception and attitude of the views of local residents towards the development. As such, this article responded to the second, third and fourth objectives of the doctoral thesis, from the perspective of archaeological sites that have been in the process of preparing for World Heritage inscription.

The three logically correlated articles together are intended to produce a relatively rounded comprehension of the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values of local communities; values attributed to archaeological sites that are either on the UNESCO World Heritage List or that are in the process of becoming World Heritage Sites, in the case of China. The social impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage designation is a contemporary issue that emerges from the growing interaction between archaeology, World Heritage, and local communities. The consideration of social values attributed to archaeological heritage by local populations is in tune with the increasing global efforts made by many heritage institutions and practitioners to move heritage management practices away from the orthodox and traditional top-down method and to embrace voices and opinions from the grassroots. However, despite the international endeavor of applying community-based participatory approaches in heritage works, in China the heritage discourse has fallen mainly under the influence of the Chinese government, which has been using archaeological and other heritage assets for cultural governance, nationalist propaganda, and economic expansion (Sigley, 2010). Participatory approaches have been applied in a limited area but they are often presented with hidden agendas (Nitzky, 2013). This doctoral research is therefore intended to draw the attention of the Chinese authorities to the new heritage initiatives that aim to enhance the power of heritage in order to benefit local residents, and to help community engagement to live up to its rhetorical potential. It is not easy to measure

how much impact this research will actually have on the archaeological heritage discourse in China. Nevertheless, studies like this are useful in terms of prompting the authorities to reconsider the role that local communities play in safeguarding and preserving archaeological heritage, while assisting in the implementation of an emancipatory, people-centered participatory approach in practices concerning archaeological and other cultural heritage.

Chapter two

Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China

This chapter is an exact transcription of the content of the first article “*Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China*.”

(The original article can be seen in Appendix A)

Gao, Q. 2016. Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China. International Journal of Historical Archaeology 20: 422-436.

Abstract

Worldwide archaeological tourism, or tourism to sites with archaeological significance, has been rapidly growing and has attracted increased academic attention in recent years. China is an outstanding case in this field. In fact, its government has been actively promoting tourism and archaeological tourism for the last three decades. The understanding of the challenges that Chinese archaeological tourism is currently facing is the focus of this article. Four aspects will guide the discussion: the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability, unregulated tourism development, the influence of UNESCO World Heritage designation, and authorities' sensitivity towards ethnic issues in archaeological tourism.

Keywords: Archaeological tourism. China. Cultural heritage. World Heritage Sites.

Introduction

Tourism has been transformed into a massive and extensive global industry in the past few decades, and this has also been the case for archaeological tourism, one of its important subsets. Archaeological tourism refers to people's activity of consuming the past through visiting places of archaeological significance. Archaeological tourism is not a recent phenomenon but scholarly analysis of it has been scant until recently. It was only in the years immediately before the turn of the twenty-first century that a strong interest emerged in this field (Hoffman et al., 2002). Today it is a growing field of study with recent articles exploring a diversity of related issues (e.g., Bowers, 2014; Comer, 2012; Herrera, 2015; Walker and Carr, 2013). This recent surge of interest has also produced a growing body of literature in China, one of the countries where archaeological tourism is becoming a key economic asset. Recent publications focusing on this subject consist predominately of analyses of individual case studies looking at issues such as conflicts between site conservation and tourism demand, stakeholder management, tourism planning, and sustainable development (e.g. Liu, 2009; Yang, 2002; Zhang, 2013; Zhao, 2011). An examination of this body of literature, as well as some observations made during my own fieldwork, conducted at two archaeological sites in China in July and August 2014, reveals that, even though the difficulties and opportunities involved in the interplay between tourism and archaeological heritage vary across destinations, all the issues mentioned above share many features in common. This article identifies some of the key factors that are behind archaeological tourism in China and the significant challenges it faces as a contributor to the country's economic, political and cultural development.

Archaeological tourism emerged in China in the late 1970s after the central government's implementation of the "Reform and Open" policy. Although it has gradually turned into a robust multifunctional industry over the past four decades, it is also encountering a range of challenges. In recent years, China has undergone remarkable economic and social changes at the domestic level. The rapid transition,

however, has brought not only increased income but also acute socio-economic and political tensions. Issues such as pragmatism in development, regional imbalance and social unrest in ethnic autonomous regions have all contributed to a growth in challenges that archaeological tourism needs to tackle carefully. In this article, my aim is to provide an examination of the issues that Chinese archaeological tourism is currently facing. After a brief historical introduction, the discussion focuses on four important aspects: (a) the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability; (b) unregulated tourism development; (c) the impact that UNESCO is having through the World Heritage List; and (d) the tension generated by authorities' sensitivity towards ethnic issues. The discussion also produces a synthetic analysis of the intersection between material remains and the tourism consumption of the past in an international context. This will help to fill in the gap of the lack of research on this subject, and contribute to the completion of a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic role that archaeological heritage is playing in the realm of tourism from a global perspective.

The Development of Archaeological Tourism in China: a Historical Background

Archaeological tourism in China has evolved over the past four decades in response to dramatic political, social, and economic changes, and understanding these changes allows us to better recognize the challenges this industry faces today. Before tourism and archaeology officially engaged with each other, on this ancient landmass called China the activity of travel had existed for thousands of years and the traditional practice of antiquarianism had also emerged since the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE). Started in Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE) and thrived in Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE), visiting famous sites became an indispensable source of inspiration for Chinese scholars (Shepherd and Yu, 2013: 6). Later during the Ming and Qing era (1368–1911 CE), this travel activity extended to the upper class who, during their visits, referred

back to and reinforced the impressions of their predecessors from the Tang and Song era (618–1279 CE) through written and visual markers (Brook, 1998: 180). Traditional antiquarianism initiated and flourished in the Song Dynasty, when dozens of Song scholars studied and recorded in their compiled works bronze artifacts and other objects from previous dynasties (Chang, 1981: 158–159). However, the antiquarianism tradition suffered a severe decline when the Song's Mongol successors took over the country, and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the tradition was resumed (Debaine-Francfort, 1999: 15). In the mid-nineteenth century, when China opened its doors under the imposed force of the West, modern travel started to pour in along with Western scholarship (Wang, 2003: 37). The increase in international travel to China in the early twentieth century triggered the birth of Chinese tourism industry (Zhang et al., 2000: 282); while almost simultaneously European scholars introduced archaeological field methods, which led to the establishment of archaeology as a scientific discipline in China (Liu and Chen, 2012: 3). However, in the late 1930s and 1940s, a series of upheavals, including the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45 CE) and the Chinese Civil War (1945–49 CE), wracked the country and essentially prevented all recreational travels and archaeological excavations.

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, for almost three decades freedom to travel in China was restrained (Chow, 1988: 207), and tourism was held tightly in the hands of the state machinery as a propaganda tool, serving political rather than economic purposes (Zhang et al., 1999: 473). Even though archaeology as a scientific discipline was resumed after 1949 and a range of splendid discoveries were made between 1949 and 1978, archaeological sites or any other cultural heritage sites were not promoted as touristic resources. Instead, touristic destinations focused on material achievements of Communism such as factories, schools, and communes of revolutionary peasant, regardless of visitors' interests (Nyífi, 2011). It is worth noting that some of the most renowned sites of Chinese archaeological tourism in later decades were excavated during this period. Taking the "Thirteen Imperial Tombs of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 CE)" for instance,

located in a cluster near Beijing, they are a collection of mausoleums built by the Ming emperors. In 1956, the Dingling tomb of Emperor Wanli (r. 1572–1620 CE) was excavated as a trial site in preparation for a more ambitious project of unearthing the Changling tomb, the largest and oldest one among the 13 (Needham, 1959). The excavation of Dingling was finished in 1957 and a museum was established 2 years later. However, due to a lack of adequate technique, expertise and resources, the excavation resulted in an irreversible damage to the site, as thousands of surviving artifacts discovered from the tomb were later poorly preserved. In addition, when the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) swept across the nation, fervent Red Guards stormed the Dingling museum and destroyed the remains of the Wanli Emperor and his two empresses, as well as many other objects exhibited (Yang and Yue, 2007).

Archaeological tourism in its present form appeared soon after 1978, a year in which the Chinese central government, following Deng Xiaoping's "Reform and Open" policy, made an epic decision to shift emphasis from political struggle to economic development. After 1978, tourism was rehabilitated as an industry, and heritage was promoted as a valuable touristic resource. Because many of the heritage sites are archaeological sites, this marked the beginning of modern archaeological tourism in China. In the initial years after 1978, and to a great extent still today, the combination of archaeology and tourism was perceived as a means of educating the Chinese about their own collective past, and reconstituting a shared cultural landscape and national identity. However, archaeological sites were increasingly promoted for their economic value as touristic attractions.

The promotion of archaeological tourism in China was also fostered by its perceived political value. Since the 1980s, some magnificent sites, such as the Terracotta Army and the Great Wall, have been frequently used to showcase Chinese culture to important foreign guests (Debaine-Francfort, 1999: 34). A significant step was taken in 1985, when the central government ratified the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Since then, many archaeological sites in China have been inscribed on the World Heritage List, such as the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor and the

Mogao Caves, both inscribed in 1987, the Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom, inscribed in 2004, and the Site of Xanadu, inscribed in 2012. UNESCO accreditation amplified the international visibility of these sites and prompted the Chinese authorities to upgrade them as major tourist destinations. In the 1990s, in search for funding, expertise, and international visibility, the state government began to actively seek international assistance for the conservation of China's heritage resources, including archaeological sites (e.g., Agnew, 1997). The increased international cooperation also fostered the establishment of "China Principles" (Lu, 2008), an instructive guidance which integrated the Burra Charter with existent Chinese legislation for the conservation of Chinese cultural heritage.

Entering the new millennium, archaeological tourism in China experienced an unprecedentedly strong momentum in development. This had very much to do with the decision made by the central government to attach great significance to the conservation and promotion of "Great Sites" (*da yizhi* 大遗址), a proposal incorporated into the country's "Five-Year Plan" in 2000. The so-called "Great Sites," a rather unique concept produced in Chinese context, refer to ancient cultural remains of a large scale, rich contents, and prominent significance, including prehistoric settlements, ruins of cities and palaces, cemeteries, necropolis, and other major historical remains of human activities (SACH, 2006). In other words, almost all Great Sites are archaeological sites. With upgraded funding and attention from the central authorities, many of the largest and more spectacular archaeological sites, including the Great Wall and several sites along the Silk Road, went through large-scale renovations such as enhanced touristic facilities and access (SACH, 2009). During the past 5 years, one of the dominant methods used for site conservation has been to convert these Great Sites into archaeological heritage parks (Li and Quan, 2007). They have been designed to combine the protection and exhibition of archaeological remains with the functions of education, research and leisure for a cultural public space (Xiao, 2010). Therefore, in little more than a quarter of a century, China's archaeological heritage has passed from playing a minor role in the country's economy to being a major source of income at the national, provincial, and local

levels, whose development is increasingly and actively encouraged by the government.

However, despite the tremendous transformation, in recent years the archaeological tourism industry in China is also facing growing challenges compounded by the ever-changing social, economic and political environments. After three decades of rapid development, China has gained economic prosperity, but the Chinese-style market economy firmly embedded within a socialist regulatory and administrative framework has also produced a wide range of issues including disparities in wealth, regional imbalance, and ethnic tensions. These issues have all placed greater pressures on the current development of archaeological tourism in China and generated further challenges for it to address.

The Dilemma between Heritage Preservation and Economic Profitability

One of the most imperative challenges that archaeological tourism is facing in China is the increased tension between heritage preservation and economic profitability in recent years. This has much to do with regional governments' efforts to promote the local economy and prosperity. In fact, regional governments have been playing a huge role in reshaping the development of Chinese archaeological tourism (Luo, 2007). Starting from 1998, the Chinese central authorities gradually shifted control of tourism and heritage management to provincial governments. The decision of decentralization triggered intensified competition among different regions, and encouraged local authorities to invest in the touristic development of archaeological sites, in order to capture a larger sharing of the tourism market. However, it also puts more pressure on regional governments in terms of the expense of site conservation. Archaeological sites in China are protected under the legal framework of the "Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage (*wenwu baohu fa* 文物保护法)," which indicates that

any material artifacts unearthed during construction projects must be protected using local funds (Svensson, 2006: 30). The protection of large archaeological sites, in particular, requires huge amounts of financial investment to cover the cost of land acquisition, resident and industry relocation, and environmental improvement (Lu, 2005: 122). As well, the current political system determines that local officials are evaluated and promoted largely on their achievements in short-term economic growth (Li et al., 2008: 315). All these lead to regional authorities not necessarily welcoming archaeological discoveries that do not contain conspicuous touristic value, due to the costs involved in preservation, something that has been seen with concern by archaeologists (Gruber, 2007: 282).

Even though in recent years the state authorities have promoted the conservation of archaeological sites, in practice it is common that usually only those sites that are perceived by authorities as presentable or attractive to tourists are considered worthwhile to be preserved. Many sites that do not contain enticing material are often neglected after salvage excavation (Lu, 2008: 356). Furthermore, fast growing urbanization and modernization is also putting more archaeological sites at peril, especially in cases when the requirement of heritage preservation and the demand for constructional development become incompatible. Since the maximum fine for destroying cultural heritage is only 500,000 RMB (approximately 81,700 USD) according to current legislation (State Council, 2013), some construction companies prefer to pay the penalty than delay their projects when they discover archaeological remains. One example of such an attitude took place in 2013 in Luogang, Guangzhou province, when a subway construction company intentionally demolished overnight five ancient tombs, which had just been unearthed during the project and dated to a period from the late Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-c. 1046 BCE) to Zhou Dynasty (c. 1046-256 BCE), resulting in the payment of a relatively small fine (Shi, 2014).

Unregulated Tourism Development at Major Archaeological Sites

China's iconic archaeological sites, such as the Great Wall, the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, and the Mogao Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, have played a leading role in the tourism market since 1978, but even these famous sites are vulnerable to the threats brought by unregulated tourism. Since major archaeological sites — both famous destinations as well as recently developed sites — are bringing visitors in substantial numbers, regional governments usually perceive them as key revenue generators. Therefore, in recent years the admission fees for many archaeological sites, especially the famous ones, have been raised dramatically (Huang and Chen, 2005: 181). Even though the elevated entry fee is justified as a means to reduce crowding, apart from maximize revenue, in practice, the number of tourists continues to grow at a phenomenal rate (Zhang and Yang, 2007: 59). Since tourist admission income has become a sizeable source of revenue, local government officials frequently seek to attract more visitors without considering the carrying capacity of the sites and facilities, which in turn puts more strain on existing conservation efforts and creates new demands for protection. As a result, almost all iconic Chinese archaeological sites are now facing the problem of overcrowding, which not only threatens the conservation of the sites but also impairs tourists' experience at the sites and their appreciation of the heritage value (e.g. Global Heritage Fund, 2010; Li et al., 2010).

In addition to overcrowding, in order to attract more tourists, local authorities often try to add human-made features to “enrich” and repackage archaeological sites opened to the public. Often criticized for being short-sighted, unregulated and vulgar, these features are threatening the integrity and authenticity of the site itself (Feng, 2010: 14). Taking the “Underground Palace of the Qin Emperor” as an example, as I observed from my fieldwork in this area east of Xi'an in August 2014, an exhibition center has been newly constructed by local authorities to append more selling points

to the world renowned third century BCE mausoleum complex of the First Emperor of Qin, a World Heritage site located 2mi (3.2 km) away from the new center. The exhibition center, in which a set of shoddily produced miniatures shows the imaginary internal structure of the unexcavated mausoleum, has been criticized for its poor taste and inaccurate reconstruction, and listed as one of the top three most unworthy tourist spots in Xi'an city from an online survey conducted in 2012 (Xi'an, 2012).

The strategies employed for promoting tourism in order to turn large archaeological sites into heritage parks are also triggering dispute and fierce criticism. The reconstruction project of the Tang dynasty Daming Palace (seventh century CE) national heritage park, located just northeast of present-day Xi'an, illustrates this issue well. According to Xu Pingfang, former director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the establishment of the park has been damaging for the archaeological study of the site, for it has prevented future archaeological work to be undertaken at the site since many archaeological remains were covered by concrete before the completion of a thorough archaeological survey (Li, 2010). Chinese archaeologist Xie Chensheng also expressed his concern about the enterprise-style management approach that is currently practiced at the park. He has strongly argued against the idea of creating within it ten "archaized scenic spots," a project proposed by developers to attach more human-made features to the site (Wang, 2012: 69). In addition, many question the motivation behind local authorities' investment in the Daming Palace heritage park. Some scholars have pointed out that the real intention behind site conservation might be to push up property values around the site in favor of real estate development (Liu, 2010).

The Impact That UNESCO is Having on Archaeological Tourism in China through the World Heritage List

Among all the factors that have affected archaeological tourism in China, the impact

of UNESCO World Heritage List should not be underestimated. Since the late 1990s, a series of successful designations of sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List have greatly promoted the awareness of some previously unknown cultural sites and effectively increased tourism. Such is the case of the Old Town of Lijiang (an ancient trading center in southwest China's Yunnan Province), whose inscription on the World Heritage List in 1997 has helped it to become one of the most popular tourist destinations in China (Zheng, 2011: 169). Lijiang's success encouraged many regional governments to follow suit, especially considering that since the 1990s the widening development gap between the eastern (coastal) provinces and the western regions of China, where Yunnan is located, has prompted provincial authorities of poorer areas to search for alternative strategies for economic prosperity. However, regional governments seem to turn blind to the fact that not all designated World Heritage Sites in China are financially profitable, such as the case of Mount Wutai (Shao and Huang, 2009). This is partly because the designation of a site as World Heritage is perceived as a great honor, and therefore it brings instant glory to the political achievement of regional politicians. Driven by the seemingly subjectively guaranteed economic profit and objectively perceived political benefit followed by site inscription, local governments are showing a sometimes overheated enthusiasm towards World Heritage application (Lv, 2009; Xiao and Chen, 2003).

In China, the application for a site to be proposed as World Heritage is treated as a highly political activity. From central government to different regional level offices, there are several administrative sectors involved. At the top national level, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) decides which cultural sites go onto the World Heritage Tentative List. Once a site is on the Tentative List, the local authorities in charge are asked to strengthen not only the research and particularly the preservation and management aspects of the site. Because China can only propose one cultural site each year to UNESCO to go through formal nomination and testing processes, the competition for this annual opportunity is keen and fierce among different levels of government, as every province has at least one cultural site on the Tentative List. This scramble for World Heritage inscription sometimes aggravates

the negative effects embodied in the commercialization of archaeological sites. For instance, because local communities in China usually have very low participation in the management of heritage sites due to an absence of either interest or opportunity, and lack the influence in decision making, World Heritage application campaigns sometimes generate conflicts among different stakeholders and infringe upon the interest of local communities.

It should be noted that apart from its negative effects, there are also positive aspects in the promotion of the World Heritage status for monuments and archaeological sites. The preparation for a site to be nominated for World Heritage status assists in regulating tourism promotion strategies, and therefore encourages sustainable development in the region where the site is located. Such is the case of the Huashan rock art cultural landscape along the Zuojiang River in southwest China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China's candidate for World Heritage designation in 2016. The cultural landscape encompasses the Huashan rock art area, in which 81 pictographic sites were distributed along the picturesque Zuojiang river valley. The motifs are all painted in a brownish-red color with a highly standardized style. They are believed to be produced between the Warring States Period (403–221 BCE) and Eastern Han dynasty (26–220 CE), by an ethnic group named Luo Yue (Gao, 2013). For the last two decades, the local authorities have been making an effort to develop tourism as well as promote the area's rock art heritage as a World Heritage candidate. Since its nomination was made official by the state authorities in 2014, as I noticed during my fieldwork at Huashan in July 2014, the local Chongzuo municipal government, which is in charge of the whole rock art area, has ordered the cessation of all on-going tourism development projects that involve the protected areas of the rock art cultural landscape. This restriction will last until a consolidated tourism development plan is drawn up and approved (pers. comm., government officials in Chongzuo).

Archaeological Tourism and Ethnic Sensitivity in China

Another remarkable challenge that archaeological tourism has faced in China in recent years has been the growing political sensitivity intensified by the increased tension in ethnic minority areas. The ethnic minority issue has historical roots that can be traced back to the imperial and Republican periods of Chinese history. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911CE), the Manchu ruling elite developed administrative relations with the non-Han dominated regions of Inner Asia, such as Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang (Xinjiang literally means “New Territory”) (Rawski, 1996). After the Revolution of 1911 put an end to the Qing Empire, even though the newly established Republic of China struggled to maintain authority over these regions, both Tibet and Mongolia declared independence soon after the fall of the Qing Dynasty (Goldstein, 1991; Humphrey, 1994). In Xinjiang, in spite of the fact that the attempts to establish an ‘East Turkestan Republic’ all failed, this region moved out of China’s control after 1911 (Forbes, 1986). When the Communist Party of China established the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the new government regained administrative control of Tibet and Xinjiang. Since then, the two regions have become major areas of ethnic separatism. In an effort to bind together the “multiethnic” and “unitary” Chinese state, the central government has implemented a suite of policies, which sometimes have contributed to, rather than ameliorated, ethnic minority discontent and separatist sentiments in these regions (Clarke, 2013: 223). Moreover, in the last three decades, the widening of the pre-existing economic disparities between the eastern region and western provinces, which generally have the largest concentrations of ethnic minority populations, has also led to the increase in inter-ethnic tension (Clarke, 2013: 225).

The importance of the ethnic minority issue in archaeological tourism is exemplified by the so-called “Xinjiang mummies” in far northwest China. Around the edges of the Tarim Basin, archaeologists since the 1980s have discovered dozens of cemeteries, some of which have yielded extraordinarily well-preserved desiccated corpses, known as the “Xinjiang mummies.” Some of the mummies have been dated as early as 2000

BCE and bear features that have been described as manifestly Caucasoid in appearance (Allen, 1996). Since their discovery, these mummies have been used by separatists among the majority Uyghur ethnic group of Xinjiang to claim that these early settlers were their ancestors and that Xinjiang was never part of China until recently (Shepherd and Yu, 2013: 26). The Xinjiang mummies therefore have become politically sensitive objects, and the Chinese government appears to be very cautious about their exhibition and interpretation. For instance, during an exhibition named “Secrets of the Silk Road” at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia, due to the pressure from a delicate political climate, the display of two Xinjiang mummies on loan from China was suddenly forbidden by the Chinese officials, who later compromised and allowed them to be shown with an abbreviated schedule (for details see Edward, 2011). The Xinjiang mummies issue is an excellent example to demonstrate the political bottom-line of the promotion of archaeological tourism in China: it is allowed only so long as it does not, from the state perspective, threaten national unity or challenge the official narrative of Chinese history.

Ethnic sensitivity in archaeological tourism can also be seen in the narratives of World Heritage Sites that concern ethnic minorities. The interpretations of these sites often emphasize the theme of cooperation among different ethnic groups in history. For instance, the description of the archaeological site of Xanadu, the Mongolian capital established by Kublai Khan in 1256 CE and a World Heritage site inscribed in 2012, underscores the value of the site as “a unique attempt to assimilate the nomadic Mongolian and Han Chinese cultures (UNESCO, 2012b).” Other examples can be found in the Chinese state applications for World Heritage designation of archaeological remains such as the site of southern Yue state, the sites of the ancient Shu state in present-day Sichuan province, and the Western Xia imperial tombs in northwest China. The narratives all highlight their values in promoting and displaying cultural integration among different ethnic groups (UNESCO, 2008, 2013a, b).

China's Challenges in a Global Context

Archaeological tourism is a relatively new economic activity in China, but has shown a strong and steady development in the past three decades. The analysis undertaken in this paper, which is based on a comparative study of the individual case-studies found in the literature and also on my own observations during fieldwork, has highlighted a series of challenges that archaeological tourism is currently facing in China: (a) the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability; (b) unregulated tourism development; (c) the impact that UNESCO is having through the World Heritage List; and (d) the tension generated by authorities' sensitivity towards ethnic issues. The range of challenges that archaeological tourism is facing in China shows that a paradox exists in contemporary Chinese society in which, on the one hand, the need for rapid economic growth thwarts the preservation of archaeological sites and, on the other hand, national policies encourage the transformation of precisely such sites into tourism destinations and national glories for serving economic, political, social, and cultural purposes. Underlying the paradox is the political quandary that the Chinese central authorities have been trying to resolve for the last two decades: the task of reconciling the conflicting tensions generated by the desire to maintain rapid economic development, the demand to promote China's national identity, and the challenge of managing the country's transformation in a way that justifies continued Communist Party rule. The existence of these political predicaments determines that the economic and political values in archaeological heritage will outweigh other considerations for some time to come, and archaeological tourism in China will continue to develop under the influence of market forces and a "top-down" decision-making political approach. The question that remains for future improvement of archaeological tourism in China is how to strike a balance between preserving the past, improving the material aspects of society, and maintaining internal stability. Indeed, there is no easy answer to this question in any country, and especially in the case of China, a nation that has the largest population in the world on a vast land that has been continuously inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups for thousands of years.

Are the challenges highlighted in the article unique to China? A comparison of China's situation to those in many other countries in the world shows that from an international perspective, it is important to acknowledge that the challenges that have been analyzed in this article are not exclusive to China. It is true that because the Chinese government monopolizes the production, utilization, and protection of archaeological heritage, archaeological practice goes hand in hand with the political agenda. This means that when inappropriate utilizations occur in practice, the self-supervisory mechanism sometimes fails to curb such behaviors (Comer, 2015: 23). However, a government-business alliance in so-called free-market economies is similar in many ways to its counterpart in monopolistic governments like China. When the past is increasingly transformed into a commodity for touristic consumption, tensions between heritage preservation and economic profitability become more and more evident. This is especially acute in less affluent regions where the combination of a dire need for income, large scale exploitation of resources, and a lack of legislation concerning impact assessment and site protection has put much archaeological heritage in grave danger (Willems, 2014: 110). This combination of circumstances can be found in countries such as India (Leech, 2004), Bolivia (Malisius, 2003), and Honduras (Mortensen, 2009), but many others could be cited. Furthermore, government corruption compounds the monetary scarcity even further. Abuse of power and favoritism conducted by dishonest judiciaries, political parties, and bureaucracies often plague decision-making processes and influence what sites get selected and financed for conservation (e.g. Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999; Stark and Griffin, 2004; Zan and Lusiani, 2011).

