

The Economic Capital of Archaeology: Measurement and Management

Volume 1

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Due to the need to ensure the well-being of contributors, Volume 2 of this thesis has had some details obscured. This Volume (1) remains unaltered.

Abstract

The economic aspects of archaeology are becoming increasingly emphasised by stakeholders inside and outside the discipline. However, archaeology is currently ill-equipped – conceptually and practically – to deal with the new demands this emphasis places. This research responds to that situation, develops and applies a new conceptual model fit to approach the use of archaeology as an economic asset, examines how archaeology’s ability to act as an economic asset attracts value, and considers how archaeologists can best understand economic ‘capital’.

The thesis first examines current approaches to ‘value’ and ‘economics’ in cultural heritage management and cultural economics, identifying a damaging divide between the ‘cultural’ and the ‘economic’. A ‘Capital Model’ is developed, which focuses on how value is created for the public and emphasises the equality and interrelationship of economic, social and cultural benefits of archaeological sites and materials.

This research then analyses how the ‘economic capital’ of archaeology is currently used to create value for stakeholders and the public. Drawing on perspectives from environmental resource management, it examines the approaches of international organisations, national governments (focusing on the UK), and local heritage tourism projects.

This analysis highlights the necessity, and current lack of, data and methodologies to measure the economic capital of archaeology. Available methodologies are examined and applied to the case study of Feynan, Jordan. Data on the quantity and distribution of the economic impact of the local archaeology, and its interaction with other social and cultural values, is collected to inform management strategies. The case study demonstrates the importance of archaeologists understanding the economic capital of archaeology.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms Used

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AIM	Association of Independent Museums
BIAAH	British Institute for Archaeology and History at Amman
CASE	Culture and Sport Evidence
CBRL	Council of British Research in the Levant
CM	Choice Modelling
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
CV	Contingent Valuation
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DoA	Department of Antiquities
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EH	English Heritage
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
FoAH	Friends of Archaeology and Heritage, Jordan
GHF	Global Heritage Fund
GCI	Getty Conservation Institute
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVA	Gross Value Added
HEACS	Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
ITFCSD	Italian Trust Fund for Culture and Sustainable Development
JD	Jordanian Dinar
JTB	Jordan Tourism Board
KHI	Khirbit Hamra Ifdan
KeN	Khirbit en-Nahas
LDC	Less Developed Countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
MOCHE	Mobilising Opportunity through Community Heritage Empowerment
MoT	Ministry of Tourism

MoTA	Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities
NEA	National Ecosystem Assessment
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NHT	Neolithic Heritage Trail
NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
NPM	New Public Management
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic
PWC	PriceWaterhouseCoopers
RSCN	Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SPI	Sustainable Preservative Initiative
SROI	Social Return On Investment
SSNHA	Silos and Smokestacks National Heritage Area
SWB	Subjective Well-Being
TEEB	The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity
UAP	Uxbenká Archaeological Project
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WHS	World Heritage Site
WMF	World Monument Fund
WTA	Willingness-to-accept
WTP	Willingness-to-pay

Preface

The topic of this PhD has held my attention since I began studying archaeology as an undergraduate at the University of Cambridge. It developed out of an interest in archaeological tourism and witnessing the money people were prepared to spend to see archaeological remains around the world, and conversely often the lack of funds available for conservation and research in archaeology. This led me to begin to investigate the 'economics' of archaeology. From that initial flicker of interest I have seen the subject area grow around me. Initially it was very much on the margins, however, as this research surveys, it has become increasingly central to archaeology and a major concern of public archaeology.

This PhD has evolved in its aims and concepts throughout. Coming off the back of the economic impact research of my MA at the Institute of Archaeology, my original focus was to be methodological, concerned with how archaeologists approach economic value in the field. However in attempting that research, I felt dissatisfaction with the conceptual definitions and frameworks available to archaeologists. I increasingly felt that the current confusing and often contradictory terminology was part of the problem. It seemed clear to me that archaeology did not provide a suitable conceptual framework for me to operate in and tackle the issue I wanted. As a result, the search for this model became a major part of the PhD. Equally important was the contextualisation of 'economic value' in the wider public relationships with 'heritage'. Without this contextualisation the attitudes, approaches, and assessments made by archaeologists cannot be properly understood. As a result only one case study has been explored, however I feel the research now provides a much more solid foundation for the investigation of the archaeology of Feynan, and further work beyond this.

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Chapter 1

'Albert Einstein had the issue nailed a long time ago when he wrote that "Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted". But Mr Einstein did not have to persuade disinterested accountants to invest in heritage in the middle of a global financial crisis.'

James Rebanks (UNESCO 2010a: 79)

The Increasing Value of Economic Value

The 'economic value' of archaeology and cultural heritage is becoming an increasing concern to those within archaeology and those interested in its activities. This is the latest development of a wider discipline which is increasingly aware of what it contributes to society in general. As Mason suggests:

'Heritage Conservation has transformed itself in the last generation, from a fairly closeted practice pursued as an end in itself, to a field increasingly viewed as the means to other social ends'. (2008a:303)

As the following three chapters will discuss, these 'other ends' include social and cultural factors, however central are economic ends - the generation of money, wealth, jobs and development for certain populations. The fact that archaeology may be considered an 'asset' or 'resource' for other social ends and the benefit of society is in itself an economic consideration.

However, there is resistance to this view of archaeology. As will be explored in the next chapter, this resistance has a variety of sources, both philosophical and practical. 'Economics' is usually considered the 'other', in opposition to the cultural concerns of archaeology and heritage. As Rebanks expresses in the quote above, the use of economics in heritage is difficult and complex, needing to find a balance between competing elements. Archaeology has struggled to find a way to balance the outside demands on the use of heritage in contemporary society with scientific and academic interests, and long-term sustainability.

This resistance has left archaeology ill-prepared for the increased importance and impact of 'economics' on archaeology. There is a lack of concepts and skills to manage and measure archaeology as an economic good. While attempts at closing the divide between 'culture' and 'economics', and large leaps forwards, have been made in certain areas of heritage, in general archaeology lags behind where it needs to be. With tourism, antiquities, government budgets, local community development, employment and branding, to name just a few, archaeology both requires and creates money. It further needs to be represented somehow in decisions about how to spend money on it. Economic considerations are a major part of the public relationship with archaeology, and why it might be considered important to them. This research is primarily motivated to try and find some conceptual and practical direction for archaeology and its relationship with 'economic value'.

This research is based around three research questions:

1. How can archaeologists usefully conceptualise the economic value of archaeology?
2. In what ways can the economic capital of archaeology be successfully mobilised to create value for archaeology?
3. What approaches can archaeologists employ to best understand and manage economic capital?

These three questions guide the three sections of the research. The first section (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) examines the conceptual approaches to the 'economic value' of archaeology. Chapter 2 deals with the crucial notions of 'value' and 'economics' before introducing the ideas and philosophy of Cultural Economics and the application of its theory and methods to cultural heritage. Chapter 3 examines archaeology's own approaches to value and economics, including approaches under Public Archaeology. Chapter 4 critiques these two converging fields of thought and proposes a new 'Capital Model', under which 'economic capital' is defined as the 'ability to produce economic impacts such as jobs and revenues'. There are two central points in the model to state now; first, the emphasis on the inter-relationship of the capitals of archaeology and second, the connection between 'capital' (the ability to produce impacts) and 'value' (the importance people feel for archaeology).

Section 2 (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) looks specifically at the connection between economic capital and value. It examines how the ability of archaeology to create jobs and revenues, and to contribute to economic and developmental benefits, motivates people's willingness to

invest resources in it and protect it. Chapter 5 explores in more depth the nature of the economic capital of archaeology before presenting perspectives and concepts from the management of natural resources. Chapter 6 examines the discourse at an international level, and various organisations' policies and approaches to the use and promotion of the economic capital of heritage. Chapter 7 looks at the national level (focusing on the UK) and how the political approach to the value of cultural heritage and archaeology has evolved over the past three decades, and the role of economic capital in this. Chapter 8 looks at the local level, examining the efforts of archaeologists themselves to utilise the economic capital of sites to provide local benefits, often with the motivation of preservation. Taken together these chapters explore the different languages and methods used to mobilise economic capital and the subsequent issues.

Section 3 focuses on the arena of the archaeologist in the field and explores how archaeologists approach the understanding of the economic capital of archaeology through the case study of Feynan, Jordan. Chapter 9 reviews the variety of methodological approaches available to understand economic capital and its interactions with social and cultural capital. The chapter proposes some general approaches for archaeologists and these are then applied to the case study in Chapter 10. The region of Feynan is archaeologically rich and has been investigated by a variety of archaeologists. Further there have been recent plans to utilise the economic capital of archaeology (as well as natural resources) to aid conservation and benefit local people. A better understanding of the economic capital of the archaeology can inform these plans, allowing for the testing of methods and conceptual models. Chapter 10 outlines the background to archaeology and tourism in Jordan before detailing the local archaeology, socio-economic situation and tourism development in Feynan. Surveys and interviews are carried out with tourists, the local community and other stakeholders, to understand the economic capital of the local archaeology and its context. The results and conclusions are presented in Chapter 11. The case study offers reflections on the wider discussions in Sections 1, 2 and 3 and these are explored in Chapter 12, in concluding the thesis.

Heritage and Archaeology

The economic value of archaeology concerns a variety of stakeholders and interested groups. This research places as its audience the archaeologist. The concepts and methods suggested are designed to be understood and implemented by 'ordinary' archaeologists.

The key terms of heritage, archaeology and culture will feature heavily in this research and a note on definitions and perspectives is important. 'Culture' is a contested and complex term (O'Brien 2010). Throsby (2001) outlines two definitions. The first is '*a broadly anthropological or sociological framework to describe a set of attitudes, beliefs, mores, customs, values and practices which are common to or shared by a group*' (Throsby 2001:4). The second definition is activities involving creativity and the production of artistic works. This definition is more associated then with 'the arts' and contains issues of 'high' and 'low' culture (Snowball 2008). Archaeology and cultural heritage are considered culture in the widest sense, as the remains of the past can be works of art themselves, are part of how past people have lived their lives, and are the basis of much of our contemporary sociological framework.

The term 'heritage' has been widely applied and can have broad definitions (Aplin 2002; Harrison 2013; Lowenthal 1985). That application sometimes obscures its disciplined meaning. Skeates outlines two common uses of 'heritage' as applied to archaeological resources: '*first, as the material culture of past societies that survives in the present; and second, as the process through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present*' (Skeates 2000:9-10). These two definitions are distinct, although they are often used interchangeably. Graham (2002) is keen to stress that the latter definition is that one that should be applied to 'cultural heritage': '*heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, whether they be economic or cultural (including political and social factors)*' (2002:1006). Most definitions discussed include an idea that it is a subjective definition and that some value judgement is being made (Aplin 2002:14-15). As a result heritage is not frozen but is a viewpoint from the present and can vary across time and space. As Graham stresses again:

'Heritage is capable of being interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time.....It follows, therefore, that if heritage is the contemporary use of the past, and if its meanings are defined in the present, then we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies.'
(2002:1004)

Lipe (2009) shares this view arguing that '*Heritage... continues to be created and negotiated in the service of present-day interests*' (2009:54). Further Nijkamp and Riganti follow this thread:

'The concept of heritage is not given, but created by a community, by people who attach values to some objects, rites, languages, contexts, lifestyles, historic sites and monumental buildings. Labelling something as heritage represents a value judgement, which distinguishes that particular object from others, adding new meaning to it..... Heritage is a social, economic and cultural resource' (2009:57).

Archaeology is most often defined as the study of the past by the analysis of humankind's 'material culture' or the physical remains they leave behind (Bahn 1992; Bray & Trump 1970). However there is need for a term which describes those material remains themselves (Skeate's first definition of 'heritage'), as 'heritage' is a selection of them which are deemed to be relevant or valuable to contemporary populations. Bahn suggests 'material culture' as *'the physical remains of humanly made traces of past societies'* (1992:313). This definition adequately sums up the idea of a value-free definition of remains however the term 'material culture' pre-supposes a consideration that it is 'culture' (in terms of its second definition above), one which is difficult for this particular research and its discussion of that term (see in particular Abu-Khafajah (2010, 2011) in Chapter 10). As a result this research will use 'archaeology' as a noun instead of 'material culture'. 'Archaeology' can be wide-ranging from sites, to artefacts, to landscapes - anything that has survived from past cultures. A similar term is 'historic environment' although this tends to refer to a subset of archaeological resources which are 'immovable', typically buildings, landscapes and sites (EH 2000, DCMS 2001). This research does not concern intangible heritage, although it does have a role in some of the discussions.

Due to the broad application of 'heritage' and 'cultural heritage', both archaeology and heritage are used throughout the research to mean physical remains which survive in the present, however when presenting my own ideas the stricter definitions outlined above are used. Often both terms are used with the term 'resources' to indicate that a perception that they have a contemporary use. The view of 'archaeology' as 'heritage' is one which denotes a feeling of value and contemporary importance. This research is fundamentally interested in how economic 'value' plays a role in archaeology becoming important and valued by contemporary populations.

Chapter 2

Value of Archaeology in Cultural Economics

The next three chapters will look at the ideas surrounding the concept of the 'economic value' of heritage and archaeology, and establish a new vocabulary and model. Following the discussion of the terms 'archaeology' and 'heritage' and 'culture' it is prudent to deal with a variety of other terms which concern it in the following discussions.

The most pertinent term is that of 'economics'. The dictionary definition (*OED*) gives two main meanings (outside of household management): the first is as a branch of knowledge that deals with production, distribution and consumption with regards to people's material prosperity (or more generally welfare); while the second are the 'financial considerations' of activities or commodities, hinting at a relationship with profits and costings. While both articulations of 'economics' are complementary in theory, in practice there is a perceived duality between maximising 'profit' and improving the wider livelihoods of people. This idea of a dichotomy is a theme that will present itself throughout the discussions of economics and archaeology. Furthering the first definition, economics therefore represents a body of theory and practice which deals with the production, distribution and consumption of certain goods and services. Ultimately the discipline is asking how to maximise welfare i.e. how do you allocate your limited resources, for instance time and money, to maximise people's quality of life? What is the most efficient way of doing this?

Decisions about how to allocate resources in an economy rely on some measure of 'value'. However, the term 'value' covers a range of perspectives and meanings (Harrison 2013:145-146). Miller (2008) has explored meanings of 'value' and how people use the concept, and points out the paradox which is at the heart of its definition. He describes an '*incommensurable polarity between value as price, and value as priceless*' (2008:1122). Further,:

'On one hand it can mean the work involved in giving monetary value worth to an object, as in valuing an antique piece of porcelain, and thereby becomes synonymous with price. On the other hand it can mean that which has significance to us precisely because the one thing it can never be reduced to, is monetary

evaluation, for example the value we hold dear in relation to family, religion and other inalienable possessions.' (2008:1123)

Miller defines these two extremes as 'value' and 'values' and equates them with alienable and inalienable value respectively. He argues that in everyday life we put in opposition, or at least separate, the economic and the other-than-economic (in the financial sense of the word). Via ethnographic examples Miller concludes that 'value' is most useful when both of these 'distinct regimes' are bridged. He argues success comes when we retain the breadth in the term and are *'not flying apart until we end up with an opposition between value and values'* (2008:1130). This attempt at balance and encompassing of both views will be a persistent theme in this research.

A working definition of 'value' for this research is one that means 'importance' and the 'regard' that somebody has for a commodity, resource or anything else. For economists to approach the maximisation of welfare there needs to be an appreciation of what people find important and want. For most goods, the value is decided by the market i.e. by consumers being prepared to pay a certain price to acquire something (Zhang 2010). This reflects how much of their own resources they are prepared to part with to have the benefit of receiving something. For many goods the market can be left to regulate prices so that, *'if everything works in a textbook-perfect way, the economy can reach a state of maximum efficiency in which resources are put to their most productive use'* (Kaul et al. 1999:3). The market's ability to set price relies on two conditions – the excludability and rivalrous nature of the consumption of the good. Excludability tests if one person consuming a good prevents another from consuming it, while rival/non-rival consumption tests whether one person consuming something affects enjoyment or benefit from that good for someone else. Goods which are excludable and rival in consumption are called private goods, with the market establishing the price. Those goods where the consumption is non-rival and non-excludable are called 'public goods', with common example being national defence and clean air. There are intermediate forms of Club Goods and Common Pool Resources (See Figure 1).

	Excludable	Non-Excludable
Rival	Private Goods	Common Pool Resources
Non-rival	Club Goods	Public Goods

Figure 1: Different forms of Economic Goods (adapted from Kaul et al. 1999)

Goods rarely cleanly fit into one of these categories and Kaul *et al.* suggest a private-public continuum of types of goods (1999:4). For non-private goods the market cannot set optimal pricing, affecting the efficiency of the provision of that good to society, termed 'market-failure'. Externalities are an important concept here. An externality is a cost or benefit that is not reflected in the price of a commodity which affects parties outside of the transaction (Koboldt 1997; Klamer & Zuidhof 1999:28-29). Externalities can be negative (such as pollution from production affecting non-consumers) or positive (an attractive garden raises property prices for others in an area) to the third parties affected by them. When goods are not fully excludable and rivalrous, or externalities are involved, it affects individual's incentives to pay what they value for a good. For instance, the 'free-rider' concept encapsulates the idea that non-excludability and positive externalities mean that actors can receive the benefits of goods without having to pay for them (Kaul *et al.* 1999). The problem of market failure means that scenarios such as the 'tragedy of the commons' or 'prisoner's dilemma' occur, where people making rational decisions can lead to worse-off conditions for everyone (Zhang 2010:12).

Cultural resources, including archaeology, are economic goods because they contribute to human 'wellbeing' or 'welfare' (Provins *et al.* 2008:134). Wellbeing and welfare are used to capture a variety of contributions to quality of life, not just materialistic. Further, cultural resources can be considered public goods for a variety of reasons. While they provide benefits and are valued they cannot often be bought or sold, due to conditions such as legal constraints, immovability or their intangibility. They are non-excludable in the sense that a cultural monument in a town, for instance, can be appreciated by anyone who can see it, regardless if they pay to do so. Often cultural goods produce positive benefits simply through individual's knowledge of their existence (an externality) (Nijkamp 2012). For archaeology and cultural heritage in particular there is some debate over whether it should be considered a public good, a common pool resource, or a club good (Klamer forthcoming; Nijkamp and Riganti 2009; Zhang 2010). Culture is often declared to be a 'Merit Good', which are '*goods subsidized by the polity because of their existence or their consumption is highly valued by the community*' (Kaul *et al.*:5; see also Snowball 2008:12-13). While the provision of cultural heritage clearly contains externalities Peacock has warned about overemphasising these (1998:14), while Koboldt has warned of overestimating positive benefits (Koboldt 1997).

Archaeology comes in a great variety of forms and can be considered to contain the full range of types of economic goods. However, what is clear is that, along with many cultural goods, its

valuation very often takes place outside the market. Market failure means that other mechanism must come in to ensure optimal and sustainable use of resources. Different sorts of goods will require different management approaches and a variety of methods are used to modify behaviours or ensure resource allocation such as incentives, taxation, regulation (either 'hard' or 'soft') and philanthropy (Netzer 1998; Throsby 1997). Klamer and Zuidhof (1999) also appraise these 'institutional solutions' to overcome market failure, and argue for the necessity to match situations in cultural heritage to the appropriate economic spheres – market, government or society (or 'third sphere' / voluntary).

Whatever the mechanisms used there has to be some external regulation or assessment of 'value' to be able to make decisions about resource allocation and provision. Decision-makers need to be able to understand both the cost of any proposed action as well as the potential benefits. This includes comparing the action to any opportunities which would not be possible as a result (the 'opportunity cost'). As a result, value – the understanding and measurement of importance and worth to people – is crucial in this process (Koboldt 1997).

Cultural Economics is a field which deals with how to regulate and provide cultural services for the public and examines the structures and regulations needed to make cultural heritage policy optimum (Peacock & Rizzo 1994; Towse 2003, 2011). Cultural economics emerged from, and built on, the ideas of Environmental Economics, whose subject matter reflects many of the economic characteristics of heritage (to be discussed further in Chapter 5). In terms of practical research cultural economics has been largely concerned with the institutional solutions necessary for effective cultural management, including justifying subsidies and the merits of mechanisms such as tax breaks and grants (Towse 2002).

While cultural heritage has formed part of cultural economics since its conception, a distinct area of concern established itself in the late 1990s (Throsby 2012) (see further discussion below). Peacock sets out at this time an idea of where cultural economics can be of service to heritage policy, as well as wider cultural policy:

'The purpose of heritage policy should be to present the past as a source of satisfaction and inspiration to both present and future generations, bearing in mind that resources used for this purpose have alternative uses which may be used to improve welfare in other ways.' (1998:20).

For Peacock, cultural economics offers the opportunity to be accountable and ensure that resources give maximum public benefit. He goes on to describe a need for heritage to reflect more public opinion, be sustainable, and include private market ideas. He describes the ultimate test being that of whether the public are willing to pay for culture themselves in that they perceive a benefit from it. Hutter casts economics as being able to provide *'consistent patterns of argument'* in heritage choices and that economists can act in a *'dual role of the economist as an independent analyst and as an advisor and consultant for concrete interventions into the current allocation and distribution of cultural heritage goods'* (1997:9). For Johnson and Thomas the *'substantial advantage of the economic perspective on the heritage business'* are twofold – the first to estimate the net benefits of heritage and secondly to decide on optimal forms of ownership (1995:187). For Throsby:

'The primary objectives of heritage policy are to promote efficiency in the production of both economic and socio-cultural benefits through heritage conservation, and to protect the public interest in regard to the various aspects of the public-good benefits of heritage.' (2012:58)

Despite the confidence of cultural economists to achieve these aims, the dualities of the concepts of value and economics means that the combination of 'culture' and 'economics' is uncomfortable for many (Snowball 2008). The difficulty is perhaps best expressed by Graham *et al.* when they say:

'Indeed there is a strongly felt, and frequently articulated, view that any attempt to attach economic values to heritage, and to other cultural products and performances, is at best a pointless irrelevance and at worst an unacceptable soiling of the aesthetically sublime with the commercially mundane.' (Graham *et al.* 2000:129)

While Graham *et al.* are speaking from the point of view of those in cultural circles a similar feeling is felt by economists.

'We sometimes feel, when we speak as economists among people who are interested in art, that we're a bit like the specter at the feast' (Throsby in Mason 1999:19)

'Before considering the economic characteristics of heritage 'production', the reader should be warned that there is still widespread resistance to the very idea that anything to do with cultural pursuits of a 'high' order should be subjected to economic analysis.' (Peacock 1998:2)

While these quotes are from early in the history of cultural economics, it will be seen from the discussion later in this chapter that the efforts of cultural economics to find a solution to the tensions have largely failed and these attitudes persist (Bakshi *et al.* 2009; Mason 2008a). Klamer (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999; Klamer 2003) identifies those on either side of the duality as economists and culturalists. He presents these groups (paraphrasing Wilde) as economists who see the price of everything and the value of nothing, and culturalists who know the value of everything and the price of nothing. Archaeologists would be associated with the latter group. While the causes of this divide will be explored further in this and following chapters, there is the sense that archaeologists are concerned with 'values' and that what archaeology provides cannot be reduced to a financial 'value' and that any attempt to do so undermines or subverts what cultural resources 'truly' offer. Economics is largely viewed as being associated with its second definition, of only being concerned with financial gain. There is a background feeling (as discussed in future chapters), that the philosophies which guide economists and culturalists are fundamentally at odds and ultimately incompatible.

Concepts of Value in Cultural Economics

Finding a bridge over this divide is the challenge which cultural economics attempts. It aims to be able to understand all the 'values' that archaeology and cultural heritage offer but also be able to present it in a fashion that is universal and can apply the ideas of accountability and objective analysis. Its practitioners are often very keen to point out that the value they are considering is all values, not just profits and financial gain. As Ruijgrok states, for cultural economics:

'The economic value of cultural heritage can be defined as the amount of welfare that the heritage generates for society' (2006:206)

The task is understanding the ways in which cultural heritage generates welfare. Cultural economic's fundamental starting point is that value is resident in the public, the consumers of heritage and the ones which give up resources to acquire the goods (Klamer & Zuidhof 1999;

Towse 2011). As Klammer and Zuidhof describe this 'consumer sovereignty' is '*the concept that economists use to assert the autonomy of freely choosing consumers and their ultimate right to determine what is valuable (and thus worth the sacrifice of some of their resources) and what is not.*' (1999:27). It must be remembered that the consumers can be a variety of scales and types, from individuals, organisations, governments and nations, which have different viewpoints on value (see Netzer 1998 for international). This position, which places ultimate authority in the taste and desires of the public is in contrast to the traditional approach of culturalists' and archaeologists' ideas of value as seen in Chapter 3.

Ultimately cultural economists wish to be able to quantitatively assess value. To do this they split the value of cultural resources into two types – Use Value and Non-use Value. These two types of value are not based on the reasons for importance or characteristics of a resource but on the mechanisms by which the public can express their value. Use Value is defined as '*the direct valuation of the asset's services by those whom consume those services*' (Throsby 2002:103). This can be thought of as the market value of the resource where value is still expressed in real financial transactions in the economy. Non-use Value is the value which exists but which people do not have the ability to express that value in a direct market transaction. As these are the values which cannot be 'traded' they tend to be associated with more intangible 'cultural' values. The two sorts of value can also be compared as '*the direct value to consumers of the heritage services as a private good and the value accruing to those who experience the benefits as a public good*' (Throsby 2012:52).

Cultural economists have designed methodologies that aim to assess both these types of value quantitatively to then combine them to give 'Total Economic Value' which theoretically captures all the values of a cultural resource, allowing for policy development and quantitative costs-benefit analysis (Throsby 2002).

Use Value

There are many ways in which the value of cultural heritage goods can express themselves in the market. This can include tourism, jobs to do with conservation work, re-use of heritage for housing or other uses in regeneration and sales of antiquities (see Chapter 5). All of these activities, and others, have economic transactions and movements associated with them in terms of goods and services paid for. As people voluntarily consume goods and services

associated with heritage (i.e. they are prepared to pay money for it), then these financial transactions represent, in part, the value felt for a resource (Throsby 2001).

As these payments involve real financial exchange they can be measured with an economic impact assessment (or study). This sort of assessment follows the financial flows from a project or resource and aims to understand the total economic activity it stimulates (Bowitz & Ibenholt 2009; Stynes 1997). Economic impact assessments are usually expressed in terms of revenue or employment e.g. Castle X is worth £4 million to the UK economy annually, or Place Y provides the equivalent of 40 full-time jobs. Impact assessments are also expressed in financial measures such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross Value Added (GVA) which are common ways of expressing the economic value of commodities.

An important concept in economic impact studies is that of the 'multiplier effect' (Bowitz & Ibenholt 2009; Ost 2009; Stynes 1997). This describes the fact that when money is spent in the economy it is re-spent by those that receive it and so continues to have impact. For example, when a customer buys something the shop saves some but re-spends a proportion of that money buying new goods, paying for staff, taxes, and for the upkeep of the shop. Those suppliers and employers in turn spend money on their own supplies and costs. As a result an initial 'direct' spend is multiplied as it is spent down the chain. The 'indirect' effect of an economic impact is the effect of this re-spending by suppliers while the 'induced' effect is the result of the re-spending of wages earned by employees (Stynes 1997). 'Multipliers', the amount which direct economic impacts can be increased to reflect these effects, are calculated for different industries and for different locations as their magnitude varies due to a number of factors including source of initial capital and rate of saving (Stynes 1997:16). One important consideration is that of 'leakage' (Stynes 1997:11). When businesses re-spend money that might be in a local economy, be spent nationally (such as with taxes), or go internationally. If you are concerned with maximising economic benefits to a certain group, like a local economy, spending outside this group is considered to be 'leaked' outside the target.

Therefore the economic impact of a certain resource, in the strict financial sense, can be measured by looking at data like magnitude and distribution of customer spending, and the associated multiplier effects. The method of an economic impact assessment is not fundamentally challenged, however, due to the variety of costs and factors involved, there are many opportunities for errors (Crompton 2006; Frey 2005; Snowball 2008). A full review of cultural heritage economic impact studies will be considered later in Chapter 9.

For a 'culturalist' the accessibility of data and relative ease of calculation represents both an opportunity and a concern (Mason 1999, 2008a). While this data might be used to demonstrate some values of cultural resources it does not encompass them all. It is also the type of data that industries and business, which trade private goods and may have a low level of externalities, use to demonstrate benefits. As a result culturalists may be concerned that solely use-value data may be used to make decisions, crowding out other values which are harder to access. However, it should be stressed that this is not the intention of cultural economists as they see these calculations in partnership with non-use value measurements.

Non-use Value

Non-use values attempt to encompass those values which cannot be accessed or expressed through the action of a financial transaction. A common model of non-use value, which has grown out of the idea of 'Option Value' (Weisbrod 1964), is articulated by Frey and Pommerehne (1989:19) as applied to arts but has been used for a wide variety of culture and heritage:

- *Option Value*: People may benefit from the supply of culture even if he if she does not currently use it but would like the option to do so in the future.
- *Existence Value*: People value the existence of culture or art, even though they do not consume it directly or even intend to.
- *Bequest Value*: People may want to give art and culture to future generations, even if they do not use it themselves.

This scheme helps establish the mechanism through which there is a public value for culture which is not acted upon so no demand is felt in the market. While this offers a way to understand non-use value, key to the cultural economist's philosophy is the need for measurements of value to be able to inform management decisions. Cultural economics, transferring or building on techniques used in environmental economics, aims to measure this value quantitatively through either observing behaviour which reveals hidden values, or directly asking the public to state the value they feel for something (Cuccia & Signorello 2002a; Klammer & Zuidhof 1999; McLoughlin *et al.* 2006; Mourato & Mazzanti 2002; Nijkamp 2012). The former are called 'revealed-preference' methods while the latter are 'stated-preference' methods.

There are two main types of revealed-preference methods - hedonic pricing and travel-cost. Hedonic pricing uses a surrogate market. In the case of heritage this is exclusively the property market where buying behaviour is investigated to see what affect 'heritage' qualities have on property prices (Mourato & Mazzanti 2002). This technique has difficulties in terms of isolating the affect of heritage resources on price within the noise of other factors and the limited scope of its application. The 'travel-cost' method measures the time and money people invest to visit a cultural resource as a proxy for value. While this technique has been more widely applied than hedonic pricing within heritage, it also has limitations, in particular the problems of accounting for multi-site trips and the pricing of various travel resources (e.g. Alberini & Longo 2006).

'Stated-preference' techniques, rely on directly asking the public to state the values that they feel for a certain resource (McLoughin *et al.* 2006; Nijkamp 2012). At the foundation of these techniques is the concept of an individual or a group's 'willingness-to-pay' (WTP) or 'willingness-to-accept' (WTA) a financial contribution or compensation for a change in the status of or services from a cultural resource. Techniques under this heading create hypothetical scenarios, for example that a certain cultural resource will be destroyed, or that extra visitor facilities will be added to a cultural destination, and then ask respondents' willingness to pay for a positive change to happen or to prevent a negative one from happening, or the compensation they would accept for the reverse. Contingent Valuation (CV) methodologies create a hypothetical scenario and ask for a financial estimate from respondents by using open-ended questions (Mitchell & Carson 1989; Nijkamp 2012). Various techniques are used to establish the financial value respondents feel including bidding and the use of pre-designed amounts. Average WTP or WTA is then extrapolated to the affected population to give an estimate of the total non-use value of that resource, or the proposed changed. This amount, together with use-values, can then be compared to things such as the costs of maintenance or provision of new services. A slightly different technique is that of Choice Modelling (CM). Here the hypothetical scenario is described but rather than directly state a financial amount respondents are asked to choose from a variety of options within the scenario to better model which aspects are more valuable (Kinghorn & Willis 2008). The pattern of choices can then also be converted into a financial amount for comparison.