Unregulated tourism development in archaeological sites is the second challenge identified for archaeological tourism in China. Unfortunately, China is, again, not the only country with this problem, for it is also frequently seen worldwide. To many popular sites, negative impacts such as visitor congestion derived from the absence of proper regulations have caused both tourists and the host community to be caught in a downward spiral of poor visitor experiences and degradation of heritage values.

Furthermore, strategies used for promoting tourism at archaeological sites are also triggering concerns towards issues such as authenticity. This has much to do with the changing patterns in the nature of the tourist population. Traditional visitors to archaeological sites were mainly an educated minority who were content to visit sites where minimal or no complementary information was provided (Walker and Carr, 2013: 23). Today, even though such visitors still exist, the average tourists to an archaeological site value their entertainment experience at the site as much as the site itself (Slick, 2002: 223). Therefore, for archaeological sites to provide wider relevance to their audience it is often the case that many of them depend on the staging or the reconstruction of the past to attract tourists, and as a result the issue of authenticity is often consciously invoked (e.g. Halewood and Hannam, 2001).

A third challenge highlighted in this article has been the impact that UNESCO is having through the designation of World Heritage on archaeological tourism. As it was in the two first challenges discussed, it is also the case that there are similar situations in other parts of the world. From an international perspective, the UNESCO World Heritage List has also played a significant role in shaping the touristic commercialization of global archaeological heritage. As Comer and Willems (2012) argue, for archaeological sites already inscribed on the list there is often a risk of overexploitation of tourism value and degradation of the resource by too many visitors. For sites that are not on the list, the UNESCO label is recognized as a highly valued promotional tool for tourism and national prestige (Timothy and Boyd, 2006; Willems, 2014). There has been a scramble in many countries, especially the less developed ones, to inscribe as many heritage sites as possible on the list (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009: 11). The excessive demand and use of World Heritage Sites have led to subsequent problems extensively addressed in the extant literature (e.g., Jimura, 2011; Leask and Fyall, 2006; Shackley, 2000).

Finally, the issue of ethnic sensitivity in tourism and especially in archaeological tourism has also been examined above. Ethnic sensitivities in archaeological tourism are also a universal phenomenon that is usually associated with nationalism and

political tensions inextricably linked to historical legacies. It has been noticed that archaeology does not function independently of the societies in which it is practiced, and the political implication of presenting archaeological remains to the public has been discussed by numerous scholars (e.g., D áz-Andreu, 2007; Goode, 2007; Hamilakis, 2007; Meskell, 1998; Trigger, 1984).

Worldwide archaeological heritage has been increasingly utilized for tourism development and therefore has provided a vast menu of opportunities for benefiting the destination residents and stimulating regional economic and cultural advancement. However, this development is hardly neutral and has encountered a range of difficulties that need to be tackled carefully. The analysis generated by the study should help to increase awareness of the negative impacts that tourism promotion places on the authenticity and integrity of archaeological heritage. More importantly, the examination underlines the urgent need to develop sound policies and effective regulations based on the understanding of these negative impacts, so the best interests of the public, including local communities, both current and future tourists, can be served. It is also proposed that increasing public participation in the planning and management of archaeological tourism could be a way of promoting sustainability in its future development. This is indeed a fundamental challenge to China since this country has still been heavily influenced by the traditionally strict form of top-down planning that essentially disallows all forms of grassroots participation. However, the engagement of a variety of stakeholders will undoubtedly help to mitigate potential conflicts in the process of commercializing archaeological heritage, and therefore assist in promoting a more balanced and sustainable transformation of archaeological sites into tourism destinations.

In summary, worldwide archaeological tourism is encountering a range of challenges that are not easy to reconcile for any state that seeks to maintain sustainable development and balance between preserving the past and fulfilling contemporary needs. China serves as an extreme example of this dilemma, as it has gone through major transformational changes in the past three decades while at the same time

shouldering the burden of a complex historical legacy, as well as the largest population in the world. The significant challenges that archaeological tourism is currently facing in China are applicable globally and are highly significant for understanding the role that archaeological heritage has and continues to play in today's global tourism arena.

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Chapter three

Social values and archaeological heritage: an ethnographic study of the Daming Palace archaeological site (China)

This chapter is an exact transcription of the content of the second article “*Social values and archaeological heritage: an ethnographic study of the Daming Palace archaeological site (China)*.”

(The original article can be seen in Appendix B)

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Abstract

In recent years, it is progressively believed that heritage itself does not have values, but rather values are assigned to places of heritage by people. The evolution of how heritage values should be considered has deeply influenced practices and policies of archaeological sites. The values most readily recognized have expanded from traditional intrinsic ones to include extrinsic ones such as social and economic values. Social value, a particular set of values within the wider pantheon of extrinsic values, is now increasingly emphasized in legislation and guidelines for heritage management. Social value refers to “the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them.” In China, as with many countries, the development of tourism and the influence of UNESCO World Heritage nomination have remarkably changed the relationship between archaeological heritage and local communities. Therefore, they have also reshaped the social values ascribed to heritage by communal groups. Using the Daming Palace archaeological site as a case study, this article employs ethnographic approaches to

scrutinize the impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to the site by its local communities.

Keywords: Social value. Heritage. Archaeological sites. Tourism. China.

Introduction

The growing commercialization of cultural heritage draws archaeology and tourism into ever-closer contact (Meskell, 2007). With the increased development of tourism, archaeological sites are exploited for their potential as revenue generators, public education providers, national identity promoters, and for many other roles. It should be noted that these potential roles are defined by the values that a society attributes to its archaeological sites. These values, once considered to be intrinsic, are now believed to be extrinsic and dynamic, produced by the interaction between heritage and its historical, social and economic contexts (Avrami, 2009). In recent years, the social values of cultural heritage have been increasingly emphasized in legislation and guidelines for heritage management (Díaz-Andreu et al., forthcoming; Cooper 2008). First mentioned in the Burra Charter of 1979, social value refers to “the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them (Australia ICOMOS 2013: 4)”. It is generally recognized that heritage as a cultural process has a social affect through the way the cultural meanings of heritage are redefined and experienced by the public (Smith, 2009). Decisions made in such a process have a considerable impact on the livelihood of social groups geographically or culturally related to the heritage (Shan, 2015). Therefore, the decisions also reshape the social values attributed to a place of heritage by different social groups. Even though the social value of heritage has become an important consideration for policymakers, in practice it remains difficult to assess due to its contemporary and local nature (Walker, 1998). This is why ethnographic methods become essentially auxiliary in producing reflexive discussions to reveal diverse meanings, opinions, and interpretations of particular social phenomena (Low, 2002).

This article employs ethnographic approaches to scrutinize the influence of tourism and UNESCO World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to archaeological heritage by local communities in China, using the Daming Palace

archaeological site as a case study. In China, as with most countries, a substantial number of archaeological sites are commercialized for tourist consumption. China stands out, however, on the international stage, due to the “heritage protection craze (Sigley 2010)” that has prevailed across the country since the 1980s. Such a craze has been fueled by a range of factors, among which the influence of UNESCO World Heritage List should not be underestimated. The impact of the list can be seen in the Chinese government’s arduous endeavour to transform large archaeological sites, namely the “Great Sites,” into archaeological heritage parks since the beginning of the new millennium (Gao, 2016a). The conversion from archaeological sites to touristic parks is a heritage process which redefines and recreates values – among them social values – that a society or sections of a society wish to preserve. In the case of China, the changes in the social values ascribed to archaeological sites by local communities are often conspicuous, because the transformation method is geared towards relocating entire communities whose dwelling spaces share the location of the archaeological remains. Among the sites converted to heritage parks, the Daming Palace archaeological site is arguably the most emblematic, for its phenomenal size, lavish investment, and large-scale residential relocation. Using this site for reference, this article aims to examine the impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage nomination on the social values attributed to the site by its local communities, through calibrating the perceptions and attitudes of community members of a wide social spectrum. The ultimate goal of the research is to boost further reflection on the existing practices in conservation and management of archaeological heritage both in China and worldwide.

Values and archaeological sites in China

Before analyzing the impact of tourism and World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to the Daming Palace archaeological site by its local residents, it may be worth considering more generally the revolution of values ascribed to

archaeological sites in China since 1949. In China archaeological sites are perceived as a form of “*wenwu*” (literally meaning ‘cultural properties’). The concept of *wenwu* refers to monuments and sites as unmovable cultural properties, and artifacts as movable cultural properties. Archaeological sites in China have been subjected to planning conservation since the late 1950s (Lu, 2008). At first, only the intrinsic values were recognized, as shown in preliminary legislation which demanded regional governments to evaluate and categorize unmovable cultural properties based on their historical, artistic, scientific, and commemorative values (State Council, 1961).

After China implemented the “Reform and Opening policy” in 1978, the tourism industry was rehabilitated, and so were several important archaeological sites. The terracotta Army of the Qin Emperor and the Yin Xu site, for example, were turned into in situ museums and opened to the public. Since then, archaeological sites in China have begun to carry pedagogical, recreational, social, political and economic values (Shepherd and Yu, 2013). China’s formal legislation on heritage conservation — the “Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage,” first issued in 1982 and recently revised in 2013 — only addresses the historical, artistic, and scientific values of archaeological sites though (State Council, 2013). However, in the last two decades the sole emphasis on the intrinsic values of archaeological sites has gradually been substituted by a growing appreciation of extrinsic values. This is largely triggered by the economic and political benefits brought about by touristic commercialization of archaeological remains, since a popular archaeological tourist attraction serves as a source of income as well as a symbol of national/regional identity.

The UNESCO World Heritage List also has a deep influence on the consideration of values ascribed to archaeological sites. In tourism market campaigns, regional governments and private sectors perceive the title of World Heritage as an effective tool to attract tourists (Li et al., 2008). Besides, a successful World Heritage inscription is also considered to be a great political achievement for government officials, whose promotion largely depends on the glories produced in their administrative jurisdictions. Therefore, with the World Heritage List functioning as a

catalyst, economic and political values have more often than not overshadowed other values in local government's assessment of archaeological sites. The impact of the list can also be seen in the Chinese authorities' vigorous promotion of so-called "Great Sites" (*da yizhi*) from the turn of the last century. According to the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), "Great Sites" refers to ancient cultural remains of large sizes, rich contents, and prominent values, including prehistoric settlements, the ruins of cities and palaces, cemeteries, and more generally any important historical remain of human activities (SACH, 2006). In other words, they are all archaeological sites. The dominant method employed to conserve Great Sites is to transform them into archaeological heritage parks, the concept of which is to combine the protection and exhibition of ancient cultural remains with their function as public spaces (Li and Quan, 2007).

The numerous projects to convert Great Sites to heritage parks have been facilitated by the Chinese government's passionate pursuit of World Heritage designation. In turn, those projects have contributed to the successful inscription of several archaeological sites on the World Heritage List, such as the archaeological remains of Koguryo kingdom (inscribed in 2004), the site of Yin Xu (inscribed in 2006), the site of Xanadu (inscribed in 2012), and the sites along the Silk Roads (inscribed in 2014). The prevalence of heritage parks has prompted Chinese authorities and scholars to pay attention to issues regarding the relationship between heritage and the public (Yan, 2014). It has also triggered discussions of an alternative value assessment mechanism that goes beyond the traditional focus on historical, artistic and scientific facets to include extrinsic aspects such as social and economic values (Zhang, 2006; Liu, 2011). Reflections on value assessment have led to changes in official documents, as shown by the "China Principles" document. Initially published in 2002, this national instruction for conservation practices for heritage sites explicitly detailed, for the first time, the social and cultural values of heritage sites in its 2015 revision (ICOMOS China, 2015).

The transition of Daming Palace Archaeological Site: from palatial complex to national heritage park

The Daming Palace archaeological site is located on the Longshou Plateau in the north suburb of Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province. Xi'an acted as the capital city for thirteen dynasties, including the Tang Dynasty (CE 681-907) (Fig.13). During the Tang Dynasty, the Daming Palace was a magnificent imperial residence, which served as the symbol of central power for about 240 years (Yu, 1997: 56). In its heyday, the palace covered an area of approximately 320 hectares. Three main halls divided the palace into outer, middle and inner courts, which respectively acted as venues for diplomatic events and ceremonies, an administrative centre, and the residence of the royal family. Towards the end of Tang dynasty, the palace was first burnt and then dismantled (Gao and Han, 2009). In the beginning of the 20th century, the vast region that contained the remnant of the palace became an expanse of farmland. This scenario changed completely in 1934, when the newly constructed Long-Hai railway reached Xi'an, triggering the farmland to become a residential area. Since then, this region has been referred to as "Daobei (north of railway)." During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a catastrophic flood of the Yellow River in 1938 forced tens of thousands of refugees from Henan Province to move to Xi'an following the railroad line. The Daobei region became a temporary, and later permanent, shelter for many of these refugees, who soon outnumbered local residents (He, 2009).



Fig.13 Location of the Daming Palace site.

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the Daobei region gradually developed into a mixture of urban and rural spaces, with a jumbled layout of densely populated shack-houses, farmsteads and industrial buildings. Archaeological excavations carried out between 1957 and 1960 contributed to the site's inclusion on the list of "National Important Cultural Properties under Special Preservation," issued by the State Council in 1961 (Quan, 2009: 69). Archaeological excavation of the site stopped during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), resuming later, after 1978. From 1981 to 1987 several successive excavations explored some important remains from the site. Meanwhile, China's fast rate of urbanization triggered a boom of unregulated construction in the Daobei region, further

exacerbating poor living conditions. Entering the 1990s, research into the Daming Palace was integrated with conservation for the first time. In 1994 a master plan was drawn up for the restoration of Hanyuan Hall, the main building of the palace, with funding from the UNESCO/Japanese Fund Trust (UNESCO, 2003).

From the beginning of the 21st century, the city of Xi'an experienced a phenomenal tourist commercialization of cultural heritage. Taking advantage of its abundance of cultural sites, the government of the Qujiang New District, placed in southeastern Xi'an, took the lead in introducing a Public-Private Partnership business model in the development of historical remains, and converted several iconic ancient monuments into eye-catching tourist attractions. Under this business model, the Qujiang authorities assigned the right to the use of the land around these sites to real estate companies in exchange for substantial investments (Suo, 2011). This new approach was named the "Qujiang Model," and was later applied to the Daming Palace site. In 2007, the Xi'an government initiated the "Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform" project and entrusted the Qujiang New District administrative board to be in charge. With an estimated total investment of 14 billion RMB (about 1.9 billion euro), a grandiose blueprint called "One Core, Two Wings, Three Circles and Six Districts" was formulated. In it, the park was utilized as a core to establish two urbanized zones, three circles of commercial areas, and six districts with individual functions such as business service, high-grade residence, and community resettlement (Liu, 2009).

The Xi'an government's decision of investing in a large-scale renovation project of the Daming Palace site was partially driven by the fact that the site could be incorporated as a component of the "Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor" cultural heritage, a candidate for UNESCO World Heritage designation proposed by China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The construction of the park took place between 2008 and 2010, completely changing the social landscape of surrounding neighborhoods. Within two years, 7 villages, 80 factories, 27,000 commercial tenants, and in total approximately 100,000 people were

removed from the site (Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform Office, 2015). The park was opened for visitation on 1st October 2010, the National Day of China. The park is divided into a free entry part and a non-free part. The non-free part, which includes two museums and an archaeology discovery centre, charges 60 RMB (about 8 euro). The successful inscription of the Silk Roads on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2014 granted the park with a World Heritage title.

Articulating changes in social values: ethnographic research

The construction of the Daming Palace Heritage Park has proved highly controversial. The park has been praised by local authorities as a successful example of innovative cultural heritage use as a means to reconcile the tension between the need for urbanization and the demand for heritage protection (Liu, 2009). It is also seen as a triumph in improving the livelihood of local communities and encouraging public participation (Shan, 2015). However, since its opening, the park has encountered criticism from a variety of media, including the People's Daily, an official newspaper usually representing viewpoints of the central government (Li, 2010). A few Chinese archaeologists have also expressed their concerns regarding the establishment of the park as they argued that it has actually damaged the heritage remains (Zhang, 2015).

Beyond the opinions from government and professional circles, little regarding the local community perception was known. In considering the development of Daming Palace archaeological site one particular question remained: how had the touristic commercialization and the World Heritage nomination influenced the social values ascribed to the site by local communities? To better answer the question, fieldwork was conducted in July and August 2014 around the site. The fieldwork involved a qualitative approach based on the employment of ethnographic strategies, which included in-depth interviews, participant observation, and casual conversations. Since qualitative research is mainly based on theoretical principles of interpretive science,

its data analysis does not usually contain the application of mathematical formulas (Sarantakos, 1997). This ethnographic study thus involved an interpretive focus and aimed for the production of “thick description” in which reality could be re-conceptualized through various articulations of various individual’s viewpoints on the social phenomenon under consideration.

In total, ninety-seven individuals participated in the interview. Among them sixty-seven were from the communities relocated from the site, nineteen belonged to the neighbourhoods that live adjacent to the park, and the remaining eleven were citizens from other districts of Xi’an. The need to collect data from all three groups was because each one of them represent a distinct local community whose livelihood has a varying degree of attachment to the archaeological site. Interviewees were chosen in such a way that maximized the opinions of people with a wide range of backgrounds. In doing so, a short list of key informants was first selected with the help of two local government officials. Once data were collected from these informants, the method of snowball sampling was applied (Babbie, 2010), as they were asked to assist in identifying and bringing more diversified participants in contact. The questions aimed to assess the emotional and attitudinal transition of individuals regarding the touristic commercialization of this shared cultural property. In addition, information collected through participant observation and casual conversation was used to fill in blanks left by interview data. Through data analysis, I have identified eight different themes related to the factors affecting the social values ascribed to the site by local communities, which are explained below. As it will be seen, they represent a wide range of perceptions, some positive and some negative.

Improvement in physical and conceptual living environments

Data analysis revealed that fifty-six (57.7%) interviewees expressed a generally positive attitude towards the touristic transformation of the site. One theme that

emerged from their support was that the renovation project had improved both the physical and conceptual environments of the Daobei region. It should be noted that even among those who expressed objection to the project, most of them agreed that the public environment of this area had improved enormously after the reformation. Interviewees commented that before the creation of the park, the living condition of the Daobei region was considered one of the worst in the city of Xi'an. Many interviewees shared the belief that the backwardness in their neighbourhoods was partially contributed to by the existence of the archaeological remains. According to one interviewee (a 33-year-old man from group one),

“We used to say that the Daobei region was left out of development because we had palace remains lying under our feet. Since the law said they should be protected, any industrialization around it must be restrained. In order to protect the past, we suffered in the present.”

In total thirty-one interviewees from group one stated that they were generally satisfied with their current living environment. As a previous Daobei resident (a 52-year-old man from group one) put it,

“For many years, we shared a small single-storey house with my wife's parents, and it was located near to a public toilet which smelled badly in summer. I am happy with the change. After all, who would rather live in a tumbledown neighborhood than one with nicer environment and more facilities?”

A few interviewees commented that, apart from the improvement in living conditions, they felt that the project had also assisted in eliminating prejudice towards Daobei. They remarked that the Daobei region was always associated with negative conceptual labels such as chaotic and criminal, and they believed it had much to do with “regional discrimination.” One interviewee (a 41-year-old woman from group one) said:

“If you ask those Xi’an citizens why would they look down upon Daobei, probably they would tell you that it is because there lived too many immigrants from Henan Province. For many years people had a bias against us and it was hard to change. I support the project, because for whatever reason the government did splash out a considerable amount of money to change something that I thought was never going to change.”

Archaeological heritage as a public green space for leisure and entertainment

A second factor that many interviewees considered a positive change generated by the park was the creation of a large public green space for leisure and entertainment. Seventy-three (75.3%) interviewees argued that the construction of the park had achieved the purpose of combining the protection and exhibition of archaeological remains with the functions of cultural public space. Many of them commented that since its opening, the free-entry part of the park had become a popular place for local residents to relax and exercise in their spare time. During the course of fieldwork, I observed that after dusk the vast “Imperial Path” square between the Danfeng Gate and the Hanyuan Hall was taken up by local residents doing activities such as dancing, shuttlecock kicking and body-building (Fig.14). Other free-entry parts were also utilized by many citizens for strolling and jogging. A 51-year-old woman from group two said:

“My husband and I take a walk around the Taiye Pool in the park almost every day after dinner for the last four years. My in-law, who used to stay at home all the time, also comes to practice square dancing. I think the government should build more parks like this.”

It should be noticed that supplementary facilities intended for local communities were

also provided in the park. The “Daming Palace Tang cultural street” as an example: located at the eastern side of the park, the small street provides snacks and beverages, as well as a public library and art exhibition, an open-air karaoke and cinema, and an adventure playground for children. A local resident (a 23-year-old man from group two) said:

“My friends and I hang out in this place a lot to play pool when the weather is nice. I remember Daobei used to be a dangerous neighbourhood and it is much nicer after they have built the park.”



Fig.14 Local residents taking activities in front of the Danfeng Gate after dusk (photo: August 2014. Author).

Easier access to the appreciation of archaeological heritage

The interviews revealed a further factor that affected the social values attributed to the site by local communities. This was the consideration that the park has offered easier access to the appreciation of the archaeological heritage. This was mentioned by sixty-one (62.9%) interviewees from all three groups. Many of them argued that before the project, the archaeological remains were under increasing threat from unregulated shack-house building and indiscriminate waste disposal. One interviewee (a 32-year-old man from group three) commented that:

“A few years ago I went to look for the Daming Palace remnant. It took me hours and I felt so disappointed when seeing it. What I saw was a stone tablet with the name of the property, surrounded by piles of garbage, and there was no sign of any remains. I felt nothing historical or cultural with the scenery. It is much better the way it is protected now. Heritage like this deserves to be treated with integrity and decency.”

A few interviewees also made reference to the interpretation boards provided at each particular remnant of the site. According to one interviewee (a 47-year-old woman from group one):

“I am not particularly interested in archaeology or history, but it is hard not to pay attention to what the boards have to say, when you take a walk in the park every day. Eventually I become more knowledgeable of the site than I ever was.”

In terms of increasing the general public's interest in archaeology, a few interviewees commented on the Archaeological Discovery Centre, a key component of the park. One interviewee (39-year-old man from group three) remarked on one program named “I am a little archaeologist” provided by the centre:

“...it is an activity regularly organized by the centre for children and parents. My daughter and I took part in it once and both enjoyed it. She was taught to differentiate coins from different dynasties, and also participated in a simulated excavation. We both practiced pottery and toured around the park with a professional guide. It was a good experience.”

Discontentment with the development model and cost

In contrast with the interviewees' support for the benefits that had been brought by the project, substantial opposition was also observed in the way local residents perceived the changes. Overall forty-one (42.3%) interviewees expressed a critical attitude towards the touristic transformation of the site. One theme common to most interviewees who showed discontentment was objection to the development model. According to many of these interviewees, they believed that the true motivation behind the project was economic profitability in real estate development. According to one interviewee (a 43-year-old man from group two):

“...it is not that we do not support the utilization of archaeological sites, or the reformation of backward areas. It is just we do not approve how it has been done. The Qujiang model is clearly a business approach that uses heritage protection as an excuse to make money in real estate. Since the model was successful in increasing the land price of Qujiang and benefiting a lot of government officials, they have transplanted it to the Daming Palace site. The authorities may call it reform and advancement, but I call it over-exploitation and misuse.”

It is alarming to notice that up to eighty-seven (89.7%) interviewees called in to question the huge amount of investment that the authorities claimed to have spent on the project. Many of them mentioned that they found it difficult to believe there was no corruption involved considering the contrast between the cost and its achievement.

In addition, some interviewees also reported their dissatisfaction towards the master plan drawn up for the development of the surrounding areas of the park. As one interviewee (a 22-year-old woman from group two) commented:

“The authorities claimed that the park would function as a ‘green lung’ to the city just as the ‘Central Park’ to New York. However, as an ancient city, Xi’an has its own unique attributes and cultural connotations. Its evolution should follow its own way.”

Dissatisfaction towards the park itself

Dissatisfaction towards the content of the park was another theme that raised varying comments from sixty-four (66%) of the interviewees. The most commonly shared opinion was that the park took too large a space for too little content. In accordance with one interviewee (a 41-year-old man from group three):

“It is perhaps fine as a park for the locals, but too big and not interesting enough to be an attractive archaeological tourist site. The historical remains are nothing but piles of earth, and it takes a lot of imagination to perceive what the park tries to convey.”

Furthermore, during the fieldwork I observed that many human-made features, whose design seemed to both embody modern aesthetics and resonate with the antiquity, were installed adjacent to archaeological remains (Fig.15). A few interviewees expressed their criticism towards these added features. As one (a 29-year-old woman from group three) argued:

“The human-made features make the park look odd. I know that they are meant for the remains to be more appealing, but with modern design and construction,

now everything looks fake and loses its genuine flavor.”

Some interviewees also remarked that they believed the restoration was actually harmful to the protection of archaeological heritage. One interviewee (a 27-year-old woman from group one) commented that:

“...building the park took less than two years. When it first opened to the public, everything looked so hastily done. I wonder, did they ruin anything during the construction? My family used to live near to what seemed to be a remain of an islet of the Taiye Pond. Now the Taiye Pond is refilled with water and the islet has disappeared.”



Fig.15 A human-made feature adjacent to archaeological remains (photo: August 2014. Author).

The lost sense of belonging

Another theme shared by forty-one (42.3%) interviewees was related to a feeling of a lost sense of belonging. They argued that the construction of the park had irreversibly changed the landscape of the region. This is especially prominent among former Daobei residents (i.e. group one), many of whom voiced their nostalgia due to the detachment to their previous home. However, it is worth noting that the park authorities have made an effort to maintain some elements of the old neighborhood for relocated residents to reflect upon the past. The trees at the Imperial Path Square, for instance, are left from the previous village, so that villagers can still locate where they used to live in accordance with the trees. Apart from the Daobei residents, some Xi'an citizens also expressed their concern to the complete transfiguration of cultural places like the Daming Palace site. As one interviewee (a 57-year-old man from group three) put it:

“...in the last ten years, the wholesome reconstruction centring on cultural sites has changed the appearance of the city to such an extent that it is fearsome to wonder whether any old image would remain after another ten years. When a city changes its trace of the past completely, what do we expect the future generations to memorize?”

Displeasure for image of neighbourhood identity

During the interview eighteen (26.9%) former Daobei residents expressed their disappointment towards the image representing their past neighbourhood identity. They commented that the authorities deliberately portrayed the Daobei region as a slum in order to give favourable publicity to their reformation project. During fieldwork, I observed that in the park there were a large number of sign boards set up showing the contrast between the past and the present (Fig.16). Besides this, in the

park museum there was a whole exhibition devoted to the relocation program, with pictures and items showing the life of the Daobei residents before the phenomenal change. One interviewee (43-year-old man from group one) complained that:

“...the government chose to show to the public the worst image of the Daobei neighbourhood, and now everyone thinks Daobei used to be a slum. The actual situation was much more complicated, and we do not like our old home to be referred to in that way.”



Fig.16 A sign board showing the contrast between the past and the present of one archaeological remain (photo: August 2014. Author).

Dissatisfaction for the current living environment and relocation compensation

The last factor that affected the local communities' perspective of the social values associated to the site also related to the relocation program. In total forty-three (64.2%) interviewees from group one expressed dissatisfaction towards their current living environment or the compensation for dislocation. One interviewee (a 39-year-old man from group one) said that,

“My family and I do not like the new apartment assigned to us. The new building has 36 floors and each floor holds 10 apartments, but only 3 elevators were installed. Besides, the elders have spent most of their lives living in single-storey houses, so they are having difficulties with adjusting to life in places as high as this.”

In addition, a few interviewees also argued that once they were relocated from their previous home, they had felt abandoned and neglected. This is because until 2014 they had had to wait for several years before moving into the resettlement buildings. As one interviewee (a 29-year-old woman from group one) commented:

“We were asked to compromise our interests for the sake of the protection of the archaeological heritage; we were requested to understand and support the government's decision for the better good; we were promised that we would receive a reasonable compensation and once the resettlement buildings were completed, we would have a new home. However, in reality the compensation can hardly make up for what my family had to give up, and nobody cared where we were going to settle once our old neighborhood had been demolished.”

Discussion

The data analysis above reveals that the touristic commercialization and the UNESCO World Heritage nomination of the Daming Palace archaeological site have hugely affected the social values attributed to it by its local communities. In other words, the site has become a focus of different sentiments and varying qualities to local community members. The social values ascribed to the site from a local communal perspective include many aspects: the ability to upgrade physical and conceptual living environment, the capability of improving local livelihood, its capacity as a space for leisure, entertainment and education, its role in maintaining a sense of belonging and regional pride, and its proficiency in fulfilling social expectation. The data shows that even though more than half of the interviewees expressed various levels of dissatisfaction towards the project, most of them supported the idea of using archaeological sites through touristic development to achieve general improvement for the entire community. The transformation of the site has increased the variety and measure of social values ascribed to it from local communal perspective through the enhanced living environment of the region, the creation of a large public green space for relaxation and entertainment, and the upgraded public access to the heritage itself. Interviewees' concerns regarding the negative impact of the project on the social values attributed to the site mainly focused on the applied business model, the content of the park, as well as the compromises they had to make.

The interviewee's generally positive attitude towards heritage refurbishment shows that, to most local community members, the social values attributed to an archaeological site boil down to one practical concern: whether its existence and use can bring any tangible benefit to the people. Many Daobei residents shared the sentiment that before the restoration project, the palace remains did, to some extent, prevent local livelihood from advancing. They believed that due to the preservation of the ancient remnant, the region compromised its modernization, and the local residents somehow took on the role of graveyard keepers for this particular piece of

Chinese history. This viewpoint represents, to a large extent, the attitude of many local communities towards archaeological sites that cover a large space and lack obvious touristic characteristics—the sort of heritage that the Chinese government has paid great attention to in the past few years. A practical reason behind the rather pragmatic perspective of local communities is that in a society with generally fast economic development, the widening gap between the rich and poor prompts people to prioritize monetary gain over other concerns. This tendency is compounded by an absence of sentimental bond between the heritage and the communities geographically attached to it. Lost memory of ancient glory and the often complex demographic composition give rise to the phenomenon that such archaeological heritage is better appreciated by outsiders than those who live adjacent to it.

Another important line of reflection concerning the impact of touristic commercialization and World Heritage nomination on the social values attributed to the site relates to real estate ‘frenzies’. The interview data demonstrate that the social values ascribed to the site by local residents are imperiled by their discontent towards the business model in which real estate companies play major roles. The application of the Public-Private Partnership Qujiang model is an experiment of using the potentials of archaeological heritage and the financial means of real estate industry as catalysts for mutual benefit. This leads to perhaps the most controversial implication in China’s current practice of archaeological tourism: the extent of direct private sector involvement in the heritage realm. The imbalance of consideration between economic interest and social impact is manifested by the relatively high percentage of dissatisfaction of local residents towards the current development model. The mistrust held by most interviewees for the budget involved also reflects the lack of transparency in the construction process.

The interviewees’ concerns towards the content of the park show that local community members also responded with enthusiasm to one subtle aspect of the social values ascribed to the site, namely its proficiency in fulfilling social expectations. The analysis reveals that one common criticism of the park is related to

its content, which was often condemned as either showing a decrease in original antique taste or being a vast space of emptiness and boredom. Such comments reflect the general public's perception towards the authenticity of material culture. The Chinese version of the word "authentic," means "maintaining the true essence," denoting that a copy truthful to what it mirrors is not considered a lesser version of its original (Shepherd and Yu, 2013: 41). This partly explains Chinese society's relatively high tolerance of large-scale heritage reconstruction. However, it also implies that local communities may have a different expectation of how an archaeological heritage park should look like from what the designers intend for it to be. The data show that many individuals expected a similar experience to that of visiting an antique-style theme park, and therefore anticipated to see more intuitive features. To them, the sheer exhibition of a large quantity of homogeneous archaeological remains was not entertaining. This reconfirms the current dilemma facing Chinese conservationists regarding how to reconcile the demands of being authentic, attractive, and satisfactory to the expectation of the general public.

The compromise made by local communities for the project probably has the most direct impact on their perception of the social values associated to the site. In recent years, the touristic reformation of archaeological sites in the name of conservation has often involved the displacement of local residents. This is partially because of the management model promoted by UNESCO to divide protected areas into inner cores and outer fringe regions (Weller, 2006: 78). The application of the spatial segregation model in China often leads to an opaque resettlement process, especially when real estate companies get involved. The interviewees confirmed that small-scale conflicts between the government and local communities regarding compensation rates and other related disputes have occurred at varying intervals for the past few years, which is an alarming reality for the authorities to take into consideration.

Conclusion

The myriad of values that a society attributes to its archaeological heritage are the fundamental reasons behind its protection and development (De la Torre, 2013). In recent years, the growing touristic commercialization of archaeological sites and the rising influence of UNESCO World Heritage List have reshaped how these values are perceived by different stakeholders. This article has focused on issues related to social values using the Daming Palace archaeological site in China as a case study. In China, the development of archaeological tourism has changed the relationship between heritage and communities in the immediate vicinity of heritage sites remarkably. Such changes have been further prompted by the Chinese authorities' constant pursuit of World Heritage inscription of cultural sites. One strategy worth noting is the conversion of large archaeological sites, namely the "Great Sites," into heritage parks, a practice that is praised for its ability to enhance local livelihood and encourage social participation in safeguarding cultural heritage. However, this novel practice still requires critical reflection on its impacts on local communities and how their perceptions of the values associated with these sites have transformed. Accordingly, this article has employed ethnographic approaches to scrutinize how the practice has affected social values ascribed to the Daming Palace archaeological site by local residents.

This conservational strategy is mostly well received by local communities with regard to its improvement in living environments of surrounding areas, the creation of a public space for leisure and entertainment, and the enhancement of public access to the heritage itself. In these regards, the practice is believed to have enhanced social values attributed to the site by local communities. However, the oversight of this program in causing discontent with the relocation program, content of the park, and the perceived over-dependency on private sectors has also impaired these values. In view of the changes in social values ascribed to the Daming Palace archaeological sites by local communities, the question remains as to how to gear social values

towards a positive improvement through the seemingly inexorable trend of increased touristic commercialization. It should be noted that with tourism playing a major role, archaeological sites in China have become a contested ground for community engagement (Shan, 2015). The Chinese authorities' endeavor to integrate elements of participatory approaches into conservation projects for archaeological sites enhances, at least in theory, the social values associated to these sites. However, in practice they become places where local residents are confronted with the cross-cutting interests of other stakeholders over rights, roles and voices (Plummer and Taylor, 2004). Therefore, current community collaboration in heritage management only superficially touches upon the issue of local participation. The engagement of local residents is restrained within the sphere of passive attendance after the development stage of the project is finished, while their voices have no part to play in the decision-making process (Nitzky, 2013).

Understanding the diverse social values attributed by local communities to an archaeological site helps to prompt community participation discourse to live up to its rhetorical potential. Consequently, this article advocates the establishment of a collaborative managerial framework that assimilates community-centred initiatives in the planning stage of commercial projects. How to construct such a framework is a challenge that is not exclusive to China but is in fact faced by most countries around the world. In a global context that is increasingly subjected to the forces of a market-driven economy, the underscoring of social value should be considered as a potential means to harness excessive commercialization. Increasing public and administrative awareness of this fundamental dimension to heritage is an absolute necessity in the development of a more concrete measure for safeguarding the past.

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Chapter four

Social values and rock art tourism: an ethnographic study of the Huashan rock art area (China)

This chapter is an exact transcription of the content of the third article “*Social values and rock art tourism: an ethnographic study of the Huashan rock art area (China)*.”

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Abstract

The rapid expansion of cultural tourism has led to increased numbers of visitors to rock art sites throughout the world. The rise of rock art tourism has affected not only the preservation of rock art sites, but also the social values attributed to the sites by communities in the immediate vicinity. Social values refer to the social and cultural meanings that a place of heritage holds for a particular community. This article aims to discuss the influence of tourism on the social values that uphold local communities’ emotional attachment to rock art heritage, using the Huashan rock art area in China as a case study. Huashan is the first rock art heritage in China proposed to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. The ultimate goal of the research is to prompt further reflection on existing rock art heritage management mechanisms both in China and worldwide.

Keywords: Heritage. Social value. Rock art tourism. Huashan. China. UNESCO. World Heritage Site.

Introduction

In the past three decades, the rapid expansion of cultural tourism has led to increased numbers of visitors to rock art sites throughout the world (Duval and Smith, 2014). As an immensely popular economic phenomenon, tourism has affected not only the preservation of rock art sites, but also the social values attributed to the sites by communities residing in the immediate vicinity. The values of rock art sites, as with all other places of heritage, reside in the significance and meanings ascribed by different individuals and groups. Since values are projected expressions instead of inherent qualities, they can be shaped by varying circumstances. Social values refer to the social and cultural meanings that a place of heritage holds for a particular community (Australia ICOMOS, 2013), and thus can evolve over time subject to the changes in social, economical, and cultural contexts. Based on a review of recent rock art studies, it is recognized that in many parts of the world where rock art has become a tourist attraction, the social values ascribed to rock art sites by local residents are under the influence of a dynamic interplay among a wide range of stakeholders over their divergent interests (e.g. Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008; Ndlovu, 2009; Taçon, in press).

The consideration of social values that inspire local residents' attachment to rock art heritage has never been high on the list of either academic or governmental priorities, even though in recent years scholars have underscored the role that local communities can play in rock art management (Deacon, 2006; Smith, 2006a; Mazel, 2012). This is because in practice, when establishing tourism development strategies for a rock art site, local communities are usually marginalized in the decision-making process, allowing social values to be overshadowed by other matters. However, the identification and conservation of social values have long been argued to be effective towards protecting heritage sites, because such a practice is believed to help encourage community initiatives in creating and maintaining meanings and life for the sites (Johnston, 1992). To understand social values and how they change with the rise

of tourism, one needs to probe into individual perceptions and attitudes that influence the ways in which local community members view the heritage. The very process of gauging community level changes in perception and attitude lays the foundation for apprehending the social impact of rock art tourism.

Set against this background, this article aims to calibrate the social values attributed to rock art heritage by local communities, and to explore changes in those values under the influence of tourism, using the Huashan rock art area in China as a case study. Huashan is the first rock art heritage in China proposed to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage List, and the pre-nomination campaign has largely affected its tourism development. In fact, UNESCO has had a double-edged role in reshaping the relationship between local communities and rock art tourism, through the promotion of the World Heritage List. On the one hand, it creates opportunity for local residents to economically benefit from the exploitation of World Heritage properties. On the other, it promotes conservation ethics that are geared towards privileging expert voices over local ones, thus disengaging local populations from active use of the heritage (Smith, 2006b: 29; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008: 474). This article examines the social values ascribed to the heritage by local communities, analyzing changes in the perception and attitude of the views of local residents on the development of rock art tourism using an ethnographic study. The analysis is then used to scrutinize how the social values have been affected by tourism promotion efforts by local authorities. The ultimate goal of the research is to prompt further reflection on existing rock art heritage management mechanisms both in China and worldwide.

The Huashan Rock Art Area: from Anonymity to World Heritage Nomination

Before discussing the Huashan rock art area, a brief examination of the World

Heritage nomination in China and its impact on tourism is necessary to contextualize what happened in this special case. In 1985 China ratified the World Heritage Convention and began nominating sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. Twenty years later, in 2015, China had managed to include forty-eight World Heritage properties on the list, among which, thirty-four were cultural sites (UNESCO, 2015a). The World Heritage nomination in China is a highly politicised process. In practice, the constitution of sites on both the World Heritage List and the Tentative List is a result of power negotiation among authorities of different levels and regions. Due to current UNESCO regulations, each year state parties like China can only propose one cultural site from its Tentative List to be considered for designation. Therefore, the Chinese central authorities tend to choose the candidate that has the highest guarantee of success and will also help maintain balance among the provinces. China's enthusiasm towards World Heritage nomination in recent years has had a huge influence on the touristic commercialization of cultural sites. This has much to do with a series of successful World Heritage inscriptions in the late 1990s, which effectively triggered the transformation of a few previously unknown sites into top tourism destinations in the country (Gao, 2016a). The potential promise of economic benefit from World Heritage designation has encouraged regional authorities to pursue international accreditation for sites located in their territories. In preparing for nomination, local governments usually launch a number of projects to enhance the conservational status of these sites. Such projects often include plans to renovate and establish infrastructural and tourist facilities around the sites, thus boosting the development of cultural tourism.

The Huashan rock art area is a place of heritage whose tourism development has been predominantly affected by World Heritage nomination. The area consists of eighty-one rock art sites located in what is today a sparsely populated region of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Distributed along the Zuojiang River Valley, the sites are scattered in a picturesque landscape featured with green limestone peaks, meandering water, and interspersed tablelands. Most of the sites are located on the water-facing cliffs near the river bends, with reddish motifs painted high-way up a

rock surface. The figures are highly standardized in style. Approximately 95% of them are interpreted as anthropomorphs, depicted in either frontal view or profile with the same posture: arms stretched up at the elbow and legs semi-squatted (Qin et al., 1987). It is generally believed that the rock images were created between the Warring States Period (403-221 BCE) and Eastern Han Dynasty (26-220 CE), by an ethnic group named Luo Yue, believed by scholars to be ancestors of the present-day Zhuang people (Gao, 2013). It should be noted that the Huashan rock art area is named after the eponymous Huashan rock art site, arguably the most magnificent site of the area. The site is situated on the sloping cliff of a limestone peak facing the Mingjiang River, a tributary of the Zuojiang River, and covering a painted area of more than 4000 square meters (Liu, 2006; Gao, 2013). The potential of the Huashan rock art site was acknowledged back in the late 1980s, when the site was granted the status of 'Important National Cultural Property under Special Preservation' by the state authorities (SACH, 1988). A few years later, the local government constructed basic tourist facilities at the site, including an observation pathway and fences, making it feasible for public visitation (Ma, 1994: 178). However, opening the site as a tourist attraction accelerated the deterioration of the rock images, because of direct contact from tourists walking under the painted cliff.

To the Huashan rock art area, the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign is undoubtedly the most significant factor in developing tourism plans in the last few years. The campaign initiated around the turn of the new millennium, when the government of Ningming County, where the Huashan rock art site is located, proposed to nominate the site for China's World Heritage Tentative List. The proposal was endorsed by higher levels of authorities, and in 2004 the site was officially included on the list. The success had two opposing effects. On the one hand, the conservation of the paintings was taken more seriously (Fig.17). As a direct result, in the same year the local government took the decision of forbidding tourists from using the pathway under the painted cliff, in order to mitigate its continuous deterioration. Since then, visitors have only been able to see the pictographs from a distance by taking a boat. On the other, the successful inscription of the site on the

Tentative List encouraged both governments and private sectors to commercialize the unique cultural resources, potentially putting it at risk. The Ningming County government, for instance, launched several commercial projects to transform the site into the centrepiece of a range of tourist attractions, such as a theme park and a hot spring resort (lv, 2011: 194). However, most of the projects were stopped, because in recent years more restrictions have been placed on commercial plans intended to be carried out within the buffer zone of the Huashan rock art area, so as to safeguard its opportunity of becoming a World Heritage site.



Fig.17 The conservation of the Huashan rock art site during the pre-nomination campaign (photo: March 2013. Author).

The Huashan rock art area has received a better chance of getting nominated for World Heritage inscription in the past few years, due to the fact that it would become the first rock art World Heritage in China and would bring celebration and attraction

to Guangxi, one of the few provinces that still lack World Heritage status sites. In 2010, the provincial authorities decided to promote the entire rock art area, instead of just one site, to become a World Heritage Site, under the name of “Huashan rock art cultural landscape.” Therefore, since 2010 the Guangxi government has launched a range of pre-nomination projects on the heritage, preparing for its designation in 2016 (Pang and Zhou, 2016). Those projects have an extensive influence on the development of rock art tourism in many aspects. They resulted in a modest renovation of tourist facilities around the Huashan rock art site, such as pathways, interpretation boards, piers and viewing platforms. They also led to the establishment of a monitoring station close to the site, and a grandiose museum in the downtown area of Chongzuo, the administrative centre of this region. Plans were put into place to improve the protection of the surrounding environment, through restoring vegetation on the riverbanks, putting up posters for public education (Fig.18), and banishing local businesses that were considered harmful to the integrity of the landscape, such as sand-digging and quarrying companies. Lastly, they prompted the invention of a series of cultural festivals and events, organized by the local government, as a way to publicize the heritage and gain local support for the campaign. The annual Huashan Cultural Festival, as an example, started in 2011. The event consists of a variety of traditional activities associated with the Huashan rock art, including ancestor worship ceremony and ‘frog dancing’. Whereas local rituals dedicated to the rock art sites have been discontinued for decades in most parts of the region, the newly invented tradition has become a tourism attraction itself (observation and personal communication. March 2013, July 2014, and May 2015).



Fig.18 A poster saying “Huashan has picturesque scenery, and everybody has the responsibility to protect it.” (Photo: July 2014. Author).

The efforts made in the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign have not only facilitated the rise of rock art tourism but also reshaped the social values ascribed to the heritage by communities adjacent to the sites. This is because such efforts have had an effect on the collective attachment to the sites that embodies meanings significant to the local population. Those meanings represent the social values for which the Huashan rock art area had become emotionally important to the local residents in the first place. Before probing into the impact of tourism on the social values, the following section presents a discussion of the social and cultural meanings of Huashan rock art area to the local communities.

Huashan Rock Art Area and Social Values

Social value as referred to here, has recently been defined as ‘the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them’ in the Practice Note for the updated Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2013: 4). The concept of social value was first proposed by the Burra Charter in 1979, and later elaborated by a series of publications in the field of heritage (e.g. Johnston, 1992; De la Torre, 2002; Smith, 2009). However, the concept has barely been used in literatures discussing the relationship between rock art sites and local communities. In accordance with the general understanding of social value, this article argues that the social values ascribed to a rock art site by its local community lie in the social and cultural meanings embodied in the site which inspire the community’s collective sense of attachment to it. Such meanings include a traditional connection that links the present to the past, an essential reference point in constituting group identity, and a functional quality that responds to cultural practices and activities. Inspired by those meanings, the collective sense of attachment is expressed in local residents’ feelings and activities, sometimes unconsciously. It is the shared attachment that makes a rock art heritage ‘alive’ to the local population.

In the case of the Huashan rock art area, the local communities are the residents from villages near to the rock art sites. Almost all of the villagers are from the Zhuang ethnic group, who are believed to be the decedents of the Luo Yue people, producers of the pictographs (Liu, 2006). The local residents are mainly engaged in agriculture, and a sizeable proportion of population live in poverty. The social values attributed by them to the rock art heritage were analyzed through combining information from the extant literature of Zhuang ethnography, and data from my own fieldwork conducted in the area, discussed in the next section. The analysis shows that the local communities perceive the Huashan rock painting as a unique and divine feature, closely associated with the Zhuang ethnic culture and capable of inspiring feelings of awe, reverence and pride. The previous ethnographic studies reveal that, regarding the meaning of the paintings, the local population have a variety of interpretations derived from an abundance of folklores and stories (see Qin, 2006; Liao, 2002). An examination of those stories shows that the Huashan rock art is deeply associated with

different aspects of the Zhuang ethnic culture, such as history and cosmology. This is further approved by the fieldwork data, which demonstrate that many local residents believe the rock paintings were created by either their ancestors or celestial beings. For this reason, they considered the rock art sites as sacred places in need of deference and homage. In fact, such a belief can be traced back to possibly the Song dynasty (BCE 960-1279), during which a book named ‘*Xu Bo Wu Zhi*’ mentioned that in a region of what is present-day Guangxi, there were ghost-like painted figures in a deep valley, and when local people passed by in boat, they paid tribute to the figures, believing them to be images of their ancestors (Qin et al., 1987: 15).

In a personal conversation with Zhu Qiuping, a local scholar who has conducted research with the local Zhuang community for over 20 years, Zhu confirmed that an important reason why vandalism has been almost entirely absent from the Huashan rock art area is because the local population sees it as a divine legacy related to their ancestors. Zhu also mentioned that the locals traditionally conducted many activities which are believed to be culturally related to the rock art, including ritual singing and dancing with bronze drums. However, such traditions have mostly disappeared as younger generations are less interested in them (personal communication, July 2014). During my fieldwork, a local Zhuang villager, who was in his seventies, commented on a traditional activity that used to be conducted at one particular rock art site:

“I remember when I was a young kid, on the first and fifteenth of every month I always went with my dad to pay homage to a rock cave with paintings. We normally offered up cooked meat and burnt incense on a large rock, which is no longer there due to some natural causes. Sometimes we also recited special ‘prayers’. Such a tradition was common among the locals back then. Nowadays as the older generations passed away, the tradition died with them. I would like to continue paying homage to the paintings in the traditional way, but I am too old and fragile to do the climbing. However, every time I look at the cave, it still reminds me of the old memories.”

From the discussion above, it appears that the social values attributed to the Huashan rock art heritage by the local communities refer to perceived meanings that embody a connection between the current Zhuang people and their ancestors, a reference point of ethnic and regional identity, and a quality that resonates to traditional activities. The local residents' attachment to the area can be further interpreted as a feeling of regional pride and nostalgia, as well as a sense of ethnic belonging because of these meanings.

Articulating Changes in Social Values

Through elaborating on the social values attributed to the Huashan rock art area by its local population, this section aims to explore how tourism efforts have affected those values. To determine the influence, an ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken beginning in March 2013, with a follow up survey in July 2014. Qualitative data were collected through interviews, participant observation, and casual conversation, with the former acting as primary data, and latter information being more supplementary. In total seventy-nine local residents were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in an informal, open-ended manner. The questions asked what the Huashan rock art area means to them, what changes were generated by rock art tourism since the beginning of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, and how they personally feel about the changes.

In order to select the members of the community I worked with, I first drafted a short list of key-informants whom I interviewed, and thereafter, the approach of snowball sampling was used (Babbie, 2010), meaning that the key-informants were asked to assist in bringing more participants with diverse backgrounds in to contact. All the interviews were recorded in personal notes. Since many of the villagers did not speak Mandarin Chinese, the language in which the interviews were made, these interviews were conducted with the help of three voluntary interpreters. Themes were identified

and codes were defined to generate descriptive statistics for each of the open-ended questions.

The analysis of the data has brought to light local communities' understanding of the changes engendered by rock art tourism. An examination of their understanding reveals that, among those changes, there are six themes affecting local resident perception and attitudes towards the rock art heritage. These themes are (1) a boost in pride as the result of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, (2) heightened awareness of environmental issues, (3) enhanced public representation, (4) revival of ethnic tradition, (5) concern over costs and outcome, and (6) mistrust of government motivation. Example quotations from the data¹ were used in the examination of these six themes.