CV studies in particular have been used heavily in Environmental Economics and received legal recognition after they were used to estimate the value of damage from the Exxon Valdez

disaster (Arrow *et al.* 1993). However, they have been heavily criticised for a variety of reasons. These are very well summarised in Mcloughlin *et al.* (2006), Mourato and Mazzanti (2002), Frey (2005) and Throsby (2003) and Arts Council (2012). While there are many technical issues to be addressed in the design of CV and CM, such as the format of questions, payment vehicle and interview bias, there are also some more fundamental issues. Perhaps chief of these is the argument that people are usually unused to valuing cultural resources in this way and that the hypothetical situations described elicits little more than hypothetical responses. CV studies often do not find out why something is valued, simply a relative amount. Frey (1997, 1998) has been a vocal critic of CV studies and has suggested the wider use of referenda to assess value, which is also integrated into political decision-making.

The collective critiques of non-use value measurements have softened previous confidence in their utility, with some admitting that the methods are unlikely to capture all value accurately (Throsby 2012). However, despite the myriad problems with CV methodology they offer many opportunities. CV is a legally recognised technique, for directly measuring the public's value for something which is otherwise tricky to establish. It is considered (roughly) objective and goes beyond expert opinion and directly consults with the public to provide data to aid policy and management decisions. As Epstein argues:

'For the only alternatives to contingent valuation are expert decrees or seat-of-the-pants intuitions, neither of which is perfect either. Clearly, no one can live in a universe that routinely makes the best the enemy of the good. So no matter how potent these objections to contingent valuation, they do not result in a knockdown victory for its opponents. Instead, they ought to inspire a somewhat more skeptical attitude toward study design in individual cases and a renewed determination to rid the practice of some of the hidden biases it now contains. Incremental improvement is the order of the day. At the end of the day the S.S. Contingent Valuation will continue to plow forward in choppy seas, but it will ride lower in the water than its proponents are prepared to acknowledge.' (2003:273)

This defence of CV techniques returns to the fundamental goal of cultural economics, to provide objective assessments of the value felt by the public for cultural resources so that management and policy decisions are made based on informed data. The aim is that by doing so, those who control the resources are able to maximise the benefit the public receives. The issues with the methodologies suggested do not undermine this central position, but highlights

the difficulties with achieving it. These difficulties form a major theme in Chapter 7. For Throsby appropriate valuation of heritage assets and their services remains 'an all-pervading problem' (2012:52), but one that needs to be overcome (2012:56).

Wider Concepts in Cultural Economics

Beyond this scheme of values several cultural economists have proposed other wider concepts. One concept that has become established is that of 'Cultural Capital', put forward by Throsby (1999, 2001, 2002, 2012). The general economic concept of capital is defined as '*a stock of goods that gives rise to further goods and services over time*' and a 'stock' of capital is the quantity of this capital at any given time and can be increased through investment (2002:102). Traditionally economics identifies three main forms of capital:

- *physical capital* - such as factories and buildings
- *human capital* - skills and experience in a workforce
- *natural capital* - the stock of renewable and non-renewable materials offered in the environment.

Throsby builds on these ideas to define cultural capital as:

'an asset that embodies a store of cultural value, separable from whatever economic value it might possess; the asset gives to a flow of goods and services over time which may also have cultural value.' (2002:103)

Cultural capital encompasses the whole variety of cultural resources from tangible monuments and materials, to intangible intellectual property (2002:46). The intention is that the use of economic language emphasises the idea that cultural heritage is a useful resource which offers the public benefits. In particular it draws attention to clearer ideas for management and Throsby (2012) draws parallels with natural capital to promote ideas of sustainability. The stock of cultural capital must be invested in, or it will diminish, along with the flows it provides. Throsby suggests cultural capital is vital to maintain our cultural ecosystem – our way of life and the way we live with each other (2001:57). Throsby's model is not the first time that the concept of 'capital' has been applied to culture (as is also seen below). The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, 1975, adopted in Amsterdam defines architectural heritage as '*a capital of irreplaceable spiritual, cultural, social and economic value*' (Nijkamp & Riganti 2009).

In his model Throsby separates cultural flows from any economic ones. For Throsby, 'cultural value' encompasses qualities such as aesthetics, spiritual understanding, social and historical connections and objects as repositories of meaning (discussed more in Chapter 3). While he does see a relationship between economic and cultural value he sees this as a one-way relationship, with cultural value providing economic value (use-value) (2001). While this relationship is usually positive – the cultural flows that cultural capital produces make people value it economically – it can also be neutral, negative or unrelated. He states that only cultural capital gives rise to cultural value (2001:56). This separation can be perhaps seen as an attempt to say that cultural capital stands up on its own, that it is a resource that produces real benefits and that it should be used sustainably and invested in to maintain flows. Cultural capital is also thought of as a distinct group of capital stocks, separate from natural and physical capital. These separations of capitals and flows are a limitation to the model (explored further in Chapter 4). However, the concept of cultural capital, and the focus on management and sustainability which it brings is a very useful one. The concept has proved popular and incorporated into the approach to cultural heritage, for instance Girard and Nijkamp define cultural heritage as 'historico-cultural capital' (2009a:2).

Another cultural economist, Arjo Klamer, has reacted against the narrow focus on financial value in economics and has tried to expand its scope to include the social and cultural aspects of life and behaviour (2002, 2003). Klamer has grown frustrated with standard economic tools and concepts in his consideration of arts and culture. He draws attention to the fact that consumption of cultural goods has many unique aspects and that the cultural and social aspects of businesses and lives are vital for a 'good life' and are very important to people. He makes the fundamental claim that while we may act to increase finances, the end goals of this accumulation are not economic, but are things like friendship and happiness (2002). He gives the example of a CD which is a good that is bought, but the values are realised with the playing of the CD – values like the appreciation of music, dancing and the company of friends (2002:465). He attempts to develop a position in between culturalists and economists (2002:457) and establish a vocabulary to account for all values of life and '*proposes a cultural economic perspective that stresses the role of values and allows for a combination of economic and other values*' (2003:5).

Central to Klamer's proposal for a new language is the concept of 'capital'. A technical definition of capital he uses is that capital '*consists of all those goods, existing at a particular*

time, which can be used in any way so as to satisfy wants during a subsequent period' (2002:460). Another definition he uses equates capital with *'something like power, capability or "a person's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being" (Sen 1993, p30)'* (2003:10). The key to this use of capital is that value comes as a result of the productive capacity of capital. As Klamer puts it – *'Nothing of value drops out of the sky'* (2002:460). To drive the point home he writes:

'I will call a collection of possessions capital. Those who dislike the economic vocabulary may think in terms of power, or capacity. The basic idea is that any possession enables the generation of values.' (2002:465)

This view of capital is allied with definitions of capital by sociologists such as Bourdieu (2002:461) and these viewpoints form part of Carman's approach to the heritage value (2002, 2005) discussed in Chapter 3 and my own ideas outlined in Chapter 4.

Klamer makes a distinction between economic, social and cultural capital. Economic capital is defined as *'the capacity to generate economic income or economic values'* (2002:465). Its measurement is in the realm of GDP, profit and economic impact. Social capital is *'the capacity to generate social values like friendship, collegiality, trust, respect, and responsibility'* (2002:466), while cultural capital is *'the capacity to inspire and be inspired'* (2002:467). The difference between cultural and social capital is emphasised by Klamer in that *'It is one thing to have good social relationships, yet quite another to be in awe of sight and sound when strolling through a museum, attending a religious ceremony, or struggling across a mountain ridge'* (2003:10).

Klamer argues for the increasing importance for economic, social and then cultural capital for individuals. Klamer views that lowest on the scale, economic capital is ultimately a means to generate social capital, with both enabling cultural capital *'the values which give meaning to our life'* (2002:467). This asserts that social and cultural capitals are not just there to generate economic returns, indeed it is more important the other way round. Crucially, there is also an important relationship between the capitals. Klamer points out that a focus on economic capital may do damage to other capitals and decrease them (2002, 2003). The idea is to account for all types of capital and make a fairer assessment of the value of resources and what they offer. Klamer admits that the tools to account for the values are not currently in place but is confident that further work will produce this (2002:471).

Klamer successfully articulates the multifaceted ways in which goods and services contribute to welfare and asserts the importance of cultural goods and values in the lives of the public. His concept of capital is more developed than that of Throsby, in emphasising the different aspects it can take. Klamer is attempting to develop economics in general to take a more rounded view of human behaviour and our motivations, and treating culture as a key part of life, not a separate class of goods. Klamer's approach reflects a general trend in cultural economics to soften its view of rational actors and fixation on policy and subsidy, to consider the wider context of cultural and social influences on economic actions (Hutter & Throsby 2008, Pinnock 2009).

In the UK, responding to the political context there (as explored in Chapter 7), Holden (2004, 2006) has proposed the 'value triangle'. This is made up of three types of value - Intrinsic, Instrumental and Institutional.

- Intrinsic values are *'the set of values that relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually'* (2006:14)
- Instrumental values relate *'to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose'* (2006:16)
- Institutional values relate *'to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public'* (2006:17).

These definitions immediately set up a separation, and indeed a hierarchy, between emotional and psychological benefits of cultural resources and other wider benefits which are considered secondary. Although there is much overlap, intrinsic and instrumental value cannot be equated directly with non-use and use value respectively as the latter are separated by their measurability in economic markets, not with a judgement of what is considered 'core' to what cultural heritage offers.

The three values are associated with different interest groups – intrinsic with the public; instrumental with politicians and decision makers; and institutional with professionals. The idea of the triangle is to highlight the different values that heritage might have for different interests groups and to put forward an overall view of culture, with no particular value having prominence. As shall be discussed in Chapter 4 this overall vision of different parts of value being important to different people is a useful one, however the rigid equating of value with

different segments and the separation of instrumental and intrinsic value is problematic. While this triangle does not attempt to assess 'value' as such, it is a useful tool in conceptualising perspectives on what cultural resources offer. The language of 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' in particular has been used heavily to describe what culture can offer the public (see Chapter 7).

These wider concepts in cultural economics extend the model and vocabulary available to understand how cultural resources may be valued and managed effectively.

Cultural Heritage in Cultural Economics

As stated above, cultural heritage became an increasing concern within cultural economics during the late 1990s. An important foundation was provided by Peacock's *Does the Past have a Future?: The Political Economic of Heritage* (Peacock 1998) and Hutter and Rizzo's *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage* (Hutter & Rizzo 1997). Previous to this, Johnson and Thomas, discussed *Heritage as Business* (1995) where they viewed heritage as a stock which can be maintained and that provides services, mirroring Throsby's later ideas. Many of their concerns are about considering the size of stock, the best ways for it to be valued, the nature of the market for heritage, and the nature of government policy and intervention.

Since then, Rizzo and Towse (2002) have edited a book on the political economy of heritage in Sicily focusing on the traditional issues of regulation, supply and demand, political economy and finance. Towse (2005) included cultural heritage in a review of 'recent' trends in cultural economics, while more recently Peacock and Rizzo contributed *The Heritage Game: Economics, Policy and Practice* (2008).

Heritage organisations have a history of interested in economics. The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) produced two publications in the 1990s, the first on *Conservation Economics* (1993), and the second a *Report on Economics of Conservation* (1998). A more significant attempt to explore and incorporate economic theory to the values of cultural heritage was undertaken by the Getty Conservation Institute, who organised a conference of economists, including Klammer and Throsby, and conservationists in 1999 (Mason 1999). This meeting was motivated by a feeling that *'Increasingly we find economic considerations taking precedence over cultural, social, political and aesthetic values when it comes to making decisions about what heritage is conserved'* (Marta de la Torre in Mason

1999:1). The meeting aimed to *'understand the economic influences on conservation decisions and to identify concepts and approaches for evaluating both the economic and the cultural values of heritage'* (1999:2). A clear concern in the report is that conservationists did not give consideration to economic values for fear that they 'crowd out' and trump cultural values that have usually been the core of arguments for preservation. Economists suggest in response that engagement with economics, not avoidance, is the way to overcome this problem. The stated outcomes of the meeting accept the utility of economic thinking clarifying issues around public goods and markets, and the need for conservation to engage with policy, sustainability and the idea of cultural capital. However, there is no adoption of non-use value methods, maintaining a position where social and cultural values cannot be assessed by economics (1999:10). The meeting was followed by two Getty Conservation Institute reports examining the values of heritage and four case studies where this was applied (Avrami *et al.* 2000; de la Torre 2002).

Several authors in the last decade have tried to make the case for cultural heritage to adopt more of cultural economic's ideas and methods. Mazzanti (2003) has called for cultural heritage to embrace economics as part of its thinking. He argued that economic valuations are necessary in cultural heritage management to justify expenditure in terms of 'use benefits', provide vital data for cultural destinations, and to reflect an increasingly consumer-orientated approach to heritage management (2003:550). A decade ago Mazzanti envisaged that *'such economic valuation techniques, might quickly form a part of the new lexicon of the cultural industry and a useful component of the cultural analyst's tool kit'* (2003:550), and be a *'promising new frontier....within the cultural heritage arena'* (2003:566). While Mazzanti acknowledges and accepts the problems with cultural economic's measurement techniques he pushes for their adoption and re-affirms the need *'to avoid a common misunderstanding that economic methodologies do not pretend to assess cultural values, but economic values associated to such cultural values'* (2003:551). For Mazzanti the utility lies in the understanding of the market, rather than a reliance on expert judgement:

'Cultural experts clearly play a leading role in determining the value of cultural heritage. Nonetheless, relying only on experts judgement may be dangerous, leading to wrong allocations of resources, state failures, and lobbying pressures for funding. A paternalistic approach is not always the most efficient and effective way.' (2003:565)

Mazzanti's optimism has not been realised in practice in the last decade. Cultural economists are still trying to persuade of the utility of their concepts to the discipline. Bakshi *et al.* (2009) attempt a more blatant case for economics in their report entitled '*Measuring Intrinsic Value: How to stop worrying and love economics*'. Although discussing culture and arts in general the authors see that cultural economics has still not figured in the UK debate about the value of culture and the arts and that the divisions between the areas still exists:

"Good" economics – the rigorous application of cultural economics – can thus reverse a traditional but obstructive line-up which pits economists, cast as architects of instrumentalism and all things philistine, against arts leaders, cast as beleaguered defendants of intrinsic value and all things aesthetic.' (2009:2-3)

The authors are at pains to try and dispel many of the ideas formed about economics, chiefly that they are only interested in the instrumental rather than the intrinsic, but further seek to remove the fallacy that the intrinsic is immeasurable. The authors still acknowledge the problems of some techniques but argue that this is a question of application rather than theory. The authors remain belligerent in their support for cultural economics and are dismayed by the lack of economists in culture and the lack of culture in economic teaching. This combative mood is not new and is reflective of Frey's earlier attempts at persuasion (2002), however is not universal as Snowball (2009) notes a 'constant apology' by economists for their involvement in culture in her review of *The Heritage Game*.

Mason (2008a) takes a more balanced view of the introduction of cultural economics into heritage, perhaps noting previous failures to be ingratiated, and attempts to distil the opportunities, and problems of embracing more economics. He expresses a view of a divide between the 'economic discourse', concerned with questioning the benefit of preservation and relying on mathematics and quantitative expressions, and the 'conservation discourse' which prefers 'connoisseurial judgements' and regards heritage as priceless and therefore beyond economic analysis (2008a:304). He repeatedly notes the distaste and failure of conservators to embrace economics and comments that:

'Many heritage policy and management decisions are dominated by economic considerations. Yet from the perspective of heritage professionals, economics is regarded as an alien, threatening discourse' (2008a:304)

Mason sees strategic advantage in cultural heritage practitioners adopting some economic discourse for both their own decision-making processes and communication with the wider world. He states that it is no longer tenable to maintain a distinction that heritage management deals with the 'priceless'. Mason names five positive reasons for conservationists to embrace cultural economics. The first two reiterate that cultural economics can offer a new lens of viewing why heritage is valued, and that one of these reasons is what heritage can contribute economically. Defending why economic values should be considered by the heritage sector he states:

'Why? Economic motives and values are among the reasons that societies are willing and even eager to undertake heritage conservation – the cultural values of heritage are key for conservation advocates, but are not the most important ones for everybody.... Economic and cultural values of heritage sites are intimately linked.' (2008a:309)

Mason argues that the language of economics helps heritage professionals communicate with those that offer political and financial support. Further cultural economics offers a way to understand and incorporate public preferences and views into management practice; properly integrate cultural and economic values; and go beyond acting on belief and faith that cultural heritage benefits society, allowing data to make rigorous, transparent decisions. As Mason describes:

'Instead of handling values as a quasi-religious matter, conservation discourse would benefit by embracing the sort of deliberate, rigorous study of costs, benefits and trade-offs economic discourse can provide.' (2008a:311)

But Mason is also keen to point out the problems with economics and the need to be cautious. He highlights various risks in the application of the economic discourse, with the first amongst these the over-emphasis on use value crowding out the full range of values. In addition there are issues regarding the differing traditional time-frames of economics (short) and conservation (long) and that the over-logical neo-classical models of agents might not be the best perspective for heritage. However Mason emphasises that while cultural economics has its limits, heritage and archaeology cannot remove itself from the discourse and needs to increase its intellectual and research infrastructure in this regard.

The fact that Mason and Bakshi are still persuading of the utility of cultural economics a decade on from Mazzanti's optimism demonstrates a lack of enthusiasm for it within cultural heritage and archaeology. The underlying problem which all three papers wrestle with is still the distrust by culturalists of economics. Mason still must challenge perceptions that economics is all about financial gain rather than wider welfare. It seems this is the principle barrier, rather than any concerns with economic assessment methodology, to the adoption of cultural economic perspectives into the heritage sector.

The lack of enthusiasm for cultural economics has impacted the research that heritage has carried out on its economic values (Girard & Nijkamp 2009b). One area of cultural heritage which has embraced economic approaches to the greatest extent has been urban and built heritage. Collected volumes on the topic include Lehtovouri and Schmidt-Thome (2007) for Scandinavia, and Malkki *et al.* (2008) examining European initiatives. Both volumes heavily feature ideas of town-planning, estate management, regeneration and architecture. Cultural economics measurements of all varieties have also been used heavily by the World Bank to assess its projects involving heritage, usually urban heritage, in recent years (Licciardi *et al.* 2012, Nijkamp 2012, also see Chapter 6).

Rypkema *et al.* (2011) have produced a 'state-of-the-art' report on the use of economic valuation techniques in historical preservation. They conclude that while it is known that economic benefits may be present, they are not well understood and more research is needed, noting in particular a serious lack of project evaluation work. While they identify several methods available for measuring economic benefits they criticise the work done is not mutually intelligible and has too narrow a focus on simply economic valuations which are not contextualised with other benefits such as social cohesion (including using qualitative data).

This report follows Mason's literature review (2005) on economics and historic preservation, which also concluded that there was '*a relative lack of academic research on the economics of preservation*' (2005:19). This is due to two factors; that cultural topics are generally viewed as relatively unimportant in economic research, and that there is no established academic infrastructure for institutions to sustain a research on the topic over time.

Rykema and Mason point to a general lack of research in economics and cultural heritage. This situation is also reflected in the application of specific cultural economic methodologies to heritage and archaeology.

Hedonic Pricing has received little attention. Lazrak *et al.* (2011, 2009), and Nijkamp (2012) review the slim literature (dominated by US urban studies) and, along with Ruigrok (2006), conduct research on heritage preservation in the Netherlands. The use of travel-cost method is equally limited, confined to small-scale research in the USA (Poor and Smith 2004), Spain (Bedate *et al.* 2004) and Armenia (Alberini & Longo 2006).

There have been a number of early CV studies completed for heritage (Cuccia & Signorello 2002b; Maddison & Foster 2001; Maddison & Mourato 2001; Mazzanti 2003; Navrud *et al.* 1992; Pollocino & Maddison 2001; Thomas 1992). However up to the beginning of the century cultural resources made up a tiny fraction of all CV studies performed (Navrud & Ready 2002; Noonan 2003). By 2004, only 2% of CV studies concerned cultural resources with the remainder about environmental resources (Noonan 2004). The meta-analysis of the literature showed that poor method plagued several studies and they tended have a very narrow focus (Noonan 2003). Since this time the application of CV techniques has continued (Dutta *et al.* 2007; Kim *et al.* 2007; Navrud 2008; Throsby 2012). However, despite this continued activity the depth of research remains shallow, confined to a few areas and researchers (Nijkamp 2012).

The above studies are principally academic exercises with the aim to persuade of the merits of the approach as well as produce useful data. The two most significant CV studies in the UK in the professional cultural sector were carried out for the British Library and for the Bolton Museums and Archives Service. The British Library study (British Library n.d.), conducted in 2003, evaluated the library's value to both its direct users, and indirectly to the UK population. The study estimated the total value of the British Library to be £363m, of which £304m is indirect value, compared to £83m it receives in public funding. While the details available on the study are slim the report has been criticised for inflating the indirect benefit due to the extrapolation to the entire nation (Jardine *pers comm.*). In *Bolton's Museum, Library and Archive Service: An Economic Valuation* (Jura Consultants 2005) the researchers investigated the value of the borough of its museums, libraries and central archive. They estimated the total value of the services to be £10.4m, compared to a funding budget of £6.5m, with the majority coming from £7.4 million of use value, demonstrating that the council was getting some value for money from its services. Recently the Arts Council have put out general advice to the sector, suggesting the use of CV studies, along with their relative pros and cons (Arts Council 2012).

For Choice Modelling (CM) there are even fewer studies completed focusing on heritage. Choi *et al.* (2010) used this method to suggest visitors did not especially value audiovisual effects and for having longer-lasting temporary exhibitions at the Old Parliament House in Canberra. Kinghorn and Willis (2008) carried out one of the few non-use value studies to focus on ‘archaeology’¹, using CM at the site of Vindolanda. Reflecting Noonan’s position five years earlier the authors maintain that economic valuation techniques have not been widely applied to heritage goods, being mainly applied to environmental goods (2008:119). They argue CM is a useful tool to inform site managers about visitor satisfaction to aid the survival of destinations. At Vindolanda the study demonstrated, amongst other things, the value felt for the live excavations which take place at the site during the summer – deemed 27 times more important than reducing the entrance fee, 19 times more important than an audio guide and four times more than creating reconstructions.

Despite the work that has been done implementing cultural economics methods into heritage what is clear is that they remain peripheral and reviews complain of a lack of depth, low standards and low quantity of available data. It does not seem that the rejection of the methods is based on methodological concerns but more a tradition which does not see such techniques as relevant and pertinent, despite the best efforts of cultural economists and some conservators to persuade of their utility.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined concepts of value and the approach of cultural economists to heritage. Cultural economics offers a structure based on measuring the value that the public holds for the remains of the past to produce transparent data to aid communication, decision-making and policies in heritage management. Promoters of this approach assert that economic discourses and ideas can properly capture the full range of values of cultural heritage, provide effective means of communicating this value to the public and governments and offer a way to robustly examine the sources and methods of the public appreciation of heritage.

However, the discipline of archaeology and heritage has largely resisted these ideas and their application, despite their uptake in other areas, such as natural resource management. There

¹ The only other consideration of archaeology in particular is the topic of ‘*Financial Innovations for Developing Archaeological Discovery and Conservation*’ which was the subject for a Milken Institute Financial Innovation Lab (2008).

is the continual observation of the rejection and distaste for 'economics' by culturalists based on an idea of a narrow focus on financial gain and a perception of fundamentally different philosophies which are at odds. This rejection has meant a scarcity of research using cultural economic techniques concerning heritage and archaeology.

The next chapter will deal with the theories and models developed within archaeology and heritage management that deal with the value, and particularly economic values, of archaeology.

Chapter 3

The Approach to Value in Archaeology

Chapter 2 looked at how the 'value' of archaeology can be approached and managed from the point of view of economics. This chapter will examine how archaeologists and heritage managers themselves have approached this same issue, and in particular examine how 'economic value' is considered.

Ultimately archaeologists and heritage managers are grappling with the same underlying concerns that economists are. Archaeology and heritage sites face threats which may affect or destroy them. There is only time and money to research certain agendas and bodies of material at any one time. The sector has limited resources to preserve, manage, store, research and present archaeological materials. So, decisions must be made about where to put scarce resources. These decisions again rely on a sense of 'value', i.e. what is important to archaeology itself and the wider public? While archaeologists may not use the same language of 'maximising utility' they still aim to ensure their activities are of most 'worth', however that is defined.

Value Schemes

Mason (2008b) acknowledges the two definitions of value as expressed by Miller (Chapter 2 p.17-18), however states that in cultural heritage management practitioners are concerned with values as '*characteristics of things or objects*' (Mason & Avarami 2002:15). This approach leads to the formation of lists and schemes of characteristics of heritage ('values') which may be considered important. Any archaeological resource will have a variety of values, each viewed differently by different people depending on their own perspectives and contexts and so values are produced by an interaction of heritage, people and context. Values are not fixed or intrinsic '*but rather subjective, context-bound, changeable and malleable*' (Mason & Avarami 2002:16). However Mason admits that this view is not always recognised and argues for change in heritage management from one where values are thought of as fixed and 'found' in heritage and rely on expert opinion, to one which embraces this changing nature (Mason 2008b:100). Mason also points out that while lists of characteristics may be produced, the

values contained in them are very tightly connected and may be in conflict (Mason & Avarami 2002:16).

Under this definition of characteristics, values are an analytical tool used to assess the significance and qualities of heritage and archaeology to enable management and preservation decisions to be made. There have been several proposed schemes outlining different characteristics. These schemes vary in their approach, some are more theoretical and some directly related to legal protection, while others are more focused on management decisions.

Mason (2002, 2008b) contextualises these lists of heritage characteristics by contrasting them with cultural economics' models. He argues that separating the cultural and economic viewpoints offers an 'analytical convenience' (2008b:103). Mason constructs a provisional typology of heritage values under two headings, 'socio-cultural values' and 'economic values'. Mason is keen to stress that these are not different values but '*two alternative ways of understanding and labelling the same wide range of heritage values*' (2008b:103). The 'economic values' are those the use and non-use values discussed in Chapter 2.

Mason's own socio-cultural value scheme aims to capture the meanings that an object, place or building holds for people or groups. They are not designed to be distinct but may overlap. Mason includes five values in his typology (2008b:104-105).

- *Historical value*: covers age, association with people and events, rarity / uniqueness and its potential as a source of information on the past.
- *Cultural / Symbolic Value*: covers shared meanings associated with heritage that build cultural affiliation today, sustain civil relations and ideologies.
- *Social Value*: how heritage may enable and facilitate social connections and networks. Often this involves the use of heritage as a public and shared space.
- *Spiritual / Religious Value*: religious and sacred meanings associated with or imbued at sites, including direct religious relevance as well as feelings of awe and wonder.
- *Aesthetic Value*: the visual qualities of heritage and the sensory experience they offer.

Mason purposely excludes a notion of 'political value', arguing that all values are political. Throsby (2001:28-29) also constructs a similar typology for cultural resources. Under 'cultural values' Throsby lists qualities similar to Mason: Aesthetic Value, Spiritual Value, Social Value, Historical Value, Symbolic Value and Authenticity Value. Some categories match Mason, while

some have subtle differences. Aesthetic, Spiritual and Historical Values are similar. Throsby's 'Social Value' includes many elements of Mason's Cultural Value and the sense of connection with others rather than Mason's focus on practical ability to aid connections. Throsby's 'Symbolic Value' concerns individual messages in artworks rather than the more general meanings emphasised by Mason. Throsby also introduces 'Authenticity Value' - the value of a *'real, original and unique artwork'* (2001:29).

The differences between Mason and Throsby highlight some of the difficulties in pinning down and organising such values, which can be troublesome to group under headings, especially with such terms as 'social' and 'cultural' which can cover a variety of meanings. What both schemes share is the separation of economic and cultural approaches to values. This will be discussed further below.

Lipe has attempted perhaps the first 'value scheme' by an archaeologist (1984), which was updated more recently (2009). Both schemes are built around how cultural materials can *'function as resources – that is, to be of use and benefit – in the present and future'* (1984:2), later defining a resource as *'something that is ready for use or can be drawn upon for aid* (King 2002:5 quoted in Lipe 2009:41)'. Lipe sets out to consider *'what resource values these sites might have and how management can enable these values to be realized as public benefits'* (2009:41). Lipe believes managers must understand the values which communities, individuals and stakeholders have for archaeological resources and is keen to stress how values are only the beginning, and that management is only justified by utilising the resource to give the public benefits. These will change over time as society's needs and use of a resource change. Lipe's initial scheme (1984) contained Associative/Symbolic value (offering a tangible link to the past); Informational Value (offering opportunities for formal research); Aesthetic Value (similar to Throsby and Mason); and Economic Value. In his revised scheme Lipe (2009) identifies six values of heritage:

- *Preservation Value*: here Lipe argues that the urge to preserve is felt by many evidenced by the number of volunteers motivated to give up their time to do so, and that preservation itself is their principle interest rather than the preservation of other values.
- *Research Value*: the information that a resource holds. Lipe stresses the paths in which this research value can contribute to public benefit, including better publication and communication

- *Cultural Heritage Value*: the way in which cultural resources symbolize and represent the past in the present. This includes the role played in forming contemporary identities and memory-making by individual and groups.
- *Aesthetic Value*: the reaction to its form, texture, colour and similar qualities, which can of course vary over time and culture.
- *Educational Value*: its usefulness to people who wish to learn something about the past (but Lipe is pessimistic on how education about the past motivates people to protect it (2009:60)).
- *Economic Value*: a resource's ability to contribute to the market, for instance through tourism and employment in the sector.

These values can be connected e.g. for the original scheme Lipe comments that associative and aesthetic values often translate into economic values, but less often do informational values (1984). Further, the promotion of economic values, such as the use of a site for building materials, may damage sites and its other values. Lipe (1984) has been keen to stress that economic values should not form the only criterion for public support and that the non-economic values of heritage are 'more fundamental', however in 2009 Lipe simply lists the positive and negative results of the economic use of archaeology.

Lipe's view on 'Economic Value' can be compared to Throsby's and Mason's scheme. While Lipe downgrades economic value, he at least recognises it as a reason why an archaeological resource is of use and benefit to be contemporary society. Mason himself has stated that economic benefits are a reason why people preserve the past (Chapter 2 p.35), but does not include it in his own scheme. Both Mason and Throsby argue for the need to separate cultural and economic perspectives and values. However, here we see confusion over 'economic value'. Economic Value in terms of use and non-use value is an assessment of overall value in economic terms. The 'socio-cultural approach' aims to try and articulate some of the reasons why archaeological resources have value for people (and therefore why that value may be expressed through monetary or non-monetary actions). However economic benefits are one of the reasons that people value things and therefore should be included in such lists, as Lipe does, or (as this thesis argues) a major part of what motivates people to protect sites is lost. As a result Mason and Throsby's schemes are incomplete.