The first theme recognized that the pride-boost effect of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign was a major influence on local residents' perception and attitude towards the rock art heritage. Most of the respondents (eighty-two percent) expressed a mainly positive attitude towards the campaign, as they saw it as an opportunity for achieving regional advancement in general. Many of them expressed the expectation of tangible benefits, such as an increase in the number of tourists and job opportunities, from the rock art area's potential success in obtaining the World Heritage title. It is also believed by a few residents that the campaign itself would enhance the awareness and visibility of not only the rock art heritage but also the whole region. As perceived by some respondents, the region where the Huashan rock art area is located lacked any obvious advantage for competing with other tourist attractions in Guangxi, because they all share a very similar type of landscape. As one respondent remarked:

“We have the unique landscape of karst topography, but so do the rest of Guangxi. There are other regions in Guangxi which are far more popular among

¹ The number of quotations used in the article has been reduced to minimum due to the word limitation.

tourists for their natural settings. We need something special, something that can only be found here. There is no better recognition or promotion than World Heritage inscription. (Male, age between 30-39, 2013)”

From the respondents’ general support for the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, the second most frequently mentioned theme was the main contribution of the campaign towards increasing higher awareness of environmental issues. Seventy-eight percent of respondents agreed that the pre-nomination projects had improved the surrounding environment of the rock art area to various degrees. Many of them further commented that the publicity efforts of regional authorities helped to enhance local resident awareness of the need for environmental protection, as locals had become more environment-friendly in their day-to-day activities. For instance, one respondent mentioned that local villagers used to dump wastewater and garbage into the river, a behaviour that is more self-disciplined in these days. Furthermore, a few respondents pointed out the local government’s endeavour to banish the sand-digging business at the Zuojiang River:

“As local villagers we felt fed up with the sand-digging workshops for years. They damaged our fields, polluted the water, and made a mess of the surrounding environment. They used to threaten us, claiming that they had powerful government support behind their back. It is good to see them being shut down. (Male, age between 40-49, 2014)”

The increased environmental conscience went hand in hand with enhanced public representation, which was the third most widely identified theme recognized by respondents as a benefit of the campaign-driven tourism development. Sixty-three percent of respondents expressed their happiness regarding the renovated infrastructural and tourist facilities which were constructed as part of the campaign. A few of them also made reference to the newly established Huashan museum and the interpretation boards erected around the sites. Those facilities were considered contributions to an informative and pleasant environment for the public representation

of the rock art sites. When the respondents were asked about their personal impression of the tourism renovation, two recurrent sentiments expressed by them were that the work was ‘appropriate’ and ‘not extravagant’. It should be noted that the relatively modest renovation of the tourist facilities was a direct result of the pre-nomination campaign. As mentioned above, in recent years the local authorities have applied more restrictions on tourism projects carried out around the rock art area in order to ensure its success in the coming World Heritage designation. A conversation with a local government official confirmed that, since 2014, the Chongzuo City government has forbidden its subordinate counties to sign any new tourism development contract with private sectors within the designated buffer zone of the rock art area.

The fourth dominant theme to emerge from the interviews was the revival of ethnic traditions through the promotion of cultural events related to the Huashan rock art. As already discussed, organizing cultural events to rehabilitate ethnic practices could be seen as inventing tradition. Nevertheless, in the case of Huashan, from the perspective of local residents, the invention did, to some extent, succeed in resuscitating grassroots support and reviving other ethnic traditions. Fifty-eight percent of respondents associated the events with a feeling of ethnic pride. Many of them acknowledged that events like the ‘Huashan Culture Festival’ assisted in strengthening the emotional bond between the local Zhuang people and the rock art. According to one respondent:

“I think if the rock art can thrive, so can our culture. It (the Huashan Culture Festival) does make me feel proud of being a Zhuang because it is the Luo Yue, our ancestors who made the paintings. (Female, age between 20-29, 2013)”

The data analysis showed that, even though the majority of respondents expressed a positive attitude towards the changes generated by the campaign driven promotion of the rock art as a venue for tourism, there was, nevertheless, an undercurrent of dissonance most often expressed when respondents were questioned about the political aspect of the development plans. The fifth most highlighted theme for many

respondents (forty-three percent) was concern over the cost of the campaign. They commented that the local government saw the campaign as the priority of the whole region and had invested too much money in it. Their main concern regarded three questions: how long would it take for the investment made in the pre-nomination stage to start making profit; where did this huge amount of investment come from; and would it be all worthwhile in the end? As one respondent put it:

“Some villages in the region still do not have running water. The money could have been spent on more imperative needs of the people. (Female, age between 50-59, 2013)”

Apart from concern over the cost and outcome, twenty-seven percent of the respondents also questioned the reasons behind local government officials’ enthusiasm for the World Heritage request. The mistrust in government motivation is related to a well-known fact that the current evaluation and promotion system is conducted in such a way that it encourages officials to seek instant political achievements, for immediate effect and recognition, rather than considering the long term consequences of their decisions. A few respondents pointed out that the lack of trust was amplified by the lack of transparency in the policy-making process:

“We do not want to see uncontrolled development change the area entirely. Isn’t that normally what happens to a Chinese site once it gets inscribed as a World Heritage? (Male, age between 20-29, 2014)”

Discussion

What has been the effect of tourism on the social values attributed to the Huashan rock art area by the local Zhuang people? The social values ascribed to the rock art heritage by the local residents are closely related to community feelings of regional

pride and nostalgia, as well as their collective sense of ethnic belonging. Therefore, any variation in those emotions may possibly affect the social values under discussion. Regarding the effects of tourism on social values, it is not surprising to find that most of the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards the changes generated by the campaign. This is because many of them perceived the local government's tourism promotion efforts in the campaign as a way of keeping the traditional values that the rock art sites stood for alive. That is to say, such efforts were seen by many as not just a means of maintaining the fabric of the pictographic sites, but also a constructive process through which the significance of Zhuang ethnic culture is underpinned; their regional pride honoured, and their memories refreshed.

In order to understand the way social values have been reshaped by campaign-driven rock art tourism, the role of authoritative recognition must be taken into consideration. As seen in the remarks recorded through interview, the region was confined by a rural frontier setting and the lack of an obvious advantage in competing with its neighbours for tourism. Therefore, the prominence given to this unique cultural asset was not only a strong affirmation of the culture in which the value was created, but also a validation of the local population's regional prestige. The local communities' cultural identity and ethnic pride was also built up through a sense of esteem that they drew from increased environmental conscience and the enhanced public representation of the rock art sites. As mentioned by the respondents, one major change engendered by the development of tourism was the pleasant, modest and informative environment in which the rock art is exhibited to the public. Such an environment was the result of both the promotion and the restriction of rock art tourist exploitation from the pre-nomination campaign. The comfort produced by the representation of the environment helped local residents to feel respected for their culture, values and position in society. It also cultivated a setting that not only responded to local people's emotional commitment, but also encouraged them to explore, express and reflect upon the cultural significance that the rock art heritage represents to them.

The revival or reinvention (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012) of ethnic tradition should

be considered another aspect of change that is beneficial to the conservation of social values. When community members were questioned about their personal impressions from participating in such events, the persistent theme in their answers was a feeling of ethnic pride. Such a feeling was tied to the privilege of not only being able to understand the cultural messages embedded in the events, but also knowing the ethnic connection between themselves and the people who created the paintings. Additionally, the feeling of ethnic pride also demonstrated a cultural link that was considered special between the local Zhuang people and the rock art area. Therefore, the cultural events that assisted in reinforcing Zhuang ethnic identity also played an active role in transcending and conserving the social values associated with the rock art heritage.

The data analysis shows that even though respondents expressed generally positive feelings towards the promotion of the Huashan rock art area for tourism, those feelings were also tempered by varying degrees of doubt, concern and distrust towards the development process. These negative sentiments were closely linked to underlying social messages in response to the undesired consequences brought about by the pre-nomination campaign. Over time, those messages might lead to an attenuation of the strength of social values attributed to the rock art area. The most conspicuous social message was the fear of witnessing disagreeable changes upon the development of the heritage while having no power to stop it. Such fear not only referred to people's general reluctance towards change, but also indicated local residents' discontent regarding the lack of community participation in the decision-making process. Therefore, the sense of impotence for local communities having their opinions excluded from the tourism development process of the Huashan rock art area endangered the very bedrock of meanings upon which these social values were constructed.

Conclusion

In recent years, it has generally been agreed that places of heritage are worthy of preservation because of the values they are deemed to represent (Poulios, 2010). Since those values are perceived diversely by different individuals and groups, the significance of a place also resides in the social values recognized by communities living close to the place. The social values attributed to a heritage place by its local residents refer to the meanings expressed in their collective sense of attachment to the place. The consideration of social values has become increasingly imperative in the management of rock art sites, due to the impact generated by the rise of rock art tourism on the lives of people living in close proximity to the sites (Sanz, 2012). In China, the development of rock art tourism has had much to do with international heritage organizations such as UNESCO through the promotion of the world Heritage List. Such development also has an effect on the social values attributed to rock art sites by communities in the immediate vicinity.

Based on the results of ethnographic fieldwork, and a general literature review, social values attributed to the Huashan rock art area by the local communities have been shown to refer to meanings that embody a connection between the current Zhuang people and their ancestors, a reference point for ethnic and regional identity, and a quality that resonates with traditional activities. It has also been revealed that many of the changes generated by the endeavour towards tourism promotion by the authorities in their pursuit of World Heritage designation have contributed to the reinforcement of the social values under discussion. Those changes include the boost in pride from the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, the increased environmental conscience, the enhanced public representation, and the revival of ethnic tradition. However, it is also proposed that negative feelings among the communities in response to the undesired consequences of the campaign might have resulted in the attenuation of the social values. Furthermore, it indicated that the lack of community participation in the decision-making process might have imperilled the very

foundation upon which the social values are constructed.

In this article, the exploration of the values that uphold local Zhuang people's emotional attachment to the Huashan rock art area and the tourism influence on those values has contributed to a better understanding of the challenges in heritage tourism. Therefore, such a discussion should help prompt policy-makers to reconsider the role of local communities in the touristic exploitation of rock art sites with greater pause for reflection. In practice, the economic and political values of rock art heritage often outweigh all the other qualities, making it very difficult for community participation to live up to its rhetorical potential. The article therefore appeals to the establishment of an alternative management paradigm that stays sensitive to public feelings and has the ability to genuinely incorporate the consideration of social values into the planning process of heritage tourism. In the present global context, giving priorities to maintaining emotional connections between people and place as a primary means of conservation is nearly impossible. Nevertheless, increasing the visibility of this fundamental dimension of heritage to both the public and the authorities is a necessary step towards the employment of a community-involved managerial approach. This is not only desirable, but also one of the current requirements of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (WHC, 2012: para. 12).

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Chapter five

Conclusion

This doctoral thesis has explored the relationship between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social value in contemporary China. It has provided an innovative insight into such connections by scrutinizing the impact of archaeological tourism on those social values that local communities attribute to archaeological sites that are either ascribed as World Heritage Sites or that are in the process of becoming one. The role of archaeology has never been as dynamic as it is today. In the last few decades, archaeological sites, as a significant component of cultural heritage, have been increasingly exploited due to their potential as revenue generators, public education providers, national identity promoters, and many other functions. The multiple potential roles of archaeological sites are defined by the numerous values that different stakeholders attribute to the sites. In recent years, the growing tourist commercialization of archaeological sites and the rising influence of the UNESCO World Heritage List have reshaped how these values are perceived by different site stakeholders. Those stakeholders who are the most affected by the development of archaeological tourism are usually local communities that live in or around places of archaeological remains. Therefore, the social values ascribed to archaeological sites by their local communities are subject to the changes generated by any practice carried out at the sites under the influence of tourism and World Heritage designation. Archaeological tourism has an ability to (re)create, modify, enhance and reduce the social values attributed to archaeological sites by their local communities, by changing their function, capacity, quality and meaning. In this process, the UNESCO World Heritage List, along with the listing process itself, also plays an important role in providing advice on the touristic transformation of these sites in preparation for World Heritage inscription, especially during the pre-nomination period.

Set against this background, this doctoral thesis has aimed to analyze the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values that local communities attribute to archaeological sites that are either on the UNESCO World Heritage List or in the process of being assigned World Heritage status, centering its analysis on China. Compared to most countries, China has served as an extreme example with respect to addressing the interplay between archaeological tourism, World Heritage, and social value for several reasons. It is a country that has been developed on a vast landmass with a long and complicated history, in which a variety of ethnic groups have played their part in creating a diversity of culture over thousands of years. Furthermore, the development of archaeological tourism in this country has taken a unique path, due to its unique historic and political background. Moreover, it is a nation-state that has surpassed all expectations in terms of its rapid, constant economic growth and global status, to become a major participant on the global tourism market and the UNESCO World Heritage arena. In China, a series of archaeological sites have been either successfully inscribed on the World Heritage List or enthusiastically prepared for nomination since the turn of the new millennium. They all have played important roles in reconfiguring their local landscapes in social, economic and political aspects at different levels. This doctoral research paper has selected two sites from among them as its cases studies; the Daming Palace Archaeological Site and the Huashan Rock Art Area. Both are excellent examples when it comes to representing Chinese archaeological sites in the two main phases of attaining World Heritage status; nomination and full designation.

In order to achieve the general aim of this research, a series of objectives were proposed at the start of the process. The first objective was to identify the main issues that have emerged from the interaction between tourism and archaeology in current Chinese society. Secondly, taking into consideration the issues identified, the research critically examined the development of archaeological tourism at the Daming Palace site and the Huashan Rock Art Area, a development that has clearly been encouraged by local authorities in the pursuit of World Heritage designation. At these two archaeological sites the third objective of this doctoral thesis was fulfilled: a study of

the perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards such development. Finally, the process of gauging community level changes in perception and attitude led to my fourth objective: the discussion of the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values attributed to the two sites by their local communities under the influence of World Heritage List designation. On the basis of the discussion, this doctoral thesis ultimately offers a reflection on the existing management mechanism involved in archaeological heritage, and advocates the establishment of an alternative managerial framework with which to assimilate community-centered initiatives in the planning stages of archaeological tourism development.

The investigation undertaken in this doctoral thesis has employed the theoretical framework of archaeological ethnography. With the use of ethnographic methods, fieldwork was conducted around the two sites selected as case studies in 2013 and 2014. Based on the result of the fieldwork and the information obtained from an extensive review of literature, three logically-connected articles have been compiled to act as the main content of this doctoral thesis. Together, these three articles have provided a relatively rounded comprehension of the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage, and social value in current Chinese society. Even though there has been an abundance of studies on the social impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage designation in many parts of the world, such a research perspective has been rarely explored in the context of China. This doctoral research is therefore innovative in its region of interest. Furthermore, it is also a pioneer work in the application of archaeological ethnography as the methodology on which field research has been based in the case of China. The following sections aim to act as conclusions to the research findings of the three articles, in accordance with the aim and the objectives of the thesis, and as such, they provide an overall conclusion for this thesis.

The Main Issues facing Archaeological Tourism in China

The main issues involved in archaeological tourism in China are dealt with in the first article “*Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China*” (Gao, 2016a). This text notes that in China, archaeological tourism is a growing field of study with an increasing body of literature. However, the extant publications mainly consist of the analyses of individual case studies, which look into a variety of issues that have arisen from the tourist commercialization of archaeological heritage (e.g. Liu, 2009; Yang, 2002; Zhang, 2013; Zhao, 2011). Even though the difficulties and opportunities involved in the interplay between tourism and archaeological heritage vary across destinations, the issues that have arisen share many common features. A synthetic discussion of these issues is therefore both imperative and helpful, in order to understand the interconnection between material relics and the tourist consumerism of history in current Chinese society. This article has filled the gap with respect to the understanding of this interconnection by identifying some of the key factors that are behind archaeological tourism in China and the significant challenges it faces as a contributor to the country’s economic, political and social development. The analysis undertaken in the article was based on an examination of the extant literature, as well as observations made during my own fieldwork. It has highlighted a series of challenging issues that archaeological tourism is currently facing in China: (a) the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability; (b) unregulated tourism development; (c) the impact of UNESCO through the World Heritage List; and (d) the tension generated by political sensitivity towards ethnic minority issues.

The first challenging issue in Chinese archaeological tourism, as established in the article, refers to the dilemma between heritage preservation and economic profitability. This has much to do with regional government efforts to promote local prosperity after the state government decision to follow a decentralization policy. In 1998, the Chinese central authorities began to gradually transfer the control of tourism and heritage management to provincial government bodies, which triggered

intensified competition among regions in their attempt to promote archaeological sites and so generate revenue from tourism. However, the decision to pursue decentralization has also generated pressure on local governments in terms of the expense involved in site conservation. The Chinese law on cultural heritage protection establishes that any material artefact discovered during construction projects must be protected using local funds. Furthermore, the current political system determines that the promotion of local officials is largely dependent on their contributions to short-term economic achievement. These factors have led to a stance adopted by local authorities, who now welcome only those archaeological discoveries that have conspicuous potential in terms of tourism. In practice, usually only those sites that are perceived by the authorities as presentable are preserved. Moreover, fast-growing urban development and modernization also lead to strategic priority decisions in which heritage preservation yields to construction development. This situation is further compounded by the fact that the maximum fine for destroying cultural heritage is relatively low, according to extant legislation.

The second challenging issue identified in the first published article (Gao 2016a. See Chapter Two of this thesis) is unregulated tourism development at major archaeological sites. China's iconic archaeological sites play a leading role in the tourism market, but even these famous sites are vulnerable to those threats generated by unregulated tourist commercialization. Due to the economic potential of archaeological sites, local governments perceive them primarily as income generators. On the one hand, the authorities are raising entry fees on these sites in the name of crowd reduction. On the other, they are seeking to attract more visitors in order to maximize profits, without considering the carrying capacity of the sites. As a result, almost all renowned Chinese archaeological sites now suffer from overcrowding. In addition, local authorities often attempt to add unregulated, human-made features to 'enrich' archaeological tourist attractions, a practice that frequently leads to a reduction in the authenticity of the original features. Furthermore, the strategy employed in recent years, to transform large archaeological sites, namely the Great Sites, into heritage tourism parks is also triggering dispute and criticism. The term

‘Great Sites’ refers to archaeological remains of a large scale, with a wealth of contents, and prominent significance. The dominant method used to conserve the Great Sites has been to convert them into heritage parks. This approach has been questioned by scholars, due to its tendency to damage the archaeological heritage itself, and due to suspicions regarding the true motives that lay behind the alleged goals of heritage conservation. The controversy involved in this strategy has been discussed in detail in the second article “*Social values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*” (Gao 2016b), which has used the Daming Palace Archaeological Heritage Park as a reference.

The third challenging issue analyzed relates to the UNESCO World Heritage List, which is a major factor in determining the development of archaeological tourism in China and a main theme explored in this doctoral thesis. Ever since the country ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1985, it has managed to inscribe 48 heritage properties on the list in merely two decades (at a rate of at least one site per year since 2002, a year in which the World Heritage Committee made a decision to allow those States Parties that had already designated World Heritage Sites to nominate only two sites per year, with at least one being a natural site) (Fig.19). Employed as a highly politicized practice, the World Heritage nomination process in China has produced not only a profitable amount of World Heritage Sites but also a lengthy Tentative List. The impact of World Heritage designation on the tourist commercialization of archaeological sites can be traced back to the 1990s, when the inscription of a few, previously unknown heritage sites in China on the World Heritage List triggered their economic success. This has greatly encouraged regional governments to follow suit, who pursue this international accreditation for their own cultural properties, including archaeological sites. Even though it has been noted that World Heritage listing does not necessarily guarantee an increase in tourism (e.g. Shao and Huang, 2009), obtaining World Heritage categorization is still considered a great political achievement among local government officials. Driven by the potential economic and political rewards involved, local governments occasionally show

overheated enthusiasm towards World Heritage nomination. Such eagerness has contradictory effects on archaeological tourism. On the one hand, it aggravates the negative effects embodied in the mechanism of tourist commercialization. On the other, it assists by regulating the authorities' tourism promotion strategies. The second and the third articles, “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*” (Gao, 2016b. See Chapter Three) and “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*” (Gao, forthcoming. See Chapter Four) elaborate on the multi-edged effects of World Heritage designation on archaeological tourism in the two case study sites.

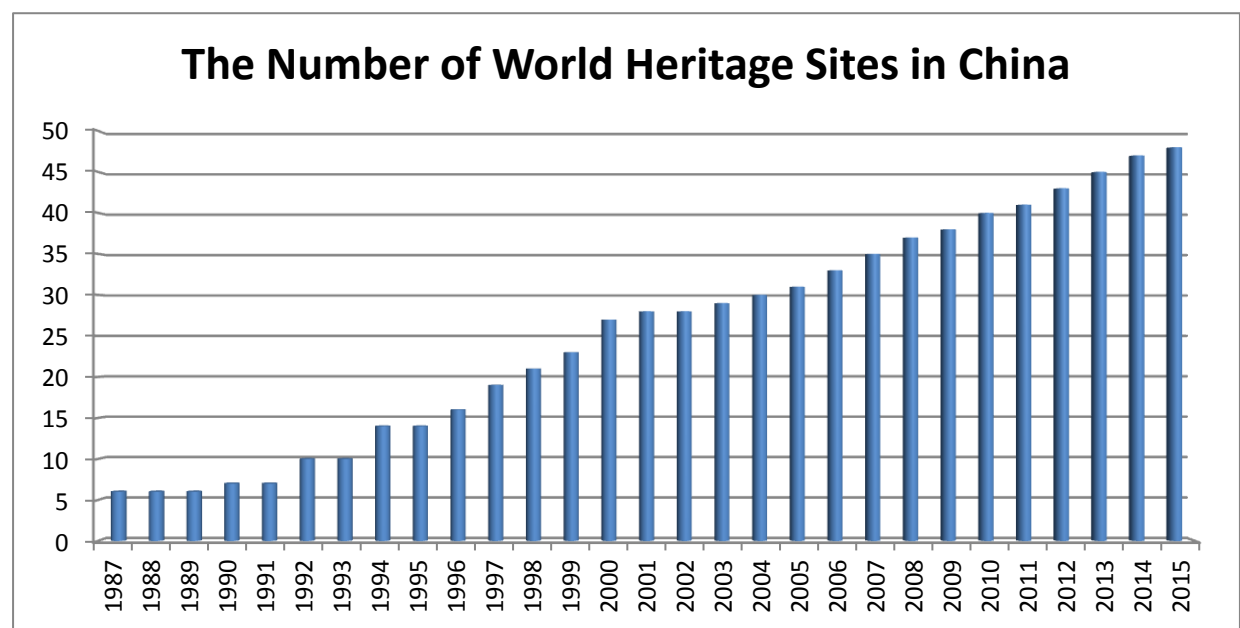


Fig.19 the Number of World Heritage Sites in China (UNESCO, 2015a).

Another remarkable and challenging issue in archaeological tourism in China, which is identified in the first article as the fourth main issue, is the growing political sensitivity towards ethnic-minority related archaeological heritage. The ethnic minority issue has its roots deeply intertwined with both the ancient and the modern history of China. Because of this historic legacy, the regions where ethnic minorities are dominant, such as Tibet and Xinjiang have become major areas of ethnic separatism. In recent decades, inter-ethnic tension has been fueled by the widening of economic disparities between the wealthy eastern region and the less-affluent western provinces, which generally have the largest concentrations of ethnic minority populations. The impact of political sensitivity with respect to the ethnic minority issue on archaeological tourism is demonstrated by the cautious manner in which the Chinese authorities handle the interpretation and exhibition of archaeological findings that pertain to ethnic minority cultures. This impact can also be seen in the narratives of Chinese archaeological World Heritage Sites and those tentative sites that concern ethnic minorities. Such narratives often emphasize the theme of interethnic cooperation and integration in the past. Political sensitivity towards archaeological heritage related to ethnic minority cultures indicates the political bottom-line of archaeological tourism in China: it is permitted only so long as it does not (from a state perspective) threaten national unity or challenge the official narrative of Chinese history.

In conclusion, the challenging issues currently faced by archaeological tourism in China have shown that a paradox exists in contemporary Chinese society: on the one hand, the need for economic growth thwarts the preservation of archaeological sites, and on the other, national policies encourage the transformation of precisely such sites into tourism attractions and national image promoters, mainly for economic and political purposes. Underlying the paradox is the quandary that the state authorities have been trying to resolve for the last two decades: how to simultaneously maintain rapid economic advancement, promote national identity, and manage the country's advancement in a way that justifies continued Communist Party rule. The existence of this predicament has determined that the economic and political values attributed to

archaeological sites will outweigh other considerations in the realm of archaeological tourism for some time to come, and the exploitation of archaeological heritage will most likely continue to develop under the influence of market forces and a ‘top-down’ decision-making political approach.

The Tourist-based Commercialization of Archaeological Sites under the Influence of the World Heritage List

The influence of the World Heritage List on the tourist-based commercialization of archaeological sites has been analyzed by many scholars, who have used a wide-range of archaeological heritage properties as references (e.g. Aagesen, 2000; Maswood, 2000; West et al., 2006; Timothy et al., 2006; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Menéndez, 2014). A review of these studies has demonstrated that, despite its instrumental-symbolic function, the World Heritage List (along with the listing process) affects the development of archaeological tourism in both direct and indirect ways. The direct effects refer to its ability to enhance the global awareness of designated heritage properties and to encourage authorities to exploit them as major tourist resources. In a less obvious manner, the list also influences the way in which archaeological sites are conserved, managed, and presented to the public as tourist attractions, through the normative pressure it wields over national governments. Archaeological sites that are ascribed World Heritage status or considered for World Heritage nomination are widely considered to be essential tourism assets by state authorities, as such an international recognition usually triggers a significant increase in tourist numbers, which in turn promotes the expansion of the hospitality industry and the tourism business itself (Hall and Piggin, 2002; Blarcom and Kayahan, 2011). Apart from encouraging the advancement of tourism, the World Heritage List also has a certain level of deterrence on the development plans of state authorities in terms of restraining their attempt to over-exploit archaeological heritage, due to the organization’s normative pressure and institutional influence (Atherton and Atherton,

1995; Askew, 2010). It should be also be noted that the efforts devoted to obtain World Heritage inscription or to maintaining World Heritage status give rise to tensions between the authorities and the communities that live within or around ancient remains (McLean and Straede, 2003). In many cases, local communities have been forced to relocate by local governments, in the name of site conservation, while the tourism development encouraged by World Heritage inscription does not necessarily benefit local residents (Giraud and Porter, 2010; Clancy, 1999). In the context of China, the impact of the World Heritage List on the development of archaeological heritage is remarkably dynamic, complicated and influential, due to the country's unique social, cultural, economic and political background. In recent years, it has been a growing field of study, and a large body of literature is being published in the Chinese academic circles (e.g. Nan and Li, 2009; Qi and Tang, 2012; Zhang and Hu, 2014; Zhang, 2015). A review of these publications has shown that World Heritage designation has had a profound influence on the touristic transformation of archaeological sites in both positive and negative ways. Those efforts made to achieve World Heritage nomination have not only promoted investment in conservation and tourism, but have also provoked concerns over authenticity and integrity during the development process.