The above schemes put forward by Throsby, Mason and Lipe aim to capture the variety of 'values' that archaeology and heritage may have. These are generalised schemes however

other 'value' schemes are developed by organisations or nations for specific purposes such as criteria for preservation and to guide management.

An important development in value schemes has been the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2000). This charter was designed as a management tool for heritage, particularly focusing on local and indigenous values of heritage sites. As a result it sought to incorporate more intangible values into management and it lists the values for preservation as aesthetic value; historic value; scientific value and social value with the latter including spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group. The Burra Charter excludes any economic values (in terms of use-value) as a motivation for preservation.

Some value schemes are designed to set criteria for special treatment or status. Under the World Heritage Convention (1972 (UNESCO 2012a), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) outlines the criteria necessary for a site to be considered a 'World Heritage Site' (WHS). 'World Heritage' covers both natural and cultural heritage, and types of cultural heritage that can be considered under this scheme range from individual sites and monuments, to groups of buildings or whole landscapes (but not moveable heritage). Accreditation as a WHS requires the site to have 'outstanding universal value' (OUV) which:

'means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.' (UNESCO 2012a:49)

The 'Operational Guidelines' set out the criteria which this OUV is judged by (UNESCO 2012a). For culture they include the idea of an 'outstanding example' or either human creative genius or a type of building, technological ensemble, or land-use which illustrates human behaviour. Further, the site (or landscape) can be a record of an 'interchange of human values' or testimony to a cultural tradition. Lastly the site can be associated with events or living traditions. As well as being assessed against these criteria, sites also must be 'authentic' and have 'integrity', in terms of their wholeness and intactness, including physical condition.

In the UK, as in other countries, action and legislation aimed at preserving archaeological remains was motivated by the awareness of its destruction (Cowell 2008). For Rushkin in the 19th Century, the Victorian ideal of the pursuit of progress and expansion threatened the remains of the past. Lubbock protected Avebury for the information it contained, and hoped it

would not be *'destroyed for the profit of a few pounds'* (Cowell 2008:86). Carman (2005) traces the rationale behind preservation legislation and action in the UK. Its emergence in the 19th century was under a discourse concerning politics and society – that heritage was necessary to make 'good citizens' (2005:46). This was transformed in the second half of the 20th century as heritage was argued to be a base for *'good nations and stable international order'* (2005:47). In the new millennium preservation of heritage is motivated by its commodity value, with the influence of environmental economics showing that not everything can be saved and the need for the valuation of heritage.

In the UK 'Scheduling' is the system used for the legal protection of ancient monuments and archaeological areas. The government Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) advice on the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 (DCMS 2010a), outlines that England has rich archaeological remains which *'often form significant features in our surroundings, but are also valuable as a resource for research, education, leisure, tourism and regeneration, and for their influence on perceptions of identity and spirit of place.'* (2010a:4). Archaeological heritage can be legally protected by designation as a 'Scheduled Ancient Monument' – with sites consisting of buildings, structures and other remains above or below ground. If scheduled the site has a degree of legal protection as destroying or damaging the monument can be a criminal offence.

There are several criteria for assessing the importance of a monument and to consider if scheduling is appropriate (2010a:18). Some criteria examine the monument's representiveness of the past - 'Period' judges if a monument characterises a certain category or period, and the 'Rarity' of monument categories are also considered. 'Diversity' is also a criterion, allowing monuments to be considered for scheduling due to a combination of features rather than one single attribute. Beyond these considerations, the fabric and context of the monument is considered under 'Survival / Condition' and 'Fragility / Vulnerability'. The criteria also allow for 'Potential' to be considered, acknowledging that reasons for its importance may be anticipated rather than based on currently available information.

The list is similar for inhabited buildings in the UK (as monuments cannot be habitable), which can be legally protected by 'listing'. Here the criteria fall under five headings: 'Age and rarity', 'Aesthetic merits', 'Selectivity' (the rarity of particular types of buildings), 'National interest' (to reflect regional varieties) and 'State of Repair' (DCMS 2010b). The major difference is the inclusion of aesthetic merits in the criteria, which is not considered for Scheduling.

In the USA the same motivations operate when considering what archaeological resources to preserve when threatened. In considering the history of US heritage protection legislation Sebastian comments that the laws were established with the idea of preserving heritage in the public interest (2009a, 2009b). The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (1966) states that heritage gives *'a sense of orientation to the American people'* and that *'the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, esthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans.'* (Quoted by Sebastian 2009a:9)

The NHPA states sites are eligible for protection under four criteria - association with events; association with significant people; embodying distinctive characteristics of type or work of a master; and information value. Decisions about the 'eligibility' of archaeological sites to be preserved are usually based on a site's information value – that it has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (Tainter & Bagley 2005). This situation has been criticised due to the lack of consideration that what is considered 'important' changes, along with evolving research questions and techniques (Glassow 1977, Sebastian 2009b), and well as the lack of scope to include cultural values identified by descendent communities or other groups (Little 2005; Sebastian 2009b).

The US, UK and UNESCO schemes show specific requirements for their own needs. For the US, the focus is on archaeology as a source of information about the past. For the UK, the emphasis is on protecting sites and buildings which are in some way a representative document of the past – very much on its 'historical value'. The only deviation from this may be the inclusion of aesthetic value for listing. Interestingly, both these actual criteria do not directly reflect the reasons for preservation established in their founding legislations, which present archaeological resources as assets for contemporary use. The protection of the information that remains provide is seen as a proxy for these possible benefits. For UNESCO importance is place in what is unique and special, rather than representative, placing emphasis on informational, historic and aesthetic values. However, contemporary social and economic benefits ('instrumental') are not directly considered (although this is hinted at in the criteria associated with living traditions).

Clark has criticised preservation strategies and decision-making which mark out certain sites for special treatment, arguing that this leaves future generations with 'dots' of significance.

She argues for the greater incorporation of stakeholder values, what resources mean to people today, and a wider idea of values to include environmental and social values. New directions of value must be incorporated as she notes *'Conservation discourse is moving away from its traditional fixation on the morality of restoration into wider questions about ethical, social, and economic responsibilities'* (2005:328) and she is much influenced by environmental approaches in saying:

'The future of cultural heritage management lies in the lessons that ecologists have learned about sustainability: bottom-up as well as top-down approaches, a more constructive dialogue between development and conservation, and a more proactive engagement with wider social and economic concerns. All of this will require a clear understanding of value.' (2005:328).

The selection of value schemes above serve to illustrate that different values are emphasised, while others are excluded, when choosing what is of 'value' for a certain purposes. Archaeology which meets certain criteria may be eligible for legal protection, extra funding, raised awareness, or considered for certain management approaches. This contrasts with the more conceptual schemes of Mason, Throsby and Lipe which aimed to considered all values, however even then some are excluded.

Part of the argument of cultural economists for their approach to culture and its value was the offering of an 'objective' viewpoint which did not rely on expert opinion. Cultural economists rely on consumer sovereignty to decide value. The schemes above certainly try to account for why the public may value heritage, but the assessment of various characteristics is usually in the hands of experts. As Hodder as critiqued, as discussed below, value judgements can often focus on the 'thing' (2010:862). This does not mean that experts always do not seek to assess public opinion and understanding related to certain resources, however there is very little discussion around the value schemes about assessment techniques.

Schemes may reflect the agendas and aims of organisations or governments rather than the public. These agendas may or may not reflect the reasons why the public or other groups of users may be interested in their preservation, but equally they may be very divorced from it. Any changes in criteria would not have the immediacy, and consumer sovereignty, that cultural economics may seek. However, of course, the contrary is that they maintain values

which may come into and out of fashion with the market and may offer greater consideration to future populations and their values and benefits.

Only Lipe identifies 'economic value' as one of the 'values' of archaeology, however he considers this value less important than the others. While USA and UK legislation identify economic benefit as one of the reasons to preserve archaeological materials they are not in the criteria. The Burra Charter distinctly excludes economic considerations from its vision of value. As this thesis argues, economic benefits form on the main reasons that people value archaeological places and are motivated to protect them. This alienation of this 'value' is a weakness of current approaches to archaeological management and will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Economic Perspectives in Heritage Value

That the approaches of the above schemes to value differ from that of cultural economics does not mean that the concepts developed in that discipline towards questions of value have not been incorporated into some archaeologists' thinking.

Svoboda (2010) equates Riegl's late 19th Century theory of heritage value with the economics theories that were prevalent at the time. Riegl developed a system that split the value of monuments into Commemorative Value (which includes age value, historical value and intentional commemorative value) and Present-day Value (art value and use value). Commemorative Value is based on a period-specific perception of the monument as a record of the past, while Present-day Value stems from the needs of the present time i.e. its utility to people. While Riegl does not try and calculate the value, the system is an individual orientated one which examined the needs of the consumer of the monument.

Svoboda compares this approach to current cultural economists (including Mazzanti, Klamer and Throsby). For Svoboda the point of comparison is the extent to which the value of monuments is a balance between the public (associated with Present-day Value) and scholars (associated with Commemorative Value). As he states, *'The value of the monument - as interpreted by Riegl - is open not to scholars only; it is open to everybody'* (2010:434), and the state's involvement in monument preservation is the satisfaction of these individual needs. 'Ideal' preservation is reached by considering both these views on value and Svoboda argues

'the main objective of monument preservation is to define the value of a monument and to seek for the optimum balance between its – often contradictory – values' (2010:434).

More recently, a conceptual scheme by Carver (1996) situates the archaeological resource in a battle for preservation with other uses for the land which archaeology occupies, demonstrating a firm grasp of the opportunity cost involved with preservation. He argues that archaeologists must be able to understand archaeology's values to withstand the market forces which will drive decision-making towards the end of the 20th century. Carver states that a 'science of evaluation' is born and archaeology must 'fight its corner'. His solution is that we should seek to champion archaeology as a research asset which is stored as deposits. Reflecting cultural economics Carver argues that value will emerge from 'different interests competing' rather than imposed principles (1996:46). Carver praises Lipe and Darvill (outlined below) for recognising that different values are at work but criticises them for not exploring how they compete with each other, and with other values of land which may be preferable to cultural heritage. Carver argues that a large proportion of archaeology is deposits that only have 'informational value', as in Lipe's first scheme, and that informational value is often ghettoised as it has no immediate effect on people. Crucial is the view that archaeologists themselves create and increase value through their actions – excavations create sites and archaeologists create many of the stories around them.

Carver postulates three main values which correspond with theoretical groups in society that may have value for the land which archaeology competes for. The first is 'Market Value' associated with those interested in profit and view the land archaeology occupies as having value through production (e.g. agricultural or mining), as estate or through residence. 'Community Values' meet the needs of society and Carver offers the proxy of their value as votes. These values include amenity value (to be shared by a community), political value, local style or that it means something to one group in particular (such as minorities). These values conjure up an idea of having a public service in some way. The third category is 'Human Values' and includes environmental and archaeological value, based largely on the information it contains. The grounds of persuasion here is in 'generalised morality' and paralleling arguments for saving heritage with those of the environmentalists (see Chapter 5).

Carver argues that the best strategy to highlight the value of archaeology is citing and promoting it as a store of knowledge which can lead to moral and human benefits. Archaeologists must present this case professionally to be able to compete with the other uses

for land and other resources. Carver details a tension between ‘professionals’ in the heritage industry who push for discrete assets to be maintained (monuments), and ‘academics’ who have a shifting sense of value as research questions change. This is characterised by ‘monumentality vs. research’, or a tension between favouring what is already known with that which is to be found out. Carver argues that information should be conserved in the form of deposits, except those which are of research interest now and should be excavated. This means that a nation’s archaeological deposits become one big store of information, without picking out particular monuments for special treatment – culture-as-treasure becomes culture-as-knowledge (1996:55).

Carver’s approach to archaeological value is influenced by economic as well as environmental ideas in the need to understand and effectively transmit the value of resources to the public, and to compete with other values and interests for resources (see Grenville & Ritchie 2005 for further comment and implementation to case studies). The promotion of archaeologists as both actors in value creation and value communication is a key point. The burden of proof of value is on archaeologists and they must develop a large-scale public support base to justify preservation and access to resources.

Darvill (1995, 2005) borrows heavily from cultural and environmental economics, and attempts to utilise them within heritage. In *‘Value Systems in Archaeology’* he makes the statement that *‘values provide the basis for emotional commitment’* (1995:41), echoing the idea of user-orientated value. Darvill describes a scheme where there are two orientations for value; that of the ‘attitudinal’, the arrangement of standards and ideas which form the basis of judgements, and the ‘interest based’, which relates to people’s individual desired outcomes. He makes the observation that currently much of the discussion about value relates to functionalist (or instrumental) uses of heritage such as tourism or education, which he suggests should be more thought of as relevance (1995). He suggests that we should try and construct a system which takes account of both attitudinal and interest based orientations of value.

To do this he borrows wholesale from cultural economics to divide value up into three main systems: that of ‘Use Value’, ‘Option Value’ and ‘Existence Value’, which can be viewed from the attitudinal and interest based orientations. For Darvill, use value is about how current societies give meaning to resources. Under the attitudinal orientation this is an idea of

academic inquiry, while under interest based Darvill lists uses including recreation, tourism, symbolic representation, social solidarity and integration, and monetary gain.

Darvill's 'Option Value' is where the use of resource is deferred and this '*shows a particular respect for those individuals and communities who will come after us to use the resource in the future*' (1995:46). As such, Darvill is equating option value with bequest value. Again he splits this value into attitudinal and interest based orientations with the attitudinal being one of altruistic principles and selfless behaviours to the future population, while he lists stability and mystery as the interest based values. Finally there is Existence Value which Darvill equates to a 'feel-good factor' that heritage exists in the world and that this fits with how the world should be (there are no orientations for this value). Darvill is keen to point out that all three values are equally legitimate and imagines that different value systems (use, option and existence) will find different characteristics of the archaeological resource important, and that there is some conflict between these values. Darvill is keen to separate the idea of values and significance (1995, 2005) with values defined as a background of morality and culture, while significance (and importance) is defined by specifics and micro-level analysis on individual cultural assets.

Darvill's approach tries to separate the more intangible motivations for value from those which are more obvious, instrumental and serve clear goals. He incorporates the cultural economics scheme of use, option and existence value to further separate reasons for 'emotional commitment'. However, Darvill diverts from the original meaning of these categories in that the benefits are not separated by monetary expression.

Carman's contribution has been to understand value in its historical context as outlined above, and summarise other approaches to value as well as add his own ideas. He has outlined three main 'schools' of value that have been applied to heritage (2002, 2005).

The 'Accounting School of Value' concerns the idea that institutions can be held accountable for the funding they receive and should be subject to cost-benefit analysis to ensure value for money. This involves placing a financial value on the services which an institution produces to compare this to the costs. The advantage of this, as established by cultural economists, is the comparability of the data with other publically-funded services. This disadvantage is the difficulty in measuring the value of some services and subsequent problems of whether this represents the 'real' value. This technique has been mainly applied to museums which have

tangible outputs such as exhibitions and collections and more intangible ones like experience and education. While methods for accounting are often not considered nuanced enough to account for all of values, Carman argues that the philosophy holds up and states *'not all things a museum does can be measured meaningfully in quantitative or financial terms but this does not prevent them from being reported on'* (2002:154).

The second school is that of the 'Economic School of Value'. Under this scheme Carman champions the ideas of cultural economics (and economics in general) as a source of useful concepts for archaeologists. He states:

'There is sometimes a tendency among archaeologists to be scornful of the 'dismal science' of economics, based upon the misconception that all that economists care about is money. This is not necessarily true, as economists take a sophisticated approach to question of value, grounded in the recognition of the environment as a scarce (that is, finite) resource.' (2005: 49).

This introduces the need for evaluating archaeology for its utility to the public and the need for value schemes like those discussed in Chapter 2 and above. Carman discusses Carver's Scheme, Darvill's scheme - pointing to the introduction of use, non-use, option and existence values - and wider attempts to access the benefits which heritage can offer the population including lists of heritage characteristics (2002:155-167).

In the third school, Carman himself tries to get beyond the schemes of characteristics to ask fundamental questions about the nature of 'heritage'. Under the 'Social School of Value' (2005:51) or 'corporate-saving' (2002:167) Carman seeks to understand why the idea of heritage has any value at all. While there are differences between the descriptions of this area between the 2002 and 2005 accounts, both ultimately point to an idea of heritage as something innate within society and its value as part of the fabric of culture.

Within his scheme Carman introduces three philosophical models which he ultimately joins together in a model of complementary approaches to conceptualise heritage as a class of material. The first is Thompson's 'Rubbish Theory' which postulates that there are three kinds of material; transient (value decreasing over time); durable (value increasing over time) and rubbish (no value). The states are linked in that transient material will eventually become rubbish but then will re-emerge as durable, with this the only type movement permitted in the

scheme. Carman equates this with the movement of ancient remains from their own practical use to becoming rubbish but then re-valued as heritage.

The second scheme is Baudrillard's 'Political Economy of the Sign'. Baudrillard identifies four 'codes' of value: Use Value (UV) and Economic Exchange Value (EcEV), which operate in the realm of production, and Sign Exchange Value (SgEV) and Symbolic Exchange Value (SbE) which operate in the 'political economy of the sign' which is distinguished from economic competition. There are various exchanges which can be made between these states and Carman focuses on those which change commodities to symbols e.g. UV-SbE and he equates the creation of 'heritage' as a promotion of exchangeable goods to symbolic ones i.e. to acquire a 'special status'. As such heritage is seen as a something of the 'public' domain which is the antithesis of the 'private'

Thirdly, Carman uses Bourdieu's definition of capital. Under his scheme Bourdieu defines different types of 'capital' - economic (financial), cultural and educational – which are acquired at birth, given to someone or acquired through work. Together they represent someone's habitus, their behaviour and the world they inhabit. The different sorts of capital act as a stock which can be drawn on to allow access to higher classes of society e.g. cultural capital is the ability to appreciate art and therefore allows one to engage with higher classes. There can be transformation between capitals. Carman focuses on the transformation between economic and cultural capital where the former is used to acquire 'taste' (as defined by the society of the person).

Carman combines all three schemes to create an integrated model with the central theme of material being 'promoted' from the 'private' to the 'public'. As he explains:

'The more complex and abstract 'symbolic' realm of Baudrillard stands apart from that of economics and is the space not of competition between equals but of 'tournaments' between rivals for social status. From the perspective of cultural capital, mere economic capital represents the tawdry everyday rather than the higher appreciation of things of taste' (2002:174)

Ultimately Carman seeks to separate the idea of 'heritage' from the mundane and everyday. Throughout, the language he uses contrasts a practical and somewhat impure world of exchange and trade with that of a 'higher' realm in which heritage sits. Carman stresses the

point that heritage is not an object but a social phenomenon in its own right and takes us beyond the economic. He states in the conclusion to his argument:

'It is important to know why we have heritage and what having heritage does. This chapter is accordingly not a statement about a body of stuff: it is a call to action, for us to start seriously researching the field of heritage in ways that help us understand what this thing we so blithely manage actually is, what it does, and how it does it.' (2005:54)

It is unclear quite how Carman achieves his goal as he seeks to remove heritage from the concerns of the public and grant it a rarefied atmosphere where its value is somehow innate. Carman sees tensions between the cultural and the economic, arguing to remove heritage as a concept from it. As discussed in Chapter 1, heritage is separated from archaeology by contemporary values, but these contemporary interests could be economic. This separation of economics and culture is also seen in Carver's scheme, as he pits the informational value of archaeology, allied and justified with morals, against the market and politics. Darvill is more balanced, acknowledging the role of use-value as part of emotional commitment to the remains of the past. Carman also reflects the comments of cultural economics seen in the previous chapter about the scornful attitude to economics shown by archaeologists.

Moshenka (2009) has taken a more analytical approach to archaeology, developing concepts for examining what archaeology produces for the public to consume, with his Commodities Model. These commodities are archaeological materials, knowledge and skills, work, experiences and imagery. My own response to the model (Burtenshaw 2009, Moshenka and Burtenshaw 2009) saw it as a necessary opportunity to provide a framework to build up quantitative data on what the public consumes of archaeology and to put into focus the ethics and theory of what archaeology produces. The subsequent comments, particularly by Gestrich (2011) demonstrate some of the concerns that archaeology in general has to economics perspectives, revolving around the ideas of monetary value trumping other values and the ability to account for a variety of values (see Moshenka and Burtenshaw 2011).

Lafrenz Samuels has written about *'Value and Significance in Archaeology'* (2008), and the use of archaeology in development projects (2009, 2010). Lafrenz Samuels argues that value is central to discussions about archaeological practice but few studies have directly engaged with value in all its facets. She outlines three interconnected ideas of 'value': firstly as a technique

of assessing significance of material heritage; secondly as an analytic for making interpretations of the past; and thirdly as a reflexive way to question the way archaeologist study material heritage in the first place.

Through various theories Lafrenz Samuels postulates archaeology and heritage management (including interpretation) themselves create value. Archaeologists must therefore turn inward to examine their own assumptions and practices which create this value. In particular, archaeologists must be fully aware of contemporary social conditions and context and focus on their role as experts in creating and deciding value. Lafrenz Samuels points out that any interpretive decision archaeologists make has repercussions for the value of the heritage and that we must *'locate authority between past and present'* (2008:89). This position echoes Carver's argument about archaeological research creating value.

Lafrenz Samuels is motivated to consider value by her perception that economic considerations are having an increased influence on international heritage management. Criticising the Burra Charter for excluding economic considerations she suggests that the significance of heritage must be weighed against other possible activities (reflecting Carver). Lafrenz Samuels argues that other organisations, particularly the World Bank are having a strong influence on ideas of significance and importance in heritage due to their clear goals on the economic, *'in comparison with previous implicit understandings of economics in heritage management'* (2008:76) (discussed more in Chapter 6). Lafrenz Samuels concludes that the economic context of heritage has been largely concealed and must be brought out for debate. She suggests that those outside of archaeology are setting the value agendas and archaeologists must assert themselves. She argues

'that it is our responsibility to start thinking critically again about significance, to offer some alternatives, and when using material heritage for economic development to try and incorporate economic considerations into significance without letting them run the show.' (2008:90).

Lafrenz Samuels has also commented on the resistance of archaeologists in general to economic views:

'In part, the difficulty for archaeologists in understanding such engagements with material heritage, in the context of poverty, derives from disciplinary attitudes

towards economics, wherein the modern juggernaut of late capitalism is seen as despoiling and commoditizing the pristine past. There is, in general, a real reticence among archaeologists to talk about the economic values of archaeological material, and discussions are circumscribed to debates pivoting around cultural poverty, the antiquities market, and the costs of running cultural resource management operations.' (2009:70)

Lafrenz Samuels argues for archaeologists to be dynamic and action-orientated in their approach to value, and in particular develop a sense of value for the economic, which has been neglected.

The conceptual schemes of Carver, Darvill and Carman heavily incorporate cultural economics models. As a result, compared to the value schemes these philosophies focus much more on understanding the public and the need for archaeology to be able to be accountable and make an explicit case for preservation and resources to aid this. These go beyond the value schemes above in understanding that such 'values' must be understood and presented. The archaeologist is recognised as a creator and manager of value, as well as their chief promoter.

However the theme of a divide between the cultural and the economic continues. Carver pitches archaeological information into a battle with economic uses for the land, while Carman wished to separate 'heritage' from the world of exchange and commodification. Darvill separates moral and cultural reasons for the importance of archaeology from those which are more immediate and self-interested. However, he does not consider one as more important than the other and economic benefits form part of why resource might result in 'emotional commitment'. Similarly Reigl seeks a balance between informational value represented in the scholar and the interests of contemporary populations.

This tension reflects the cultural economist's view of a sector keeping the economic at arm's length and is confirmed by Lafrenz Samuels' conclusion that heritage management has only implicitly examined economic 'values'. While economic benefits and opportunities have feature in many of the background reasons why we might preserve and use the past, only occasionally is this aspect carried through to ideas of how archaeology might be valued by people.

Public Archaeology

The above reviews how some in archaeology and cultural heritage have examined the question of 'value'. The discipline of Public Archaeology has investigated these issues from a slightly different perspective, focusing on the nature of the relationship between the public and archaeology. Public Archaeology is a relatively recent development within archaeology, but its roots can be traced to McGimsey's 'Public Archaeology' in 1972 and in changing attitudes to indigenous views on archaeology in the 1980s (Ascherson 2000; Schadla-Hall 1999). Early definitions of public archaeology were restricted to '*archaeology conducted or concerned for the general good by public authority*' (Ascherson 2000). By the millennium it had a wider remit and was defined as '*any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public*' (Schadla-Hall 1999). Identified themes at this time included antiquities, law, nationalism, human rights, communication, state organisation of archaeology and ethics (Ascherson 2000). Recently a more dynamic definition has been forwarded. Matsuda and Okamura (2011) have reviewed global public archaeology practice and meanings and suggest an encompassing definition as:

'.. a subject that examines the relationship between archaeology and the public, and then seeks to improve it.' (2011:4)

This definition is therefore a call to research, but also action-based in that research, which reflects a subject area more actively engaged in the changing and developing relationship between archaeology and the public. This involves an active archaeologist, not just an observer and commentator. As they describe:

'Ultimately, then, we see public archaeology as a commitment made by archaeologists to making archaeology more relevant to contemporary society' (2011:4)

Some of the key questions which Public Archaeology has consistently asked on the relationship between the public and archaeology have been 'why should the public want archaeology? What benefits does it offer for them?' McGimsey, asks:

'When archaeologists talk among themselves, they rarely ask questions such as: Why spend considerable time and money studying a subject that doesn't produce

food, shelter, or energy? Is it worthwhile or morally acceptable to devote one's life to a pursuit that results in a qualitative, rather than quantitative, benefit? Is the public education about past culture and societies worth the public and private resources and considerable professional talent expended to retrieve the information?' (1984:171).

The suggested answers to this question provide a useful lens on the public 'value' of archaeology, at least those believe to be important by archaeologists themselves.

Lowenthal bluntly asks, *'Why do we need the past? What do we want it for? What burdens and risks does regard for it entail?'* (1985:35). Focusing on 'heritage' Lowenthal outlines various ways in which the public's relationship with the past produces positives including nostalgia, familiarity, reaffirmation and validation, identity, guidance, enrichment and escape. These benefits are built on 'valued attributes', the traits which allow the past to be beneficial. These include antiquity, continuity, termination and sequence. Under the threats and 'evils' of the past various aspects are considered including needing to forget the past, and the idea of tradition as the enemy of innovation. Lowenthal's considerations focus on the philosophical and psychological elements of the public's view of the remains of the past, perhaps less recognisable to the economist, but still very much part of what is 'valued'.

Paul Minnis put the 'Skeptic's Question' to a panel of archaeologists (2006). The question is framed as:

"So" the Skeptic asks, "you expect me to pay taxes so you can play in the dirt digging up old stuff instead of me saving more for my kid's education or for producing more vaccines against childhood illness in the Third World?" (2006:17)

Minnis observes that the vast majority of archaeological funding comes from public funds and that it is right that there is pressure to explain what archaeology produces, and the benefits of that. Archaeologists need to articulate the 'types of value' most easily understood in the political arena to compete for funding. Minnis observes that:

'..there seems to be precious little discussion among archaeologists in general about why archaeology has value outside our discipline, except for complex relationships between archaeology and indigenous peoples.' (2006:17)

Minnis himself situates the answer to the question in the understanding of past human ecology, which can inform farming strategies today. Others situated the answer in the past providing an 'anchor' and 'vantage point' for contemporary society to inform social issues, including racism, and promote social cohesion. Another promotes the idea that the past provides inspiration and reminds society of the challenges and struggles humanity has faced before. One archaeologist does give economic reasons but feels these should be secondary to the 'long-term perspective' that archaeology offers to better inform policy, a feeling shared by one of the panel who laments that politicians would be more interested in cash flow through tourism. Finally one archaeologist believes the fact that many people engaged with archaeology through media and visits shows that many are already convinced of value, however concedes that some areas of archaeology need more awareness.

More recently some archaeologists see this self-questioning as a way to improve what archaeology offers the public. Selvakumar (2010), examining India, seeks to answer the questions '*Archaeology is useless. Millions of people starve in this country. Why do we need archaeology?*' (2010:486). Selvakumar answers that justifications for archaeology can be largely grouped into three kinds of practice: economic development, fulfilling socio-political needs, and satisfying curiosity and understanding. However in forwarding these answers, Selvakumar reflects on Tilley's suggestion that '*the very question of justification is the product of a guilty conscience*' (Tilley 1989:107). Selvakumar suggests that this guilty conscience may be a good motivation for archaeologists to ensure their work has public relevance. Similarly Atalay (2010) finds inspiration from Fritz and Plog forty years before when they state '*We suspect that unless archaeologists find ways to make their research increasingly relevant to the modern world, the modern world will find itself increasingly capable of getting along without archaeologists*' (1970:412). Atalay concludes that archaeology is a luxury but one with real economic, social and political impacts in people's lives and takes this as the cue to engage in community archaeology and participatory processes (see Chapter 8).

Several recent volumes have attempted an overview of Public Archaeology and its place in modern society. Okamura and Matsuda (2011) take a global approach to examine current public archaeology. The chapters in '*New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*' reflect many of the original areas of concern established by Ascherson. Many chapters are concerned with the involvement and perspective of the public in archaeological excavations, the

relationship with nationalism, minority groups and multi-ethnicities, identity, local tourism initiatives, urban and recent heritage, education and digital communication.

Similar themes are seen in Skeates, McDavid and Carman's *'The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology'* (2012). This lengthy volume covers many areas, firstly situating the history of the discipline and offering global comparisons. Chief concerns throughout the chapters seem to be practical heritage management and the archaeological profession, education, interpretation and participation, as well as indigenous and local perspectives.

Within the volume Little (2012) makes an explicit attempt to delineate the *'Public Benefits of Archaeology'*, again asking:

'What is beneficial about archaeology? The benefits may be economic, as archaeological sites and museum exhibits attract paying tourists and support local labour. They may be spiritual, as descendent communities identify sites and objects as essential for connections to the ancestors. They may be educational, as students of any age learn team-work, critical thinking, and a perspective on their own lives within the time and space of human life. The benefits of archaeology are logically and emotionally connected to the values which we imbue archaeological sites and objects.' (2012:396)

She identifies three broad categories of public archaeology. The first is Cultural Resource Management (CRM), highlighting the need for archaeologists engaged in state-supported work to be aware of and enable multiple public values around archaeology. The second is 'outreach and education', suggesting that increased involvement of the public may aid conservation of heritage. In particular she comments that illegal artefact trafficking may be characterised as a clash between business for profit and knowledge for public good, arguing that archaeology can promote better ways to think about value beyond market fundamentalism (2012:405). Lastly she deals with 'intentionally beneficial archaeology' to encompass archaeology that attempts to contribute to wider social agendas, such as social cohesion, migration and environmental change. Similar concerns are expressed in Little's introduction to her edited volume *'Public Benefits of Archaeology'* (2002) where archaeology is positioned as a source of cultural continuity and common humanity.

The most recent volume to tackle the relevance and benefits of archaeology head-on is Rockman and Flatman's *'Archaeology in Society: Its Relevance in the Modern World'* (2012), purporting to examine both the current relevance of archaeology and discussing its future offerings. In the conclusion, Flatman, is fairly blunt about the nature of archaeology's current relevance to the world.