In this doctoral thesis, the issue of the tourist commercialization of archaeological sites under the influence of the World Heritage List was discussed in all three articles. It was analyzed in general in the first article "*Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China*," and was illustrated at length in the second and the third articles, "*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*" and "*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*," using the two selected case study sites as references. The analysis made in the three articles has provided an innovative insight for this issue, as the two selected sites stand out among all those Chinese archaeological sites that have undergone a touristic transformation under the influence of World Heritage designation in recent years. Compared to the other, recently converted archaeological heritage parks in China, what makes the Daming

Palace site remarkable is its phenomenal size, the lavish investment involved, and the large-scale residential relocation undertaken. Moreover, the Huashan Rock Art Area is the first rock art heritage site in China that has been considered for World Heritage designation. It also represents the type of archaeological site whose tourist commercialization is largely dependent upon the efforts made in the World Heritage nomination process.

Based on the research carried out in all three articles, this doctoral thesis has identified two ways through which the UNESCO World Heritage List has reshaped the development of archaeological tourism in China since the beginning of the new millennium: (1) the influence of mutual endorsement with a government-sanctioned conservation strategy, and (2) the normative pressure of the list itself. The first strategy refers to the influence of mutual endorsement that the list wielded, with the strategy of converting archaeological sites into heritage parks; a conservation method frequently employed by the Chinese authorities in order to promote the Great Sites during the last decade (Li and Quan, 2007). This is because the central government's decision to invest in the conservation of the Great Sites has resulted in the successful inscription of several archaeological sites on the World Heritage List during the past ten years (e.g. Zhou, 2008), and triumphs in terms of World Heritage designation have in turn encouraged the state authorities to further support the conservation of more such sites (SACH, 2006, 2009, 2013b). The second way relates to the normative pressure of the list itself, which has prompted local governments to enhance the conservation status of their archaeological sites in preparation for World Heritage designation, in accordance with World Heritage criteria. In the pre-nomination period, local governments usually launch a number of projects to upgrade the conservation and management of the heritage properties, including plans to renovate and establish tourist facilities, so encouraging tourism development (Qiu, 2010). Besides, the normative pressure of the list also refers to its ability to restrain local authorities from the excessive exploitation and over-commercialization of archaeological heritage.

On the basis of the discussion undertaken in the second article, my doctoral research has revealed that, in the case of the Daming Palace site, the World Heritage List has reshaped its tourist exploitation primarily through the influence of mutual endorsement with a government-sanctioned conservation strategy. Meanwhile, the normative pressure of the list has also played a minor role in terms of preventing the local authorities from allowing excessive commercial projects to be undertaken on the site itself. Located in the northern suburb of Xi'an City, the Daming Palace site comprises the archaeological ruins of a grandiose royal palatial complex that was constructed at the dawn of the Tang Dynasty (CE 681-907), and which was destroyed by fire and organized dismantlement during the fall of the empire (Yu, 1997; Gao and Han, 2009). For over a thousand years the vast area that contained the remnants of the palace grounds was used as farmland. In the early twentieth century, a railway company transformed the fields into a residential area. This area, which was referred to as 'Daobei (North of Railway)' ever since, was later used as a settlement location and was later occupied by a large number of refugees from the Henan Province during the Second Sino-Japanese War. After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, for about half a century the Daobei region developed into a mish-mash of urban and rural areas, with a haphazard layout. The complex street network layout and the existence of the large-scale archaeological ruins, prevented the Xi'an city government from establishing any major urbanization project in the region. Archaeological excavations undertaken in the second half of the twentieth century unearthed several important discoveries on the site. However, because the palace was constructed primarily using rammed earth and timber, what remains is almost nothing more than rammed earth foundations, something that, for the general public is neither appealing nor easy to apprehend. Therefore, the site was not designated for the purposes of tourism until the arrival of the new century.

The transformation of the Daming Palace site began at the dawn of the new millennium with the rising influence of World Heritage designation and the growing tendency of cultural commodification in China. The Xi'an government's decision to invest in a large-scale conservation project for the site was partially motivated by the

fact that the site could be incorporated as a component of the “Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor,” a serial World Heritage nomination candidature that was enthusiastically promoted by China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Furthermore, since the beginning of the new century, the Xi'an government has promoted the large-scale tourist commercialization of cultural heritage in the city, with the implementation of a public-private partnership business model. Based on this model, the government now assigns the right to use the land around heritage sites to real estate companies in exchange for substantial investments from these companies to the conservation and development of the sites. This approach was applied to the conservation project of the Daming Palace site. The project was carried out between 2008 and 2010, during which approximately 100,000 people were relocated from the site in order to transform it into an archaeological heritage park. The park was also designed to perform as a centerpiece in order to trigger the construction of a series of commercial areas nearby (Liu, 2009). In practice, since its opening in 2010, the park has been successful in terms of its function as a public green space for local residents and for relaxation and leisure, however, it has not been so successful as a profit-oriented tourist destination. The serial World Heritage nomination “Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor” was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2014 after a long period of preparation and thereby gave the Daming Palace archaeological site a World Heritage title. Due to the normative pressure of the World Heritage List, the local authorities have been restrained from allowing excessive tourism projects to be undertaken within the park, in order to ensure it retains its World Heritage status and designation criteria.

In accordance with the analysis made in the third article, this doctoral thesis has also demonstrated that, in the case of the Huashan Rock Art Area, the normative pressure of the World Heritage List has been undoubtedly the dominant element in directing its touristic transformation. The effects of the list's normative pressure on the development of rock art tourism have been seen in many aspects, such as in the relatively modest renovation of tourist facilities, the establishment of new tourist features, the reinvention of cultural festivals, and the prevention of

excessively-commercial projects within the designated area. The Huashan Rock Art Area consists of eighty-one rock art sites and it is located in what is today a sparsely populated region of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The area is named after the eponymous Huashan rock art site, which is arguably the most extraordinary in the area. Archaeological tourism began in the area when basic tourist facilities were established in the 1990s around the Huashan rock art site. However, opening the site as a tourist attraction soon resulted in the deterioration of the paintings themselves, due to direct contact from visitors walking under the artwork. Around the turn of the new millennium, the local government began to make preparations to attain World Heritage designation for the Huashan Rock Art Area. As a result, the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign began, and it swiftly became the most significant impetus to the tourist commercialization of the rock art site.

The pre-nomination campaign achieved its first victory in 2004, when the Huashan Rock Art Site was included on China's Tentative List. This success resulted in consequences that were at odds with each other. On the one hand, the authorities took heritage conservation more seriously, a fact that led to the government decision on forbidding tourists from walking under the rock paintings. On the other, the local government and the private sector seized on the economic potential of the rock art property and planned for a series of commercial projects to be undertaken in the area, potentially putting the heritage site itself at risk. However, most of the projects were later canceled, due to restrictions imposed by higher authorities in an attempt to safeguard the chances of the rock art property achieving World Heritage status. In the past five years, the Huashan Rock Art Area has progressively been raised above all the other candidates on China's Tentative List and officially became a World Heritage nominee under the name of "Huashan Rock Art Landscape." Since 2010, in preparation for its nomination, the provincial and local authorities have launched a range of projects to enhance the conservation and management status of the Huashan Rock Art Area. These projects have had an extensive influence on the tourism development of the Rock Art Area in many aspects, such as the modest renovation of tourist facilities, the establishment of new tourist features, the implementation of

environmental protection strategies, as well as the reinvention of cultural festivals and events. Furthermore, since 2014 the local government has been ordered by higher authorities to stop signing any new commercial ventures with businesses that involve projects within the buffer zone of the rock art landscape. With all these efforts, the Huashan Rock Art Area will be presented at the annual meeting of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in July 2016 and the campaign, which has lasted over a decade, will then receive the final decision.

In conclusion, the World Heritage List plays a significant role in reshaping the touristic transformation of archaeological sites in China through its instrumental-symbolic function, while government authorities utilize the listing process to achieve local prosperity and other domestic agendas. This has confirmed the fact that in current Chinese society, economic and political considerations overshadow all the other concerns in the development of archaeological tourism, and the utilization of archaeological heritage will most likely continue to develop under the influence of the market economy and a ‘top-down’ decision-making political mechanism. It has also shown that even though the conservation mandate behind the World Heritage List does not override domestic laws or state sovereignty, the list still has a formidable influence on state government behavior, through the application of its non-obligatory political ideals and moral ethics, in order to harness the so-called “symbolic capitals” (Askew, 2010: 21).

The Perceptions and Attitudes of Local Communities to Archaeological Tourism Development

The issue concerning the perceptions and attitudes of local communities to archaeological tourism development has been explored by a number of scholars, who have used a variety of archaeological sites throughout the world as study cases (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988; Herzfeld, 1991; Fiallo and Jacobson, 1995; Pai, 1999;

Meskeil, 2005; McClanaban, 2006; Zamani-Farahani and Musa, 2008; Chen and Yang, 2011; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Peutz, 2011; Breglia, 2016; Miura, 2016; Salazar, 2016; Wang, 2016). Many of the sites examined have developed under the influence of UNESCO World Heritage designation (e.g. Chen and Yang, 2011; Mustafa and Tayeh, 2011; Salazar, 2016; Wang, 2016). These studies have shed light on the social impact from the tourist commercialization of archaeological heritage on communities that have grown within or near the heritage sites, and they have revealed a wide range of issues that have emerged from the interaction between the local population and the rise of archaeological tourism. Such issues include changes in the quality of life and socioeconomic status, the commercialization of local culture, modifications to local values, the decline and the revival of traditions, increased and decreased educational opportunity, the empowerment of women, prostitution, community involvement, and rights and control over heritage management. An examination of these issues has shown that even though the challenges and opportunities posed by tourism vary greatly across destinations, a number of critical factors, such as community economic well-being, personal sacrifice in the development process, the developmental method applied and local participation in management, have a fundamental influence on the communal perspective of archaeological tourism. There is therefore a need to conduct research that identifies the effect of these factors across divergent destinations, in order to better understand how the tourist commercialization of archaeological sites has affected the social values attributed to these areas by their local residents. This doctoral study has sought to fulfill this need by calibrating and comparing the perceptions and attitudes of local populations to archaeological tourism development at two archaeological sites – the Daming Palace site and the Huashan Rock Art Area. The two sites share certain similarities, as their touristic transformation processes have both been largely affected by the World Heritage listing procedure, however they also differ in terms of the developmental method by which the touristic transfiguration process has taken place, and the level of sacrifice that local residents have had to make in the development process.

The perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards archaeological tourism development have been dealt with in the second and the third articles, “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*” and “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*.” In doing so, each article has provided an in-depth examination of the local population’s understanding of archaeological tourism development, based on the data obtained from the fieldwork conducted at each case study site. This investigation involved a qualitative approach based on the employment of three ethnographic methods: interview, participation observation, and casual conversation. The analysis of the research data has brought to light the local populations’ viewpoints regarding the changes engendered by the development of archaeological tourism under the influence of World Heritage inscription. This examination of their opinions has revealed that, among these changes, different themes affected local residents’ perceptions and their attitudes towards the heritage sites and their development. Eight themes were discovered in the case of the Daming Palace archaeological site, which referred to (1) improvements in their physical and conceptual living environment, (2) archaeological heritage as a public space for leisure and entertainment, (3) easier access to the appreciation of archaeological heritage, (4) discontentment with the development model and cost, (5) dissatisfaction towards the park itself, (6) a lost sense of belonging, (7) displeasure with respect to images of neighborhood identity, and (8) dissatisfaction with the current living environment and relocation compensation. While in the case of the Huashan Rock Art Area, there were six themes identified: (1) an increased level of pride as a result of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, (2) heightened awareness of environmental issues, (3) enhanced public representation, (4) the revival of ethnic traditions, (5) concern over costs and outcome, and (6) mistrust of government motivation. Based on the exploration of these themes, this doctoral thesis has concluded that, in the case of those Chinese archaeological sites that are promoted for UNESCO World Heritage designation, local residents usually express a general feeling of support for the tourist commercialization of such sites. However, this level

of support varies, depending on how such transformations are implemented and to what extent their personal interests are affected in this matter.

As discussed in the second article “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*”, in the case study of the Daming Palace site, the fieldwork was conducted in July and August 2014, with a total of ninety-seven individuals who participated in the interviews. These individuals included three different groups, each of whom represented a distinctive local community, each group’s livelihood had a varying degree of attachment to the archaeological site. The examination of the fieldwork data has shown that even though more than half of the interviewees expressed various degrees of dissatisfaction regarding the project to transform the archaeological site into a heritage park, most of them favored the idea of using archaeological sites through touristic development to achieve general improvements for the entire community. Many of the interview respondents agreed that the public environment of the area had improved enormously after the reformation project, taking into account the fact that the living conditions in the old neighborhood were considered to be some of the worst in Xi’an City. Furthermore, based on the interview data, almost half of the relocated community members felt satisfied with their current living environment. A few interviewees also commented that, apart from the improvement in physical living conditions, they were also happy to see the regional discrimination and prejudice against their old neighborhood fading away with its disappearance. Moreover, many of the interviewees recognized the increased function of the archaeological site after its touristic transformation. They agreed that the park had achieved the purpose of combining the protection and exhibition of archaeological remains with the function of shared public space. This positive perception from the local residents has also been confirmed by my observation during the fieldwork. According to these observations, the park served as a popular place for the local population to relax, pursue leisure activities and exercise in their spare time. In addition, many of the local residents interviewed considered the park to be an improvement, as it provides easier access to

archaeology and enhances interest and knowledge of the subject; reference being made here to the interpretation boards and educational facilities of the park.

In contrast with the interviewees' support for the benefits generated by tourism development, substantial opposition has also been observed in the ways in which the local residents perceived the changes brought about by the transformation. The local communities' concerns regarding the negative impact of the tourism development project mainly focused on the applied business model, the content of the park, the lost sense of belonging, and the sacrifices they were forced to make. In terms of the local residents' critical attitude towards the business model, about half of the interviewees believed that the true motivation behind the local authorities' efforts to promote archaeological tourism was that of increasing revenue through cooperation with the real estate industry. It is also alarming to note that a large percent of interview respondents questioned the allegedly huge amount of investment capital spent on the transformation project. Furthermore, some interviewees expressed objections to the plan that intended to use the park as a centerpiece with which to incentivize commercial development in neighboring areas, as they believed such a strategy would modify the urban landscape of the city beyond recognition. The dissatisfaction towards the content of the park was another feeling shared by many interviewees, and the most recurrent opinion expressed was that the park occupied too much space for so little content. A few interviewees also expressed their criticism towards the recently-added, man-made features next to the archaeological remains, as they perceived them as designs lacking in taste. Some interview respondents remarked that they believed the construction of the park to be harmful to the protection of archaeological heritage, as they had noticed that some archaeological remains that were previously visible were now no longer preserved in the park. Moreover, according to the interview data, the feeling of a lost sense of belonging was especially prominent among those community members who were relocated from the site, many of whom voiced their nostalgia due to their attachment to their previous home and the completely changed local urban landscape. Another negative feeling expressed by some of the relocated residents referred to their displeasure regarding the images

representing their former community identity. They commented that the authorities deliberately portrayed their old neighborhood as a place of extreme poverty and backwardness in order to provide favorable publicity to the reformation project. The final factor identified with respect to negative opinions in local community perceptions to the tourism development of the site, were the sacrifices they were obliged to make in the relocation. More than half of the relocated residents interviewed expressed dissatisfaction towards their current living environment or the compensation they received for their losses. In addition, a few interviewees also argued that once they had moved away from their previous homes, they felt abandoned by the same government that had forced them to move in the first place.

Compared to the local communities of the Daming Palace site, the residents living adjacent to the Huashan Rock Art Area expressed more positive perceptions and attitudes towards the tourism development of their archaeological heritage. As discussed in the third article “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*,” in the case of Huashan, the fieldwork began in March 2013, with a follow up survey in July 2014. In total seventy-nine local community members were interviewed, most of whom were Zhuang people living in the villages near to the rock art sites. It is believed by scholars that the local Zhuang people are descendants of the Luo Yue people, the creators of the Huashan rock paintings (Liu, 2006). Most of the interview respondents expressed positive opinions about the concept of using archaeological heritage as catalyst for regional advancement in general, and to the changes generated by the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign. The relatively high percentage of favorable perceptions and attitudes among the answers given by the interviewees about the campaign-driven tourism development project mainly arose from three arguments. The first reason related to the belief that the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign could enhance the visibility of both the rock art heritage site and the whole region. As some interviewees pointed out, the World Heritage request was considered beneficial to the locals because the whole region had suffered from poverty and lacked any obvious advantage with which to compete against other tourist destinations in the province.

Therefore, the pre-nomination campaign itself was expected to not only create economic benefits related to rock art tourism but also to promote the overall advancement of the whole region.

The second reason for the local population's general support towards the campaign-driven tourism development project was that many of the local community members perceived the local authorities' tourism promotion efforts in the campaign as a way of keeping the traditional values that the rock art sites stood for alive. These efforts included an increased awareness of environmental issues and the relatively modest renovation of infrastructural and tourist facilities. Such efforts were seen by many local residents as being not solely a means of enhancing the public representation of the pictographic sites, but also a constructive process through which the significance of Zhuang ethnic culture was underpinned, their regional pride honored, and their memories about local and ethnic history refreshed. The third reason referred to the endeavors made by the local government to reinvent ethnic traditions through the promotion of cultural festivals and events related to Huashan rock art. Even though the rehabilitation of ethnic practices should be seen as a phenomenon of inventing tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), in the case of Huashan, such an effort did to some extent succeed in resuscitating grassroots support for the campaign from the perspective of local communities. Even though the majority of interview respondents expressed generally favorable opinions towards the changes generated by the campaign-driven promotion of rock art tourism, there was, nevertheless, an undercurrent of dissonance, which was most often expressed when respondents were questioned about the political aspect of the development plan. Many of the local community members interviewed were concerned about the cost and outcome of the campaign, and questioned the profitability, source and merit of the sizeable investment made. Other than this, some of the interview respondents also were suspicious of the real motivation behind their local government officials' enthusiasm for World Heritage inscription. Such mistrust was further amplified by a lack of transparency in the policy-making process.

With respect to local community perceptions and attitudes to the tourism development of archaeological sites considered for World Heritage designation, a fundamental deficiency in the tourist commercialization of archaeological heritage in China is evident: the imbalance of power distribution in the use and management of archaeological sites. Discussions centering on the two case studies have demonstrated that practices concerning World Heritage designation are transacted solely by the powerful ruling classes, namely government authorities and wealthy businesspeople, while the general public does not have a voice in the decision-making process and is often asked to sacrifice personal interests for the cause of World Heritage designation. Although it is claimed by the authorities that the sacrifices made by local communities will be compensated by potential economic benefits, such as increased regional income, the generation of employment, and the stimulation of entrepreneurialism, in reality the tourism development of archaeological sites often leads to negative economic implications, such as inflation, overdependence, monetary leakage, low-wage earnings, and a tendency to widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots (McLean and Straede, 2003). Without proper approaches, development efforts will simply cause local community members to be left to suffer deprivation and social burdens, bearing costs but receiving few benefits. Such consequences not only affect the local residents but also endanger the heritage property itself, as poverty and a need to survive may cause people to undertake activities that are harmful to the heritage site. Future research on the subject of the social impact of archaeological tourism should explore possible approaches to implementing meaningful community engagement in different stages of tourist commodification of archaeological heritage.

The Changes in Social Values attributed to Archaeological Heritage by Local Communities

Before this doctoral thesis, the research perspective of diagnosing the social impact of archaeological tourism through the analysis of changes in the social values attributed

to archaeological heritage by local communities had never been explored by any other scholar. However, the issue of social value has been analyzed in the realm of archaeological and other cultural heritage areas, with an increasing amount of publications (Johnston, 1992; Walker, 1998; Scott, 2002; Byrne, 2009; Smith, 2009; Jackson, 2014; D áz-Andreu, 2016a, 2016b; D áz-Andreu et al., 2016; Douglas-Jones et al., 2016 forthcoming). Since the concept of social value was first mentioned in the Burra Charter in 1979 (Australia ICOMOS, 1979), there has been a growing pressure on authorities and heritage practitioners to give adequate weighting to social value in the management and conservation of the material past (Byrne, 2009: 87). Social value refers to the social and cultural meanings that a heritage place holds for a community or a group of people (Australia ICOMOS, 2013). The social values attributed to cultural heritage by local communities are contemporary, dynamic and subjective, varying in accordance with changes in social, cultural, economic and political contexts (De la Torre, 2013). According to Laurajane Smith (2009: 34), the tourist commercialization of any form of cultural heritage site modifies the social values ascribed to the site by its local residents, by changing its function, capacity, meaning and quality. Therefore, based on the understanding of social value associated with cultural heritage, this doctoral investigation has argued that the social values ascribed to an archaeological site lie in the social and cultural meanings embodied in the site that arouse a community's collective sense of attachment to it. Inspired by those meanings, this collective sense of attachment is expressed in local residents' feelings and understandings with respect to the heritage site. Therefore, the changes in local community perceptions and attitudes towards an archaeological site represent those changes in the social values ascribed to the site by the communal groups.

The changes in the social values that local communities attribute to archaeological heritage have been explored in the second and the third articles, “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*” and “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*.” The examinations made in these two articles have innovatively revealed that the impact of archaeological

tourism on the social values ascribed to an archaeological site by its local population is highly distinctive in different scenarios, in accordance with a range of factors. In the case studies of this doctoral thesis, these factors include the strength of the cultural bond between the heritage and the communities, and the extent to which the function and meaning of the heritage site has been modified by the development process. As demonstrated in the case of the Daming Palace site, the impact of tourism development on the social values that local communities attributed to the site was direct and conspicuous. This was because the transformation of the site, from neglected archaeological ruins to a heritage park with a World Heritage title has created a variety of social values associated with it by the local residents, by modifying and increasing the function, meaning, representation and capacity of the site. However, those newly-emerged social values have also been thwarted by the undesired consequences of the tourist commercialization process. In comparison, the impact of tourism development on the social values attributed to the Huashan Rock Art Area by its local population was subtle and indirect. This had much to do with the fact that a firm cultural and social bond between the rock art heritage and the local communities already existed before any change was implemented by either tourism or the World Heritage designation request. Due to the normative pressure of the World Heritage List, local authority tourism promotion of the Huashan Rock Art Area was conducted in a manner that was beneficial to the conservation and rise of the social values ascribed to the heritage site by local residents. However, the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign has also aggravated the deficiencies embodied in archaeological tourism development in China, potentially putting the social values associated with the rock art heritage site at risk.

As discussed in the second article “*Social Values and Archaeological Heritage: an Ethnographic Study of the Daming Palace Archaeological Site (China)*,” before the construction of the heritage park, the Daming Palace archaeological site was barely associated with any form of social value by those local residents geographically linked to it. This is because complex views on local history had determined that the local population did not have a noticeable emotional or cultural bond with the

archaeological remnants. Even though a small number of former residents of the site demonstrated nostalgic feelings for the archaeological heritage site after relocation, most of them expressed different levels of indifference or resentment to the heritage site, as they shared the belief that before the construction of the park the site had not provided them with any benefits and it had prevented the application of normal urbanization criteria to the neighborhood. Even to the other Xi'an citizens, who had been culturally connected to the Daming Palace archaeological site, the site did not embody conspicuous social values when it was hidden in a remote neighborhood with inadequate conservation methods that were applied to exhibit its potential functions and meanings.

The transfiguration of the site from neglected archaeological remains to a heritage park has transformed it into a focal point for different sentiments and varying qualities for local community members. Therefore, the tourism development of the site has created and redefined a range of social values attributed to it by its local population. Those values refer to its ability to upgrade their physical and conceptual living environment, its capacity to improve local livelihoods, its function as a space for leisure, entertainment and education, its role in maintaining a sense of belonging and regional pride, and its ability to fulfil social expectations. From the perspective of many of the local residents interviewed, the enhanced physical and conceptual environments of the region, the creation of a large public green space for entertainment and relaxation, and the upgraded public access to the archaeological site have all contributed to increase the variety and measure of social values ascribed to the site by local communities. However, local residents' concerns regarding the negative impacts of the tourism development, such as over-dependence on the real estate industry in heritage-site exploitation, the modern man-made features added to the site, and the sacrifices made by local residents without appropriate compensation, have also managed to diminish the newly emerged social values.

Behind the changes in the social values attributed to the Daming Palace archaeological site by the local communities lies in the fact that, in China the

consideration of social value ascribed to archaeological sites boils down to one practical concern: whether their existence and use can bring any tangible benefit to the people geographically related to them. This concern has represented, to a large degree, the general attitude of many local communities towards archaeological sites that cover a large space and lack obvious touristic characteristics – the sort of heritage that the Chinese government has paid great attention to in recent years. A practical reason behind the rather pragmatic perspective of local communities is that the widening gap between the rich and poor in a society undergoing rapid economic development has prompted people to prioritize monetary gain over other concerns. In addition, the local residents' dissatisfaction towards the content of the park has shown that in current Chinese society the general public usually has a different expectation of what an archaeological park should look like, compared to the project design itself. This has reconfirmed the current dilemma facing Chinese conservationists with respect to reconciling a demand for authenticity with the general public's expectations regarding attractiveness and entertainment at archaeological sites. Furthermore, another important line of reflection is related to the development strategy of archaeological tourism in China. The relatively high disapproval rate shown by the local residents interviewed to the development model employed in the Daming Palace site, has manifested an imbalance of considerations between economic interests and social impact on the government's agenda. The suspicions held by most interview respondents regarding the budget involved also reflect a lack of transparency in the developmental process. Furthermore, the sacrifices made by those local residents who were relocated from the site have raised questions concerning the management model promoted by UNESCO World Heritage designation to divide protected areas into inner cores and outer fringe regions. The application of the spatial segregation model in China often leads to a poorly-defined resettlement process and triggers conflicts between the government and local communities regarding compensation amounts and other relevant disputes, as has been demonstrated in the case of the Daming Palace site.