'For the "now" are highlighted the economic benefits of archaeology, the only way in which it seems possible to make politicians pay attention to a topic in the present day – 'money-talks' as they say, and archaeology needs to start getting a better return on its not inconsiderable investment. For the 'future' is explored the role that archaeology can play in reshaping contemporary society and, hopefully, help create a safer, happier, and more equal world.' (Flatman 2012:291).

Exploring in more detail the 'relevance now', Flatman acknowledges a more market-led reality of archaeology as the 'only argument that holds sway', marshalling the available economic impact data, citing Moshenska's commodities model and the ensuing debate involving Flatman and myself (Flatman 2009). In conclusion Flatman states :

'Why is archaeology relevant now? Because it does all of the above. Because it shapes places and people and makes money – and because if Britain for one stopped doing it, then that country would be both culturally as well as pure and simply fiscally poorer. That is why archaeology is relevant now.' (2012:294)

The volume as a whole principally discusses issues and concerns of the archaeological industry (both academic and private). The practical areas that archaeology can benefit society are highlighted as energy, climate change, war and ethnic identity. In one chapter Watkins (2012) poses the question, 'Who finds Archaeology Relevant today?' and proposes four groups. The first is 'non-professionals' 'who do archaeology for the sheer love of it' and their interest is rooted in 'mystery' and the 'thrill' of the past (2012:258). The next two groups are different types of archaeologists, academic and commercial. Finally there are the descendent groups where the material record is associated with ancestors (real or perceived). This is a very narrow view of interest in archaeology, considering half the groups Watkins details are archaeologists themselves, while reasons for everyone else are reduce to direct ancestral connection or mere interest. Elsewhere in the volume Mrozowski (2012) focuses on descendent groups as the recipients of the benefits of archaeology while Lynne Sebastian

(2012) examines the need for better education resulting from CRM, claiming 'The Secrets of the Past' as a major product which archaeology provides the public that funds it.

Flatman's focus on the economic as one of the main reasons for relevance today contrasts with the themes explored by public archaeology in the three overview volumes. The themes identified around the millennium as part of public archaeology are still very present. The subject's principal interests revolve around identity (particularly with minority and descendent groups), informing contemporary social issues, education and communication (which now includes digital), as well as the legal, ethical and practical organisations of academic and commercial archaeology.

Reflecting the attitudes seen with the values schemes above, economics is seen as a motivation of why the public may find archaeology important, however features very little in the activities of Public Archaeology. The recent volumes on public archaeology show a curious lack of research into economic issues, with little articulation or discussion of their management or relationship with the public. This includes Rockman and Flatman, despite the conclusions focusing on this aspect. Some public archaeologists, notably Little as above, see the perceived benefits of archaeology as an antidote to market fundamentalism and economics in general. It would appear that while there is an awareness that economic issues are a large part of the public's relationship with archaeology, they would prefer to research and discuss other aspects. Equally, while public archaeology seeks to understand the public's value, quantitative analysis appears largely absent from the same volumes. There is precious little quantitative data present by public archaeologists in any of their assertions on what matters to the public, a situation commented on by Schadla-Hall (1999), but does not seem to have improved since.

The economics of archaeology is not completely absent in public archaeology. As seen above, some archaeologists, including public archaeologists, have incorporated economic ideas into value schemes. Early discussion on this issue, focus on the ethics of archaeology as a commercial enterprise (Fitting 1984), while recently there has been research into the economics of the archaeological industry, particular in the UK and in reaction to the recent economic crisis (Aitchison 2009, 2012; Schlanger & Aitchison 2010). However these focus on archaeology as a profession rather than economics as an incentive for value.

Hodder (2010) has taken a fresh perspective on the benefits of archaeology and the role of the archaeologist, focusing in particular on human rights, justice and well-being, including economic impact. As he states:

'The protection of cultural heritage sites is normally evaluated in terms of universal and scholarly significance criteria, although increasingly the contributions of sites and monuments to the economic and social well-being of communities have been recognized.' (2010:861)

He also saliently points out that:

'...few archaeologists and heritage managers have the training and expertise to work out short- and long-term economic and social benefits, sites and monuments, and they have limited experience in facilitating human capabilities through heritage beyond scholarship, aesthetics and identity politics' (2010:861-862).

Hodder critiques the traditional heritage view of value as based 'all on the thing' and the fact that valuations are closely linked to the expertise of archaeologists, rooted in a western tradition of scholarship. However he notes recent changes to take account of economic and development value, religious significance and identity formation. Hodder proposes that evaluation in terms of well-being and social justice might be a way forward. He also importantly recognises the fact that *'Perhaps more than any other social science it (archaeology) produces a material outcome that has a public place'* and that archaeologists *'produce artifacts and monuments that people have to deal and cope with. The resulting interactions can be both positive and negative.... There is a duty, then, to think about the rights of those affected.'* (2010:864).

Hodder sees potential in a focus on human rights to give a 'broader, people-based dialogue' about the values of the past, and help highlight cultural heritage on a global stage. There is currently little reference to culture and heritage in rights literature. WAC's code of ethics mentions the right to *'maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures.'* (2010:868), referring to indigenous peoples. This focus raises difficult questions of ownership and as Hodder suggests *'we have perhaps turned a blind eye to the uncomfortable evidence from anthropology and history about the difficulties of making links between cultures and people'* (2010:869). Hodder argues this position ignores the fact

that heritage is constantly reproduced and reinterpreted, and the many different types and uses of collective ownership.

Hodder instead suggests that the 'right' to cultural heritage should be *'Everyone has the right to participate in and benefit from cultural heritage'* (2010:871). This position aims to give an open interpretation to the way that heritage connects to past artefacts and monuments *'There may be sentimental, historical, economic, or ritual associations with heritage'* (2010:872). Rather than identifying the group that owns heritage Hodder moves the debate to understand *'whether a person is able to participate in cultural heritage so as to enhance that person's well-being'* (2010:872). Hodder uses the work of Amartya Sen to provide a focus on well-being which is not about quantity of resources *'but on what they are actually able to do'*. Hodder asserts that heritage managers *'need to deal with the ways in which cultural heritage enhances the well-being and capacities of individuals and groups'* (2010:873). Hodder also includes the need for others to respect the access of others to that heritage. As such, Hodder revises his 'right' to read:

'Everyone has a right to participate in and benefit from cultural heritage that is of consequence to their well-being, and everyone has a duty towards others with respect to that right.' (2010:874)

Overall, Hodder agrees *'I have tried to move away from the notion that it is the care for the object that is the duty, and to say that the duty is towards other participants'* (2012:876).

Ultimately Hodder is saying that heritage must be of continual social relevance to be protected, and indeed actually be heritage (2010:877). It must offer something to people. Hodder positions the need to gain knowledge of the past as one that can ultimately be used to provide benefits to people. He concludes by saying:

'But heritage managers and archaeologists are not used to work out the long-term sustainable economic benefits of sites, as well as the values gained from education, identity and dignity. Unless archaeologists are willing to work out the benefits in clear terms, over short and long terms, it will remain difficult to protect heritage that allows people to achieve their capabilities. As archaeologists and heritage managers, we have for too long been focused on objects rather than people.' (2010:879)

Hodder's position is further developed in his chapter in Okamura and Matsuda (2011). In particular he discusses economic benefits as a motivating force for involvement and protection of heritage:

'First there is the need for participants to have a stake, and this often means that they have to be placed in a position where they can reap economic benefit. It is important to address the ways in which marginal groups around the table may be or may have been excluded from economic gain from heritage sites, as in cases, where the state has controlled access, visitor fees, construction of tourist venues, and the like. People are more likely to be more effective stakeholders if they experience economic benefits from heritage sites.' (2011:24)

Again Hodder stresses the need for an active, responsible and dynamic archaeological profession and is worth quoting at length:

'It is important finally to emphasize the need for archaeologists to take a stand in this process. It is not enough to argue that the archaeologist is a relative powerless mediator who simply brings stakeholders together. Is it not possible to be a neutral go-between. Archaeologists do have influence as professional experts, and they have to recognize that their actions as experts have effects on the world for which they are partly responsible. To claim a distanced ethical or scientific neutrality is to abdicate responsibility for the effects of one's involvement in a public heritage. Taking an ethical path in archaeology involves making professional and personal choices.' (2011:26)

Conclusion

Hodder's arguments and criticisms reflect many of the themes seen in this review of the approach of archaeology to the value of archaeological material and heritage. While efforts are made to understand the full range of 'values' which archaeology may have for the public, these have a emphasis either on historical characteristics of the material or with a range of socio-cultural values. The assessment of these values is resident mostly in the heritage expert, even if they seek to reflect public opinion. The skills and efforts to quantitatively understand how and why the public value archaeology are thin.

Hodder holds that economic benefits can be key in motivating the public to value and preserve archaeological places, mirroring Mason's arguments for heritage managers to take greater stock of this area. However, while widely acknowledged within archaeology as a major part its relationship with the public, research about and concern with this area is under-developed. This includes practical research as well as conceptual and ethical frameworks as outlined by Hodder and Lafrenz Samuels.

The lack of focus on the economic aspects of archaeology is indicative of an overall discomfort with how archaeology, and its value, is communicated to the world. Archaeology is often seen as competing with economic forces. That archaeology might be valued by politicians for economic benefits is lamented and archaeology can be set up in opposition to market values. There is a concern that certain measures, notably economic ones, will swamp other values so what archaeology can offer is set up in opposition to these 'instrumental' benefits, rather than seen as alongside. Cultural heritage is promoted for its cultural benefits so that economic and 'everyday' benefits are regulated to secondary status and perceived as dangerous aspects of heritage.

A main theme of cultural economics was the need to produce data on public values to be able to inform policy. In archaeology there is a lack of quantitative analysis towards its relationship with the public and value in general. Value judgements are often expert-led and qualitatively based. There seems to be a real vacuum of public opinion research within archaeology, with justification of value often through isolated case studies. The advantages of this approach are that it can provide rich detail from case studies and allow for nuanced understanding. However there appears to be lack of broader scale understanding of the value of archaeology from the public's point of view. The preoccupations with public value within public archaeology rest more on archaeologists' view of value than perhaps the public's.

However, there are signs of a desire for change. Mason noted that heritage conservation is moving from '*a fairly closeted practice pursued as an ends in itself, to a field viewed as the means to other social ends.*' (2008:303). This is reflected in both Hodder's philosophy and Okamura and Matsuda's definition of public archaeology. Central to this is the idea of archaeologists themselves as the actors in creating value (as Carver argues), and having the skills and concepts to utilise it as a resource (the foundation of Lipe) for the benefit of the public in a variety of ways. Within this new approach social and economic 'instrumental'

benefits are not pushed aside but are central to what archaeology can offer and work alongside more traditional channels of benefit. This approach is influenced by economic and environmental concepts, including an idea of more quantitative methods, and an objective and more reflective view of public value (as Darvill focused on). This appears to be motivated by the realisation of conservation based in public interest and the increased need for public justification to retain access to resources.

However, the current value concepts and models are, in part, handicapping this emerging approach. Current value schemes often separate cultural and economic benefits and perpetuate a feeling that they are in opposition. The terminology which archaeology traditionally uses has difficulty dealing with a view of value which is public-oriented, yet still retains the breadth of values the heritage and archaeology contain (an aim Reigl pursued). New models and concepts for this are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Closing the Divide: A Capital Model

This thesis focuses on attitudes towards, and use of, the 'economic value' of archaeology. However 'economic value' itself has been shown to be a confusing term. For some it means the articulation of all the values archaeology may have in monetary terms, for others (such as Lipe) it is the financial benefits that archaeology can produce. Another layer of confusion is added by the dual, and often opposing, definitions of the terms 'economics' and 'value'.

Chapter 2 outlined the language and conceptual frameworks cultural economics has provided to try and encompass all aspects of the value of heritage. The methodologies proposed to do so are contentious, however seek to understand the public's value quantitatively to therefore objectively inform decision-making and policy to maximise the utility of available resources. These methodologies have not been embraced in archaeology and cultural heritage, seemingly due to the perceived philosophical divide between 'economics' and 'culture'. As Chapter 3 has shown, the ideas of cultural economics have penetrated some conceptual models within archaeology, however value and valuation principally rests largely on the identification of various characteristics of materials by experts. While there is widespread acknowledgement of the importance of economic benefits from archaeology being a reason why it is considered important by many, this aspect features little in the actual criteria for value and in research in public archaeology, and is often considered in opposition of socio-cultural aspects.

The areas of cultural economics and current archaeological management can also be contrasted by the source of value 'expertise', with the former locating it firmly in the public, and the latter more resident in experts. Archaeology has set criteria against which to gauge importance and significance, while for cultural economists the motivation for importance of the public is not drilled into: any reason is as good as another. Archaeology has tended to emphasise some relationships between the public and past, while neglecting others which are seen as more 'instrumental'. Archaeology's value systems, while acknowledging instrumental benefits as reasons for preservation, seem uncomfortable incorporating them, based on a fear that these more tangible, and more easily measurable, aspects will swamp and damage values which are felt to be more relevant to archaeology.

The criticisms by Lafrenz Samuels (2008, 2009) and Hodder (2010) suggest that archaeology is not currently prepared conceptually and in its skill-base to manage and understand the economic aspects of archaeology. New approaches in public archaeology demonstrate a desire for a more accountable and dynamic discipline, which actively seeks to engage with contemporary issues and respond to public desires. This task is currently let down by both a lack of data and a suitable value system. As Mason stated in Chapter 1 (p. 35), and as will be discussed throughout this research, economic benefits represent a key reason why people may value archaeology, however this is not reflected in current conceptual models. A new language and approach to the 'economic value' of archaeology must be constructed which allows for the accountability, public-orientated and data-led approach of cultural economics yet is acceptable to archaeology and retains a balance of all the values archaeology offers.

A 'Capital Model' of Archaeological Resources

A model based on the concept of 'capital' is proposed to close this divide and which is fit for contemporary archaeology. As seen in Chapter 2, 'capital' is already a widely used concept within discussions of the value of cultural resources (including Graham *et al.* 2000, and see Parks 2010 in Chapter 8), however this term has not been rigidly applied to archaeology. As discussed in Chapter 2, the traditional concept of capital indicates an asset (or stock of assets) which are able to produce services or 'flows' to people. For Bourdieu, as described by Carman (2002, 2005), capital was a personal resource able to be drawn on to improve one's social status. Specifically, Klamer (2002, 2003) defined capital as 'an ability to' i.e. that if a resource has capital then it has an ability, or capability, to produce some result. Therefore overall the term 'capital' embodies the sense that something is an asset is able to generate some sort of change for the recipient of any flows or services. This echoes Lipe's (1984, 2009) approach in his value schemes in trying to understand what archaeology actually does for people, how heritage might be a resource to drawn upon for aid to create benefit in the present of the future.

The range of flows or services which archaeology may offer has been the focus of debate as outlined above. My model will follow Klamer in focusing on three types of capital which archaeology may contain and they are worth repeating here:

- Economic capital: '*the capacity to generate economic income or economic values*' (2002:465).

- Social capital: *'the capacity to generate social values like friendship, collegiality, trust, respect, and responsibility'* (2002:466)
- Cultural capital: *'the capacity to inspire and be inspired'* (2002: 467).

The abilities of archaeology are then framed as capital, rather than value. Archaeology, as a resource, whether this be as sites, artefacts or archaeological knowledge contains all three types of capital – or abilities – within it. For example a site's ability to attract tourists, for a variety of reasons, creates economic capital. A site, or some archaeological knowledge, may have much to do with descendant community identity or nation state-building, or alternatively provide a space for people to come together and to better mutually understand each other. The beauty of ancient art or the presence of a 'masterpiece of human creative genius' may inspire people and stimulate emotion in a variety of ways. These three types of capital are not to be viewed as exclusive and absolute. As these chapters have shown it is very difficult to draw lines between the terms economic, social and cultural, and the perceived benefits of archaeology may cross over these headings. Others may see it appropriate to say archaeological resources have 'political capital' or another term to convey their ability to contribute in those areas. The outline of this scheme does not exclude the addition of these terms but focuses on the three above as offering satisfactory coverage of all issues.

Capital is not thought of as a simply 'has it or not' quality, but like stocks, can be of different scales. Different archaeological sites will have different amounts of each capital but an important point to make is that every archaeological resource will have capital, however minimal. A single pottery sherd may be thought of as having very little economic capital, for instance, but it will contribute to our knowledge of a certain people or time period, which provides the stories which motivate some people to visit certain sites and museums. Of course the abilities of some places to contribute economically, socially and culturally will be vastly bigger than others e.g. some World Heritage Sites and tourists hotspots might have very large economic capital, but it should always be considered that any archaeological resource has the potential to contain all three capitals.

This view of capital is distinct from Throsby's cultural capital. Throsby separates a class of material as cultural capital that produces cultural flows, which follows the traditional view of capital as stocks of a certain type producing the relevant services. This separation is a limitation as it creates distinct stocks of different material in each 'capital' category. However, the ability to produce cultural flows exists in a wide variety of material, while material which

would be considered cultural capital may serve a variety of functions. Instead this model seeks to consider the capital which archaeological resources contain. For example, a mine, which is primarily seen as physical and natural capital, also acts as a social and cultural symbol at the heart of many communities and has come to represent cultural shifts in the recent history of the UK. After decommission many mines have been used to develop tourism to former industrial areas, developing a different sort of economic capital. So there is no suggestion of a separate class of 'archaeology capital' but rather that archaeological resources have the ability to contribute in a variety of ways. This avoids a view that cultural resources are somehow separate and 'special' (as Carman appears to advocate) and to be treated as an outside everyday society. It also means that 'capital' in this model follows very closely the idea of abilities and capacities rather than the more traditional view of stocks.

As Throsby, Klamer and Johnson and Thomas all suggest, the notion of capital implies a stock that produces flows to people. These 'flows' are better termed 'impacts' in this model. 'Flow' tends to suggest an outward motion without a recipient, whereas, as stressed by Mason and Lipe in Chapter 3, the 'values' of archaeology are produced in the interaction between material and people. The term 'impact' highlights the audience and what they may receive from the capital of materials. Impacts may be positive or negative and so words like 'benefits' are not always suitable. Economic capital produces impacts such as revenues, jobs and economic development but also may have a negative impact in terms of costs or changes in economies which are not sustainable. Social capital may produce opportunities for cohesion between individuals and groups but, of course, may also be divisive by reminding people of uncomfortable history or be used as evidence to support certain political views. Cultural capital can of course inspire in a positive way or produce negative associations and emotions for people.

As Throsby emphasises, capital does not simply exist but must be maintained with investments. The importance of sustaining capital in Throsby's cultural capital model is retained. In the Capital Model investments in turn may be economic, social or cultural. Economic investment may come in the form of money or investment in facilities; social investments may come in collaboration between stakeholders and researchers; while cultural investment might be research and generation of new meanings and knowledge. What is key is the idea that the ability of archaeological resources to produce impacts is not a 'given' but is generated, or maintained, through inputs and investment by a variety of actors. If this does not happen the capital (or again, the ability of the resource to produce impacts) may diminish

over time. For instance if visitor facilities at sites are not invested in visitor numbers may fall, or if the physical materials of artwork are not conserved their creative impact may lessen. The reduction of capital is also not a given, and has a variety of factors as discussed below, but equally capital is not innate and indestructible.

While each individual capital can produce impacts which are positive or negative, crucial to this view of archaeological resources is the interrelationship of the capitals. In the value schemes presented in Chapter 3 Mason stresses that values overlap and can be in conflict, while Klammer also points to their interaction. However this point is rarely carried through to full analysis and many values are discussed in isolation. The ways in which the different capitals of archaeology depend on and influence each other is crucial and this aspect requires much more emphasis in the management of archaeology.

On a general level this can be clearly seen. Most famously, economic and cultural capital are connected as commercialisation for tourism may diminish cultural meanings for some people, however conversely investment in research can produce the stories and interest for people to visit. However other interactions occur. An archaeological excavation can bring various stakeholders together, such as archaeologists and local people, however may also create strong economic impacts for local people. Social and cultural meanings overlap, such as through the use of archaeological symbols to define places, styles and people.

Some case studies show the interaction of capitals and values. My previous research in Kilmartin (Burtenshaw 2008) studied the economic value of the archaeology of the area and the local museum, demonstrated some of these relationships. Investments designed to increase the economic capital of the museum, namely a gift shop and restaurant, were found to actually increase the social capital and produced significant social impacts. The restaurant and shop became important social hubs and spaces in a small village where other similar facilities had disappeared. Excavations were used to create social and cultural investments in the archaeology, as they found out more about the archaeology but also involved the local community. The information discovered increased the economic potential of the museum. The museum itself, despite primarily having a cultural and social function, had an extremely important economic role in the local community and provided vital support to other businesses.

In Cambodia, Mason (Robyn Mason 2003) has shown the complexities of Angkor Wat as a symbol. The ability of the site (i.e. its capital) to bring in foreign investment and tourists mean that the site is not just a symbol of identity and the nation but also of prosperity. The economic capital of the site is an important symbol of value which is meshed in with its other social-cultural impacts.

These brief examples only scratch the surface of the interrelationships of capitals, however their mutual dependency and interaction is key to this view of archaeological materials. No individual aspect of what an archaeological site or artefact can be examined in isolation as its ability to offer this (i.e. its capital) will be effected by and effect other types of capital and depend on a wide variety of investments. Any understanding of economic capital must be considered within how that ability supports or undermines other abilities and be part of a holistic understanding of the resource.

Having outlined the basic concepts in the Capital Model, what is the relationship between capital and value, or with the value schemes proposed by archaeologists? Capital is not meant as a replacement for 'value' but to put a different emphasis on the term. The previous two chapters have shown the variety of approaches to the term 'value'. A focus on the idea of 'capital' offers a fresh perspective. 'Value' for the capital model is defined as 'importance', the fact that it is held in high regard or matters to someone or a group of people. This model is built around the idea that value for goods i.e. that they matter, is built on the ability of the good to produce tangible benefits, in the widest sense, to people i.e. its capital. This follows Klammer's assertions that value does not 'fall out of the sky' but is the result of what that material or resources does for you. Similarly it reflects Darvill's idea of what creates 'emotional attachment' which can be thought of as value, and Hodder's focus on what archaeological sites 'do' for people. The 'value' of the Capital Model is also not explicitly expressed in any units although its level some be understood and measured as discussed below.

Different audiences, publics and people will value different capitals of archaeology. For a site, some may value it because it gives them a job, others because it is part of their family heritage while for yet others it is a beautiful place for recreation. As stated in Chapter 2, Klammer (2002, 2003) ranks the importance of the different capitals, with economic the lowest, before social and then cultural. In this regards Klammer is discussing people's personal choices and lives. However, when discussing capital of archaeological resources, there should not be any

assumptions with ranking. None of the motivations for value is more important than another, not for the public and nor should it be for individuals. Cultural economics (as well as Hodder) is happy to accept any reason why someone is engaged with heritage and that mindset should be retained. Equally different capitals and impacts cannot be equated with certain groups, as Holden's triangle does (Chapter 2). We cannot make assumptions that countries, or descendant groups or anyone else will be more interested in one type of impact than another. While there may be some correlations, it will always be different for different groups for different sites. This change in capital will also vary over time as contemporary concerns, identities and fashions change the ability of a resource to contribute at any particular time. What is beautiful, what is interesting to visit, and what defines people now, will not be the same in the future. Archaeology may have the capital for some situations and contexts but not others.

The Capital Model differs from value schemes in that it focuses on what the public gains from any archaeological material. Many of the value schemes discussed in Chapter 3 focus on what cultural resources may offer people, however, as Hodder critiques, the emphasis often tends to be on the 'thing' rather than 'people'. The Capital Model begins with the perspective of the public and why they might value something. Following Hodder (2010), this model attempts to focus on what archaeological materials 'do', rather than 'are'. An archaeological site may have historical or aesthetic value as judged by an expert, or be representative of a period and be in a good state of preservation but this reveal little about how this may translate into value in the public. For example, 'educational value' does not tell you why somebody wants to actually learn about something – for inspiration, to gain skills for employment, be able to appreciate it in a museum, or for some other reason?

The Capital Model is not a replacement of values schemes. As discussed above, many schemes have particular purposes in certain contexts and can be a useful as a management tool. Further, characteristics such as archaeology's representiveness, state of conservation and connection to certain times and events in the past can be considered the 'raw materials' for archaeology's capital. The criteria for listing and scheduling in the UK help to maintain a stock of heritage which is reflective of past cultures, allowing for a range of capital and impacts to exist now and in the future.

A site's ability to meet a contemporary public need may be only potentially. Tools such as museums, books, lectures, visitor centres, websites and various other methods are often used

as interfaces between people and archaeology. For instance, knowledge about the past may contribute to social issues but without platforms to tell stories and present information this cannot happen. Different tools are suitable for different capitals and different audiences. Such tools are not always necessary - a ruined site in a 'natural' state may offer inspiration for visitors.

These issues highlight the role of the archaeologist. Returning to Throsby's ideas of sustainability (defined and discussed further in Chapter 6) the 'stock' of archaeology needs to be invested in, maintained and utilised in a fashion which meets contemporary needs. The use or promotion of certain capitals and their impacts may reduce or enhance other capitals and impacts and needs careful understanding and management. Archaeologists (and heritage managers) must also be aware of how the use of capital now to produce value affects future abilities to meet other needs. The expertise of archaeologists and heritage managers is needed to identify the sources of capital and decide on appropriate investments and tools for mobilisation for audiences. As Lafrenz Samuels and Carver have pointed out (Chapter 3), archaeologists themselves often create capital i.e. research produces material or knowledge which is able to be a resource for someone, or their management choices affect who or how people receive positive impacts.

The new perspective in public archaeology is explicit within the Capital Model. Archaeologists do not just produce archaeological material and information but actively seek to use this as a resource for the public. It puts archaeologists in the position of having the responsibility to decide how to bring positive impacts to the public in a way that is sustainable. This brings to the fore the point made by these archaeologists that the long-term survival of archaeological resources, as well as the archaeology discipline itself, is ultimately rooted in the value the public feel for it. There are legitimate concerns that short-term interests of the public might impact long-term benefits. However, as Provins *et al.* (2008) argue rather than dismiss the public as 'uninformed' the perspective of public archaeology should be to educate and try where appropriate to ensure archaeological resources contribute to value.

This combination of public interest and expert opinion means that there is a combination of time-scales. From the public side impacts are in the present, a reaction to current needs and desires. However, archaeologists must think long-term, that impacts today do not sacrifice the availability of impacts tomorrow. In this way archaeologists and managers act as custodians of archaeological resources and their capital – keeping the stock available for the public to use for

now and the future. In this way the 'long-term perspective' (Chapter 3, p.59) which archaeology offers, is maintained in this view of archaeology. This role of the expert also offers a balance between finding contemporary relevance and long-term sustainability.

The Capital Model incorporates many elements of cultural economics. The understanding of the level of value the public feel for a resource is central, as are ideas of capital and sustainability of a resource. Similarly the need for data on understanding the capital of archaeology, and to provide accountability and to inform decision-making should be included. The decisions which are incumbent on the archaeologist are best informed with data, as well as evaluated for their success. Data are also key in communicating the value created by archaeology for the public to other stakeholders and funders to demonstrate the utility of the resource and the case for further resources (as discussed in Section 2). Different interest groups will respond to different types of data so archaeologists must be conversant in a variety of ways to present and evaluate capital, impacts and value. The emphasis on public value and data helps create the levels of accountability to the public and consistent patterns of argument which cultural economists such as Mason, Pearce, Hutter, Johnson and Thomas argued is the main advantage of the cultural economics approach, as outlined in Chapter 2.

The Capital Model does not seek a definitive evaluation of the 'value' of any particular resource, rather an appreciation, demonstration and communication of what archaeology offers the public and the qualities which aid it to do so. This applies to all capitals and impacts – to simply label something as 'immeasurable' is not helpful. Both quantitative and qualitative methods can be used to access these capitals and impacts, and provide useful data for management and communication. The pros and cons of some methods suggested by cultural economics have been considered above. While they have their shortcomings their advantages should be embraced. Economic Impact Assessments, CV, CM as well as questionnaires, surveys and other methods can all be used in combination both to assess the value of the public and impacts of management decisions. The techniques add to the available toolkit of the archaeologist to be able to appreciate and understand public value and if taken in the spirit Epstein outlined in Chapter 2 they can prove an aid. The work by Kinghorn and Willis shows the kind of valuable information on public value that can be gained. Important to research data is the study of the interrelationship between capital and impacts, filling the gap identified by Rypkema *et al.* (2011) in their study.

Whatever the methods there should be a philosophy of accountability and understanding, and a use of available methodologies, leading to the development of more appropriate ones. The only way to counter the ease of some methods to access quantitative data and therefore swamping other types is to be dedicated to developing methods to re-address the balance, rather than measure nothing. Public archaeology needs to become more research and data-driven, rather than simply commenting and giving examples of relationships.

Closing the Divide

The Capital Model offers a new perspective on the value of archaeological resources by fusing the approaches of cultural economics and heritage values. Both traditions are trying to answer the question of how to judge where to put valuable resources, what to preserve and what action is best to take. This scheme situates that value in public opinion but puts the expert archaeologist as the mediator and manager of that value with an eye on long-term sustainability. Resources are judged by their ability to offer public benefits now and in the future, with management decisions key to creating, maintaining and mobilising impacts and creating value. Most importantly those impacts which archaeology may produce do not exist in isolation but have a complex interrelationship. It is hoped that the model provides that 'balance' which Reigl sought between the public and the expert (p. 48-49), and what Miller suggested in the combination of the different sorts of value (p. 18).

The aim of considering the wider concepts of value in cultural economics and archaeology was to provide a conceptual framework and language to be able to consider what has been called 'economic value' before. This research is concerned with 'economic capital' as defined above. 'Economic capital' has been suggested as the source of value for archaeology for some people and groups. The review of value approaches has identified a divide between culture and economics. Graham *et al.* have suggested that:

'...heritage can be visualized as a duality – as resources of economic and cultural capital. This is less a dialectic than a continuous tension, these broad domains generally being in conflict with each other.' (2000:22)

This duality must be resisted, while economic and cultural capital (as defined by the model presented in this chapter) may be in conflict it is not necessarily so. The importance of the interrelationships of different capital demonstrates the danger of a divide between these

aspects. This model makes economic aspects a vital and irremovable part of the whole. While some resources might have their social and cultural capital focused on, the economic can never be forgotten as it must be understood that it may positively or negatively affect other capital. The reverse is also true. Economic capital and impacts can never be disassociated from social and cultural capital. As a result, no economic performance of an archaeological resource should be considered without this appreciation of how it affects other social and cultural aspects. With this holism, economic aspects become just as important a value to understand and measure as any other. Up to now economic aspects have been neglected or considered secondary by archaeology and this should be rectified. Again Graham *et al.* summarise the traditional view:

'Historically, the economic functions of heritage have generally been presented as subsequent or secondary and often barely tolerated uses of monuments, sites and places, which have been initially identified, preserved and interpreted for quite other reasons.' (2000:129)

This relegation and separation of heritage from socio-cultural reasons and the everyday and the mundane by Carman should not be promoted. Archaeologists should not prefer one reason for people valuing heritage over another, but simply be aware of the reasons people value something and have the ability to manage resources appropriately. Archaeologists need to be proficient in understanding all the sorts of capital, there is not one without the other.