As analyzed in the third article “*Social Values and Rock Art Tourism: an Ethnographic Study of the Huashan Rock Art Area (China)*,” the social values attributed to the Huashan Rock Art Area by its local population have been negotiated and redefined under the impact of archaeological tourism in a way that was both subtle and obscure. According to the analysis, long before the start of rock art tourism and the beginning of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign in this region, the local community had already ascribed social values to the Huashan Rock Art Area. Such values referred to the perceived meanings from the site that embodied a connection between the Zhuang people and their ancestors, as a reference point of ethnic and regional identity, and of qualities that harmonize with traditional activities. In other words, the local residents already possessed a strong collective sense of attachment to the Huashan Rock Art Area, as the area imbued local inhabitants with a sense of regional pride and nostalgia, and a sense of ethnic belonging. Therefore, any variation in those feelings and emotions sustains an effect on the social values attributed to the rock art heritage by the local population.

According to the discussion in the third article, many of the changes generated by the campaign-driven tourism development at the Huashan Rock Art Area have been considered an improvement by the majority of the interviewed local community members. Therefore, these changes have been seen as a contribution to the conservation and improvement of those social values that local communities ascribed to the rock art heritage. The changes brought about by tourism promotion included four aspects: an increase in pride as the result of the World Heritage pre-nomination campaign, increased environmental awareness, investment in the public representation of the rock paintings, and the revival of ethnic cultural traditions. In terms of increased pride as the result of the campaign: as the region where the rock art area is located has been confined by a rural frontier setting and the lack of an obvious advantage in tourism marketing, the prominence given to the rock art property by the higher authorities was considered a validation of the local population’s regional prestige. The added tourist features and the relatively modest renovation of tourist facilities, which took place under the normative pressures applied by UNESCO World

Heritage List criteria, have created an enhanced representational environment for the rock art heritage site. The wellbeing generated by this environment helped local residents to feel that their culture, values and position in society were respected. Such wellbeing also encouraged local community members to explore, express and reflect on the cultural significance that the rock art heritage had for them. Moreover, along with the enhanced public representation of rock art sites, this increased environmental awareness has provided a context from which the local communities drew a sense of self-esteem with which to reinforce their cultural identity and ethnic pride. In addition, the revival or reinvention (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012) of ethnic traditions through the creation of cultural festivals has also played an active role in transcending and conserving the social values attributed to the Huashan rock art heritage site by the local population, as it has helped to cultivate a feeling of ethnic pride among local Zhuang residents. Such a feeling was tied to the privilege of not only being able to understand the cultural messages that were rooted in the events, but also by the knowledge of the ethnic connection between themselves and the creators of the paintings. However, the social values attributed to the Huashan Rock Art Area by its local communities were also threatened by their varying degrees of doubt, concern and distrust towards campaign-oriented tourism development. These negative feelings were generated in response to the deficiencies embodied in the tourist commercialization of archaeological sites in China, which were aggravated by the pre-nomination campaign. Such deficiencies included the absence of community participation in the decision-making process of tourism development and a lack of transparency in government financing. Over time, those deficiencies that have arisen have attenuated the positive influence of the social values ascribed to the Huashan Rock Art Area by its local communities, and these failings have endangered the very bedrock of meanings upon which the social values were constructed.

In conclusion, the examination made of the changes in the social values attributed to archaeological heritage by local communities in this doctoral thesis is an initial step towards the comprehensive understanding of the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social value. In different circumstances there are a range

of factors with the ability to reshape the impact of archaeological tourism on the social values ascribed to archaeological sites by their local population. This doctoral research has identified two significant factors that have influenced the recreation and negotiation of social values: namely the strength of the cultural bond between the archaeological heritage sites and local communities, and the extent to which the function and meaning of the heritage site has been modified by the developmental process. Further research on this issue should probe into those other important factors that are capable of determining the formation and modification of the social values attributed by local residents to archaeological sites, under the influence of archaeological tourism and World Heritage designation.

Archaeological Tourism, World Heritage, and Social Value under the Looking Glass

In view of the interaction between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social value in current Chinese society, the question remains as to how to gear social value towards a positive improvement through the seemingly inexorable trend of touristic commercialization, with the assistance of the UNESCO World Heritage discourse. One of the answers provided is to promote the participation of local communities in various stages of heritage exploitation. In fact, local community participation is not only an ethical obligation to heritage practitioners all over the world, but also a compulsory requirement to state authorities in the World Heritage nomination process and the management of World Heritage Properties according to the updated UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guidelines (D áz-Andreu, 2016b: 185). However, it should be noted that with tourism playing a major role in the market economy, archaeological sites in China have become a contested ground for community engagement (Shan, 2015). The Chinese authorities' endeavor to integrate elements of participatory approaches into conservation projects for archaeological sites enhances, at least in theory, the social values associated with these sites. However, in practice

they have become places where local residents are confronted with the cross-cutting interests of other stakeholders over rights, roles and voices (Plummer and Taylor, 2004). As much as participatory initiatives in China call for a people-centered approach, the multiple, sometimes conflicting objectives of different stakeholders often make it hard for this to be goal to be attained. At a national level, the Chinese government aims to promote continued economic expansion and maintain social stability in a synchronous manner, while local governments are generally interested in increasing their access to capital and political power through the obtainment of donor funding and the establishment of ‘new’ nationally supported projects (Nitzky, 2013: 208). Therefore, current community collaboration in heritage management only superficially touches upon the issue of local participation. The engagement of local residents is restrained within the sphere of passive attendance after the development stage of the project has been finished, while their voices have no part to play in the decision-making process.

Understanding the diversity and variation of social values attributed by local communities to archaeological sites helps to prompt community participation discourse to live up to its rhetorical potential. This doctoral research therefore advocates the establishment of a collaborative managerial framework that remains sensitive to public feelings and that has the ability to genuinely incorporate the consideration of social values into the planning stage of archaeological tourism. How to construct such a framework is a challenge that is not exclusive to China, but is in fact one faced by most countries around the world. In the present global context, which is increasingly subject to the forces of a market-driven economy, giving priorities to maintaining emotional connections between peoples and places as a primary means of conservation is nearly impossible. However, the underscoring of social value should be considered as a potential means to harness excessive commercialization by the government authorities and to prevent local populations from becoming over-dependent on the tourism industry. Increasing the visibility of this fundamental dimension of heritage to both the public and the authorities is a necessary step towards the employment of a community-involved managerial

approach, and an essential move in the development of a more concrete measure for safeguarding the past. Since this participatory approach has already become an essential requirement in the World Heritage discourse promoted by UNESCO (WHC, 2012: para. 12), the task is to narrow the gap between the advocated ideals and the unfulfilled reality. This doctoral research is therefore intended to help prompt international and domestic policy-makers to reconsider the role of local communities in the touristic exploitation of archaeological sites, with greater pause for reflection. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent this research may achieve this goal. However, research like this is fundamental to the establishment of a thorough and rounded comprehension of those values attributed to archaeological heritage in current global society. It is also a useful means with which to initiate and trigger changes in the ways in which social value is considered in government agendas, and to assist the implementation of an emancipatory, people-centered, participatory approach in practices concerning archaeological and other types of cultural heritage.

Appendix A: the copy of the published first article

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Challenges in Archaeological Tourism in China

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Abstract Worldwide archaeological tourism, or tourism to sites with archaeological significance, has been rapidly growing and has attracted increased academic attention in recent years. China is an outstanding case in this field. In fact, its government has been actively promoting tourism and archaeological tourism for the last three decades. The understanding of the challenges that Chinese archaeological tourism is currently facing is the focus of this article. Four aspects will guide the discussion: the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability, unregulated tourism development, the influence of UNESCO World Heritage designation, and authorities' sensitivity towards ethnic issues in archaeological tourism.

Keywords Archaeological tourism · China · Cultural heritage · World Heritage sites

Introduction

Tourism has been transformed into a massive and extensive global industry in the past few decades, and this has also been the case for archaeological tourism, one of its important subsets. Archaeological tourism refers to people's activity of consuming the past through visiting places of archaeological significance. Archaeological tourism is not a recent phenomenon but scholarly analysis of it has been scant until recently. It was only in the years immediately before the turn of the twenty-first century that a strong interest emerged in this field (Hoffman et al. 2002). Today it is a growing field of study with recent articles exploring a diversity of related issues (e.g., Bowers 2014; Comer 2012; Herrera 2015; Walker and Carr 2013). This recent surge of interest has also produced a growing body of literature in China, one of the countries where archaeological tourism is becoming a key economic asset. Recent publications focusing on this subject consist predominately of analyses of individual case studies looking at

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issues such as conflicts between site conservation and tourism demand, stakeholder management, tourism planning, and sustainable development (e.g., Liu 2009; Yang 2002; Zhang 2013; Zhao 2011). An examination of this body of literature, as well as some observations made during my own fieldwork, conducted at two archaeological sites in China in July and August 2014, reveals that, even though the difficulties and opportunities involved in the interplay between tourism and archaeological heritage vary across destinations, all the issues mentioned above share many features in common. This article identifies some of the key factors that are behind archaeological tourism in China and the significant challenges it faces as a contributor to the country's economic, political and cultural development.

Archaeological tourism emerged in China in the late 1970s after the central government's implementation of the "Reform and Open" policy. Although it has gradually turned into a robust multifunctional industry over the past four decades, it is also encountering a range of challenges. In recent years, China has undergone remarkable economic and social changes at the domestic level. The rapid transition, however, has brought not only increased income but also acute socio-economic and political tensions. Issues such as pragmatism in development, regional imbalance and social unrest in ethnic autonomous regions have all contributed to a growth in challenges that archaeological tourism needs to tackle carefully. In this article, my aim is to provide an examination of the issues that Chinese archaeological tourism is currently facing. After a brief historical introduction, the discussion focuses on four important aspects: (a) the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability; (b) unregulated tourism development; (c) the impact that UNESCO is having through the World Heritage List; and (d) the tension generated by authorities' sensitivity towards ethnic issues. The discussion also produces a synthetic analysis of the intersection between material remains and the tourism consumption of the past in an international context. This will help to fill in the gap of the lack of research on this subject, and contribute to the completion of a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic role that archaeological heritage is playing in the realm of tourism from a global perspective.

The Development of Archaeological Tourism in China: a Historical Background

Archaeological tourism in China has evolved over the past four decades in response to dramatic political, social, and economic changes, and understanding these changes allows us to better recognize the challenges this industry faces today. Before tourism and archaeology officially engaged with each other, on this ancient landmass called China the activity of travel had existed for thousands of years and the traditional practice of antiquarianism had also emerged since the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE). Started in Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE) and thrived in Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE), visiting famous sites became an indispensable source of inspiration for Chinese scholars (Shepherd and Yu 2013, p. 6). Later during the Ming and Qing era (1368–1911 CE), this travel activity extended to the upper class who, during their visits, referred back to and reinforced the impressions of their predecessors from the Tang and Song era (618–1279 CE) through written and visual markers (Brook 1998, p. 180). Traditional antiquarianism initiated and flourished in the Song Dynasty, when dozens of Song scholars studied and recorded in their compiled works

bronze artifacts and other objects from previous dynasties (Chang 1981, pp. 158–159). However, the antiquarianism tradition suffered a severe decline when the Song's Mongol successors took over the country, and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the tradition was resumed (Debaine-Francfort 1999, p. 15). In the mid-nineteenth century, when China opened its doors under the imposed force of the West, modern travel started to pour in along with Western scholarship (Wang 2003, p. 37). The increase in international travel to China in the early twentieth century triggered the birth of Chinese tourism industry (Zhang et al. 2000, p. 282); while almost simultaneously European scholars introduced archaeological field methods, which led to the establishment of archaeology as a scientific discipline in China (Liu and Chen 2012, p. 3). However, in the late 1930s and 1940s, a series of upheavals, including the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45 CE) and the Chinese Civil War (1945–49 CE), wracked the country and essentially prevented all recreational travels and archaeological excavations.

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, for almost three decades freedom to travel in China was restrained (Chow 1988, p. 207), and tourism was held tightly in the hands of the state machinery as a propaganda tool, serving political rather than economic purposes (Zhang et al. 1999, p. 473). Even though archaeology as a scientific discipline was resumed after 1949 and a range of splendid discoveries were made between 1949 and 1978, archaeological sites or any other cultural heritage sites were not promoted as touristic resources. Instead, touristic destinations focused on material achievements of Communism such as factories, schools, and communes of revolutionary peasant, regardless of visitors' interests (Nyíri 2011). It is worth noting that some of the most renowned sites of Chinese archaeological tourism in later decades were excavated during this period. Taking the "Thirteen Imperial Tombs of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 CE)" for instance, located in a cluster near Beijing, they are a collection of mausoleums built by the Ming emperors. In 1956, the Dingling tomb of Emperor Wanli (r. 1572–1620 CE) was excavated as a trial site in preparation for a more ambitious project of unearthing the Changling tomb, the largest and oldest one among the 13 (Needham 1959). The excavation of Dingling was finished in 1957 and a museum was established 2 years later. However, due to a lack of adequate technique, expertise and resources, the excavation resulted in an irreversible damage to the site, as thousands of surviving artifacts discovered from the tomb were later poorly preserved. In addition, when the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) swept across the nation, fervent Red Guards stormed the Dingling museum and destroyed the remains of the Wanli Emperor and his two empresses, as well as many other objects exhibited (Yang and Yue 2007).

Archaeological tourism in its present form appeared soon after 1978, a year in which the Chinese central government, following Deng Xiaoping's "Reform and Open" policy, made an epic decision to shift emphasis from political struggle to economic development. After 1978, tourism was rehabilitated as an industry, and heritage was promoted as a valuable touristic resource. Because many of the heritage sites are archaeological sites, this marked the beginning of modern archaeological tourism in China. In the initial years after 1978, and to a great extent still today, the combination of archaeology and tourism was perceived as a means of educating the Chinese about their own collective past, and reconstituting a shared cultural landscape and national identity. However, archaeological sites were increasingly promoted for their economic value as touristic attractions.

The promotion of archaeological tourism in China was also fostered by its perceived political value. Since the 1980s, some magnificent sites, such as the Terracotta Army and the Great Wall, have been frequently used to showcase Chinese culture to important foreign guests (Debaine-Francfort 1999, p. 34). A significant step was taken in 1985, when the central government ratified the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Since then, many archaeological sites in China have been inscribed on the World Heritage List, such as the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor and the Mogao Caves, both inscribed in 1987, the Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom, inscribed in 2004, and the Site of Xanadu, inscribed in 2012. UNESCO accreditation amplified the international visibility of these sites and prompted the Chinese authorities to upgrade them as major tourist destinations. In the 1990s, in search for funding, expertise, and international visibility, the state government began to actively seek international assistance for the conservation of China's heritage resources, including archaeological sites (e.g., Agnew 1997). The increased international cooperation also fostered the establishment of "China Principles" (Lu 2008), an instructive guidance which integrated the Burra Charter with existent Chinese legislation for the conservation of Chinese cultural heritage.

Entering the new millennium, archaeological tourism in China experienced an unprecedentedly strong momentum in development. This had very much to do with the decision made by the central government to attach great significance to the conservation and promotion of "Great Sites" (*da yizhi* 大遗址), a proposal incorporated into the country's "Five-Year Plan" in 2000. The so-called "Great Sites," a rather unique concept produced in Chinese context, refer to ancient cultural remains of a large scale, rich contents, and prominent significance, including prehistoric settlements, ruins of cities and palaces, cemeteries, necropolis, and other major historical remains of human activities (SACH 2006). In other words, almost all Great Sites are archaeological sites. With upgraded funding and attention from the central authorities, many of the largest and more spectacular archaeological sites, including the Great Wall and several sites along the Silk Road, went through large-scale renovations such as enhanced touristic facilities and access (SACH 2009). During the past 5 years, one of the dominant methods used for site conservation has been to convert these Great Sites into archaeological heritage parks (Li and Quan 2007). They have been designed to combine the protection and exhibition of archaeological remains with the functions of education, research and leisure for a cultural public space (Xiao 2010). Therefore, in little more than a quarter of a century, China's archaeological heritage has passed from playing a minor role in the country's economy to being a major source of income at the national, provincial, and local levels, whose development is increasingly and actively encouraged by the government.

However, despite the tremendous transformation, in recent years the archaeological tourism industry in China is also facing growing challenges compounded by the ever-changing social, economic and political environments. After three decades of rapid development, China has gained economic prosperity, but the Chinese-style market economy firmly embedded within a socialist regulatory and administrative framework has also produced a wide range of issues including disparities in wealth, regional imbalance, and ethnic tensions. These issues have all placed greater pressures on the current development of archaeological tourism in China and generated further challenges for it to address.

The Dilemma Between Heritage Preservation and Economic Profitability

One of the most imperative challenges that archaeological tourism is facing in China is the increased tension between heritage preservation and economic profitability in recent years. This has much to do with regional governments' efforts to promote the local economy and prosperity. In fact, regional governments have been playing a huge role in reshaping the development of Chinese archaeological tourism (Luo 2007). Starting from 1998, the Chinese central authorities gradually shifted control of tourism and heritage management to provincial governments. The decision of decentralization triggered intensified competition among different regions, and encouraged local authorities to invest in the touristic development of archaeological sites, in order to capture a larger sharing of the tourism market. However, it also puts more pressure on regional governments in terms of the expense of site conservation. Archaeological sites in China are protected under the legal framework of the "Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage (*wenwu baohu fa* 文物保护单位)," which indicates that any material artifacts unearthed during construction projects must be protected using local funds (Svensson 2006, p. 30). The protection of large archaeological sites, in particular, requires huge amounts of financial investment to cover the cost of land acquisition, resident and industry relocation, and environmental improvement (Lu 2005, p. 122). As well, the current political system determines that local officials are evaluated and promoted largely on their achievements in short-term economic growth (Li et al. 2008, p. 315). All these lead to regional authorities not necessarily welcoming archaeological discoveries that do not contain conspicuous touristic value, due to the costs involved in preservation, something that has been seen with concern by archaeologists (Gruber 2007, p. 282).

Even though in recent years the state authorities have promoted the conservation of archaeological sites, in practice it is common that usually only those sites that are perceived by authorities as presentable or attractive to tourists are considered worthwhile to be preserved. Many sites that do not contain enticing material are often neglected after salvage excavation (Lu 2008, p. 356). Furthermore, fast growing urbanization and modernization is also putting more archaeological sites at peril, especially in cases when the requirement of heritage preservation and the demand for constructional development become incompatible. Since the maximum fine for destroying cultural heritage is only 500,000 RMB (approximately 81,700 USD) according to current legislation (State Council 2013), some construction companies prefer to pay the penalty than delay their projects when they discover archaeological remains. One example of such an attitude took place in 2013 in Luogang, Guangzhou province, when a subway construction company intentionally demolished overnight five ancient tombs, which had just been unearthed during the project and dated to a period from the late Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-c. 1046 BCE) to Zhou Dynasty (c. 1046-256 BCE), resulting in the payment of a relatively small fine (Shi 2014).

Unregulated Tourism Development at Major Archaeological Sites

China's iconic archaeological sites, such as the Great Wall, the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin, and the Mogao Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, have played a

leading role in the tourism market since 1978, but even these famous sites are vulnerable to the threats brought by unregulated tourism. Since major archaeological sites—both famous destinations as well as recently developed sites—are bringing visitors in substantial numbers, regional governments usually perceive them as key revenue generators. Therefore, in recent years the admission fees for many archaeological sites, especially the famous ones, have been raised dramatically (Huang and Chen 2005, p. 181). Even though the elevated entry fee is justified as a means to reduce crowding, apart from maximize revenue, in practice, the number of tourists continues to grow at a phenomenal rate (Zhang and Yang 2007, p. 59). Since tourist admission income has become a sizeable source of revenue, local government officials frequently seek to attract more visitors without considering the carrying capacity of the sites and facilities, which in turn puts more strain on existing conservation efforts and creates new demands for protection. As a result, almost all iconic Chinese archaeological sites are now facing the problem of overcrowding, which not only threatens the conservation of the sites but also impairs tourists' experience at the sites and their appreciation of the heritage value (e.g., Global Heritage Fund 2010; Li et al. 2010).

In addition to overcrowding, in order to attract more tourists, local authorities often try to add human-made features to “enrich” and repackaging archaeological sites opened to the public. Often criticized for being short-sighted, unregulated and vulgar, these features are threatening the integrity and authenticity of the site itself (Feng 2010, p. 14). Taking the “Underground Palace of the Qin Emperor” as an example, as I observed from my fieldwork in this area east of Xi'an in August 2014, an exhibition center has been newly constructed by local authorities to append more selling points to the world renowned third century BCE mausoleum complex of the First Emperor of Qin, a World Heritage site located 2mi (3.2 km) away from the new center. The exhibition center, in which a set of shoddily produced miniatures shows the imaginary internal structure of the unexcavated mausoleum, has been criticized for its poor taste and inaccurate reconstruction, and listed as one of the top three most unworthy tourist spots in Xi'an city from an online survey conducted in 2012 (Xi'an 2012).

The strategies employed for promoting tourism in order to turn large archaeological sites into heritage parks are also triggering dispute and fierce criticism. The reconstruction project of the Tang dynasty Daming Palace (seventh century CE) national heritage park, located just northeast of present-day Xi'an, illustrates this issue well. According to Xu Pingfang, former director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the establishment of the park has been damaging for the archaeological study of the site, for it has prevented future archaeological work to be undertaken at the site since many archaeological remains were covered by concrete before the completion of a thorough archaeological survey (Li 2010). Chinese archaeologist Xie Chensheng also expressed his concern about the enterprise-style management approach that is currently practiced at the park. He has strongly argued against the idea of creating within it ten “archaized scenic spots,” a project proposed by developers to attach more human-made features to the site (Wang 2012, p. 69). In addition, many question the motivation behind local authorities' investment in the Daming Palace heritage park. Some scholars have pointed out that the real intention behind site conservation might be to push up property values around the site in favor of real estate development (Liu 2010).

The Impact That UNESCO is Having on Archaeological Tourism in China Through the World Heritage List

Among all the factors that have affected archaeological tourism in China, the impact of UNESCO World Heritage List should not be underestimated. Since the late 1990s, a series of successful designations of sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List have greatly promoted the awareness of some previously unknown cultural sites and effectively increased tourism. Such is the case of the Old Town of Lijiang (an ancient trading center in southwest China's Yunnan Province), whose inscription on the World Heritage List in 1997 has helped it to become one of the most popular tourist destinations in China (Zheng 2011, p. 169). Lijiang's success encouraged many regional governments to follow suit, especially considering that since the 1990s the widening development gap between the eastern (coastal) provinces and the western regions of China, where Yunnan is located, has prompted provincial authorities of poorer areas to search for alternative strategies for economic prosperity. However, regional governments seem to turn blind to the fact that not all designated World Heritage sites in China are financially profitable, such as the case of Mount Wutai (Shao and Huang 2009). This is partly because the designation of a site as World Heritage is perceived as a great honor, and therefore it brings instant glory to the political achievement of regional politicians. Driven by the seemingly subjectively guaranteed economic profit and objectively perceived political benefit followed by site inscription, local governments are showing a sometimes overheated enthusiasm towards World Heritage application (Lv 2009; Xiao and Chen 2003).

In China, the application for a site to be proposed as World Heritage is treated as a highly political activity. From central government to different regional level offices, there are several administrative sectors involved. At the top national level, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) decides which cultural sites go onto the World Heritage Tentative List. Once a site is on the Tentative List, the local authorities in charge are asked to strengthen not only the research and particularly the preservation and management aspects of the site. Because China can only propose one cultural site each year to UNESCO to go through formal nomination and testing processes, the competition for this annual opportunity is keen and fierce among different levels of government, as every province has at least one cultural site on the Tentative List. This scramble for World Heritage inscription sometimes aggravates the negative effects embodied in the commercialization of archaeological sites. For instance, because local communities in China usually have very low participation in the management of heritage sites due to an absence of either interest or opportunity, and lack the influence in decision making, World Heritage application campaigns sometimes generate conflicts among different stakeholders and infringe upon the interest of local communities.

It should be noted that apart from its negative effects, there are also positive aspects in the promotion of the World Heritage status for monuments and archaeological sites. The preparation for a site to be nominated for World Heritage status assists in regulating tourism promotion strategies, and therefore encourages sustainable development in the region where the site is located. Such is the case of the Huashan rock art cultural landscape along the Zuojiang River in southwest China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China's candidate for World Heritage designation in 2016. The cultural landscape encompasses the Huashan rock art area, in which 81 pictographic sites were

distributed along the picturesque Zuojiang river valley. The motifs are all painted in a brownish-red color with a highly standardized style. They are believed to be produced between the Warring States Period (403–221 BCE) and Eastern Han dynasty (26–220 CE), by an ethnic group named Luo Yue (Gao 2013). For the last two decades, the local authorities have been making an effort to develop tourism as well as promote the area's rock art heritage as a World Heritage candidate. Since its nomination was made official by the state authorities in 2014, as I noticed during my fieldwork at Huashan in July 2014, the local Chongzuo municipal government, which is in charge of the whole rock art area, has ordered the cessation of all on-going tourism development projects that involve the protected areas of the rock art cultural landscape. This restriction will last until a consolidated tourism development plan is drawn up and approved (pers. comm., government officials in Chongzuo).