More widely, this model provides a perspective to reduce the philosophical divide between culture and economics. The suggestions of cultural economists are designed to aid archaeologists account for and manage a resource. These are good ideas if dealt with properly. Explicit in this model are the economist's ideas of a public-facing and accountable discipline which is being called for most recently in public archaeology. These ideas represent an asset to archaeology if all capital is dealt with, and presented, equally and the sources of the values and how they interact are understood. The 'culturalist's' view-point is maintained in the importance of the long-term sustainability of resources to offer the full variety of positive impacts and the crucial understanding that the promotion of some capital can cause harmful effects to others.

The new Capital Model has been proposed as the answer the first research questions of this thesis: How can archaeologists usefully conceptualise the economic value of archaeology? This

thesis overall examines how archaeologists approach, measure and manage the economic capital of archaeology. The Capital Model provides a language to be able to approach the problem which is consistent and tailored. Key to further discussion will be the current level of understanding that archaeology has of economic capital and the data that it is using to both manage archaeology and present potential beneficial economic impacts to the world. Also crucial is the role of archaeologists and whether they currently possess the skill-set to understand and successfully manage the economic capital of archaeology.

Chapter 5

Perspectives on the Economic Capital of Archaeology

Having set out the Capital Model this following Section (chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) will focus on the relationship between economic capital and value. The second question this research seeks to answer is 'In what ways is the economic capital of archaeology mobilised to create value for archaeology?' This 'mobilisation' suggests a dynamic process, where archaeologists act on the economic potential of archaeology, and use it to create real impacts. That economic capital motivates value has been emphasised by Mason, Lipe, Darvill, Lafrenz Samuels, Flatman, and Clark in Section 1. This Section will therefore examine the discourse and processes around the generation of value for archaeology from the use of its economic capital. The following chapters will consider this issue from the perspectives of three different 'stakeholder' levels, an approach suggested by concepts from the management of natural resources discussed in this chapter. 'Stakeholders' can be considered in the broadest sense to mean any individuals or groups who have an interest, or could potentially have an interest in archaeology or heritage. Of course the term implies that these parties already 'hold' a 'stake' however this might not necessarily be so, and is used in the sense of any party who may also be impacted by the capitals of archaeology, willingly or not. The discourse on the use of economic capital is vast, and so each chapter focuses on particular perspectives or case studies at each stakeholder level. Section 3 (Chapters 9, 10 and 11) will focus on the methodologies that archaeologists can employ to understanding and measure economic capital, applying these to the case study of Feynan, Jordan.

This chapter will examine economic capital and value by first outlining the forms of the economic capital of archaeology, and second presenting perspectives from the management of natural resources which can be compared with those from archaeology.

Archaeology as an Economic Asset

As set out in the Capital Model, the economic capital of archaeology is how archaeology generates economic impact, such as jobs and revenues. The economic capital of archaeology is expressed in a variety of ways.

The form of economic capital which dominates discourse and the discussions to follow in this thesis is that of tourism, and it has been commented on as being one of archaeology's main sources of value:

'The economic returns from tourism have become one of the main justifications for the public and private sectors to designate and maintain heritage.' (Hall & McArthur 1996:2)

Heritage is considered by some the single most important resource for international tourism (Graham *et al.* 2000:20). The fact that people are willing to spend time and money to visit archaeological remains (in a variety of forms) creates jobs and revenues. This visitation can take the form of directly visiting archaeological remains at sites or museums, or travelling to presentations of information about them. The economic impacts of heritage tourism are not limited to the direct and multiplier effects discussed above but, as Bowitz and Ibenholt (2008) point out, extend to such things as spending on infrastructure, migration and gravitational effects (process that make places more attractive to live or establish businesses in), as well as negative effects such as displacement of other economic activities and opportunity costs. Due to the centrality of tourism to the economic capital of archaeology, tourism economics and 'heritage tourism' are considered in more detail below.

The gravitational effects creating by tourism are a feature of another significant expression of economic capital that archaeology has. Cultural heritage assets, as well as cultural institutions such as museums and galleries, have been seen as assets in revitalising or enhancing urban areas for over two decades (Bassett 1993; Dean *et al.* 2010; Law 1992; Selwood 2006). This urban development comes partly from the economic impact of tourism, but also from the presence of heritage and culture making places more attractive to live, meaning that businesses are more attracted to locate there, increasing the economic output of locations. Heritage in urban development forms a major theme for government funders, international development efforts such as those of the World Bank, and of academic attention concerning the relationship between heritage and sustainable development (Girard & Nijkamp 2009, Graham *et al.* 2000, Labadi 2008, Riujirok 2006).

Archaeology and heritage as an 'industry' is also a major part of its economic capital. As will be shown in Chapter 7 the size of the archaeology, conservation and heritage sectors, and the employment from their activities, can be measured and shown to be contributing economically

as a viable industry. This includes those employed in the construction industry working on historic properties, those who work for heritage organisations or in commercial archaeology, or those whose employment in tourism is due to heritage attractions (Aitchison 2009, 2012; ecotec 2010a; eftec 2012). Within this could be considered the employment and economic effects of archaeological academic excavations, especially for local communities in developing world contexts (Boytner forthcoming). Academic excavations often provide significant levels of employment as well as revenue to local communities through the procurement of equipment and supplies, accommodation expenses, fees as well as leisure spending by visiting archaeological teams. Archaeological excavations can last many years. Archaeology can also contribute more widely to industry through its role in branding and marketing (Starr 2010). A variety of businesses will use images of, or associations with, archaeological remains to show connections with certain places or perceived values (Hankinson 2004; Holtorf 2007).

The last major angle to consider is that of antiquities. The global trade in antiquities is estimated to be considerable (part of a US\$55 billion art market (Milken Institute 2008)) however the majority of this trade is believed to be illicit. Even where trade is legal (although often hard to separate) its measurement is only ever reported in the negative – emphasising a missed opportunity for cultural and social impacts, or of other economic uses. Archaeologists emphasise that looted antiquities are taken from their context without proper recording, losing valuable information about how objects are used and their meanings. As the sale of antiquities generates revenue, economic motivations are considered the main driver of looting, and therefore the destruction of some sites. Some have suggested legal trades in antiquities (Wilkening & Kremer 2007), arguing regulated market forces based around long-term leases would generate revenues to protect antiquities and decrease the black market. A 'Financial Innovations Lab' (Milken Institute 2008) considered the financing and market incentives of the antiquities trade and encouraged the exploration of ideas such as long-term leasing, sponsorship, archaeological bonds and excavation auctions. These suggestions however, remain very much on the fringes of archaeology.

Archaeology as a Tourism Asset

The Economics of Tourism

Heritage destinations form a significant part of tourism, while tourism revenues provide one of the chief justifications of preserving archaeological sites. Tourism is one of the world's largest

industries with tourist arrivals measured at 983 million worldwide in 2011, contributing over US\$1 trillion in tourism receipts worldwide (UNWTO 2012), and making up 9% of the global economy (World Travel and Tourism Council 2011). The economic impact of tourism relies heavily on the 'multiplier effect' as outlined in Chapter 2, where initial direct spending in an economy gets multiplied as it is re-spent, causing indirect and induced effects (Stynes 1997). Domestic, business and foreign visitors directly spend money on services like accommodation, transport, entertainment, attractions and souvenirs. The tourism industry is typically made up of many small and medium-sized businesses which can be closely integrated and linked (Sinclair & Stabler 1997; Hall & Lew 2009:120). The nature of the development of tourism to any particular attraction will vary according to factors such as the nature of the attraction and the market, physical constraints, and policy context. Tourism developments can range from concentrated (resorts and enclaves) to dispersed, producing different patterns of economic distribution and multipliers (Williams 2009).

The economic effects of tourism can be both positive and negative (Hall & Lew 2009). Tourism can be seen as a key source of foreign exchange earnings as visitors are often coming from abroad, create substantial volumes of employment, assist in wealth distribution from rich to poor areas, increase the tax base for governments, and diversify and stabilise economies (Hall & Lew 2009). However, tourism can cause increased dependency on foreign investors and companies, increase weaknesses in labour markets, increase demands on public services and facilities, increase local cost of living and divert investment from other development areas (Williams 2009:98). Several aspects affect how tourism can contribute economically (Williams 2009). These include how much local residents spend on their own travels elsewhere and the amount of new connections between businesses. Important is the quality and type of employment that tourism creates. Compared to other industries labour makes up considerable proportion of tourism businesses however it can often create employment which is low-paid, menial, unskilled, part-time and seasonal, and strongly gendered to being over-dependent on females (France 1997; Lea 1997). Tourism is also a very fragile industry with consumers able to switch destinations easily if social (like political unrest) or financial (like changing exchange rates) conditions are preferable (Williams 2009).

An important consideration is that of 'leakages', which represent the proportion of tourism revenue lost to a certain area or people through imported goods and services from outside the area, or through payments to those outside the economy (Stynes 1997). Leakages can particularly affect immature tourism industries which rely on foreign investments (Milne 1992;

Mbaiwa 2005). As tourism industries mature, domestic services should be able to replace foreign imports but this is not always a given. The ability to do so may be limited by the power of international tourism operators to control the host market and political economy (Scheyvens 2002; Hall & Lew 2009).

Beyond the economic, tourism has a variety of impacts both positive and negative. It can be environmentally destructive through infrastructure development or encroachments on natural or cultural resources, or act to incentivise protection for the environment. The use of resources for tourism may conflict with traditional land use and occupations (Hall & Lew 2009). The search by tourists for authentic local experiences can lead to the commodification of culture and local places, while the presence of tourism can lead to changes (some positive, some negative) in host populations (Scheyvens 2002). Tourism can bring increased crime, child labour and sex tourism, as well as change migration patterns (Hall & Lew 2009).

Tourism is seen as a major driver of socio-economic development (UNWTO 2012), included as part of the strategies to reduce poverty in over 80% of low-income countries (Mitchell & Ashley 2010). The trend to use tourism in this way began in the 1950s and 60s and, although concerns about negative environmental and social impacts grew in the 1970s, the 1980s saw an expansion of tourism as a way to earn foreign income and pay debt (Scheyvens 2002). However, the concerns saw the growth of 'alternative' forms of tourism (Scheyvens 2002). Alternative tourism indicates a type of tourism which aims to be socially and environmentally responsible, small scale and create meaningful and authentic experiences between host and visitor. It is usually contrasted with the resorts, large crowds and visitor-host separation of 'mass-tourism'. Some aspects of alternative tourism focus on environmental protection (ecotourism) or on poverty alleviation (pro-poor tourism) (Mitchell & Ashley 2010, Ashley *et al.* 2000). However there have been critiques of these forms of tourism questioning their effectiveness and examining if negative social and cultural effects are actually intensified due to increased proximity of tourists and local populations (Scheyvens 2002).

Tourism can be said to have a variety of positive and negative impacts. Different markets, different types of tourism, in different places will have different economic, as well as environmental, social and cultural impacts. As Williams (2009) stresses there is no inherently 'bad' form of tourism, alternative or mass, just ones that are appropriate to the situation. The impacts from the mobilisation of the economic capital of archaeology and heritage through tourism depend not just on the destination itself, but on its development and management and its linkages with the wider economy. Every different context will have a particular strategy

which suits the particular local situation, taking account of the relationships between social, cultural and environmental impacts.

Heritage Tourism

Visits to archaeology and heritage are a major component of tourism. As Coccossis suggests '*Perhaps more than any other economic activity, tourism has an intricate interrelation with natural and cultural heritage.*' (2009:47). While considered within 'cultural tourism', 'heritage tourism' has been defined in a number of ways (including Apostolakis 2003; Graham *et al.* 2000; Prentice 1994; Timothy & Boyd 2003). Poria *et al.* (2001, 2003) have argued for a definition based on personal motivation, however a supply-orientated definition of what defines 'heritage' is most typical of contemporary usage (Garrod & Fyall 2000, 2001). 'Archaeological tourism' or 'archaeotourism' is a lesser-used term and has been defined by the type of site visited (AIA n.d.:3; Giraud & Porter 2010) or by the aims of education and conservation of archaeology (Baram 2008). Where archaeological or heritage tourism is used in this research it will be as their supply-oriented definitions, following the definitions in Chapter 1. The types of attractions that have been considered within heritage tourism cover the full breath of heritage itself, including physical remains, industrial and literary heritage, 'living culture', and festivals (Prentice 1994; Timothy & Boyd 2003; Williams 2009).

Although Timothy and Boyd (2003) have previously noted that heritage tourists often have characteristics such as being well-educated, wealthy, high-spending and often travel in groups, more recent research warns that the audience for heritage tourism is changing rapidly with the increased tourism demand in east Asia, and contains a variety of niche and diverse markets (Winter 2010, Timothy forthcoming). The motivations of heritage tourists are also diverse. Williams (2009:239-242) summarises many of the common reasons given including curiosity and desire to know about the past, nostalgia and a sense of loss, interests in personal or group identity, and for the pure aesthetics and experiences of places. Social factors also form motivations with childhood habits providing both the 'how-to' and experience to carry on that habit in adulthood (Krakover & Cohen 2001; Merriman 1991). However, some studies (Chen 1998; Prentice & Andersen 2007; Richards 2000) have found that for many motivations have nothing to do with attractions being heritage, but have qualities which are common to all tourist attractions such as relaxation, sight-seeing and socialising.

The market of heritage tourism today is difficult to assess. Timothy and Boyd (2003) estimated that about 40% of international travel is motivated by heritage, and later Timothy suggests between 50% and 80% of travel involves a cultural element (Timothy 2011). The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) found that about 30% of overseas visitors to the UK cite heritage as the primary factor for their visit and that the contribution to the GDP of the country is £7.4 billion annually (HLF 2010). In the USA it is estimated that 15% of domestic tourism is heritage tourism, ranking third behind shopping and outdoor activities, and 19% of overseas visitors engaged in visiting a cultural heritage site (Hoffman *et al.* 2002). 28% of tourists visiting Angkor Wat in Cambodia state the site was the sole reason for coming to the country (J Adams 2010). The importance of heritage tourism for development has been consistently discussed (Boyd 2000 for Northern Ireland; Constantin & Mitrut 2009 for Romania; Cros *et al.* 2005 for China; Peleggi 1996 for Thailand).

Archaeological tourism has its own potentially negative impacts. Physical damage to archaeological remains can come from exposing remains which may otherwise be hidden to erosion from the elements (Drdácký & Drdácký 2006). Tourists can erode and break down the material of archaeology, including through direct contact and causing extra heat and humidity (Bastian & Alabouvette 2009; Gustafsson & Karlsson 2008; Larocca 2003; Robb 1998:584; Rossi & Webb 2007:221). Tourism development around sites can impact on water tables causing instability in monuments, or destroy archaeological remains which are not directly part of the visited sites (Breen 2007; Comer 2012a; Wanderlust 2010). Several strategies can be implemented to help mitigate these direct physical dangers, such as hardening the resource, limiting the number of visitors, providing information to visitors through marketing (Timothy and Boyd 2003) or by creating replica attractions (Bastian & Alabouvette 2009).

Commodification of archaeology into tourism destinations can create issues of authenticity and the nature of the information presented. Different stakeholders may wish to emphasise different parts of the past, or the stories associated with it. As Silverman describes '*Archaeological tourism provides the opportunity for a selective re-creation and reconstruction of the past and for nuanced and competitive engagement among different factions in the present*' (2002:883). The interpretation of archaeological remains to tourists through museums, signs and guides may be inaccurate through a lack of information or wishing to tell certain stories to certain markets (Merriman 2005; Robb 1998; Timothy & Boyd 2003). Concerns are also raised that cultural heritage resources become 'unauthentic' or simply 'staged', i.e. that something cultural is only invented or performed for tourists (Mortenson

2006; Timothy & Boyd 2003:178). However, as Cohen notes, what is 'authentic' may change over time, *'In principle, it is possible for any new-fangled gimmick, which at one point appeared to be nothing but a staged 'tourist trap', to become over time, and under appropriate conditions, widely recognized as an authentic manifestation of local culture'* (1988:380). Timothy (forthcoming) points out that perceived authenticity is an important selling point for many heritage attractions. Wall argues that it is not possible to have heritage tourism without commodification and that *'rather it is more important to consider what is commodified, how commodification is done and how the benefits and costs of commodification are distributed'* (2009:32).

Due to the presence of both opportunities and threats from tourism to archaeology, the sector has been keen to promote ideas of 'sustainability' of heritage tourism (Aas *et al.* 2005; Fyall & Garrod 1998; Landorf 2009; Pinter 2005). Guidelines and charters have been produced by national (AIA n.d.) and international organisations (see Chapter 6), while alliances between heritage and travel organisations have been promoted (Tripadvisor 2009; UNESCO 2005).

While the problems with heritage tourism are acknowledged it still forms a major motivation for funding and conservation. As Timothy states:

'Heritage tourism in particular plays an important role in justifying the relevance of archaeological digs, museums, interpretive centers and other cultural establishments. Despite its noteworthy negative socio-cultural and ecological impacts, heritage tourism can play an important role in conserving the human heritage of places by funding conservation efforts and providing a rationale for establishing parks and other protected heritage areas.' (forthcoming:3)

Further Coccossis argues that:

'Because of tourism and its positive economic and further benefits, special consideration is given to cultural heritage as a resource for tourism, extending the basis for its protection beyond its own symbolic social merits or 'ethical' values. Bringing new attention to cultural heritage through tourism may bring changes to local values as well, contributing to positive social attitudes and rising public support to safeguard cultural heritage, to protect and enhance it, sometimes reviving faded and abandoned elements and bringing culture to the forefront of

public agendas. As a result of tourists' interest in culture and heritage, local societies also benefit, strengthening their sense of local identity' (2009:49).

Tourism is therefore vital to the relationship between archaeology's economic capital and value. However the mobilisation of economic capital through tourism requires careful management and understanding of the interrelationship of capital and the impacts on the physical fabric of sites.

The Environmental Perspective

Many of the concepts and methods in cultural economics covered in Section 1 have come from environmental economics. Natural resource managers have been utilising the economic capital (although that term is not used) of environmental resources as part of their conservation strategies for decades and can offer a useful perspectives on similar techniques for cultural resources. Cultural and natural resources have similarities in their public good nature inviting comparable issues around valuation and communication of value with stakeholders, as this statement on The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB) website shows:

'By and large, we in the developed world seem to have disconnected ourselves from Nature and are struggling to find the "value of Nature." Take a look around: nature is the source of much value to us every day – this can be spiritually, culturally, health-wise or economically; and yet the benefits we receive from Nature mostly bypass markets, escape pricing and defy valuation. The lack of valuation has become an underlying cause for the observed degradation of ecosystems and the loss of biodiversity.' (TEEB 2011)

The Economic Persuasion

McNeely has perhaps offered the most direct use of economic capital for preservation (1988). He has argued that the main drivers of biodiversity loss are economic, and that *'Economic inducements are likely to prove the most effective measures for converting over-exploitation to sustainable use of biological resources'* (1988:vii). McNeely felt that traditional routes of preservation, such as international and national institutions and legal systems, had failed to protect natural resources up to that point, and that new approaches were required.

McNeely describes natural resources as public goods which suffer from market failure and require economic valuations to account for them. As a result the value system used to describe them will be familiar to cultural economists, however there are some key differences. 'Productive' and 'Consumptive Use-value' cover products which derive from natural resources or are consumed directly by people. 'Non-consumptive Use-value' describes what is usually now called 'ecosystem services', such as water management and carbon cycle, and also includes tourism (1988:15-19). The familiar option and existence values are also used.

McNeely advocates the use of economic incentives to protect biodiversity in two similar but slightly different ways. The first is that the factors which degrade biodiversity are economic and that the solutions must also be economic. As stated:

*'To the extent that resource exploitation is governed by the perceived self-interest of various individuals or groups, **behaviour affecting maintenance of biological diversity can best be changed by providing new approaches to conservation which alter people's perceptions of what behaviour is in their self-interest.**'*
(1988:6, bold original).

McNeely aims to find ways to make it more worthwhile for people to adopt behaviours which preserve biodiversity rather than degrade it. The second way is in the use of economic arguments to persuade stakeholders to preserve the environment. The difference here is subtle. For the former the audience themselves receive the economic benefit and so the benefits felt are real and part of their lives. For the latter the audience is removed from the direct effects and so the resource is 'marketed' to them by focusing on its economic potential. These two approaches could perhaps be described as 'practical' for the former and 'political' for the latter. For the political, as McNeely describes:

'In order to compete for the attention of government decision-makers, policies regarding biological diversity first need to demonstrate in economic terms the value of biological diversity to the country's social and economic development. Some have argued that biological resources are in one sense beyond value because they provide the biotic raw materials that underpin every major type of economic endeavor at its most fundamental level. But ample economic justification can be marshalled by those seeking to exploit biological resources, so the same kinds of

reasoning need to be used to support alternative uses of the resources. In order for governments to assess the priority they will give to conservation of biological diversity, they need to have a firm indication of what contribution biological resources make to their national economy.' (1988:9)

What of course unites the two approaches is that behaviours, be they daily practice or funding strategies, are being altered through the appeal of economic, or at least well-being, benefits.

McNeely suggests offering economic incentives for conservation. An incentive is defined as *'any inducement which is specifically intended to incite or motivate governments, local people, and international organizations to conserve biological diversity'* (1988:39). Disincentives conversely are penalties to dissuade behaviour which harms biodiversity. Incentives and disincentives may take a variety of forms including wages, monetary or in-kind payments, fines, taxes, regulations, guarantees and insurances. 'Perverse incentives' are any existing inducements which encourage the degradation of biodiversity, accidental or deliberate. These may include tariffs for certain markets or government policies designed to encourage the development of particular industries.

McNeely breaks down his analysis of how economic incentives can operate into three stakeholder levels: international, national and local community. At the national and international level the focus is on policy instruments which can create incentives and diminish perverse incentives. McNeely places the greatest emphasis on the local level. He suggests this is where behaviours have the largest impact on natural resources, where the impacts of environmental degradation and conservation projects are felt most, and that problems arise when locals are divorced from the management of assets they have traditionally exploited sustainably (1988:57). Emerton similarly argues for the importance of economic incentives acting at the level of the community: *'Unless it makes tangible economic sense to them, rural communities are unlikely to be willing, and indeed are frequently unable, to conserve nature in the course of their production and consumption activities'* (1999:2). However, both authors are keen to point out that any scheme of local incentives must be supported by policies and behaviours in other stakeholder levels.

McNeely's approach clearly focuses on what certain resources offer to those who can harm or protect them. It is a practical approach to directly meet the challenge of conserving a resource under intense pressure. He later applies the concepts to contexts in Thailand and Africa

(McNeely & Dobias 1991; McNeely 1993), while others have applied the language and concepts to other situations (e.g. Milton *et al.* 2003). McNeely has continued to advocate this approach and argue that economic factors and language should be part of the arsenal used by conservationists (2006). McNeely's scheme suggests that the incentives for people to change behaviour can be the result of any of a resource's capitals, to create value for a resource to exist rather than be destroyed. However, he sees economic incentives as the most potent and effective for changing behaviours.

ICDPs and Ecotourism

On a practical level two models are used to tie together economic capital and conservation – ICDPs and ecotourism. The concept of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) developed in the 1980s and are an *'approach to the conservation of biodiversity and ecological systems in developing countries. ICDPs distinguish themselves by setting a dual and equal focus on biological conservation and human development'* (Alpert 1996:845). They are often focused on one particular site, and therefore on a local level, and are tailored to that location. Hughes and Flintan (2001) comment that in the mid-1980s the ICDP approach was seen as a radical diversion from preservationist approaches which used only negative incentives such as fences and fines. They suggest that ICDPs are based on three underlying assumptions: that diversified local livelihoods will reduce human pressure on biodiversity; that local people and livelihoods comprise the most important threat to biodiversity; and ICDPs offer sustainable alternatives to traditional protectionist approaches. However, while the above description seems to indicate two equal and exclusive goals, ICDPs seem to focus on development providing the incentive for conservation:

'While the core objective of these projects is protected area conservation the aim (of ICDPs) is to achieve this by promoting economic development and by providing local people with alternative income sources that do not threaten wildlife.'
(Johannesen & Skonhoft 2005:209)

The alternative income may come from a variety of sources such as the sustainable use of natural products, tourism, or direct payments. ICDPs do not necessarily have to involve economic development, although it would seem most cases discuss this aspect of development.

Ecotourism can be considered within the arena of ICDPs, except that tourism is explicitly used to generate the economic incentives for conservation. While there are a variety of definitions, ecotourism (or nature tourism) in general is considered to be tourism to the natural environment which acts to support the conservation of the visited resource (Kiss 2004; Taylor *et al.* 2003). Ecotourism as a concept was developed in the 1980s in reaction to the perception that forms of tourism were causing widespread damage to natural resources (Vasconcellos Pegas & Stronza 2008). More generally, Wunder (2000) summarises the goals of ecotourism as minimal physical and social impacts, ecological education of the visitors, and notable economic participation by local residents. Its main aim, though, is to promote conservation through economic development of local communities:

'Properly implemented, nature tourism can integrate conservation and rural development by helping to protect valuable natural areas by providing revenues for planning and management, stimulating economic development through tourism expenditures, and providing jobs and markets for local goods.' (Sherman & Dixon 1997:196)

However ICDPs and ecotourism projects have faced a variety of issues since their conception. Perhaps the most widely discussed difficulty is the distribution of economic impacts resulting from initiatives to intended populations (Ashley *et al.* 2000; Sherman & Dixon 1997). Walpole and Goodwin (2000), noted the lack of testing of the theory of ecotourism, and examined the economic impact of tourism to Komodo dragons in Indonesia. They found significant leakages from the islands, with external businesses in gateways benefiting most. He *et al.* (2008) completed a similar study for Giant Panda tourism in China. Again, local people received a minority of the benefits and those in geographical locations with direct access to tourists benefitted more economically. The authors point out that the more remote households, which are economically disadvantaged, are those whose activities stand to cause the most damage to Panda habitats.

Members of communities may find it difficult to participate in and access economic opportunities from tourism projects due to lack of finance to start initiatives, lack of tourism skills such as languages, lack of organisation, lack of proprietorship over land, lack of political cohesion and conflict between new and existing livelihood strategies (Ashley *et al.* 2000; Scheyvens 2002; Walpole & Goodwin 2000).

While the distribution of economic impacts can be challenging others have questioned the ability of tourism to generate sufficient impacts in the first place. Alpert (1996) was originally pessimistic about the abilities of projects to generate appropriate revenues through tourism, commenting that in a review of such projects in Africa, most were not self-sustaining in tourism revenues and relied on outside finances. Salafsky *et al.* (2001) found that out of 37 reviewed ecotourism projects seven had minimal revenues, while only seven made a profit. Others comment that projects are rarely successful enough to eliminate outside support (Hughes & Flintan 2001; Kiss 2004).

Even if economic impacts can be generated and distributed as intended, this does not guarantee conservation success (Ferraro 2001). Johanessen and Skonfolt (2005) point out in their analysis of ICDPs that one potential problem of projects is that new revenue streams are often incorporated into existing lifestyles rather than substituting old behaviours. Stronza (2007) further highlights the issues of economic benefits changing behaviours, citing one example where new economic revenues were used to buy equipment and technology which accelerated the exploitation of resources rather than diminish it, called 'conservation back-fire'. Kiss (2004) comments that direct incentives must be sufficiently high and widespread to outcompete other livelihoods, which is often difficult, and if successful likely to attract outsiders wishing to cash-in. Kiss suggests that non-cash benefits are often most effective, with the most important element being that of trust and a positive relationship between locals and the project organisers.

Kiss' analysis raises the importance of the political and social context of ICDPs. The political organisations of projects is a constant theme in the literature, with many authors arguing for the need of full participation of local communities and the need for economic incentives to be coupled with wider development goals (Robinson 1997; Stronza 2007; Wunder 2000). Stronza (2007; Vasconcellos Pegas & Stronza 2008) outlines 'equations' of ecotourism; one that only offers economic incentives for conservation, so-called 'market conservation'; while the second pays attention to the social and political context and offers local communities empowerment and control over management. The author's review of previous studies concludes that projects based on the first equation offer mixed results, with long-term success particularly difficult to gain. She concludes that projects which attempt community development stand a much better chance of permanently modifying behaviours and providing a firm basis for conservation.

Stronza (2007) uses the example of the Posada Amazonas Lodge in Peru, to demonstrate the variety of ways that economic benefits interact with the livelihoods of the community depending on social circumstances. She argues that ICDPs face a complex mosaic of local social and political agendas and that the ability to deliver economic impacts cannot be divorced from them. The importance of understanding the ramifications of economic change within society is echoed by Taylor *et al.* investigating ecotourism on the Galapagos Islands (2003). He states:

'...recognising the spectrum of economic interactions is fundamental to understanding how tourism influences local regions and, ultimately, the impacts of ecotourism on local environments'. (2003:978)

In particular Taylor examines the knock-on effect of increased inward migration caused by ecotourism and the environmental effect of that. Robinson (1997) argues that the success, at that time, of Sherpas in the Everest National Park accessing economic opportunities while maintaining their culture was due to the organic growth of tourism and the seasonality of visitors fitting with traditionally livelihood patterns.

Another key theme of the literature is the measurement and evaluation of ICDPs and ecotourism projects, and the need to learn lessons from past successes and failures (Doan 2000; Hughes & Flintan 2001; Kiss 2004; Tallis *et al.* 2008). Stronza highlights that, despite decades of concepts and projects, there is still a shortage of understanding of how ecotourism works and is implemented:

'Though many policies and programmes are riding on the hope that ecotourism will create the right market incentives for local residents of ecotourism destinations to protect natural resources, few studies have provided empirical data. In the absence of data, we have largely assumed that economic benefits will lead rather unswervingly to conservation, and that more employment and income will lead to more effective conservation.' (2007:226)

Taylor (2003) similarly earlier pointed to a lack of depth of economic research and understanding on which ecotourism is based. Kiss (2004) in particular highlights the need for better data and more rigorous analysis of both conservation and economic impacts to back up claims, suggesting that most reports are vague on criteria of assessment used and lack quality

economic data, often failing to understanding the distributional effects of economic impacts (2004:232-233).

This brief review of the ICDP and ecotourism literature serves to highlight the difficulty in designing, implementing and understanding the success of such projects utilising the economic capital of natural resources. This difficulty in implementation of the theory is showcased by Tallis *et al.* (2008) who found the only 16% of World Bank ICDPs under review seem to have had 'substantial' gains in their stated ecology and sustainability goals.

Ecosystem Service Valuation

McNeely makes an implicit separation between direct practical economic incentives for preservation, and economic data required in a more 'political' sphere to communicate and persuade policy creators and decision makers. The use of techniques to make economic valuations of the natural environment for political persuasion has received a lot of attention in recent years. In particular, there have been efforts focusing on the valuation of 'ecosystem services'. Ecosystem services has been defined as '*the aspects of ecosystems utilized (actively or passively) to produce human well-being*' such as the carbon cycle or the breathable atmosphere (Fisher & Turner 2008). Costanza *et al.* (1997) attempted one of the first valuations of the world's ecosystem services and natural capital, arguing that as most of the ecosystem's value lay outside of the market it was not therefore given sufficient weight in policy decisions. The term 'natural capital' is important to their theoretical foundation, viewed as a stock with generates services which enhance the welfare of humans. The authors acknowledge arguments that there cannot be perfect valuations of the environment, but they defend their approach stressing that valuations are placed on other 'intangibles' such as human life through safety standards, and further there is a compelling argument to marshal all efforts to protect nature. They stress '*moral and economic arguments are certainly not mutually exclusive. Both discussions can and should go in parallel*' (1997:255). The paper aimed to make the first approximation of the economic value of the natural environment, and utilised both economic impact and willingness-to-pay approaches. They valued the entire biosphere to be in a range of US\$16-54 trillion per year, with an average of US\$33 trillion. This is compared to the global GDP of US\$18 trillion annually at that time.

The valuation of ecosystem services has continued, using a range of methods to capture the value of direct and indirect services which the environment offers (Bateman *et al.* 2011). The

Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB) are '*compiling, building and making a compelling economics case for the conservation of ecosystems and biodiversity*' (TEEB 2011), building on previous work carried out by the UN (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005). The focus on these issues at the UN Convention on Biological Diversity in 2010 sparked the BBC to cover in depth how economic arguments are being mobilised as part of the negotiation to secure greater funding and action to preserve biodiversity (Anderson 2010a,b,c, 2011; Black 2010a, 2010b, 2011a).

The National Ecosystem Assessment (UK NEA 2011) has attempted to understand the value of ecosystems in the UK and communicate their importance to the government so that they may be protected. Its report argues that the environment is currently undervalued in decision-making. Rather than offer headline economic figures the assessment attempts to outline how natural assets contribute to well-being (including economic, health and social benefits), the trend in the condition of the assets, and strategies to improve the services that could be offered. Included in the ecosystem services are 'cultural services' which offer 'cultural goods and benefits' such as spiritual values. The RSPB (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds) has also put out a report '*Naturally, at your service: Why it pays to invest in nature*' (RSPB 2009), arguing that such economic and quantitative valuations help to provide balance to some short-term decision-making and aid better policy development.

While some organisations have embraced economic valuations to aid justification of preservation there is debate surrounding the presentation of nature's value through this method. While some journalists reacted positively to the UK NEA (Black 2011b) other commentators are less favourable. The Guardian (2011) newspaper reacted in its editorial to the NEA with disappointment that that '*the only way to make the nightingale's song heard in Whitehall is to contort it into national income*', concluding that '*It is high time to draw a distinction between what can be counted, and what truly counts*'. More recently, George Monbiot (2012), writing for the same newspaper argued that the trend to economic valuation of the natural environment simply represents a move of more power to the rich and that it ultimately '*diminishes us, it diminishes nature*'. Monbiot notes the change of language used for the environment from 'nature' to 'natural capital', 'natural processes' to 'ecosystem services' and that biodiversity and habitats have become 'asset classes' within an 'ecosystem market'. He argues that economic valuations lead to the rich having exclusive rights over nature and the use of market rates will over-ride intrinsic and intangible values.

Tony Juniper, a special advisor to the Prince of Wales Charities' Sustainability Unit, responds directly to Monbiot to outline his reasons for supporting economic valuations (2012). He acknowledges that reports like UK NEA provoke negative reactions including accusations of 'privatisation', 'commoditisation' and that opponents '*argue that society should appreciate the intrinsic values of nature – nature for its own sake*' (2012). Juniper's response is that he has spent 25 years trying to persuade people to conserve nature using intrinsic and moral arguments and that this has failed, with natural destruction continuing and increasing. While Juniper accepts there are dangers with economic valuations he writes:

'We could carry on like this, with ideological purity preserved (on all sides), or we could open a new discourse, one that requires the sceptics to meaningfully engage, and on the field where future environmental battles will be won and lost – the field of economics.' (2012).

He believes that by marketing nature as essential for economic development the message is being listened to and there are promising developments in policy. Cooper (2010) echoes Juniper in acknowledging that most object to economic environmental valuations for 'philosophical reasons' and a feeling that they don't communicate '*what is felt to be important about the natural world*'. Cooper sees opportunity in using valuations to provide a platform to explain where the values come from. While many of the above sources are in popular media their content does serve to encapsulate the political and ethical issues around the use of economic capital, economic data and an economics approach to try to motivate value in certain groups, notably government.

Comparisons between Natural and Cultural Resources

The concerns and arguments raised by ecosystem service valuation are reminders of some of the philosophical divides for cultural resources seen in Section 1 and expressed in some following chapters. A comparison between the strategies around the preservation of natural and cultural resources offers some useful perspectives and concepts to illuminate the relationship between economic capital and value in archaeology. To what extent do archaeologists face the same issues and utilise the same strategies? Comparisons between cultural and natural capital have been explicit (Throsby 2012a). Nijkamp (2012; Nijkamp & Riganti 2009) argues that the underlying issues of biodiversity and cultural heritage are largely similar, sharing traits of long-term perspective, economic externalities, and psychological or

spiritual attachment, and that costs of policy interventions are broadly equivalent. He goes on to state:

'Cultural assets resemble environmental goods, though with a few distinctive features, such as their historical dimensions, feature of uniqueness, and often an abiotic nature. Despite these marked differences, several supporting pillars from the economics of environmental evaluation apply also to cultural goods, such as increasing scarcity, non-market values, and site specificity.' (Nijkamp 2012:88)

One point of comparison is whether or not cultural heritage is considered 'renewable'. Natural resources can be, on the whole, considered 'renewable' as animals and plants are able to reproduce. The majority of commentators have firmly argued for the non-renewable nature of heritage, that each site, deposit and artefact is a unique record of the past and can never be made again (e.g. Comer forthcoming). However, 'heritage' has been considered by some to be renewable, as we are constantly finding new sites, making new material and changing our perception of what 'heritage' is (Graham *et al.* 2000; Holtorf 2001). Economists note that the very heterogeneous nature of heritage makes substitution of the resources very difficult (Eftec 2005; Provins *et al.* 2008). So, while 'heritage' might be considered renewable, 'archaeology' is not.

McNeely' value categories emphasises products which emanate from natural resources – goods such as wood, fish and other materials. Cultural heritage has no such produce, either direct or indirect i.e. it produces no economically valuable commodities in the traditional sense (although antiquities may be considered in this category). Pagiola (1996), in his examination of the application of environmental economics to cultural resources, offers a similar assessment concluding that cultural resources have no 'extractive use-value'. However 'non-extractive use-value' which Pagiola equates with aesthetic and recreational value is very relevant to both cultural and natural resources. Serageldin (1999a) argues that some cultural heritage has extractive use-value, in particular historic buildings being used for living, trading and renting.

The focus on ecosystem services also highlights a more important point – that archaeology is not directly required to live. Environmentalists are able to emphasise the benefits natural resources give which are crucial to living. While 'cultural' and 'spiritual' values of nature are acknowledged, they receive less attention in valuations. Economic approaches to archaeology focus on direct economic impacts from activities such as tourism, employment and

regeneration; or focus on quantifying intangible and intrinsic benefits. There is little middle ground of produce or services which form part of everyday life. As a result this means that some of the arguments that archaeologists utilise in persuading stakeholders to preserve sites must diverge from those of the environmentalists.

McNeely describes how many of the threats and perverse incentives degrading biodiversity are economic in nature. The same could be said for archaeology. As highlighted by Carver (Chapter 3) sites and materials are at risk from alternative land use, often for economic purposes such as farmland, urban development and roads. Destruction from looting can be primarily driven by economic motivations while unsustainable tourism development can be damaging. Of course, some threats are not economically driven, such as weathering and changes in environment. The actors which may be targeted to change behaviour are similar for archaeology and the environment. Local people often bear the brunt of conservation strategies in terms of available options of using local land, the impacts of tourism (positive or negative) and are often actors in looting. The similar public good nature of archaeology has also created a strong role for governments and international organisations in the management of heritage. As explored further in Chapters 6 and 7, negotiations for funding and attention with international and national organisations form a key part of strategies for preservation of archaeology. While some of the messages may be different, due to broadly similar threats and actors, some of the tactics of the mobilisation of economic capital for value are similar between natural and cultural resources.

The language and concept of incentives which McNeely presents is a useful addition to the consideration of the capital of archaeology. The Capital Model aims to highlight the importance of examining what a resource does for people so that they value it and possibly change behaviour to stop harming it or to provide resources to sustain it. Incentives can be more widely defined as the inducements which drive personal behaviours and can be financial or non-financial (Gould & Burtenshaw forthcoming a). The economic capital of archaeology can be used to create incentives for people to adopt or maintain certain behaviours considered advantageous. As noted in Chapter 2, cultural heritage management utilises a range of incentives and disincentives from regulations and taxes, to grants and direct payments (Throsby 2012a). The tools and methods to encourage 'suitable' behaviour towards the preservation of archaeology reflect those seen for natural resources. As this section will explore, both ICDP style projects to incentivise local communities, and economic valuations to market the value of heritage to national and international bodies, are seen in archaeology.

Both McNeely and Juniper stress that the use of economic valuations or economic incentives is one of utility, that current approaches are failing and that unless stakeholders are persuaded to conserve natural resources, they will be destroyed. While both acknowledge problems which such an approach, both argue that without adopting such strategies the preservation effort will fail. A key issue in this section is therefore the motivations behind archaeologists' own use of similar strategies. As will be seen there are a mixture of motivations, from those reflecting the need for urgent preservation, to those seeking greater attention and resources for heritage, to those seeking co-operation to follow their own agendas.

Conclusion

That economic capital can generate value is well acknowledged by archaeologists and archaeology has the ability to generate economic impacts through a variety of means including regeneration, employment, archaeological projects, antiquities and, most importantly, tourism. However, the generation of economic benefits through tourism is not straightforward, both at the local and national levels. Different types of tourism in different places will have different economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts which must be carefully managed. Within the perspective of the Capital Model, while tourism can certainly increase archaeology's capital and value, negative relationships between capitals can also result, harming the physical resources and its value for people.

The perspective from the management of natural resources offers some important vocabulary, concepts and lessons for archaeologists. While there are differences between the types of resources there are also broad similarities in some of the strategies used to persuade stakeholders of the value of the environment. Both political persuasion through economic data and valuations, and direct incentivisation of local communities through tourism or development projects, are key strategies for archaeologists. The broad 'political' and 'practical' arenas of action outlined by McNeely are useful for approaching similar questions in archaeology. A comparison between the types of resources raises questions for this research to answer: What messages do archaeologists utilise to persuade stakeholders of the value of archaeology? What strategies are used to incentivise stakeholders to modify behaviours or value archaeology? What motivates archaeologists to use (or not) such strategies?

McNeely breaks down his analysis of the use of economic incentives into international, national and local stakeholder levels. A similar pattern is adopted for this research over the next three chapters, beginning with the international stakeholder level.

Chapter 6

International Perspectives on Economic Capital

This chapter will consider how the economic capital of archaeology is used to generate value at the 'international' stakeholder level. The term international here is designed to encapsulate a concern with the management of heritage beyond a single context or within a single nation. The stakeholders may be International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs), private companies or professional bodies. The chapter will focus on the discourse and policy that is characterising the recent history, and contemporary usage, of the economic capital of cultural heritage and archaeology. As will be discussed, economic capital plays an increasingly significant part in the way in which global heritage is presented, negotiated and protected. This situation raises ethical and practical issues for archaeology.

Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

The discourse around the economic capital of archaeology at the international level centres on issues of 'sustainable development', often, but not exclusively, associated with tourism. The ideas of sustainable development were crystallised by the Brundtland Report (1987), which defined it a process that *'seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those in the future'* (World Commission of Environment and Economic Development 1987:Ch.1 Par.49) and at the 'Earth Summit' in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 which encapsulated the idea of how quality of life can be improved without the destruction of irreplaceable resources and the creation of pollution. These foundational ideas concerned natural resources but have been considered applicable to cultural heritage resources (Keitumetse 2009).

Clark (2008) considers how heritage may contribute to sustainable development goals. She suggests heritage has a role in sustainable consumption and production through the re-use of historic buildings, in economic development through tourism, and contributing to social agendas through participation, learning and the opportunity for communal space. The role of cultural heritage and archaeology in sustainable development become more prominent in the last few years (Amoêda *et al.* 2008; Girard & Nijkamp 2009; Landorf 2009). Honeychurch (2010) has considered how archaeological knowledge can inform development agendas in

Mongolia and argues that archaeologists have a responsibility to apply their research to contemporary social problems. Breen (2010) has extensively reviewed the issues, organisations and projects around archaeology and international development in Africa, arguing for the untapped potential of heritage resources to contribute. In 2011 the Journal of Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development launched with its inaugural editorial (Roders & van Oers 2011) recognising heritage's contribution to development through tourism and the regeneration and sustainability of cities. It has also been recognised that archaeology can contribute to agricultural development, by applying knowledge of previous land and water management to contemporary contexts (Erickson 1992; Guttman-Bond 2010). Further the use of archaeological knowledge is also informing current reactions to and preparedness for climate change (Cooper & Sheets 2012).

UNESCO, ICOMOS and WMF

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the World Monument Fund (WMF) are the three major INGOs which represent cultural heritage on a global level.

Since the early 1980s UNESCO has been keen to promote the role of culture, including cultural heritage, in sustainable development. The organisation has held various conferences around this theme in following decades (UNESCO 2012b), including the *'Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development'* (UNESCO 1998), the 1999 collaboration with the World Bank *'Culture Counts: Financing Resources and Economics of Culture in Sustainable Development'* (UNESCO 2000), the recent *'Culture: a Bridge to Development'* initiative (UNESCO n.d. a), and the 2013 Hangzhou International Congress on *'Culture: Key to Sustainable Development'* (UNESCO n.d. b). UNESCO's *'The Power of Culture for Development'* (2010b) outlines the ways in which culture can contribute, including to social cohesion and stability, environmental sustainability and resilient communities. One thread within this is culture as a vehicle for economic development which includes creative industries, cultural tourism, and cultural infrastructure and institutions such as universities and museums.

In the background to these efforts are the policies of Agenda 21, established at the Earth Summit, and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), established in 2000 (Robinson and Picard 2006). These policies set specific development aims such as poverty reduction and guides much of UN activity and programmes, and therefore have set the tone for wider

development aims and funding (UNESCO 2012c). 'Culture' is not mentioned in the original agendas and their importance is demonstrated by the UNESCO's consistent effort to ensure that culture receives a larger role in the MDGs when they are up for review in 2015 (UNESCO 2012c). Cultural aspects have had increasing prominence in UN development programmes in the past five years, and have been included in the results of Rio+20, a follow up to the original Earth Summit (UNESCO n.d. c).

Cultural heritage is included as part of this effort, promoted as an asset for cultural-based economic activities, such as tourism (UNESCO 2012b). Heritage is one of four areas included under a project to develop a suite of indicators on culture and development (UNESCO n.d. d, UNESCO 2011). Most recently the theme of sustainable development and community participation was adopted as part of the activities around the 40th anniversary of the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) (Rao 2012). This theme was publicised through UNESCO's magazine, the World Heritage Review (UNESCO 2012d), and within it articles noted the significant increase in the use of culture in sustainable development in the sessions of UNESCO over the last decade, as well as stressed the role of heritage in water management and urban development (Turner 2012). UNESCO has also produced the book *'World Heritage: Benefits Beyond Borders'* (UNESCO 2012e) to highlight the contribution of World Heritage to local communities and the environment, while it also devoted a edition of its series of research papers to *'World Heritage and Community Development'* (Albert *et al.* 2012).

The position of cultural heritage and tourism as part of sustainable development was examined through the UNESCO report *'Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development'* (Robinson and Picard 2006). This report aimed to 'open the debate' on the complex questions surrounding the use of cultural resources for development. It tries to go beyond the purely economic contributions that culture can make and pushes the point that the benefit of cultural exchange through tourism is also an advantage: *'In tourism, we can recognise the importance of culture as a resource which, with prudent and thoughtful management, can be utilised in strategies to alleviate poverty and prejudice and form the basis of meaningful inter-cultural exchange'* (2006:83). However, the report also concedes that the use of cultural resources needs to serve the MDGs and fit into the overarching need to eradicate poverty (2006:57).

The report also reflects on the slow and difficult adoption of cultural heritage as a development asset. The authors argue that culture has been marginalised as an economic

resource due to the inability of its values to be measured, that its economic contributions are often hidden and that heritage is often related to contested issues (2006:47). As a result they conclude much of the policy framework for developing cultural heritage for sustainable development is not well developed at that time (2006:48). In the report tourism dominates the way that cultural heritage can contribute economically and conversely the importance of the role of cultural resources in tourism: *'Tourism is foremost a form of economic development which has cultural resources at its foundations'* (2006:23).

UNESCO has also been involved in specific projects to mobilise cultural heritage for development through tourism and urban regeneration (e.g. UNESCO n.d. e). One example aimed to combat poverty in the Sahara using tourism to natural and cultural heritage, including archaeology (UNESCO 2003:6-7). While preservation is also a stated main goal, the emphasis throughout the literature on the project (Hosni 2000; UNESCO 2003) seems to be that the preservation role is secondary to that of poverty reduction, with measures to ensure that tourism does not negatively impact preservation rather than be the principal means for its salvation. UNESCO also produced a handbook for local government in Africa on *'Cultural Heritage and Local Development'* (Barillet *et al.* 2006) outlining how it can be utilised as an asset.

As well as promoting the ability of cultural heritage to contribute to development, UNESCO has been keen to set standards and guidance for managing tourism and the issues around generating economic impacts (Pederson 2002). As most of the guidelines apply to managing archaeology on a local level, these will be dealt with in Chapter 8, along with the ICOMOS Tourism Charter discussed below. However it is worth noting the inclusion of the use of economic capital for generating value in these guidelines, that tourism can be used to provide alternative economic activities and that *'locals are more likely to participate in conservation when it is associated with an improvement in their standard of living'* (Pederson 2002:71). Most recently UNESCO has instigated a programme to set standards for sustainable tourism (UNESCO 2011b), recognising the dramatic rise in tourism over the last decade. These guidelines aim to establish a new paradigm where the potential opportunities for tourism are harnessed and challenges mitigated *'for the purpose of sustainable development'* (UNESCO 2012f:5). Similarly, the 'Lijiang Models' (UNESCO 2001), focusing on local stakeholder co-operation around cultural heritage and tourism projects are also developed under the umbrella of cultural heritage's contribution to development agendas, opening with the statement:

'In the global struggle to alleviate poverty and promote peace, sustainable tourism and cultural heritage have emerged as powerful tools, particularly in the developing world.' (2001:2)

As previously noted, the OUV criteria for World Heritage Status does not include its ability of offer direct economic and social benefits. However, increasingly World Heritage Site nomination is being seen as an economic tool. Research has examined the effect of World Heritage status on increasing tourism in China and Australia (Buckley 2004, Yang *et al.* 2009), the relationship between World Heritage, tourism specialization and economic development (Arezki *et al.* 2009), while ICOMOS instigating a research programme into the direct economic effects of World Heritage promotion (Lane 2009). Others have examined the factors affecting the number of World Heritage Sites each country has, including economic and social development indicators (Bertacchini & Saccone 2012; Frey & Steiner 2011,). The UK has conducted studies into the cost-benefit of World Heritage nomination (PWC 2007a). The most in-depth research into World Heritage as an economic tool has been conducted by Rebanks as a report to inform the application for World Heritage Status for the Lake District, UK (Lake District World Heritage Project 2009). Rebanks examines case studies where the status has been used for branding of local produce, tourism development and place-making. Rebanks points out that World Heritage status is 'what you make of it' and can be used to support a number of goals. Traditional goals for World Heritage status include heritage preservation or a 'celebration' of a place however socio-economic goals appeared in the mid-1990s.

ICOMOS is an INGO '*dedicated to promoting the application of theory, methodology, and scientific techniques to the conservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage*' (ICOMOS n.d.). It is responsible for setting much of the guidelines for heritage management and conservation, and acts as an advisory body to UNESCO.

ICOMOS' concern with the economic capital of heritage is hinted at in its foundation convention, the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), but has become a major concern recently. In the Venice Charter it states that '*The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable...*' (1964:2, article 5). As discussed in Chapter 1, during the 1990s ICOMOS published two reports examining the economics of conservation. '*Conservation Economics*' (Lichfield *et al.* 1993) applied cost benefit principles to cultural built heritage, while '*Report on Economics of*

Conservation' (Ost & Van Droogenbroeck 1998) applied wider concepts from cultural economics and other areas to cultural heritage.

The first charter from ICOMOS dealing with the economic capital of heritage is the International Tourism Charter (1999). As with UNESCO's guidance, from the beginning the charter is very much aware of the economic role that cultural resources can play. Commenting on how economic capital can generate value the 'ethos' of the Charter states:

'Tourism can capture the economic characteristics of the heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy. It is an essential part of many national and regional economies and can be an important factor in development, when managed successfully.'
(1999:1)

The role of heritage in development has since become an explicit concern of ICOMOS. The USA branch of ICOMOS held its 2010 symposium in conjunction with the World Bank on *'Economic Benefits, Social Opportunities, and Challenges of Supporting Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Development'* (US/ICOMOS n.d.). The following report of the symposium quotes Araoz, ICOMOS President summing up the discussions:

'I believe that a major lesson is the need for the heritage community to step outside our isolation cocoon and mainstream ourselves in order to engage other fields in a permanent and meaningful dialogue. The partnership (between ICOMOS and the World Bank) has moved us beyond our much repeated rhetorical intent and begun this dialogue with a new institutional partner community dedicated to economic development and poverty reduction.... The dialogue that was initiated here has confirmed the basic assumption that heritage and culture are integral and fundamental components in ensuring that socio-economic development is a sustainable endeavor. It has also confirmed that there are many questions that still need answering for the heritage and development communities to achieve our common goal of using our heritage resources intelligently to replace cultures of poverty and abuse with cultures of peace and decency in all human communities...In a capsule, our forum seeks a deeper understanding of this newly emerging heritage paradigm, and the limits of change it can tolerate without losing its significance.' (US/ICOMOS n.d.:1-2)

The theme of the Scientific Symposium of the 17th General Assembly, in 2011, was 'Heritage, driver of development', focusing on the social and economic contribution of heritage to sustainable development. The symposium was distilled into 'The Paris Declaration' (ICOMOS 2011). In the declaration the relationship between heritage and development is viewed as potentially positive, aiding both conservation and the social and economic development of communities. The declaration also stresses the need to communicate the relevance of heritage to development agendas:

'The challenge of integrating heritage and ensuring that it has a role in the context of sustainable development is to demonstrate that heritage plays a part in social cohesion, well-being, creativity and economic appeal, and is a factor in promoting understanding between communities' (2011:2).

Unfortunately the Paris Declaration is a very weak document, only raising known issues rather than furthering the position of cultural heritage towards development. For economic capital specifically the declaration calls for better understanding and more research into the socio-economic impacts of heritage. However, the centrality of the theme of development to ICOMOS's current activities demonstrates its importance to contemporary presentations of the value of cultural heritage.

The Paris Declaration can be compared to the approach taken by the Council of Europe's 'Faro Convention' on 'the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society' (Council of Europe 2005). The Council of Europe aims to achieve greater unity between its member states and sees cultural heritage as an asset in achieving this, focusing on its values and the perspective of human rights (Council of Europe 2005). The Convention states that state parties agree to:

'emphasise that the conservation of cultural heritage and its sustainable use have human development and quality of life as their goal.' (2005:2)

Article 10 of the convention focuses on 'Cultural Heritage and economic activity' with clause 'a' stating that state parties undertake to 'raise awareness and utilise the economic potential of the cultural heritage' (2005:5).

The supporting report for the Faro Convention, 'Heritage and Beyond', emphasises the wish of

the convention to focus on how heritage operates in the contemporary world and what benefits it can bring people and society, moving away from a conservation-orientated scientific approach (Therond 2009). Themes covered within the report include the contribution of cultural resources to sustainable development through cultural tourism and as an asset to the wider creative industry (Grefe 2009), as well as through conservation work and urban revitalisation (Rypkema 2009). Rypkema suggests that heritage conservation is perhaps the only strategy which simultaneously is an exercise of environmental responsibility, economic responsibility and social/cultural responsibility, which are the three pillars of sustainable development (2009:122-123).

The World Monument Fund's (WMF) mission is the preservation of the world's architectural heritage and significant monuments (WMF, n.d.). Lisa Ackerman, WMF Chief Operating Officer, recently commented on the changing priorities for WMF:

'Protecting heritage sites in WMF's earliest days was presented as important because of the cultural significance of these sites. Today, it is essential to amplify the conversation by demonstrating there is social relevance to the work. Caring for the sites is important but it is not enough to make the case solely on the basis of history and aesthetics. It is critical to discuss what these sites mean to the local community; express the economic benefit to the region; define how many jobs will be created; and address long-term management and sustainability issues.'
(Ackerman 2012:2)

Ackerman is particularly concerned in her analysis about the ability of the heritage sector to communicate the wider social and economic benefits of heritage to other stakeholders, and if the sector has the skills to articulate it and provide data to back that up. While it is able to convince some funders and philanthropists Ackerman argues archaeologists must throw the net wider.

'It is the dialogue with the larger development world that is tougher. On the whole the heritage sector needs more quantifiable data and requires more reports that show a clear relationship between heritage conservation and economic growth.'
(2012:2)

While Ackerman notes a recent shift to include economic and social arguments in the rhetoric

required to campaign for heritage preservation, WMF has considered these issues before. For the proceedings of the conference *'Financing Cultural/Natural Heritage and Sustainable Development'* held in 1996, WMF choose to headline the subsequent report with a quote from Serageldin, then at the World Bank, which stated:

'I am still surprised at how many in the conservation movement fear tourism, rather than recognizing it as a very real ally in finding the financial justification for protecting the cultural heritage. I think we have to tell all those people, 'Friends, the stakes are too high. Let us come together, let us celebrate our strength, and recognize our shortcomings, let us look for the common ground on which we can build and let us proceed from there and not argue about the peripheral issues.'
(Serageldin in Calame 1996:3)

Previous reports and presentations by the WMF have promoted the economic capital of cultural heritage:

'It is now widely recognised that cultural heritage can play a significant part in the economic development of communities in both developed and low-income countries'. (WMF 2009:1).

This same paper sought to understand how heritage can best contribute to development without risking heritage itself. It suggests:

'Preservation is most effective when it strikes a balance between the legitimate economic and social aspirations of its host community (which means poverty alleviation in low-income countries), improves the environmental quality of the context (including the living conditions of people living around a site) and ensures the ongoing and sustainable conservation of the heritage object itself.' (2009:2)

WMF also stresses the need to improve the planning and regulation environment around the use of heritage (WMF 2009). WMF has previously been involved in initiatives to utilise heritage as part of development with projects and research centred on Croatia (Calame 1996), New York (Sassoon 1997) and has recently carrying out an economic impact study of the conservation of Route 66 (WMF 2012).

For the INGOs considered above the agenda of the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development has become of central importance to its justification for heritage conservation and investment. As the introduction to a European Union funded Euromed Heritage conference in Damascus noted:

'Heritage is increasingly seen as a resource to be used not only for cultural promotion, but also for the social development and well-being of populations. This social dimension increasingly forms the foundation of the legitimacy of the human and financial efforts devoted to heritage conservation and restoration'. (Euromed Heritage 2010:5)

While consideration of the contribution of heritage to development and socio-economic goals has been a feature of heritage INGOs for over two decades, this agenda has moved from the sidelines to play a significant role in policy and the outward projection of the contemporary utility and worth of heritage on a world stage. Cultural heritage must be seen to have capital, the ability to offer benefits to people, to have value in this international discourse. The influence of agendas such as the MDGs is telling, with cultural heritage INGOs making concerted efforts to promote the relevance of cultural assets to these goals. These efforts parallel the concepts of 'instrumentalism' and 'attachment' applied to UK heritage organisations, presented and critiqued in the next chapter. The quotes above demonstrate how well recognised the need to communicate this relevance is. Chief among the capitals is economic capital, with the tourism the principle mechanism of its mobilisation. The fact that World Heritage Status has increasingly become an economic tool, when the original idea was perhaps very far from this, is indicative of the increasing economic perspective applied to cultural heritage management. However, for the three main INGOs considered here the persuasion of the utility of heritage as an asset to solve contemporary issues is tempered with the desire to develop policy and guidelines to manage that mobilisation to ensure sustainability. The international heritage sector is equally keen to demonstrate the social and cultural capital possessed by heritage (as discussed by Robinson and Picard and contained in the Faro convention), recognising the need to balance the promotion of the different sorts of capital.

The World Bank

Although not a heritage organisation, the World Bank (WB or 'the Bank') is a major funder of projects involving heritage and development. The Bank, established in 1944, has as its primary goal to reduce poverty and support development (WB 2013). It achieves this goal through offering loans and grants, as well as technical assistance, to fund development projects in a variety of public and private sectors. The Bank considers archaeology and heritage as assets which can help achieve its aims, being described as '*inherent elements of its development and poverty reduction assistance*' (WB 2009a:1). The principle method the bank utilises is tourism (WB 2009a:1; 2009b) and research and projects by the Bank in this regard are grouped under 'Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Tourism' which is itself grouped under 'Urban Development'. A selection of quotes demonstrates its interest in cultural heritage:

'Promoting conservation and reuse of heritage assets for sustainable tourism helps to strengthen the economy beyond the service sector including providing incentives for job creation, urban upgrading, physical improvement of urban environment, general infrastructure, education, and the manufacturing industry' (WB 2009a:1)

'Among other things culture is a resource for economic and social development. When poor communities preserve and develop their cultural assets, they are also generating new economic opportunities. It is possible for communities to generate income from cultural heritage and this creates employment, promotes tourism, stimulates micro enterprise development, fosters private investment and can reduce poverty. Cultural heritage tourism is a fast growing segment of the tourism industry, creating and sustaining jobs including providing opportunities for marginalized groups.' (WB 2007a)

The Bank takes a very pragmatic view of cultural heritage, and the qualities which make it a good investment for its aims (Baker 2009; Sierra 2009; WB 2009a). These include the fact that heritage projects tend to have a higher proportion of labour costs; support the local economy; make cultural heritage available for private sector investment; are often gender inclusive; require local, and simple, tools and knowledge, helping retain spending locally; aid social cohesion and identity; and that the re-use of heritage is better for the environment.

By 2009 the Bank had supported 241 operations (208 lending and 33 non-lending) which have

components in heritage conservation and promotion of the local economy through sustainable tourism – an investment of US\$4billion (Baker 2009). An important source of this funding within the Bank has been the Italian Trust Fund for Culture and Sustainable Development (ITFCSD). Since its establishment in September 2000 until 2009 the ITFCSD had contributed US\$5.74 million to heritage and tourism projects (WB n.d.).

The Bank's recognition of archaeology as an economic asset has evolved over time (WB 2001:3). Initial awareness seems to have developed in the 1980s but was initially a 'do no harm' approach, recognising that heritage was important but not necessary to the Bank's goals (World Bank 2001:30). It is really only in the late 1990s that this position changed with conferences in 1996 and 1997 on the theme, the establishment of the ITFCSD, and the 1999 'framework for action' (WB 2001, 2009a). This framework acknowledged that all the Bank's activities have a social and cultural dimension and that cultural heritage is important both in the socio-cultural context of projects but also as an asset itself (WB 2001:32). The Bank's operational approach to cultural heritage projects has also evolved from single sites for tourists to an 'integrated approach' which embeds cultural heritage issues in wider development goals, including at the community level (WB 2007a, 2009a,b). More recently Licciardi (2011), an urban specialist at the Bank, has outlined an approach to heritage which views it as an asset to aid the sustainable development of cities by creating a symbiotic relationship between communities and economic development, create permanent jobs and promote environmentally friendly strategies.