Archaeological Tourism and Ethnic Sensitivity in China

Another remarkable challenge that archaeological tourism has faced in China in recent years has been the growing political sensitivity intensified by the increased tension in ethnic minority areas. The ethnic minority issue has historical roots that can be traced back to the imperial and Republican periods of Chinese history. During the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911CE), the Manchu ruling elite developed administrative relations with the non-Han dominated regions of Inner Asia, such as Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang (Xinjiang literally means “New Territory”) (Rawski 1996). After the Revolution of 1911 put an end to the Qing Empire, even though the newly established Republic of China struggled to maintain authority over these regions, both Tibet and Mongolia declared independence soon after the fall of the Qing Dynasty (Goldstein 1991; Humphrey 1994). In Xinjiang, in spite of the fact that the attempts to establish an ‘East Turkestan Republic’ all failed, this region moved out of China's control after 1911 (Forbes 1986). When the Communist Party of China established the People's Republic of China in 1949, the new government regained administrative control of Tibet and Xinjiang. Since then, the two regions have become major areas of ethnic separatism. In an effort to bind together the “multiethnic” and “unitary” Chinese state, the central government has implemented a suite of policies, which sometimes have contributed to, rather than ameliorated, ethnic minority discontent and separatist sentiments in these regions (Clarke 2013, p. 223). Moreover, in the last three decades, the widening of the pre-existing economic disparities between the eastern region and western provinces, which generally have the largest concentrations of ethnic minority populations, has also led to the increase in inter-ethnic tension (Clarke 2013, p. 225).

The importance of the ethnic minority issue in archaeological tourism is exemplified by the so-called “Xinjiang mummies” in far northwest China. Around the edges of the Tarim Basin, archaeologists since the 1980s have discovered dozens of cemeteries, some of which have yielded extraordinarily well-preserved desiccated corpses, known as the “Xinjiang mummies.” Some of the mummies have been dated as early as 2000 BCE and bear features that have been described as manifestly Caucasoid in appearance (Allen 1996). Since their discovery, these mummies have been used by separatists among the majority Uyghur ethnic group of Xinjiang to claim that these early settlers were their ancestors and that Xinjiang was never part of China until recently (Shepherd

and Yu 2013, p. 26). The Xinjiang mummies therefore have become politically sensitive objects, and the Chinese government appears to be very cautious about their exhibition and interpretation. For instance, during an exhibition named “Secrets of the Silk Road” at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia, due to the pressure from a delicate political climate, the display of two Xinjiang mummies on loan from China was suddenly forbidden by the Chinese officials, who later compromised and allowed them to be shown with an abbreviated schedule (for details see Edward 2011). The Xinjiang mummies issue is an excellent example to demonstrate the political bottom-line of the promotion of archaeological tourism in China: it is allowed only so long as it does not, from the state perspective, threaten national unity or challenge the official narrative of Chinese history.

Ethnic sensitivity in archaeological tourism can also be seen in the narratives of World Heritage sites that concern ethnic minorities. The interpretations of these sites often emphasize the theme of cooperation among different ethnic groups in history. For instance, the description of the archaeological site of Xanadu, the Mongolian capital established by Kublai Khan in 1256 CE and a World Heritage site inscribed in 2012, underscores the value of the site as “a unique attempt to assimilate the nomadic Mongolian and Han Chinese cultures (UNESCO 2012).” Other examples can be found in the Chinese state applications for World Heritage designation of archaeological remains such as the site of southern Yue state, the sites of the ancient Shu state in present-day Sichuan province, and the Western Xia imperial tombs in northwest China. The narratives all highlight their values in promoting and displaying cultural integration among different ethnic groups (UNESCO 2008, 2013a, b).

China’s Challenges in a Global Context

Archaeological tourism is a relatively new economic activity in China, but has shown a strong and steady development in the past three decades. The analysis undertaken in this paper, which is based on a comparative study of the individual case-studies found in the literature and also on my own observations during fieldwork, has highlighted a series of challenges that archaeological tourism is currently facing in China: (a) the dilemma between site preservation and economic profitability; (b) unregulated tourism development; (c) the impact that UNESCO is having through the World Heritage List; and (d) the tension generated by authorities’ sensitivity towards ethnic issues. The range of challenges that archaeological tourism is facing in China shows that a paradox exists in contemporary Chinese society in which, on the one hand, the need for rapid economic growth thwarts the preservation of archaeological sites and, on the other hand, national policies encourage the transformation of precisely such sites into tourism destinations and national glories for serving economic, political, social, and cultural purposes. Underlying the paradox is the political quandary that the Chinese central authorities have been trying to resolve for the last two decades: the task of reconciling the conflicting tensions generated by the desire to maintain rapid economic development, the demand to promote China’s national identity, and the challenge of managing the country’s transformation in a way that justifies continued Communist Party rule. The existence of these political predicaments determines that the economic and political values in archaeological heritage will outweigh other considerations for some time to

come, and archaeological tourism in China will continue to develop under the influence of market forces and a “top-down” decision-making political approach. The question that remains for future improvement of archaeological tourism in China is how to strike a balance between preserving the past, improving the material aspects of society, and maintaining internal stability. Indeed, there is no easy answer to this question in any country, and especially in the case of China, a nation that has the largest population in the world on a vast land that has been continuously inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups for thousands of years.

Are the challenges highlighted in the article unique to China? A comparison of China’s situation to those in many other countries in the world shows that from an international perspective, it is important to acknowledge that the challenges that have been analyzed in this article are not exclusive to China. It is true that because the Chinese government monopolizes the production, utilization, and protection of archaeological heritage, archaeological practice goes hand in hand with the political agenda. This means that when inappropriate utilizations occur in practice, the self-supervisory mechanism sometimes fails to curb such behaviors (Comer 2015, p. 23). However, a government-business alliance in so-called free-market economies is similar in many ways to its counterpart in monopolistic governments like China. When the past is increasingly transformed into a commodity for touristic consumption, tensions between heritage preservation and economic profitability become more and more evident. This is especially acute in less affluent regions where the combination of a dire need for income, large scale exploitation of resources, and a lack of legislation concerning impact assessment and site protection has put much archaeological heritage in grave danger (Willems 2014, p. 110). This combination of circumstances can be found in countries such as India (Leech 2004), Bolivia (Malisius 2003), and Honduras (Mortensen 2009), but many others could be cited. Furthermore, government corruption compounds the monetary scarcity even further. Abuse of power and favoritism conducted by dishonest judiciaries, political parties, and bureaucracies often plague decision-making processes and influence what sites get selected and financed for conservation (e.g., Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Stark and Griffin 2004; Zan and Lusiani 2011).

Unregulated tourism development in archaeological sites is the second challenge identified for archaeological tourism in China. Unfortunately, China is, again, not the only country with this problem, for it is also frequently seen worldwide. To many popular sites, negative impacts such as visitor congestion derived from the absence of proper regulations have caused both tourists and the host community to be caught in a downward spiral of poor visitor experiences and degradation of heritage values. Furthermore, strategies used for promoting tourism at archaeological sites are also triggering concerns towards issues such as authenticity. This has much to do with the changing patterns in the nature of the tourist population. Traditional visitors to archaeological sites were mainly an educated minority who were content to visit sites where minimal or no complementary information was provided (Walker and Carr 2013, p. 23). Today, even though such visitors still exist, the average tourists to an archaeological site value their entertainment experience at the site as much as the site itself (Slick 2002, p. 223). Therefore, for archaeological sites to provide wider relevance to their audience it is often the case that many of them depend on the staging or the reconstruction of the past to attract tourists, and as a result the issue of authenticity is often consciously invoked (e.g., Halewood and Hannam 2001).

A third challenge highlighted in this article has been the impact that UNESCO is having through the designation of World Heritage on archaeological tourism. As it was in the two first challenges discussed, it is also the case that there are similar situations in other parts of the world. From an international perspective, the UNESCO World Heritage List has also played a significant role in shaping the touristic commercialization of global archaeological heritage. As Comer and Willems (2012) argue, for archaeological sites already inscribed on the list there is often a risk of over-exploitation of tourism value and degradation of the resource by too many visitors. For sites that are not on the list, the UNESCO label is recognized as a highly valued promotional tool for tourism and national prestige (Timothy and Boyd 2006; Willems 2014). There has been a scramble in many countries, especially the less developed ones, to inscribe as many heritage sites as possible on the list (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, p. 11). The excessive demand and use of World Heritage sites have led to subsequent problems extensively addressed in the extant literature (e.g., Jimura 2011; Leask and Fyall 2006; Shackley 2000).

Finally, the issue of ethnic sensitivity in tourism and especially in archaeological tourism has also been examined above. Ethnic sensitivities in archaeological tourism are also a universal phenomenon that is usually associated with nationalism and political tensions inextricably linked to historical legacies. It has been noticed that archaeology does not function independently of the societies in which it is practiced, and the political implication of presenting archaeological remains to the public has been discussed by numerous scholars (e.g., Díaz-Andreu 2007; Goode 2007; Hamilakis 2007; Meskell 1998; Trigger 1984).

Worldwide archaeological heritage has been increasingly utilized for tourism development and therefore has provided a vast menu of opportunities for benefiting the destination residents and stimulating regional economic and cultural advancement. However, this development is hardly neutral and has encountered a range of difficulties that need to be tackled carefully. The analysis generated by the study should help to increase awareness of the negative impacts that tourism promotion places on the authenticity and integrity of archaeological heritage. More importantly, the examination underlines the urgent need to develop sound policies and effective regulations based on the understanding of these negative impacts, so the best interests of the public, including local communities, both current and future tourists, can be served. It is also proposed that increasing public participation in the planning and management of archaeological tourism could be a way of promoting sustainability in its future development. This is indeed a fundamental challenge to China since this country has still been heavily influenced by the traditionally strict form of top-down planning that essentially disallows all forms of grassroots participation. However, the engagement of a variety of stakeholders will undoubtedly help to mitigate potential conflicts in the process of commercializing archaeological heritage, and therefore assist in promoting a more balanced and sustainable transformation of archaeological sites into tourism destinations.

In summary, worldwide archaeological tourism is encountering a range of challenges that are not easy to reconcile for any state that seeks to maintain sustainable development and balance between preserving the past and fulfilling contemporary needs. China serves as an extreme example of this dilemma, as it has gone through major transformational changes in the past three decades while at the same time

shouldering the burden of a complex historical legacy, as well as the largest population in the world. The significant challenges that archaeological tourism is currently facing in China are applicable globally and are highly significant for understanding the role that archaeological heritage has and continues to play in today's global tourism arena.

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Appendix B: the copy of the published second article

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Social values and archaeological heritage: an ethnographic study of the Daming Palace archaeological site (China)

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In recent years, it is progressively believed that heritage itself does not have values, but rather values are assigned to places of heritage by people. The evolution of how heritage values should be considered has deeply influenced practices and policies of archaeological sites. Social value is now increasingly emphasized in legislation and guidelines for heritage management. In China, as with many countries, the development of tourism and the influence of UNESCO World Heritage nomination have remarkably changed the relationship between archaeological heritage and local communities. Therefore, they have also re-shaped the social values ascribed to heritage by communal groups. Using the Daming Palace archaeological site as a case study, this article employs ethnographic approaches to scrutinize the impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to the site by its local communities.

Keywords: social value, heritage, archaeological sites, tourism, China

In anni recenti si è fatta strada l'idea che il patrimonio di per se stesso non abbia valori, ma che piuttosto i valori siano assegnati al patrimonio dalle persone. L'evoluzione della considerazione dei valori del patrimonio ha profondamente influenzato pratiche e politiche per i siti archeologici. In Cina, come in molti altri paesi, lo sviluppo del turismo e l'influenza della nomina per l'UNESCO hanno considerevolmente cambiato la relazione tra il patrimonio archeologico e le comunità locali. Dunque, hanno anche trasformato i valori sociali assegnati dai gruppi locali al patrimonio culturale. Usando il Daming Palace come caso studio, l'articolo impiega un approccio etnografico per indagare l'impatto del turismo archeologico e dell'iscrizione alla lista del Patrimonio dell'Umanità sui valori sociali attribuiti al sito da parte delle comunità locali.

Parole chiave: valore sociale, patrimonio, siti archeologici, turismo, Cina

1. Introduction

The growing commercialization of cultural heritage draws archaeology and tourism into ever-closer contact (Meskell 2007). With the increased development of tourism, archaeological sites are exploited for their

potential as revenue generators, public education providers, national identity promoters, and for many other roles. It should be noted that these potential roles are defined by the values that a society attributes to its archaeological sites. These values, once considered to be intrinsic, are now believed to be extrinsic and dynamic, produced by the interaction between heritage and its historical, social and economic contexts (Avrami 2009). In recent years, the social values of cultural heritage have been increasingly emphasized in legislation and guidelines for heritage management (Díaz-Andreu this volume; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* forthcoming; Cooper 2008). First mentioned in the Burra Charter of 1979, social value refers to "the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them (Australia ICOMOS 2013, p. 4)". It is generally recognized that heritage as a cultural process has a social effect through the way the cultural meanings of heritage are redefined and experienced by the public (Smith 2009). Decisions made in such a process have a considerable impact on the livelihood of social groups geographically or culturally related to the heritage (Shan 2015). Therefore, the decisions also reshape the social values attributed to a place of heritage by different social groups. Even though the social value of heritage has become an important consideration for policymakers, in practice it remains difficult to assess due to its contemporary and local nature (Walker 1998). This is why ethnographic methods become essentially auxiliary in producing reflexive discussions to reveal diverse meanings, opinions, and interpretations of particular social phenomena (Low 2002).

This article employs ethnographic approaches to scrutinize the influence of tourism and UNESCO World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to archaeological heritage by local communities in China, using the Daming Palace archaeological site as a case study. In China, as with most countries, a substantial number of archaeological sites are commercialized for tourist consumption. China stands out, however, on the international stage, due to the "heritage protection craze (Sigley 2010)" that has prevailed across the country since the 1980s. Such a craze has been fueled by a range of factors, among which the influence of UNESCO World Heritage List should not be underestimated. The impact of the list can be seen in the Chinese government's arduous endeavour to transform large archaeological sites, namely the "Great Sites", into archaeological heritage parks since the beginning of the new millennium (Gao 2016). The conversion from archaeological sites to touristic parks is a heritage process which redefines and recreates values — among them social values — that a society or sections of a society wish to preserve. In the case of China, the changes in the social values

ascribed to archaeological sites by local communities are often conspicuous, because the transformation method is geared towards relocating entire communities whose dwelling spaces share the location of the archaeological remains. Among the sites converted to heritage parks, the Daming Palace archaeological site is arguably the most emblematic, for its phenomenal size, lavish investment, and large-scale residential relocation. Using this site for reference, this article aims to examine the impact of archaeological tourism and World Heritage nomination on the social values attributed to the site by its local communities, through calibrating the perceptions and attitudes of community members of a wide social spectrum. The ultimate goal of the research is to boost further reflection on the existing practices in conservation and management of archaeological heritage both in China and worldwide.

2. Values and archaeological sites in China

Before analyzing the impact of tourism and World Heritage designation on the social values attributed to the Daming Palace archaeological site by its local residents, it may be worth considering more generally the revolution of values ascribed to archaeological sites in China since 1949. In China archaeological sites are perceived as a form of “*wenwu*” (literally meaning ‘cultural properties’). The concept of *wenwu* refers to monuments and sites as unmovable cultural properties, and artefacts as movable cultural properties. Archaeological sites in China have been subjected to planning conservation since the late 1950s (Lu 2008). At first, only the intrinsic values were recognized, as shown in preliminary legislation which demanded regional governments to evaluate and categorize unmovable cultural properties based on their historical, artistic, scientific, and commemorative values (State Council 1961).

After China implemented the “Reform and Opening policy” in 1978, the tourism industry was rehabilitated, and so were several important archaeological sites. The terracotta Army of the Qin Emperor and the Yin Xu site, for example, were turned into *in situ* museums and opened to the public. Since then, archaeological sites in China have begun to carry pedagogical, recreational, social, political and economic values (Shepherd, Yu 2013). China’s formal legislation on heritage conservation — the “Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage,” first issued in 1982 and recently revised in 2013 — only addresses the historical, artistic, and scientific values of archaeological sites though (State Council 2013). However, in the last two decades the sole emphasis on the intrinsic values of archaeological sites has gradually been substituted by a growing

appreciation of extrinsic values. This is largely triggered by the economic and political benefits brought about by touristic commercialization of archaeological remains, since a popular archaeological tourist attraction serves as a source of income as well as a symbol of national/regional identity.

The UNESCO World Heritage List also has a deep influence on the consideration of values ascribed to archaeological sites. In tourism market campaigns, regional governments and private sectors perceive the title of World Heritage as an effective tool to attract tourists (Li *et al.* 2008). Besides, a successful World Heritage inscription is also considered to be a great political achievement for government officials, whose promotion largely depends on the glories produced in their administrative jurisdictions. Therefore, with the World Heritage List functioning as a catalyst, economic and political values have more often than not overshadowed other values in local government's assessment of archaeological sites. The impact of the list can also be seen in the Chinese authorities' vigorous promotion of so-called "Great Sites" (*da yizhi*) from the turn of the last century. According to the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), "Great Sites" refers to ancient cultural remains of large sizes, rich contents, and prominent values, including prehistoric settlements, the ruins of cities and palaces, cemeteries, and more generally any important historical remain of human activities (SACH 2006). In other words, they are all archaeological sites. The dominant method employed to conserve Great Sites is to transform them into archaeological heritage parks, the concept of which is to combine the protection and exhibition of ancient cultural remains with their function as public spaces (Li, Quan 2007).

The numerous projects to convert Great Sites to heritage parks have been facilitated by the Chinese government's passionate pursuit of World Heritage designation. In turn, those projects have contributed to the successful inscription of several archaeological sites on the World Heritage List, such as the archaeological remains of Koguryo kingdom (inscribed in 2004), the site of Yin Xu (inscribed in 2006), the site of Xanadu (inscribed in 2012), and the sites along the Silk Roads (inscribed in 2014). The prevalence of heritage parks has prompted Chinese authorities and scholars to pay attention to issues regarding the relationship between heritage and the public (Yan 2014). It has also triggered discussions of an alternative value assessment mechanism that goes beyond the traditional focus on historical, artistic and scientific facets to include extrinsic aspects such as social and economic values (Zhang 2006; Liu 2011). Reflections on value assessment have led to changes in official documents, as shown by the "China Principles"

document. Initially published in 2002, this national instruction for conservation practices for heritage sites explicitly detailed, for the first time, the social and cultural values of heritage sites in its 2015 revision (ICOMOS China 2015).

3. The transition of Daming Palace Archaeological Site: from palatial complex to national heritage park

The Daming Palace archaeological site is located on the Longshou Plateau in the north suburb of Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province. Xi'an acted as the capital city for thirteen dynasties, including the Tang Dynasty (CE 681-907) (fig. 1). During the Tang Dynasty, the Daming Palace was a magnificent imperial residence, which served as the symbol of central power for about 240 years (Yu 1997, p. 56). In its heyday, the palace covered an area of approximately 320 hectares. Three main halls divided the palace into outer, middle and inner courts, which respectively acted as venues for diplomatic events and ceremonies, an administrative centre, and the residence of the royal family. Towards the end of Tang dynasty, the palace was first burnt and then dismantled (Gao, Han 2009). In the beginning of the 20th century, the vast region that contained the remnant



Fig. 1. Location of the Daming Palace site.

of the palace became an expanse of farmland. This scenario changed completely in 1934, when the newly constructed Long-Hai railway reached Xi'an, triggering the farmland to become a residential area. Since then, this region has been referred to as "Daobei (north of railway)." During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a catastrophic flood of the Yellow River in 1938 forced tens of thousands of refugees from Henan Province to move to Xi'an following the railroad line. The Daobei region became a temporary, and later permanent, shelter for many of these refugees, who soon outnumbered local residents (He 2009).

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the Daobei region gradually developed into a mixture of urban and rural spaces, with a jumbled layout of densely populated shack-houses, farmsteads and industrial buildings. Archaeological excavations carried out between 1957 and 1960 contributed to the site's inclusion on the list of "National Important Cultural Properties under Special Preservation," issued by the State Council in 1961 (Quan 2009, p. 69). Archaeological excavation of the site stopped during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), resuming later, after 1978. From 1981 to 1987 several successive excavations explored some important remains from the site. Meanwhile, China's fast rate of urbanization triggered a boom of unregulated construction in the Daobei region, further exacerbating poor living conditions. Entering the 1990s, research into the Daming Palace was integrated with conservation for the first time. In 1994 a master plan was drawn up for the restoration of Hanyuan Hall, the main building of the palace, with funding from the UNESCO/Japanese Fund Trust (UNESCO 2003).

From the beginning of the 21st century, the city of Xi'an experienced a phenomenal tourist commercialization of cultural heritage. Taking advantage of its abundance of cultural sites, the government of the Qujiang New District, placed in southeastern Xi'an, took the lead in introducing a Public-Private Partnership business model in the development of historical remains, and converted several iconic ancient monuments into eye-catching tourist attractions. Under this business model, the Qujiang authorities assigned the right to the use of the land around these sites to real estate companies in exchange for substantial investments (Suo 2011). This new approach was named the "Qujiang Model," and was later applied to the Daming Palace site. In 2007, the Xi'an government initiated the "Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform" project and entrusted the Qujiang New District administrative board to be in charge. With an estimated total investment of 14 billion RMB (about 1.9 billion euro), a grandiose blueprint called "One Core, Two Wings, Three Circles and Six Districts" was formulated. In it, the park was utilized as a core to establish two urbanized zones,

three circles of commercial areas, and six districts with individual functions such as business service, high-grade residence, and community resettlement (Liu 2009).

The Xi'an government's decision of investing in a large-scale renovation project of the Daming Palace site was partially driven by the fact that the site could be incorporated as a component of the "Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor" cultural heritage, a candidate for UNESCO World Heritage designation proposed by China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The construction of the park took place between 2008 and 2010, completely changing the social landscape of surrounding neighbourhoods. Within two years, 7 villages, 80 factories, 27,000 commercial tenants, and in total approximately 100,000 people were removed from the site (Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace Heritage Area Protection and Reform Office, 2015). The park was opened for visitation on 1st October 2010, the National Day of China. The park is divided into a free entry part and a non-free part. The non-free part, which includes two museums and an archaeology discovery centre, charges 60 RMB (about 8 euro). The successful inscription of the Silk Roads on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2014 granted the park with a World Heritage title.

4. Articulating changes in social values: ethnographic research

The construction of the Daming Palace Heritage Park has proved highly controversial. The park has been praised by local authorities as a successful example of innovative cultural heritage use as a means to reconcile the tension between the need for urbanization and the demand for heritage protection (Liu 2009). It is also seen as a triumph in improving the livelihood of local communities and encouraging public participation (Shan 2015). However, since its opening, the park has encountered criticism from a variety of media, including the People's Daily, an official newspaper usually representing viewpoints of the central government (Li 2010). A few Chinese archaeologists have also expressed their concerns regarding the establishment of the park as they argued that it has actually damaged the heritage remains (Zhang 2015).

Beyond the opinions from government and professional circles, little regarding the local community perception was known. In considering the development of Daming Palace archaeological site one particular question remained: how had the touristic commercialization and the World Heritage nomination influenced the social values ascribed to the site by local communities? To better answer the question, fieldwork was

conducted in July and August 2014 around the site. The fieldwork involved a qualitative approach based on the employment of ethnographic strategies, which included in-depth interviews, participant observation, and casual conversations. Since qualitative research is mainly based on theoretical principles of interpretive science, its data analysis does not usually contain the application of mathematical formulas (Sarantakos 1997). This ethnographic study thus involved an interpretive focus and aimed for the production of "thick description" in which reality could be re-conceptualized through various articulations of various individual's viewpoints on the social phenomenon under consideration.

In total, ninety-seven individuals participated in the interview. Among them sixty-seven were from the communities relocated from the site, nineteen belonged to the neighbourhoods that live adjacent to the park, and the remaining eleven were citizens from other districts of Xi'an. The need to collect data from all three groups was because each one of them represent a distinct local community whose livelihood has a varying degree of attachment to the archaeological site. Interviewees were chosen in such a way that maximized the opinions of people with a wide range of backgrounds. In doing so, a short list of key informants was first selected with the help of two local government officials. Once data were collected from these informants, the method of snowball sampling was applied (Babbie 2010), as they were asked to assist in identifying and bringing more diversified participants in contact. The questions aimed to assess the emotional and attitudinal transition of individuals regarding the touristic commercialization of this shared cultural property. In addition, information collected through participant observation and casual conversation was used to fill in blanks left by interview data. Through data analysis, I have identified eight different themes related to the factors affecting the social values ascribed to the site by local communities, which are explained below. As it will be seen, they represent a wide range of perceptions, some positive and some negative.

4.1. Improvement in physical and conceptual living environments

Data analysis revealed that fifty-six (57.7%) interviewees expressed a generally positive attitude towards the touristic transformation of the site. One theme that emerged from their support was that the renovation project had improved both the physical and conceptual environments of the Daobei region. It should be noted that even among those who expressed objection to the project, most of them agreed that the public environment of this area had improved enormously after the reformation. Interviewees commented that before the creation of the

park, the living condition of the Daobei region was considered one of the worst in the city of Xi'an. Many interviewees shared the belief that the backwardness in their neighbourhoods was partially contributed to by the existence of the archaeological remains. According to one interviewee (a 33-year-old man from group one),

"We used to say that the Daobei region was left out of development because we had palace remains lying under our feet. Since the law said they should be protected, any industrialization around it must be restrained. In order to protect the past, we suffered in the present."

In total thirty-one interviewees from group one stated that they were generally satisfied with their current living environment. As a previous Daobei resident (a 52-year-old man from group one) put it,

"For many years, we shared a small single-storey house with my wife's parents, and it was located near to a public toilet which smelled badly in summer. I am happy with the change. After all, who would rather live in a tumbledown neighbourhood than one with nicer environment and more facilities?"

A few interviewees commented that, apart from the improvement in living conditions, they felt that the project had also assisted in eliminating prejudice towards Daobei. They remarked that the Daobei region was always associated with negative conceptual labels such as chaotic and criminal, and they believed it had much to do with "regional discrimination". One interviewee (a 41-year-old woman from group one) said:

"If you ask those Xi'an citizens why would they look down upon Daobei, probably they would tell you that it is because there lived too many immigrants from Henan Province. For many years people had a bias against us and it was hard to change. I support the project, because for whatever reason the government did splash out a considerable amount of money to change something that I thought was never going to change."

4.2. Archaeological heritage as a public green space for leisure and entertainment

A second factor that many interviewees considered a positive change generated by the park was the creation of a large public green space for leisure and entertainment. Seventy-three (75.3%) interviewees argued



Fig. 2. Local residents taking activities in front of the Danfeng Gate after dusk (photo: Qian Gao).

that the construction of the park had achieved the purpose of combining the protection and exhibition of archaeological remains with the functions of cultural public space. Many of them commented that since its opening, the free-entry part of the park had become a popular place for local residents to relax and exercise in their spare time. During the course of fieldwork, I observed that after dusk the vast "Imperial Path" square between the Danfeng Gate and the Hanyuan Hall was taken up by local residents doing activities such as dancing, shuttlecock kicking and body-building (fig. 2). Other free-entry parts were also utilized by many citizens for strolling and jogging. A 51-year-old woman from group two said:

"My husband and I take a walk around the Taiye Pool in the park almost every day after dinner for the last four years. My in-law, who used to stay at home all the time, also comes to practice square dancing. I think the government should build more parks like this."

It should be noticed that supplementary facilities intended for local communities were also provided in the park. The "Daming Palace Tang cultural street" as an example: located at the eastern side of the park, the small street provides snacks and beverages, as well as a public library and art exhibition, an open-air karaoke and cinema, and an adventure playground for children. A local resident (a 23-year-old man from group two) said:

"My friends and I hang out in this place a lot to play pool when the weather is nice. I remember Daobei used to be a dangerous neighbourhood and it is much nicer after they have built the park."

4.3. Easier access to the appreciation of archaeological heritage

The interviews revealed a further factor that affected the social values attributed to the site by local communities. This was the consideration that the park has offered easier access to the appreciation of the archaeological heritage. This was mentioned by sixty-one (62.9%) interviewees from all three groups. Many of them argued that before the project, the archaeological remains were under increasing threat from unregulated shack-house building and indiscriminate waste disposal. One interviewee (a 32-year-old man from group three) commented that:

"A few years ago I went to look for the Daming Palace remnant. It took me hours and I felt so disappointed when seeing it. What I saw was a stone tablet with the name of the property, surrounded by piles of garbage, and there was no sign of any remains. I felt nothing historical or cultural with the scenery. It is much better the way it is protected now. Heritage like this deserves to be treated with integrity and decency."

A few interviewees also made reference to the interpretation boards provided at each particular remnant of the site. According to one interviewee (a 47-year-old woman from group one):

"I am not particularly interested in archaeology or history, but it is hard not to pay attention to what the boards have to say, when you take a walk in the park every day. Eventually I become more knowledgeable of the site than I ever was."

In terms of increasing the general public's interest in archaeology, a few interviewees commented on the Archaeological Discovery Centre, a key component of the park. One interviewee (39-year-old man from group three) remarked on one program named "I am a little archaeologist" provided by the centre:

"...it is an activity regularly organized by the centre for children and parents. My daughter and I took part in it once and both enjoyed it. She was taught to differentiate coins from different dynasties, and also participated in a simulated excavation. We both practiced pottery and toured around the park with a professional guide. It was a good experience."

4.4. Discontentment with the development model and cost

In contrast with the interviewees' support for the benefits that had been brought by the project, substantial opposition was also observed in the way local residents perceived the changes. Overall forty-one (42.3%) interviewees expressed a critical attitude towards the touristic transformation of the site. One theme common to most interviewees who showed discontentment was objection to the development model. According to many of these interviewees, they believed that the true motivation behind the project was economic profitability in real estate development. According to one interviewee (a 43-year-old man from group two):

"...it is not that we do not support the utilization of archaeological sites, or the reformation of backward areas. It is just we do not approve how it has been done. The Qujiang model is clearly a business approach that uses heritage protection as an excuse to make money in real estate. Since the model was successful in increasing the land price of Qujiang and benefiting a lot of government officials, they have transplanted it to the Daming Palace site. The authorities may call it reform and advancement, but I call it over-exploitation and misuse."

It is alarming to notice that up to eighty-seven (89.7%) interviewees called in to question the huge amount of investment that the authorities claimed to have spent on the project. Many of them mentioned that they found it difficult to believe there was no corruption involved considering the contrast between the cost and its achievement. In addition, some interviewees also reported their dissatisfaction towards the master plan drawn up for the development of the surrounding areas of the park. As one interviewee (a 22-year-old woman from group two) commented:

"The authorities claimed that the park would function as a 'green lung' to the city just as the 'Central Park' to New York. However, as an ancient city, Xi'an has its own unique attributes and cultural connotations. Its evolution should follow its own way."

4.5. Dissatisfaction towards the park itself

Dissatisfaction towards the content of the park was another theme that raised varying comments from sixty-four (66%) of the interviewees.



Fig. 3. A human-made feature adjacent to archaeological remains (photo: Qian Gao).

The most commonly shared opinion was that the park took too large a space for too little content. In accordance with one interviewee (a 41-year-old man from group three):

"It is perhaps fine as a park for the locals, but too big and not interesting enough to be an attractive archaeological tourist site. The historical remains are nothing but piles of earth, and it takes a lot of imagination to perceive what the park tries to convey."

Furthermore, during the fieldwork I observed that many human-made features, whose design seemed to both embody modern aesthetics and resonate with the antiquity, were installed adjacent to archaeological remains (fig. 3). A few interviewees expressed their criticism towards these added features. As one (a 29-year-old woman from group three) argued:

"The human-made features make the park look odd. I know that they are meant for the remains to be more appealing, but with modern design and construction, now everything looks fake and loses its genuine flavour."

Some interviewees also remarked that they believed the restoration was actually harmful to the protection of archaeological heritage. One interviewee (a 27-year-old woman from group one) commented that:

"...building the park took less than two years. When it first opened to the public, everything looked so hastily done. I wonder, did they ruin anything during the construction? My family used to live near to what seemed to be a remain of an islet of the Taiye Pond. Now the Taiye Pond is refilled with water and the islet has disappeared."

4.6. The lost sense of belonging

Another theme shared by forty-one (42.3%) interviewees was related to a feeling of a lost sense of belonging. They argued that the construction of the park had irreversibly changed the landscape of the region. This is especially prominent among former Daobei residents (i.e. group one), many of whom voiced their nostalgia due to the detachment to their previous home. However, it is worth noting that the park authorities have made an effort to maintain some elements of the old neighbourhood for relocated residents to reflect upon the past. The trees at the Imperial Path Square, for instance, are left from the previous village, so that villagers can still locate where they used to live in accordance with the trees. Apart from the Daobei residents, some Xi'an citizens also expressed their concern to the complete transfiguration of cultural places like the Daming Palace site. As one interviewee (a 57-year-old man from group three) put it:

"...in the last ten years, the wholesome reconstruction centring on cultural sites has changed the appearance of the city to such an extent that it is fearsome to wonder whether any old image would remain after another ten years. When a city changes its trace of the past completely, what do we expect the future generations to memorize?"

4.7. Displeasure for image of neighbourhood identity

During the interview eighteen (26.9%) former Daobei residents expressed their disappointment towards the image representing their past neighbourhood identity. They commented that the authorities deliberately portrayed the Daobei region as a slum in order to give favourable publicity to their reformation project. During fieldwork, I observed that in the park there were a large number of sign boards set up showing the contrast between the past and the present (fig. 4). Besides this, in the park museum there was a whole exhibition devoted to the relocation program, with pictures and items showing the life of the



Fig. 4. A sign board showing the contrast between the past and the present of one archaeological remain (photo: Qian Gao).

Daobei residents before the phenomenal change. One interviewee (43-year-old man from group one) complained that:

"...the government chose to show to the public the worst image of the Daobei neighbourhood, and now everyone thinks Daobei used to be a slum. The actual situation was much more complicated, and we do not like our old home to be referred to in that way."

4.8. Dissatisfaction for the current living environment and relocation compensation

The last factor that affected the local communities' perspective of the social values associated to the site also related to the relocation program. In total forty-three (64.2%) interviewees from group one expressed dissatisfaction towards their current living environment or the compensation for dislocation. One interviewee (a 39-year-old man from group one) said that,

"My family and I do not like the new apartment assigned to us. The new building has 36 floors and each floor holds 10

apartments, but only 3 elevators were installed. Besides, the elders have spent most of their lives living in single-storey houses, so they are having difficulties with adjusting to life in places as high as this."

In addition, a few interviewees also argued that once they were relocated from their previous home, they had felt abandoned and neglected. This is because until 2014 they had had to wait for several years before moving into the resettlement buildings. As one interviewee (a 29-year-old woman from group one) commented:

"We were asked to compromise our interests for the sake of the protection of the archaeological heritage; we were requested to understand and support the government's decision for the better good; we were promised that we would receive a reasonable compensation and once the resettlement buildings were completed, we would have a new home. However, in reality the compensation can hardly make up for what my family had to give up, and nobody cared where we were going to settle once our old neighbourhood had been demolished."

5. Discussion

The data analysis above reveals that the touristic commercialization and the UNESCO World Heritage nomination of the Daming Palace archaeological site have hugely affected the social values attributed to it by its local communities. In other words, the site has become a focus of different sentiments and varying qualities to local community members. The social values ascribed to the site from a local communal perspective include many aspects: the ability to upgrade physical and conceptual living environment, the capability of improving local livelihood, its capacity as a space for leisure, entertainment and education, its role in maintaining a sense of belonging and regional pride, and its proficiency in fulfilling social expectation. The data shows that even though more than half of the interviewees expressed various levels of dissatisfaction towards the project, most of them supported the idea of using archaeological sites through touristic development to achieve general improvement for the entire community. The transformation of the site has increased the variety and measure of social values ascribed to it from local communal perspective through the enhanced living

environment of the region, the creation of a large public green space for relaxation and entertainment, and the upgraded public access to the heritage itself. Interviewees' concerns regarding the negative impact of the project on the social values attributed to the site mainly focused on the applied business model, the content of the park, as well as the compromises they had to make.

The interviewee's generally positive attitude towards heritage refurbishment shows that, to most local community members, the social values attributed to an archaeological site boil down to one practical concern: whether its existence and use can bring any tangible benefit to the people. Many Daobei residents shared the sentiment that before the restoration project, the palace remains did, to some extent, prevent local livelihood from advancing. They believed that due to the preservation of the ancient remnant, the region compromised its modernization, and the local residents somehow took on the role of graveyard keepers for this particular piece of Chinese history. This viewpoint represents, to a large extent, the attitude of many local communities towards archaeological sites that cover a large space and lack obvious touristic characteristics — the sort of heritage that the Chinese government has paid great attention to in the past few years. A practical reason behind the rather pragmatic perspective of local communities is that in a society with generally fast economic development, the widening gap between the rich and poor prompts people to prioritize monetary gain over other concerns. This tendency is compounded by an absence of sentimental bond between the heritage and the communities geographically attached to it. Lost memory of ancient glory and the often complex demographic composition give rise to the phenomenon that such archaeological heritage is better appreciated by outsiders than those who live adjacent to it.

Another important line of reflection concerning the impact of touristic commercialization and World Heritage nomination on the social values attributed to the site relates to real estate 'frenzies'. The interview data demonstrate that the social values ascribed to the site by local residents are imperilled by their discontent towards the business model in which real estate companies play major roles. The application of the Public-Private Partnership Qujiang model is an experiment of using the potentials of archaeological heritage and the financial means of real estate industry as catalysts for mutual benefit. This leads to perhaps the most controversial implication in China's current practice of archaeological tourism: the extent of direct private sector involvement in the heritage realm. The imbalance of consideration between economic

interest and social impact is manifested by the relatively high percentage of dissatisfaction of local residents towards the current development model. The mistrust held by most interviewees for the budget involved also reflects the lack of transparency in the construction process.

The interviewees' concerns towards the content of the park show that local community members also responded with enthusiasm to one subtle aspect of the social values ascribed to the site, namely its proficiency in fulfilling social expectations. The analysis reveals that one common criticism of the park is related to its content, which was often condemned as either showing a decrease in original antique taste or being a vast space of emptiness and boredom. Such comments reflect the general public's perception towards the authenticity of material culture. The Chinese version of the word "authentic," means "maintaining the true essence," denoting that a copy truthful to what it mirrors is not considered a lesser version of its original (Shepherd, Yu 2013, p. 41). This partly explains Chinese society's relatively high tolerance of large-scale heritage reconstruction. However, it also implies that local communities may have a different expectation of how an archaeological heritage park should look like from what the designers intend for it to be. The data show that many individuals expected a similar experience to that of visiting an antique-style theme park, and therefore anticipated to see more intuitive features. To them, the sheer exhibition of a large quantity of homogeneous archaeological remains was not entertaining. This reconfirms the current dilemma facing Chinese conservationists regarding how to reconcile the demands of being authentic, attractive, and satisfactory to the expectation of the general public.

The compromise made by local communities for the project probably has the most direct impact on their perception of the social values associated to the site. In recent years, the touristic reformation of archaeological sites in the name of conservation has often involved the displacement of local residents. This is partially because of the management model promoted by UNESCO to divide protected areas into inner cores and outer fringe regions (Weller 2006, p. 78). The application of the spatial segregation model in China often leads to an opaque resettlement process, especially when real estate companies get involved. The interviewees confirmed that small-scale conflicts between the government and local communities regarding compensation rates and other related disputes have occurred at varying intervals for the past few years, which is an alarming reality for the authorities to take into consideration.

6. Conclusion

The myriad of values that a society attributes to its archaeological heritage are the fundamental reasons behind its protection and development (De la Torre 2013). In recent years, the growing touristic commercialization of archaeological sites and the rising influence of UNESCO World Heritage List have reshaped how these values are perceived by different stakeholders. This article has focused on issues related to social values using the Daming Palace archaeological site in China as a case study. In China, the development of archaeological tourism has changed the relationship between heritage and communities in the immediate vicinity of heritage sites remarkably. Such changes have been further prompted by the Chinese authorities' constant pursuit of World Heritage inscription of cultural sites. One strategy worth noting is the conversion of large archaeological sites, namely the "Great Sites," into heritage parks, a practice that is praised for its ability to enhance local livelihood and encourage social participation in safeguarding cultural heritage. However, this novel practice still requires critical reflection on its impacts on local communities and how their perceptions of the values associated with these sites have transformed. Accordingly, this article has employed ethnographic approaches to scrutinize how the practice has affected social values ascribed to the Daming Palace archaeological site by local residents.

This conservational strategy is mostly well received by local communities with regard to its improvement in living environments of surrounding areas, the creation of a public space for leisure and entertainment, and the enhancement of public access to the heritage itself. In these regards, the practice is believed to have enhanced social values attributed to the site by local communities. However, the oversight of this programme in causing discontent with the relocation program, content of the park, and the perceived over-dependency on private sectors has also impaired these values. In view of the changes in social values ascribed to the Daming Palace archaeological sites by local communities, the question remains as to how to gear social values towards a positive improvement through the seemingly inexorable trend of increased touristic commercialization. It should be noted that with tourism playing a major role, archaeological sites in China have become a contested ground for community engagement (Shan 2015). The Chinese authorities' endeavour to integrate elements of participatory approaches into conservation projects for archaeological sites enhances, at least in theory, the social values associated to these

sites. However, in practice they become places where local residents are confronted with the cross-cutting interests of other stakeholders over rights, roles and voices (Plummer, Taylor 2004). Therefore, current community collaboration in heritage management only superficially touches upon the issue of local participation. The engagement of local residents is restrained within the sphere of passive attendance after the development stage of the project is finished, while their voices have no part to play in the decision-making process (Nitzky 2013).

Understanding the diverse social values attributed by local communities to an archaeological site helps to prompt community participation discourse to live up to its rhetorical potential. Consequently, this article advocates the establishment of a collaborative managerial framework that assimilates community-centred initiatives in the planning stage of commercial projects. How to construct such a framework is a challenge that is not exclusive to China but is in fact faced by most countries around the world. In a global context that is increasingly subjected to the forces of a market-driven economy, the underscoring of social value should be considered as a potential means to harness excessive commercialization. Increasing public and administrative awareness of this fundamental dimension to heritage is an absolute necessity in the development of a more concrete measure for safeguarding the past.

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Appendix C: Rules for submission of PhD thesis in the form of a compendium of articles

NORMES PER A LA PRESENTACIÓ DE TESIS DE DOCTORAT EN FORMA DE COMPENDI D'ARTICLES A LA FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA

Les "Normes normativa reguladora dels procediments relatius a l'elaboració, defensa i avaluació de les tesis doctorals de la UB" estableixen que "les comissions de doctorat dels centres poden establir altres requisits de format i contingut per a les tesis que es presentin al centre respectiu".

Per aquest motiu, la Comissió de doctorat de la Facultat estableix les següents normes generals d'aplicació per a les tesis presentades en format de compendi d'articles.

En qualsevol cas, donat que cada programa de doctorat vigent pot considerar la conveniència de marcar certs criteris específics que s'ajustin a les seves línies de recerca, la norma general de la Facultat de Geografia i Història és un marc de referència que marca uns mínims i uns màxims que cada programa de doctorat pot acabar d'establir dintre dels límits definits per la normativa general.

1. Podran optar per la presentació de la tesi en la modalitat de compendi de publicacions aquells doctorands que prèviament a la presentació de la seva tesi i amb l'autorització expressa del seu director tinguin publicats o acceptats amb data posterior a la d'aprovació del seu projecte de tesi doctoral un nombre mínim de, segons el cas:
 - a. **Entre dos i tres articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el Journal Citation Reports (ISI) de Thomson Reuters o bé en revistes científiques classificades com INTERNational en l'European Reference Index for Humanities (ERIH) promogut per la European Science Foundation.
 - b. **Entre tres i cinc articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el llistat del Journal Citation Reports ISI, o bé classificades com a INTERNational o NATional en l'ERIH per a la seva àrea o àrees que s'incloguin al doctorat corresponent; o bé en SCOPUS; o bé classificats en el grup A en el CARHUS+; del primer i segon quartil d'IN-RECS; o bé revistes que compleixin un mínim dels 25 criteris sobre els 33 establerts a LATINDEX. La Comissió de doctorat podrà tenir en consideració **de manera excepcional** que altres contribucions pugin ser considerades per la presentació de tesis per compilació de publicacions sempre i quan tinguin un contingut científic, consell editorial, articles referenciats, periodicitat i d'altres criteris propis de les revistes científiques, i sempre que constin en algun sistema d'indexació valorat. Donada la especificitat de les humanitats i les ciències socials es podran considerar en aquest apartat capítols de llibre en volums que hagin sigut sotmesos a un procés d'avaluació per parts.

S'entén que tots els articles hauran de ser necessàriament de recerca i no es podran considerar en cap cas ressenyes, articles d'opinió, etc.

2. La presentació d'una tesi en aquest format haurà d'incloure els següents aspectes:
 - a. En la portada o en la primera pàgina hi ha de constar, com a mínim, la informació següent: denominació dels estudis de doctorat cursats, títol de la tesi, nom i cognoms del doctorand, nom i cognoms del director de tesi i del tutor, si n'hi ha.
 - b. Una presentació on es 1) presentin els treballs; 2) es justifiqui la seva unitat temàtica; 3) s'indiqui el context global en la que s'ha fet la recerca:

investigadors/es participants, grup de recerca, projecte de recerca, participació de l'autor/a de la tesi en el projecte.

- c. Un capítol introductori, de característiques i extensió similars a les tesis convencionals, que inclogui: 1) un resum global dels objectius de la recerca, 2) el marc teòric emprat; 3) la metodologia utilitzada;
 - d. Un capítol final o resum, de característiques i extensió similars a les tesis convencionals, on s'indiquin: els principals resultats obtinguts; 1) la discussió d'aquests resultats; 2) les conclusions finals.
 - e. Una relació de la bibliografia i fonts emprades per a la realització de la recerca, de característiques i extensió similars a les tesis convencionals.
3. Entre la introducció i els resum final, o bé com a annex, cal incloure una còpia completa dels treballs presentats, fent constar clarament el nom i l'afiliació de tots els coautors dels treballs i la referència completa de la revista en què s'han publicat o admès per a la publicació. En aquest darrer cas cal adjuntar un justificant de l'admissió i la referència completa de la revista a què s'han tramès perquè es publiquin.
 4. En cas que algun dels treballs presentats s'hagi publicat en una llengua diferent de les oficials de la UB, cal adjuntar un resum del treball en qüestió redactat en alguna de les llengües oficials a la UB. Si és tota la tesi doctoral la que s'ha redactat en llengua diferent de les oficials de la UB, cal presentar un resum de la tesi doctoral redactat en alguna de les llengües oficials a la UB i seguir el procediment establert en la normativa general.
 5. En el moment en que es faci el dipòsit de la tesi, i a banda de la informació que es demana en la normativa general, es presentarà la següent documentació:
 - a. Autorització del director de la tesi per la seva presentació en aquesta modalitat.
 - b. Escrit del director de la tesi sobre el factor d'impacte o la categorització de la revista de les publicacions que es recullen en la tesi doctoral, i/o justificació sobre els capítols de llibre amb revisió per parts que es vulguin considerar.
 - c. Si es dona el cas que algun dels treballs presentats s'ha realitzat en col·laboració, haurà de presentar document en el qual els coautors declarin expressament que la part fonamental del treball recollit en els articles ha estat realitzat per l'autor de la tesi.
 6. Els articles que integren una tesi no podran ser inclosos com a part de cap altra. Per tal de donar compliment a la normativa, la Comissió de doctorat portarà un registre dels articles presentats com a components de tesis doctorals.
 7. Cap dels membres del tribunal no podrà ser coautor de més d'un article dels inclosos a la tesi doctoral.
 8. La Comissió de doctorat comprovarà el compliment de tots aquests requisits per admetre a tràmit una tesi amb aquest format.

A la passada Comissió de Doctorat de la Facultat celebrada el 26 de gener de 2015, es fan realitzar les següents esmenes sobre el número d'articles en la presentació de tesi en la modalitat de compendi de publicacions quedant de la següent manera:

1. Podran optar per la presentació de la tesi en la modalitat de compendi de publicacions aquells doctorands que prèviament a la presentació de la seva tesi i amb l'autorització expressa del seu director tinguin publicats o acceptats amb data posterior a la d'aprovació del seu projecte de tesi doctoral un nombre mínim de, segons el cas:

Docotorat Societat i Cultura

- a. **Tres articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el Journal Citation Reports (ISI) de Thomson Reuters o bé en revistes científiques classificades com INTERNational en l'European Reference Index for Humanities (ERIH) promogut per la European Science Foundation.
- b. **Més de tres articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el llistat del Journal Citation Reports ISI, o bé classificades com a INTERNational o NATional en l'ERIH per a la seva àrea o àrees que s'incloguin al doctorat corresponent; o bé en SCOPUS; o bé classificats en el grup A en el CARHUS+; del primer i segon quartil d'IN-RECS; o bé revistes que compleixin un mínim dels 25 criteris sobre els 33 establerts a LATINDEX. La Comissió de doctorat podrà tenir en consideració **de manera excepcional** que altres contribucions pugin ser considerades per la presentació de tesis per compilació de publicacions sempre i quan tinguin un contingut científic, consell editorial, articles referenciats, periodicitat i d'altres criteris propis de les revistes científiques, i sempre que constin en algun sistema d'indexació valorat. Donada la especificitat de les humanitats i les ciències socials es podran considerar en aquest apartat capítols de llibre en volums que hagin sigut sotmesos a un procés d'avaluació per pars.

Doctorat Geografia, Planificació Territorial i Gestió Ambiental

- a. **Tres articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el Journal Citation Reports (ISI) de Thomson Reuters o bé en revistes científiques classificades com INTERNational en l'European Reference Index for Humanities (ERIH) promogut per la European Science Foundation.
- b. **5 articles, un d'ells ha de ser ISI** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el llistat del Journal Citation Reports ISI, o bé classificades com a INTERNational o NATional en l'ERIH per a la seva àrea o àrees que s'incloguin al doctorat corresponent; o bé en SCOPUS; o bé classificats en el grup A en el CARHUS+; del primer i segon quartil d'IN-RECS; o bé revistes que compleixin un mínim dels 25 criteris sobre els 33 establerts a LATINDEX. La Comissió de doctorat podrà tenir en consideració **de manera excepcional** que altres contribucions pugin ser considerades per la presentació de tesis per compilació de publicacions sempre i quan tinguin un contingut científic, consell editorial, articles referenciats, periodicitat i d'altres criteris propis de les revistes científiques, i sempre que constin en algun sistema d'indexació valorat. Donada la especificitat de les humanitats i les ciències socials es podran considerar en aquest apartat capítols de llibre en volums que hagin sigut sotmesos a un procés d'avaluació per pars.

Història de l'Art

- a. **Tres articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el Journal Citation Reports (ISI) de Thomson Reuters o bé en revistes científiques classificades com INTERNATIONAL en l'European Reference Index for Humanities (ERIH) promogut per la European Science Foundation.
- b. **Cinc articles** amb unitat temàtica en revistes científiques incloses en el llistat del Journal Citation Reports ISI, o bé classificades com a INTERNATIONAL o NATIONAL en l'ERIH per a la seva àrea o àrees que s'incloguin al doctorat corresponent; o bé en SCOPUS; o bé classificats en el grup A en el CARHUS+; del primer i segon quartil d'IN-RECS; o bé revistes que compleixin un mínim dels 25 criteris sobre els 33 establerts a LATINDEX. La Comissió de doctorat podrà tenir en consideració **de manera excepcional** que altres contribucions pugin ser considerades per la presentació de tesis per compilació de publicacions sempre i quan tinguin un contingut científic, consell editorial, articles referenciats, periodicitat i d'altres criteris propis de les revistes científiques, i sempre que constin en algun sistema d'indexació valorat. Donada la especificitat de les humanitats i les ciències socials es podran considerar en aquest apartat capítols de llibre en volums que hagin sigut sotmesos a un procés d'avaluació per pars.

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