The World Bank has been interested in hosting and producing research into the economics and benefits of heritage. Pagiola, researching for the Bank, drew parallels between environmental and cultural economics (1996). In 1999, *'Very Special Places: The Architecture and Economics of Intervening in Historic Cities'* (Serageldin 1999b), began the trend of an urban focus, featuring case studies from the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, while also outlining cultural economics concepts. This initial research was built on to provide strategic policy for the Bank to utilise cultural heritage assets in the Middle East and North Africa (WB 2001). More recently the Bank carried out research around the title *'Economics of Uniqueness'* (Licciardi & Amirtahmasebi 2012). The main report pulls together cultural economics and project methodologies to examine why and how to invest in historic city cores and urban cultural heritage for sustainable development. In the conference of the same title the case studies of FYR Macedonia and Georgia are examined to develop methodologies to measure the cost-benefit of investing in cultural heritage (Throsby 2012b). Another recent document

evaluated the partnership of the World Bank and the government of China in integrating cultural heritage conservation in development projects over the past two decades (Ebbe *et al.* 2011).

Despite this evolution of the recognition of cultural heritage as an important component in development, it must be remembered that the Bank's primary goal is poverty alleviation. As is described:

'Since its overarching mandate is poverty reduction, the Bank's assistance to CH (cultural heritage) management aims to find ways to channel, to the extent possible, the patrimony's economic benefits towards employment creation and poverty reduction' (WB 2001:33).

As the most recent documents make clear the driving question is how cultural heritage assets can reduce poverty and promote economic growth (Licciardi & Amirtahmasebi 2012:xiii) and the urban context is stressed because that is where the majority of people, and development concerns, are located, not because this is where the most 'valuable' heritage is. The World Bank acknowledges the variety of economic, cultural and social capital archaeology may have as these are all useful for development goals. Any preservation of cultural heritage is for what it is able to do, not necessarily for the heritage itself.

Lafrenz Samuels has examined the impact of the World Bank's interest and perspective on the value of cultural heritage, arguing (as discussed in Chapter 2) that the Bank is having a large influence on concepts of 'significance' in the absence of economic research within archaeology (2008, 2009). She examines several World Bank projects involving cultural heritage and discovers various problems with their implementation. In Fez, Morocco, local cooperation in the rehabilitation of historic architecture proved difficult as the production of revenue for individual owners was nearly impossible (2009:75-76). The project was rated unsatisfactory for poverty reduction by the Bank itself (Lafrenz Samuels 2010). In another project in southern Morocco (led by a variety of INGOs including UNESCO) tourism investment was channelled by a local person into their own house due to their advantageous political position (Lafrenz Samuels 2009:77). For Jordan, Lafrenz Samuels notes that several projects implemented in that country failed to learn from the problems of previous projects and there are serious problems with economic leakages (2009). She criticises a project in Tunisia, designed to increase the country's heritage tourism, where collected site fees were returned to central

government *'resulting in decreased local economic benefit. Yet the poverty of local communities near the sites was exactly what the project was meant to address'* (2009:80).

Commenting on the project in Tunisia more generally she states that:

'The implications of this translation (World Bank's perspective on the project) include the privileging of specific histories that have the potential to promote economic growth, in particular those narratives most appealing to tourists.' (2008:79-80).

Lafrenz Samuel's research demonstrates the difficulty in implementing projects aiming to mobilise the economic capital of archaeology (discussed more broadly in Chapter 8). She criticises the Bank's narrow focus on tourism as the local population's ability to absorb tourism and the revenue it generates can be limited (2010). However, more important is the influence of the World Bank's politics. Lafrenz Samuels argues that the cases she has studied have more to do with political than practical goals:

'Here I argue that these mobilisations (the projects) have less to do with a critical engagement with poverty, and the inequalities it represents, and more to do with the creation of new arenas for competing political and economic interests that seek to appropriate economic viable heritage resources.' (2008:202).

The large investments and activity by the World Bank demonstrate the value that can be generated for a stakeholder by the economic capital of archaeology and no doubt this has resulted in the preservation of much cultural heritage. However this stakeholder has particular interests in, and goals for, the economic capital, which may impact other capitals of archaeology and the public's ability to use them for sustainable development. The Bank's goal creates a different perspective and management approach to archaeological resources from other heritage organisations and archaeologists in general. As Lafrenz Samuels points out, it is key for archaeologists to develop their own understanding of these issues and be active in balancing the use of the capitals of archaeology so that the value felt by one party does not outweigh that felt by all interested groups.

Applying the Paradigm

A relatively new set of organisations are taking the ideas of ecotourism and ICDPs and applying

them directly to heritage and archaeological sites. These organisations, in contrast to the larger 'global' organisations examined above, are small INGOs set up by groups (or individuals) of predominantly archaeologists who are nonetheless interested in working on a global level to promote ideas of heritage preservation. For both the Global Heritage Fund (GHF) and the Sustainable Preservative Initiative (SPI) the social and economic capital of sites are mobilised through their projects with the explicit purpose of creating value and incentivise the preservation of cultural heritage.

The GHF states their mission *'is to protect, preserve and sustain the most significant and endangered cultural heritage sites in the developing world.'* (Global Heritage Fund n.d.). Reflecting the rhetoric of environmentalists, GHF (2010a) states that there is a 'global crisis' in the destruction of the world's heritage and the fund is set up to respond to that crisis. They argue that the five primary threats to heritage are development pressure, unsustainable tourism, insufficient management, looting, and war and conflict (2010a). Through its documents and websites GHF bemoans the lack of international appreciation of the severity of the conservation problem, national and international funding for it, skilled experts, and effective monitoring and enforcement of existing policies designed to protect heritage (2009a, 2010a, n.d.).

GHF's solution is to follow the approach of ecotourism and ICDPs i.e. to mobilise the ability of heritage sites to contribute to sustainable development agendas, such as poverty alleviation, to provide the incentives for stakeholders to preserve sites. They argue that solutions to the preservation crisis must address the underlying economic incentives which drive destruction.

'The majority of inhabitants in developing nations, particularly in rural areas, are often directly dependent on natural or cultural resources for their livelihood. The realities of everyday life and the daily struggle for existence preclude long-term and sustainable investments in the future, including the preservation of cultural or natural assets. Growing global concern over poverty has increased pressure on preservationists to find 'win-win' solutions for preserving cultural assets without ignoring the plight of nearby communities. For preservation projects to succeed, it is imperative to address the root social and economic factors that frame human relationships with cultural heritage sites. Effective and sustainable preservation of cultural assets requires a strategy that makes preservation economically beneficial

to local stakeholders and empowers them to become stewards of these assets over the long term.' (2009b:7)

GHF aims to establish conservation and heritage tourism projects which link preservation and sustainable development. They argue that heritage sites *'have the capacity to generate a wide range of local and regional economic activities that create prosperity, generate pride and improve quality of life.'* (GHF 2009b:15). GHF uses the comparison of El Mirador, one of its projects in Guatemala, with Tikal, another nearby archaeological site to outline what they would like to achieve. They argue that, unlike El Mirador, Tikal is being protected from threats such as looting and agriculture due to the fact that at Tikal preservation and sustainable development have been successfully linked. As they point out *'The programs at Tikal have been so successful that the site generates thousands of jobs and more than \$200 million of revenue for the country per year'* (GHF 2009b:3). For El Mirador, GHF gives one example of the type of success it would like to achieve at the site with the story of one local, a former looter who took antiquities to be able to support his family, who now, thanks to the projects, has a job as a guard protecting the remains and can support the higher education of his children (2009b:21).

GHF aims to achieve the dual aims of preservation and development through its 'preservation by design' approach to sites to establish a 'cycle of success' where tourism supports economic development which in turn supports preservation (GHF 2009a). GHF is keen to embed its strategies in scientific conservation, stressing that in its approach to each project it carefully analyses a site's social and cultural values, economic opportunities, political and legislative context, and by seeking local, government and international support (2009a). They are also keen to evaluate if potential projects are both attractive to visitors but also consider surrounding tourism infrastructure and visiting patterns to try and ensure the tourism they promote is itself not damaging the site (GHF 2009c:Appendix, 2010a).

As well as provide local incentives GHF aims to leverage funds and value at other stakeholder levels. GHF argues that the demonstration of an economic impact from archaeology can provide a *'compelling reason for wide-scale public, business and governmental support'* (GHF 2006a:2). The most blatant appeal to the international community comes through their report *'Saving our Vanishing Heritage'* (GHF 2010a). In it they outline the 'Silent Crisis' of heritage destruction going unnoticed in developing countries, offering lists of sites most in peril, and pointing out how at 92% of considered sites the causes of destruction are man-made and

preventable (they have since produced a similar document focusing on Asia's heritage (GHF 2012)). The language of 'endangerment' and sites 'gone forever' echoes environmentalist arguments for wildlife and biodiversity preservation, inviting readers to imagine it were the Statue of Liberty or Mount Rushmore being destroyed through neglect or mismanagement (GHF 2010a:13). To persuade the international community to act GHF promotes the '\$100 Billion a Year Opportunity', calculating that tourism to heritage sites in the developing world will be worth US\$100 billion in 2025, up from US\$24.6 billion today (GHF 2010a). As well as this tourism revenue, GHF argues that heritage conservation leads to economic impact through jobs and household income; city centre revitalization; increased property values; small business incubation; and multiplier effects in supply chains. GHF acknowledges that ICDPs can lead to negative outcomes but suggests this can be guarded against through better research and models, and strengthening partnerships between heritage organisations, governments and the private sector (GHF 2010a:9).

While the methodology behind the figures in 'Saving our Vanishing Heritage' is dubious (discussed in Chapter 9) it serves the stark purpose of attracting interest from other stakeholders. Part of the GHF model is that it persuades other parties, usually governments and the private sectors, to match the funds it invests, multiplying the impact of its own funding (for El Mirador GHF funds of US\$6 million were added to by the Guatemala government (US\$4 million) and the Guatemala private sector (US\$3million)) (GHF 2009b). At the root of this is the presentation of economic capital of archaeology. Another key group for funding is the public themselves, which is discussed below.

While GHF emphasises the importance of economic capital and uses it as a 'marketing' tool for sites, it also relies heavily of scientific approaches to conservation and heritage management. Most of the project updates featured on its website are conservation project goals such as stabilised buildings or completed scanning projects (GHF n.d.). The Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI), while following a similar broad philosophy, relies almost exclusively on the power of value created by economic capital for the preservation of archaeology. The SPI '*seeks to save and preserve the world's cultural heritage by providing transformative and sustainable economic opportunities to poor communities in which the archaeological communities are located*' (SPI n.d.). Similar to GHF, they wish to focus on 'endangered' heritage and '*SPI believes the best way to preserve cultural heritage is creating or supporting locally owned businesses whose success is tied to that preservation*'. SPI see looting, agriculture, grazing and residential and commercial uses as the primary threats to sites (Coben

forthcoming). Their approach is motivated by a perception that current approaches are failing:

'Existing preservation paradigms have proved inadequate and unsustainable, primarily due to the absence of an economic reason for local communities to continue preserving sites after the departure of archaeologists and conservators. How can someone tell a poor person not to economically exploit a site, even if destructive, without providing a viable economic opportunity that provides income to that person while simultaneously preserving cultural heritage? SPI seeks to create a new paradigm to solve this problem.' (SPI n.d.)

That new paradigm mobilises the economic capital of archaeology through tourism, providing an economic use for the site for local people. Coben, the founder of SPI, explains:

'SPI exploits the explosion of extreme tourism and globalization, which has created an enormous potential for locally based tourism and artisan businesses. Even small local economic benefits from these sources can compete successfully against looting and destructive alternative uses of sites. In addition, the creation of local businesses with a vested interest in the preservation and maintenance of a site provides an ongoing and long-term source of incentive and funding for site preservation, as well as all of the benefits normally associated with economic development in poor communities'. (Coben forthcoming:3)

Taking a different approach to the GHF, SPI aims to be involved in more low-key sites, with 'micro-grants' (typically US\$10,000 to \$30,000) (SPI n.d.). SPI offers micro-credit schemes to enhance economic opportunities which are associated with the archaeology, such as tourism guiding, souvenirs, and restaurants. SPI is a young organisation, and currently is principally involved in Peru, although it is looking to develop projects in other countries, notably Jordan (see Chapter 10). Its flagship project is San Jose de Moro, a cemetery site in Peru. Here they have provided a grant for US\$48,000 and aided the development of tourist and artisanal services, generating 12 permanent and 20 temporary jobs in the community (Coben forthcoming, although see discussion of Glassup 2011 in Chapter 8). SPI is built on a philosophy of venture capital, where seed funding is given to provide incentives to develop locally owned business which are economically self-sufficient, rather than manage the whole process. In contrast to GHF, SPI states it will not fund conservation, except where this may improve tourism appeal, instead focusing on funding businesses so that the archaeological

sites become 'assets' to preserve (Coben forthcoming). As a result conservation entirely rests on the archaeology's ability to generate funds and benefits which persuade people to preserve it. Coben (forthcoming) criticises 'preservation paradigms' that focus on the conservation of the site alone, arguing that these are often controlled by national governments rather than local communities and provide no employment beyond the actual project, removing the economic incentive to preserve sites.

For both SPI and GHF, obtaining funding to invest in projects is a part of their strategy as organisations. A key component of funding for both organisations is private philanthropy from individuals. A recent Financial Times magazine (Wrathall 2012) entitled 'How to Spend It', featured an article showing opportunities to give to heritage projects, with GHF featuring prominently. The article contains the by-line '*Investing in the heritage of developing countries is one of the most sustainable ways of lifting people out of poverty*' (Wrathall 2012:11). Comments by wealthy individuals featured in the article demonstrate their appreciation for the strategies of local employment and being able to contribute to projects in areas they had previously had interest. The article comments that:

'For a philanthropist increasingly looking for demonstrable results and added value in the causes they support, heritage philanthropy offers projects that really can pay dividends in developing countries socially, economically and environmentally. "I wouldn't support a project if there weren't some public benefit," says Helen Hamlyn, widow of the publishing magnate and philanthropist Paul Hamlyn.' (Wrathall 2012:14)

Representatives of the GHF in the article are keen to point out the quality of heritage projects as a philanthropic opportunity, highlighting the 'experiential' nature, involving visits and a more hands-on approach:

'Heritage philanthropy, he (James Hooper, GHF) says, mainly "appeals to very internationally aware, outward-looking people who want to see the effects of their generosity in action"' (Wrathall 2012:14)

In this view the capital of heritage is offered as an investable commodity with a social, cultural and economic return, appealing to personal motivations for individuals to 'do good'. SPI has been involved with Milken Institute 'Financial Labs' which have explored applying traditional

financial products, such as bonds and investments, to heritage (Milken Institute 2008, 2011). New initiatives have been developed to directly appeal to the wider public for funds. CommonSites (www.commonsites.net) is an initiative which promotes heritage projects around the world for people to donate to online, so projects are supported through 'crowdfunding'. The projects heavily promote their wider social, economic and cultural goals to appeal to potential funders, while the website itself aims to maximise communication between projects and funders to increase the connection felt by donors. Very recently, SPI has also launched crowdfunding initiatives to generate capital for two new projects in Peru (see SPI n.d.), while GHF has done so for a project in Romania (GHF n.d.).

Other organisations are also following the ICDP approaches of GHF and SPI. MOCHE (Mobilising Opportunity through Community Heritage Empowerment), operating in Peru, began an initiative with a desire to find sustainable ways to prevent looting at sites that the founding archaeologists worked on (MOCHE, n.d.). They developed community programmes of heritage education, water sanitation, health clinics, sewage treatment and other services around affected sites. As the website describes *'In exchange for our assistance, communities agree to protect specific local archaeological sites'* (MOCHE, n.d.).

Elsewhere, Heritage Watch has implemented projects in Cambodia designed to curb the destruction caused by the antiquities trade which itself is caused by poverty (O'Reilly forthcoming). The NGO has instigated workshops and widespread education and public awareness campaigns but also wished to tackle the poverty motivating looting. It has established small-scale tourism industries and conducted training in tourism skills for local communities. Heritage Watch has also set-up the 'Heritage Friendly Tourism' campaign, to modify tourists behaviour through discouraging the buying of antiquities and encouraging the patronage of certified local tourist services who were seen to contribute to the preservation, rather than destruction, of heritage. Both MOCHE and Heritage Watch, while focusing on a small number of sites, are established by archaeologists based in foreign countries and have sought investment and interest in their projects on an international basis.

GHF, SPI, MOCHE and Heritage Watch are all applying the ideas of ICDPs and ecotourism to archaeological sites. While they are supported internationally, their arena of direct activity is that of the local level, generating benefits from tourism, or wider development projects, to project archaeological sites from looting or other damage. All the organisations are relatively young, and the long-term success of the initiatives is yet to be tested (see the discussion in

Chapter 8). The support of their projects relies on persuading a number of stakeholders, many international. GHF and SPI seek to leverage funds from governments, the private sector and private individuals. GHF has produced documents to persuade of the need for action and support worldwide, while both SPI and GHF have engaged strategies to market their project as philanthropic opportunities. The rhetoric used to persuade stakeholders to invest is notable similar to that of environmentalists. The organisations make the case that archaeology is endangered, and needs swift action, while arguing that previous approaches have failed and new strategies are required. Economic incentives play a large part in these strategies, both locally ('practically'), arguing that economic benefits are the most powerful tool to encourage preservation, and internationally ('politically'), persuading that the loss of archaeology is a loss of a desperately needed economic asset.

Pyburn (forthcoming) has suggested that such rhetoric and strategies from INGOs may demonstrate the existence of 'disaster capitalism'. She argues that when stakeholders such as multinational corporations, NGOs and heritage organisations complain about the loss of sites they are not primarily concerned with the loss of archaeology, instead:

'..they promote the idea that looting and site destruction are rampant and creating a crisis in order to justify moving into local areas to promote preservation of resources and take control of them.' (forthcoming:4)

She compares the situation to natural disasters which create an 'aperture' for outside interested to take advantage of local situations for further their own ends. She recognises the same situation happening in archaeology and the stages it takes:

'The scenario begins with publicity about the impending loss of material heritage, cast as a disaster of enormous proportions – a loss to all human kind and certainly a loss to the local communities who are about to become the victims of their own ignorance either because they are victims of disaster or because they are not promoting site preservation. In stage two some benevolent government bureau or civic minded multi-national corporation or development agency, often in collaboration with a well-meaning archaeologist (from somewhere else) is shown to be mitigating the "disaster" by "educating" the locals about the true value of local archaeological resources which they must learn not to damage in order to develop pride in their identity, and creating new jobs, usually first as labor

underwriting research and then through tourism promoted as a “sustainable industry”. Stage 3 is not usually reported in the news, except as glowing praise for the benefactors’ contribution to national economic wellbeing and global heritage, or occasionally as complaints about the ungrateful locals’ failure to own the project they have so generously been given.’ (forthcoming:5)

The rhetoric that Pyburn describes is certainly recognisable in the approaches of the INGOs considered above. Whether or not these organisations can be accused of ‘disaster capitalism’ is uncertain, however Pyburn’s critique does serve to highlight the need for the goals and ethical boundaries to be clear and transparent.

Private Sector Investment in Archaeology

The strategies of GHF and SPI have marketed heritage projects as investable opportunities, with the private sector as one of the possible investors. Starr has investigated the motivations for businesses to invest in heritage resources and the issues and ethics which surround it (2008, 2010, 2012). She argues that funding is shifting away from governments to NGOs, the private sector, development banks and community groups. The agendas of global increases in poverty and population mean that heritage resources are targeted for their ability to contribute economically and socially.

She observes that the private sector currently interacts with heritage in two main ways (2010). The first is with various approaches to branding and advertising. This can include sponsorship and brand association with heritage sites or projects, the use of heritage sites for commercial events and films and the direct use of available space at heritage sites for advertising. Starr notes that while offering advertising space can be valuable for heritage, a lot of potential revenue is lost due to lack of control over images of famous sites. The second main way is the privatisation of heritage site management. While subcontracting heritage management to private firms may be attractive to countries Starr notes that corruption and poor use of revenue are not uncommon, particularly examining the case of Angkor Wat (2010, 2012).

Starr further researches the involvement of the private sector in heritage through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) (2008, 2010, 2012). CSR is an idea that businesses should not just be interested in profit but aim for a ‘triple-bottom line’ of economic, social and environmental performance. The pursuit of this holistic goal is attractive for companies through enhanced

public reputation but also for better recruitment of staff and to maintain customer loyalty, so-called 'strategic philanthropy'. There is increasingly pressure on companies to act ethically and contribute more widely, and in 2008 CSR assets reached US\$2.71 trillion, principally for social and environmental programmes.

Starr suggests that CSR programmes focusing on heritage could be used to make up for the lack of funding from other sources. Some initiatives have been developed, including those by the GHF, a partnership between the WMF and American Express, and the involvement of National Geographic, IBM, and media companies in various projects (2010, 2012). However, cultural heritage currently has a low profile on the CSR agenda and heritage and the arts rated lowest in priority in an international survey conducted by Starr. She therefore argues for the need of heritage to fight for CSR resources, suggesting that archaeologists must first draw attention to the need for conservation and make a strong business case of how heritage can address CSR objectives. In particular Starr suggests the use of World Heritage as a catalyst for projects to apply an 'international top brand' which has weight with businesses (2008).

While the private sector represents a crucial source of revenue for heritage, Starr notes ethical issues and challenges with its involvement. Divergent interests of companies and heritage managers can cause problems. The association of certain companies with certain sites may not be ideal if perceived values of the site are not aligned. Corporate use and sponsorship may restrict public access to sites or to the results of research. CSR can also be viewed with cynicism and be complicated to implement. Companies would also be interested in high-profile sites which may leave lesser-known sites underfunded and create disproportionate visitor numbers.

Starr stresses the need of heritage managers to be aware of the use of corporate financing in heritage but this must be based on a more extensive dialogue and trust between heritage and the private sector. While this is a very valuable source of funds for heritage she notes '*their use for profit-driven purposes can potentially be at odds with the principles of heritage preservation*' (2010:147).

Conclusion

As part of wider associations with sustainable development, the economic capital of archaeology plays a strong role in the current justification of resources for heritage and the generation of value for it. Starr has described international heritage organisations as *'playing the sustainable development card'* (2010:163) to ensure that heritage remains relevant to contemporary concerns. The above accounts and recent activity certainly shows the need for heritage INGOs to be seen to contribute to this agenda. The importance of this argument has developed relatively recently, although interest in the economic and social capital of archaeology has existed for at least two decades. Other INGOs are explicitly applying the strategies of ICDPs and ecotourism to preserve local sites, using tourism and development benefits to encourage local communities to value archaeological remains. For these INGOs the economic capital of sites plays a major role in the rhetoric to persuade other stakeholders, including private individuals to donate to their projects. The strategy employed reflects in many ways those of environmentalists discussed in Chapter 5. While economic capital is important, individuals are also interested in the holistic, and mutually supporting, social and cultural benefits that these projects supply. Similar motives are important for private sector interest in providing resources for, and association with, heritage projects through concepts like CSR. As a result, much of the relationship between economic capital and value at the international stakeholder level shows a mixture of 'political' and 'practical' approaches (as discussed in Chapter 5), with the ability of local projects to offer benefits and protect heritage on a local level providing the marketing to international stakeholders, which in turn provide the resources to support such projects. In contrast the World Bank's involvement in heritage is primarily motivated by the ability of archaeological resources to serve its own institutional goals.

Lafrenz Samuels has raised concerns about the impact that the World Bank's agenda and perspective is having on projects and the use of heritage for economic development in general. Pyburn and Starr have also both raised concerns about the role of, and intentions of, international companies and NGOs in heritage projects and preservation. This highlights the importance of understanding the consequences of the promotion of individual capitals and the impact it may have on other of archaeology's capitals. Further there is the need for better understanding of the politics and ethics of archaeologists in these situations. Lafrenz Samuels has been most explicit in her call for archaeologists to get involved at the level of international practice:

'As archaeologists it is time that we become more involved in the rise of international development programs that use material heritage for economic growth; through specifically archaeological approaches we can make valuable contributions to this emergent phenomenon.' (2009:84)

The ICOMOS president above noted the novelty of the collaborations with other organisations and parties involved in the use of archaeology as part of economic development (p. 107). Throsby (2012a) also comments on the lack of research on the economic and cultural impacts of heritage investments in the name of development. This lack of familiarity with and awareness of development practice is a pressing concern which needs addressing. Similarly, Breen and Rhodes (2010) have stressed the current divide between archaeologists and development practitioners:

'As archaeological practitioners and members of the global archaeological community, we have a responsibility to develop our current level of engagement with individuals and groups from outside our immediate socio-political environments and in so doing, develop the practice and theory of archaeology both for the positive evolution of the discipline and for positive social equality..... However, the subject needs to change and begin a period of examination to address how it can play a future role in helping bringing about good change and better society. Archaeologists cannot take for granted their discipline's role and must continually strive to promote a subject that has relevance to present and future generations.' (2010:146-7)

Chapter 7

The National Perspective on Economic Capital: the UK

The second level of stakeholder analysis is that of the national level. This chapter will examine the relationship between economic capital and value for governments and the public-supported heritage sector. What role does the economic capital of archaeology play in justifying government funding for its protection and promotion, and what are the mechanisms of appraisal and communication between archaeologists and the state? As discussed in Section 1, due to market failure, much of the institutional support for heritage comes from governments.

This chapter will focus on the case study of the United Kingdom and its heritage organisations. However, other countries have been interested in measuring the economic impact of their heritage (Gray 2007; for Australia - The Allen Consulting Group 2005a, 2005b), conducted cost-benefit analysis (for France - Greffe 2004) or have constructed or implemented financial initiatives to overcome the issues of externalities and public goods (Antolovic 2007; Milken Institute 2008).

This chapter will first examine the history of attitudes towards how the value of culture and cultural heritage is communicated to the UK government. Secondly it will examine the reports that have been produced by the heritage sector in the UK that detail the economic capital of heritage, and the use of this data in advocacy and justification for public resources. What is clear from both sections is that economic capital has indeed played a crucial role in generating value for archaeology in the UK, however little consensus has been reached on how to measure and present this element, to the detriment of advocacy for archaeology in general.

Accounting for Value

Researchers have identified a fundamental shift in the relationship between government and the 'cultural sector' (including Arts and Cultural Heritage) during the late 1970s and early 1980s when 'instrumental' (as discussed in Chapter 2 – benefits of culture which are considered 'ancillary', usually economic and social impacts) justifications of state support for culture first came to the forefront (Belfiore 2012; Gray 2007). Belfiore (2012) has tracked the

'instrumentalization' of the rationales for public support for the arts and culture. Following Gray (2002), she outlines the idea that instrumentalism is an outcome of the cultural sector perceiving itself as low-profile and therefore 'attaching' itself to more prominent areas of the state to gain relevance. Attachment can be top-down when governments themselves impose agendas (and usually targets) for the sector to meet to seem more connected to social and economic benefits. There is also a bottom-up perspective, where the cultural sector itself strives to demonstrate its 'usefulness' in socio-economic terms, seeing this as a path to secure higher funding levels, causing a focus on impact evaluation (also Gray 2008). Gray describes this 'attachment' to wider policies as a possible pragmatic survival strategy:

'If sectoral development, or survival in the worst case, depends upon the extent to which policy areas can demonstrate their real contribution to a range of other concerns that are perceived to be of greater political, social or economic significance to policy-makers, then it is not surprising that there will be a shift in policy emphases towards these new requirements....' (2007:210)

For Gray (2007) the chief 'concerns' which have been increasingly demanded by government since the early 1980s are primarily economic, and secondly, social. Gray suggests that the instrumentalization of policies depends both on wider shifts in policy expectations (such as NPM and Public Value discussed below) and inherent weaknesses or attitudes within policy sectors. Gray (2007) suggests that the root of the instrumentalization of cultural policy lay in a change from 'use-value' to 'exchange-value' in wider society – an 'ideological reorientation' that was perhaps rooted in the economic turmoil of the 1970s which influenced changes in managerial and public sector ideologies.

Belfiore (2012) argues that instrumentalism, particularly with the arts, is nothing new, and that arguments about culture's 'usefulness' have gone back 2500 years, reflecting on classical sources on the nature of art. Commenting on the contemporary context, she situates the popularity of instrumentalism in the current neo-liberal frameworks where *'arguments rooted in notions of utility and impact are perceived to be rhetorically powerful; they are powerful because they can (and indeed, they have proved to be) persuasive in a policy context'* (2012:105 – 'persuasive' originally italicised). Belfiore defines 'positive' and 'defensive' instrumentalism where positive instrumentalism is a 'constructive, ambitious and bold' articulation of value and the contribution of culture to individuals and society. Defensive

instrumentalism conversely has the same goal of protection but is not confident or coherent and leads to no new opportunities beyond itself.

In the UK, the shift in policy began in the cultural sector with the Conservative government from 1979 and the introduction of 'New Public Management' (NPM) (Selwood 2002:19). This philosophy aimed to apply the efficiency of markets to public services, including the ideas of measured outcomes and value for money. Under this policy the cultural sector was expected to contribute to the government's wider economic and social policies and show evidence for doing so. Previously, as O'Brien describes, '*evidence based policy was an alien concept*' (2012:276). Selwood states that the need for the cultural sector to '*justify subsidies in economic terms, which led to the cultural sector's identification of itself as a wealth creator, dates from this period*' (2002:19). The first major studies into the economic importance of culture were produced at this time, with contributions from Nissel (1983) and Myerscough (1988). Interest in this area can also be seen in the Museums Journal in 1979, which discussed the economic value, and the role in tourism and enterprise, in museums (Beaulieu 1979; Emery-Wallis 1979; Lickorish 1979).

NPM set the tone of cultural sector communication with government and the broad philosophy was continued under the New Labour government from 1997, continuing the shift from state support to market support of culture (Belfiore 2012; Selwood 2002). Labour's approach aimed for a cultural policy free of ideology which relied on measurement and data to inform decision-making. The early period of Labour's approach is characterised by targets and evidence, with much research discussing measurement approaches. The power of 'instrumental' benefits to provide a case for support is evidenced by a quote from Chris Smith, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport in Labour's first term:

'The Treasury won't be interested in the intrinsic merits of nurturing beauty or fostering poetry or even 'enhancing quality of life'' (quoted in Selwood: 2002: 71)

Labour's approach was highly criticised and stimulated debate about how to value culture. Belfiore (2012), while praising the increased funding the sector received during the early Labour government, characterises the approach of the heritage sector during this period as defensive instrumentalism, which focused on evidence and targets to the extent that it acted as a substitute for more constructive articulations of values and beliefs at the root of cultural policies. Selwood (2002) has argued that much of the data collected to measure the impact of

the cultural sector up to that point was methodologically flawed, and reflects policy intentions more than actual impact, describing much of the data gathering as a 'spurious exercise'.

The reaction to NPM, and to its narrow targets and evidence, led to the creation of the idea of 'Public Value' (Kelly *et al.* 2002). NPM is criticised in this approach as *'those things that were easy to measure tended to become objectives and those that couldn't were downplayed or ignored'* (Kelly *et al.* 2002:9). Matarasso earlier criticised NPM, saying it *'misses the real purpose of the arts, which is not to create wealth but to contribute to a stable confident and creative society'* (1997:v, quoted in Selwood 2002:50). Public Value is described as *'the value created by government through services, laws, regulation and other actions'* (Kelly *et al.* 2002:4). Key to the concept is that this value is defined by the public themselves (reflecting cultural economics) and that the benefits of public policy should include factors such as trust, fairness and social norms, widening the picture of possible benefits (Kelly *et al.* 2002:9). Kelly *et al.* argue more should be done to find out what the public think (2002:31) however acknowledged the difficulty with appraisal techniques and decision-making, pointing out that WTP studies would be one conceivable method to establish public opinion. However they still push for the need for a formal appraisal mechanism which takes account of all values. In summary, Kelly *et al.* state:

'Public value offers a broader way of measuring government performance and guiding policy decision. Taking this holistic approach, looking at the totality of the impact of government, could help improve policy decision – and improve the relationship between government and citizens.' (2002:35)

While public value applies to many areas of government a similar reaction to NPM took place within the cultural sector with the 'Valuing Culture' conference debating new approaches in 2003. As Hewison describes:

'..(the conference) was happening in a much wider context: that of the evolution of a theory of Public Value to articulate the non-monetary benefits of public administration, and at the same time an intensifying critique of the efficacy of the measures of social and economic impact that were being used to justify cultural expenditure.' (2012:209).

The conference is seen as a landmark in attempts to re-orient how cultural heritage presented itself to government in the UK. Tessa Jowell, the successor of Chris Smith, spoke there and later embraced the ideas of public value in cultural policy outlining her ideas in two essays '*Government and the Value of Culture*' (2004) and '*Better Places to Live*' (2005). In the former she forwards the idea that culture must be accessible for all and that the government must be accountable in making sure that culture provides real benefits saying '*we need to find a way to demonstrate the personal value added which comes from engagement with complex art – "culture" in my defined sense*' (Jowell 2004:5). She also alludes to the NPM by saying '*Too often politicians have been forced to debate culture in terms only of its instrumental benefit to other agendas...explaining our investment in culture only in terms of something else*' (Jowell 2004: 9). She argues that culture should be valued in and of itself and she points out the challenge to the cultural sector that they must understand more about the intrinsic value of culture and how to measure it, alongside instrumental values.

In '*Better Places to Live*' (2005) she focuses on the built environment and points out that it is valued for its economic, educational and social policy benefits but not for its cultural ones. She asks '*How can we best capture and present evidence for the value of that heritage?*' (Jowell 2005:24). The document asked heritage organisations for responses, and in their replies there is a strong preoccupation with value measurement and dissatisfaction at past methods, with one organisation stating '*Discussion of values tends to focus on considerations of direct utility or cost-benefit analysis*' (DCMS n.d.:7).

The consultancy firm, Demos, also reacted to the changing situation with their conceptual model of the Cultural Value Triangle (Hewison & Holden 2006; Holden 2004). As outlined in Section 1 they identify three values of culture:

- *Intrinsic Value*: the individual's experience of heritage intellectually, emotionally and spiritually.
- *Instrumental Value*: the ancillary effects of heritage where it is used to achieve social and economic purpose.
- *Institutional Value*: the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public.

These three values are associated with the public, politicians and policymakers, and professionals respectively. The model aims to incorporate the broad ideas of public value and

put 'intrinsic' value on an equal footing with instrumental values to try and readdress the balance as well as include institutional value.

The public value of cultural heritage was discussed in the 2006 conference '*Capturing the Public Value of Heritage*' (Clark 2006a,b). It also informed various theoretical methodological approaches at this time in cultural heritage (discussed further below).

A recent journal edition asked experts to reflect on the success of the '*Valuing Culture*' debate. Hewison (2012) sums up as follows:

'In simple terms, the Valuing Culture debate is an argument between two concepts, both of which have a valid claim on the formation of cultural policy: Value for Money – and Money for Values. Value for Money suggests that public money spent in support of culture has to be spent effectively, and properly accounted for. Money for values accepts these principles, but believes that the purposes of this expenditure reach beyond narrowly instrumental social and economic impacts towards aesthetic, emotional, even spiritual effects. Value for money demands quantitative measures, Money for Values calls for qualitative judgements. At the close of 2011, in spite of all attempts to produce a nuanced resolution of the differences between these approaches, the Value for Money argument prevails.'
(2012:209)

While Hewison admits that Jowell's successor ended targets as part of cultural policy, he argues it is still in an 'instrumental embrace' and has heritage ultimately failed to develop a way forward. Rylance notes that:

'At times the argument seems paralysed by the pull of the black hole of that tired binary: instrumental as opposed to intrinsic worth – as though cultural acts cannot possess both' (2012:211).

But he also remarks on the benefit of the debate itself to aid the sector into developing methodologies and sharpen their articulations of their own sense of purpose and worth. Bakshi (2012) notes that the original conference had an optimism that a new language would emerge capable of reflecting and capturing the full range of values of culture (mirroring Mazzanti's optimism seen in Chapter 2), but that this initiative has ultimately failed. He

identifies three reasons for this; insufficient multidisciplinary dialogues; a dearth of rigorous valuation studies and not enough learning how to do these through doing; and lastly a failing of cultural leadership in developing new cultural value frameworks.

Reflecting on the current government's cultural policy, Davies and Selwood (2012) find an 'arms-length' approach, compared to New Labour's 'hands-on' one. They are disappointed by the current approach to advocacy by the sector which is not being used to clarify purposes, organisations and accountability. They reflect Selwood's comment from a decade earlier stating '*evidence of cultural value in England is very far from being used as a sophisticated tool for public policy making, and that rhetoric and taste seem to matter more*' (2012:203). Belfiore (2012) further notes an entrenchment of defensive instrumentalism in the post-New Labour era, spurred by reaction to the economic crisis and the campaigns to prevent cuts in the cultural sector. Commenting on the campaigns leading up to government spending decisions she states:

'...it is immediately evident that what characterised (the campaigns) was a clear flavour of 1980s nostalgia in the shape of the revival of old – yet still reliable in times of crisis – arguments based on economic instrumentalism. (2012:108)

Belfiore forwards as an example of instrumentalism the document '*Cultural Capital: A manifesto for the future*', collectively published by the main cultural and heritage organisations in the UK and launched at the British Museum (Arts Council *et al.* 2010). The case made in the document is mainly economic, despite the manifesto's tagline stressing both economic and social impacts (Burtenshaw 2010). Key to the argument presented is data from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF)-led report on the value of heritage tourism to the UK (discussed below). However, as well as demonstrating a reliance of economic capital for advocacy, the document also illuminates the polarised intrinsic/instrumental debate highlighted by Rylance (Burtenshaw 2010). The manifesto was launched to banners proclaiming 'You Can Bank On Culture', however in the document itself there is an argument that '*The arts are worth investing in for their own sake*' (Don Forts MP in Arts Council 2010:12). Grayson Perry, a celebrated artist there to help promote the manifesto, was quoted in the media saying:

'I do believe there is time for a debate when politicians start realising not just the economic benefits of culture. . . but that cultural institutions can lead the debate. There are other ways of measuring the success of a country. Post-recession,

perhaps now is the time to start putting values and specifics on non-economic ways of valuing what is a good society.’ (Telegraph, 2010)

The mixed messages of the approach serve to weaken both arguments and further the perceived intrinsic/instrumental divide. The media reaction to the manifesto was equally polarised. One newspaper praised the approach:

‘They are right: the arts should be regarded as a money-creating rather than merely money-consuming part of the economy...’ (Evening Standard, 2010).

Others described the approach as ‘idiotic’ (Morrison 2010), while others felt that:

‘.. it is a sad comment on the terms in which arts policy is discussed in this country that it has to be conducted on the basis of its economic value. The arts matter because they contribute to the quality of life of a community and the growth in the imagination of the individual’ (Independent 2010)

As a result, ‘*Cultural Capital*’ reflects the disappointment seen by the commentators above for the sector’s failure to develop a collective idea of how to present itself to the outside world, and evidence for the ‘tired binary’ of culture and economics. The media response in many ways also echoes that given to the UK NEA ecosystem valuation discussed in Chapter 5.

As noted above, the quality of data used to present arguments has been criticised, notably by Selwood. However, equally the form of that data and the models and methodologies used to create it has been an issue since the Valuing Culture debate. The ideology of public value prompted the heritage sector to search for measurement systems which accounted for the full range of the values of heritage, but could still produce data and quantitative measurements to inform policy and meet the criteria set out by government for this (reflection the interests of cultural economics at this time). The Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), in collaboration with English Heritage, HLF and the Department of Transport, commissioned research into the application of WTP studies to heritage and the scope for ‘value transfer’ – the use of previous value studies to provide data to appraise new projects (eftec 2005). While the report concluded that value transfer may theoretically work for heritage resources the very shallow data pool of WTP studies available to analyse meant that it was not currently feasible (a situation which has not greatly changed since).

In 2006, together with Accenture, the National Trust, one of the largest holders of heritage in the UK, produced the report *'Demonstrating the Public Value of Heritage'* (National Trust & Accenture 2006), which begins with the statement:

'The heritage sector faces a number of challenges in demonstrating the benefits of heritage to the nation. It needs to build a more persuasive and robust approach if it is to move closer to the centre of public policy priorities and gain its fair share of already limited resources.' (2006:7)

The report criticises the contemporary public value approach for a lack of precision, quantification, analysis and consideration of cost efficiency. As a result the report produces a value model which includes assessment of user experience, impact on local community and benefit to the wider population, each with particular weightings. Each area of assessment is given performance indicators, aiming to provide quantitative measures. While, as seen below, the model influences other practitioners in this area, it does not seem that the model has been taken up in any subsequent evaluations.

At a similar time, research was started by the Museum, Libraries and Archives (MLA) Council, and its regional sub-organisations into exploring the available methods to understand the economic and social impact of its sector. Horton and Spence (2006) considered archives specifically for Yorkshire MLA Council, and explored cultural economics methodologies, recommending stated preference methods, however without firm conclusions. A larger exercise for the whole sector was carried out by Jura Consultants for the MLA Council and MLA South East (Jura 2008). This exercise, considering a range of techniques, recommended the use of Social Return On Investment (SROI), a technique designed to provide a quantitative metric which includes social and economic impacts. This recommendation led to a further discussion paper from nef consulting for MLA specifically discussing this technique (nef 2009). The technique has been applied in some limited cases (Arts Council 2012).

DCMS has engaged in its own data collection. Since 2005, the department has run the annual 'Taking Part' survey which assesses levels of engagement in culture, leisure and sport in England (DCMS 2013). The reports give data on the percentage of adults and children who report they have visited heritage sites or museums, galleries and archives in the past year,

including the breakdown of types within those categories and regional differences within England.

This data was used by the *Culture and Sport Evidence (CASE)* programme, established in 2008, seeking to understand what drives engagement, what impact it has, and how we value it for economic appraisal (Cooper 2012). The programme aimed to identify and pool evidence across all culture and sport sectors and create frameworks for understanding value and impacts. This was partly motivated by being able to better communicate with, and represent, the DCMS sector to policy makers and the treasury (Cooper 2012:282). Cooper states:

'CASE is a serious attempt to build an argument for cultural investment on the Treasury's own terms. Rather than ignore or attempt to bypass that process, it tackles it head on.' (Cooper 2012:289)

The programme has created a variety of resources and databases of information on culture and sport engagement (CASE 2010a). It is worth noting that 'heritage' case studies in the CASE database (not including museums) make up only 4% of available data, and only 1% (two studies) of all case studies which are classed as 'high quality'. The CASE programme applies the methodology of subjective well-being (SWB), argued to overcome the shortcomings of WTP-based data (CASE 2010b). This method involves utilising survey data to estimate SWB changes when people engage with culture or sport and then calculate this as a monetary value using an 'income compensation approach', which equates time spent on activities with wages (2010b:35).

However, while the findings of CASE are reported using this method, Marsh and Bertranou (2012) note that the H.M. Treasury has concluded that the approach is not yet sufficiently robust to inform policy and that further research is required. Walmsley (2012) is highly critical of the SWB methodology and the 'instrumental' approach taken by the programme, concluding its outputs will have little impact on the ability of the sector to communicate its value. Walmsley argues for a 'balanced scorecard' to take in wider intrinsic and public benefits from arts and culture. Stanziola (2012) has examined the extent to which CASE research allows those within the cultural sector to 'exert power outside it' through the data and comments that, while it is too early to draw any firm lessons, the evidence presented is not immediately understandable and requires *'translators to have any power at all in policy discussions'* (2012:297). Doerer (2012), at the Arts Council, has acknowledged that CASE is not

getting attention in the cultural sector suggesting the reason why is that some of the outputs seem intimidating, impenetrable or hard to use.

At the same time as CASE, O'Brien (2010) completed a dedicated review, supported by DCMS, of how the cultural sector should communicate its value to government. O'Brien concludes that CV studies, and an increased use of cultural economic methodologies, should be relied on. As has been discussed previously (Chapter 2) cultural heritage has shown little enthusiasm for these methods.

That the cultural sector has so far failed to find a satisfactory, and unified, way to represent their value in communications with government is reinforced by the recent launch of the Arts and Humanities Research Council's (AHRC) '*Cultural Value*' project (AHRC 2013; Geoffrey Crossick *pers. comm.*). This project aims to fund research into understanding and communicating cultural value. The project launch criticised past efforts for being driven by political imperative, and stressed that a more ambitious and broader approach that was focused on research rather than advocacy was needed. The project calls for research into the full range of benefits from culture, utilising a wide range of possible methodologies and stresses there is 'no hierarchy of quantitative and qualitative'. The emphasis is on 'evaluation' rather than measurement. The project is an admission that past efforts have not satisfactorily showcased value and is a rejection of all-encompassing measurement techniques. It also suggests that progress might be made through 'doing' rather than theorising methodologies, perhaps seeking to answer Bakshi's criticisms of the *Valuing Culture* debate above. It also contrasts with CASE in that it does not seek to argue on the Treasury's terms, but build its own first.

This brief overview shows that the forms of justification and the creation of value for heritage resources for government have changed over time. These forms have not always suited the cultural sector and its own perspectives on how its value is understood. There have been numerous attempts to consolidate these positions but none have solved the fundamentally problem of finding a method of communication which is both representative and fits into traditional channels of government cost-benefit. True to Belfiore's definition the use of instrumentalism has lacked coherency and the ability to contribute positively. As a result a perceived barrier between 'culture' and 'economics' still perpetuates, in some cases harming the delivery of messages about the value of heritage. The AHRC's current Cultural Value

project, as well as comments by the HLF discussed in the conclusion, seems to represent a new tack which may prove more successful.

Reports on the Economic Capital of Archaeology in the UK

As Belfiore argues above, the last few years have been marked with a return to 'defensive instrumentalism', mainly using economic arguments. However, prior to this the UK's major heritage organisations have engaged in research and activities around the economic capital of archaeology, producing both models and data for over a decade. These activities have been shaped by the policy and conceptual debates between the cultural sector and government discussed above. This review will focus on the reports and research carried out by heritage organisations themselves over the last approximately 15 years, examining what is revealed about the role of economic capital in their negotiations with government.

English Heritage (EH) is the UK government's statutory advisor on the historic environment. Speaking in 2005, Dawe noted that:

'increasingly we find that the government's policy agenda enjoins us (EH) to demonstrate the contribution the sector makes to issues such as diversity and access, regeneration, social capital and social inclusion, tourism and the enhancement of the natural and built environment' (Dawe 2005:120).

'Power of Place' (EH 2000), was a large public and sector consultation exercise to review policy on the historic environment. The economic role of the historic environment plays a large role in its findings and recommendations. The public consultation reported that 88% of people believed the historic environment to be important in creating jobs and boosting the economy and 85% thought that it played an important role in promoting regeneration in towns and cities. The report plays strongly on the role of heritage assets in regeneration and development, including their role in attracting business to locate in localities and attracting tourists.

'Power of Place' directly informed another report, 'A Force for our Future', put together with DCMS (DCMS 2001). In this report DCMS outlines 'A New Vision' for the historic environment. It attempts to articulate the variety of ways in which the historic environment is valuable for the public, and how the government can provide leadership in making heritage a resource for

society (such as for education and participation). This includes 'optimising economic potential' and the report acknowledges the difficulties with promoting this last area:

'Discussions about economics and the historic environment sometimes polarise around emotive sound-bites; theme park Britain; pickled in aspic; and dumbing down spring to mind. But time and experience have shown that a more sophisticated debate is both possible and necessary.' (2001:45)

The role of the historic environment in regeneration and development has been a key theme for English Heritage. The *'Heritage Dividend'* report in 1999 was the first attempt to evaluate the social and economic impacts of EH's programmes (Dawe 2005; EH 1999, 2002a,b). The goals of the research was to appraise EH's grant-aided regeneration programmes, and secondly to provide 'good news' messages to national decision-makers and influence policy (EH 2005a). This research was updated in 2002, and established that £10,000 of heritage investment on average leverages £46,000 in match funding from private sector and public sources (EH 2002b). Research in 2005 sought to update the methodology for the series and criticised previous efforts for the speed and shallowness of evaluations and potential conflict between the dual aims of evaluation and lobbying (EH 2005a). Dawe describes the impact of the Heritage Dividend as *'at the time, and subsequently, the reports have proved to be very successful advocacy tools and developed a brand image in this country and abroad'* (2005a:122).

The message of the importance of heritage assets in regeneration has continued to be communicated. *'Regeneration and the Historic Environment'* (EH 2005b) and then the *'Heritage Works'* reports in 2006 and 2013 (EH 2013), have provided an argument for the re-use of historic assets in a contemporary context, as well as supplied examples and guidelines on good practice. Most recently, in collaboration with the HLF, the economic impact of maintaining and repairing historic buildings in England was researched (ECORYS 2012), proclaiming the sector in England to be worth £11 billion in GDP. At the core of these arguments is 'the economic case', continually emphasising how historic buildings can add value to development and regeneration projects.

'Power of Place' also recommended the establishment of regular reports to *'monitor the condition of the historic environment, evaluate threats and audit its cultural, economic and social benefits'* (2000:38) to include the development of indicators to measure the economic

value of the historic environment. This regular report became the *'Heritage Counts'* annual publication. The first report (EH 2002a) featured heavily the results from *'Power of Place'* and the theme of 'Economic Value' is prominent. In the introduction and under the dedicated section to the 'Economic Dimension of the Historic Environment' data on the historic environment's contribution to tourism, regeneration and attracting business is showcased. Commenting on the data available though, the report states:

'Despite the importance the sector places on making a convincing case for investment in the historic environment there is surprisingly little research in this area' (EH 2002a:39).

'The economic value of the historic environment' is the main focus of the following year's report (the first to use the *'Heritage Counts'* title) (EH 2003). The influence of cultural economics is seen strongly in this report, detailing the results of a public survey (MORI 2003) and discussing non-use value concepts and hedonic, travel-cost and CV methodologies. However, actual data using these methods is very slim, quoting only two studies (EH 2003:39-40). Alongside the established data on development, regeneration and tourism the indicators for economic benefit is expanded to include house prices, 'liveability and public space' (which includes the historic environment's contribution to quality of life), and employment and investment in the historic environment.

At this point, the *Heritage Counts* series seems to respond to the changes in government and cultural sector priorities as discussed above, particular in 2004 which focused on 'cultural value' (EH 2004). Economic value and impact indicators received a much deemphasised role, reduced over the next six years to basic reports on visitor numbers and regeneration under *'using and benefiting'*. Other themes take centre stage, although economic values are discussed in relation to other themes, such as in 2005 with rural economies (EH 2005c) and in 2006 in relation to communities (EH 2006). In contrast to the discussions in the 2003 report, no non-use data, or discussion of it are presented in the following years.

As priorities change again there is a re-focus on the economic in *Heritage Counts 2010* (EH 2010), coming at a similar time to other reports such as *'Cultural Capital'* and the HLF-led *'Investing in Success'* (see below) (the subject of English Heritage's 'Conservation Bulletin' that year was also 'Marketing the Past' (Pemberton 2010)). New research for this report examined geographical areas that had received investment in the historic environment and analysed its

impact on economic activity, local perceptions and community life, through public and business surveys. The report also examined five case studies to explore the benefits of heritage attractions and the resulting economic impacts. Most recently, *Heritage Counts 2012* (EH 2012) highlights the contribution of heritage to 'resilience' in the economy. To support the role of heritage in the contemporary economy the report points to consumer's increased demand for heritage experiences; the growth of interest in heritage worldwide; heritage's role in urban areas and the contribution heritage can make to a 'green' economy, cultural economy and scientific innovation. The report also gives advice for heritage organisations and attractions on how they can be 'resilient' to the tough economic conditions, improve their organisational capabilities and make the most of their potential.

Much of the research conducted by English Heritage has been in collaboration with the Heritage Lottery Fund. The HLF, which redistributes money generated by the National Lottery for heritage projects (Bewley & Maer forthcoming) has since 1998 been required to take account of reducing economic and social deprivation and further the objectives of sustainable development in its grant making activities (DEMOS 2004:16). The HLF is has taken a keen interest in evaluating its own activities, and in doing so has developed much data on measuring the value of heritage (Clark 2004).

Initial studies on economic benefits focused on detailing the impact of individual projects (Ecotec 2002, 2004a), or the role of HLF funding in regional heritage or tourism industries (Clark 2004:74). The *'Economic and Environmental Impact of the Local Heritage Initiative'* report (Jordan & Greenland 2005) examined the direct and indirect impact of visitor spending, and the leverage of other funding sources resulting from the initiative. From 2006 until 2010, HLF embarked on several years of analysis to understand more widely the economic impact of its grants (HLF 2010). In each year the resulting reports, compiled by outside consultants, looked at a selection of case studies to understand the impacts of project spend on employment (including indirect and induced effects), change in numbers and expenditure of visitors (again including indirect and induced effects) as well as wider impacts on the community. Economic impacts were broken down into local and regional effects to understand leakages (BDRC 2009; Ecotec 2006, 2007, 2008b; GHK 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010) (see Chapter 9 for more discussion of methodology for these and other UK economic impact reports).

These reports form part of *'Investing in Success'* (HLF 2010), a document describing evidence for the economic role heritage plays in the UK economy, as well as featuring commentary by several tourism and heritage professionals. This summarised the findings of the five years of economic evaluation of its projects. The report outlined such data as that visitor numbers typically increase by 50% following an HLF-funded project, and that 55% of visitors judged the value for money of projects as 'excellent' (HLF 2010:18). It further proclaims that every £1 million of HLF funding generates an increase in tourism revenues of £4.2 million for regional economies over a 10 year period (HLF 2010:20). The data from the project evaluations was complemented with new research commissioned to calculate the value of heritage to the tourism economy as a whole (Oxford Economic 2010). This new research established that heritage tourism (excluding natural heritage) had a direct contribution of £4.3bn, which increases to £11.9bn with multiplier effects, in turn creating approximately 270,000 jobs (Oxford Economics 2010:4).

The importance of these headline figures in mounting a case for continued investment and resources for heritage is shown by their repetition in policy documents championing the benefits of culture and heritage, notably in 'Cultural Capital' and the British Academy publication *'History for the Taking'* (Reynolds 2011). The data also features strongly in the Government's *'Statement on the Historic Environment in England'* (H.M. Government 2010). Under 'The value of the historic environment' the statement argues:

'Investing in heritage makes good sense. The historic environment includes some of our most important cultural artefacts which offer economic, environmental, social and personal benefits and can play a significant role in providing for sustainable development' (H.M. Government 2010:7)

Value is then considered under four headings, starting with 'The Economy', before considering sustainable communities, society and culture. Under the economy, are heritage's ability to attract people, businesses and investment to areas, its role in regeneration, maintaining employable skills and tourism, supporting this later point with the figures from *'Investing in Success'* (H.M. Government 2010:8).

The data from *'Investing in Success'* forms the bulk of the evidence under the heading 'importance of heritage' in the House of Commons report into funding of the arts and heritage (Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2011). Beyond a mention to the 'enormous cultural,

social, economic and environmental value' that heritage has, the vast majority of evidence presented is economic, with the *'Investing in Success'* tourism study providing the most data. Although this report is not designed as an audit of the relative merits of heritage it is clear that in negotiations with the government in this instance the weapon deployed is that of economic capital, particularly headline tourism figures. It is interesting that the evidence of demonstrating the cost-benefit of HLF grants is not quoted.

The importance of *'Investing in Success'* is summed up by Bewley and Maeer of the HLF.

'The Investing in Success results were widely welcomed by the heritage sector, and have been seized on again and again by organizations, journalists and politicians wanting to 'make the case' for heritage. The report has probably been the most successful advocacy document produced by HLF, and quite possibly by the heritage sector as a whole in the UK.' (forthcoming:4)

HLF's evaluation activities are not limited to economic measures and it has been keen to embrace a diversity of evidence. It has evaluated the social impact of its grants across three years (BOP Consulting 2010) as well as the impacts of project employment and volunteering (Ipsos MORI 2012). Since 2007, together with EH, HLF has further been responsible for putting out the annual report *'The Values and Benefits of Heritage'* (Maeer *et al.* 2012; Maeer & Fawcett 2011; Maeer 2010, 2009, 2008, 2007). These reports collect together all the available evidence which demonstrate any impacts of heritage, including public surveys, economic and cultural economic studies, and any published reports of social impacts, health benefits and community benefits.

In addition the HLF has evaluated its performance as an organisation from theoretical standpoints. Clark (2004) describes how, from its conception, research and consultations have played a crucial role in defining HLF policy and in evaluating its activities. HLF worked with Demos to develop a model of 'cultural value' particular to the organisation (Demos 2004), and following this Clark and Maeer presented the value of HLF under the 'Value Triangle' (Clark & Meer 2008).

In addition to the activities by EH and HLF there has been a variety of regional and sector specific studies researching the economic capital of archaeology. EH itself, together with the Association of English Cathedrals, commissioned a report in 2004 which examined the

economic and social impacts of cathedrals (ecotec 2004b). The report calculated the total visitor-related economic impact to be approximately £150 million per year, however it comments on the lack of data to support its conclusions on both economic and social impacts (ecotec 2004b:53). Within England, the North East Historic Environment Forum commissioned a report to examine the *'Economic, Social and Cultural Impact of Heritage in the North East of England'*, which concluded that it supported a total of 7345 jobs in the region, as well as presented qualitative evidence from case studies (ARUP 2005). Later the Northwest Regional Development Agency commissioned a study into the *'Economic Impact of Heritage'* in their region (Amion *et al.* 2009). The report focused on direct and indirect use values, including a variety of case studies. Including tourism, conservation and maintenance spending, and heritage management operations the study reports a benefit in gross jobs of just under 40,000 FTE and a GVA of £1.6 billion per annum (Amion *et al.* 2009:vi).

Other national heritage organisations have carried out similar research. Historic Scotland is the equivalent of English Heritage in Scotland. In 2003, its subsidiary the Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland (HEACS) recommended a full audit of Scotland's historic environment, including economic impact, suggesting that there was *'little recognition of the contribution which the historic environment makes to the Scottish economy'* (2004:7). HEACS commissioned a report on the *'Economic Impact of the Historic Environment in Scotland'* (ecotec 2008a), with the aim to produce a *'robust set of estimates for the economic contribution of Scotland's historic environment to the country's economy'* (2008a:8). The report included the economic impact of employment in the sector, the maintenance of historic buildings and on tourism impacts. However, the report comments on a lack of data to be able to produce robust conclusions, in particular the percentage of tourists attracted to Scotland due to its historic environment (2008a:40) (see Chapter 9). Nonetheless the report concludes that the historic environment sector supports in excess of 60,000 FTE employees in Scotland and contributes in excess of £2.3 billion in GVA, with £1.3 billion due to tourism (ecotec 2008a). The raw data provided by the research is used by HEACS to argue for greater investment in the historic environment, citing an *'economic rationale'* (HEACS 2009:5). The research formed part of a wider appraisal of the historic environment through the *Scottish Historic Environment Audit* series produced in 2007, 2010 and in 2012 (Historic Scotland 2007, 2010, 2012), although little economic data has been added to the 2008 study. These reports mirror the format and rationale behind the *Heritage Counts* series in England.

In Wales, a consortium of organisations led by the National Trust commissioned research into the economic impact of the historic environment (ecotec 2010a, 2010b). This report updated a 2002 study, and sought to widen it to include economic impacts, but also the social value of the historic environment and to provide a monitoring framework. The research reported on economic impacts of the heritage management industry, built heritage construction sector and tourism. In total the direct, indirect and induced impacts of these sectors reach an estimate of £840 million GVA (2010a:7). To assess wider values, the report focused on case studies to look at the role of the historic environment in supporting regeneration, enhancing job skills, environmental value, access, community cohesion, education and wider well-being (ecotec 2010b).

Most recently, Northern Ireland has become interested in understanding the economic impact of its heritage. Small-scale case studies were conducted previously, however a large-scale study was commissioned in 2012 (eftec 2012). Similar to the Welsh study the research aimed to produce quantitative figures on the historic environment's use-value, as well as to appraise wider economic and social values, and further produce recommendations for the management and enhancement of the historic environment in the region. In addition to quantitative analysis, the research surveyed stakeholders and researched produced seven detailed case studies. As in Wales and Scotland, the Northern Irish research examines the impacts from heritage organisations, the construction industry, and tourism. In both this study and the one for Wales, the researchers complain of the shallow data pool to draw from, including on tourism motivations, and admit that several assumptions had to be made (eftec 2012:31). The Northern Ireland report gives an estimate of the historic environment's economic capital of about £250m GVA per year. The research survey also reported the percentages that respondents who believed the historic environment contributed to ideas of identity, regeneration and living environment.

From 2010 the '*Values and Benefits of Heritage*' series combined the various regional economic studies to produce a figure encompassing the economic capital of heritage for the whole of the UK. The latest summary (Maer *et al.* 2012) notes the various differences between the studies (see Chapter 9) but finds enough consistency in basic to aggregate the reports and estimate that the contribution of heritage to the UK is £28bn GVA annually.

Efforts to account for the economic capital of the historic environment have also taken place within sub-sectors of heritage. Aitchison has produced economic impact data on the

commercial archaeological sector, although this is not directly advocacy based (Aitchison 2012, Aitchison 2009, Schlanger & Aitchison 2010). The AHRC, a principal funder of heritage in the UK, has been keen to demonstrate its impact. They commissioned a literature review regarding the valuation of heritage, following the government's initiative to ask all research councils to adopt a form of economic impact assessment (PWC 2006). Based on this they produced an 'Economic Impact Reporting Framework', which included assessments of overall economic impact; knowledge generation; investment in the research base and innovation; public engagement; financial sustainability; and knowledge exchange efficiency. The AHRC produced '*Leading the World – The economic impact of UK arts and humanities research*' (2009) to advertise its impact and justify continued levels of spending in arts and heritage. One particular study within this document concerns archaeology – 'The Longstones Project' at Avebury, an archaeological excavation between 2000 and 2004 and supported by the AHRC (PWC 2007b). The report utilises a variety of use and non-use valuation methodologies to judge a wide range of benefits of not just the Longstones Projects, but the history of archaeology at the site (see Chapter 9 for more details). This broad and experimental approach is reflected in the AHRC's *Cultural Value* project discussed above.

While EH and HLF have experimented with wider concepts of evaluation, the data they both produce remains largely separated into economic and social measurements. The museum sector has been keen to understand its economic impact, however, it has sought more than others to situate this within a wider understanding of cultural and social impacts and apply dedicated methods to do so. This is evidenced by the CV research applied to Bolton's MLA services (discussed in Chapter 2), carried out in conjunction with MLA North West (Jura Consultants 2005). Recent approaches in the museum sector seem to have started with the Travers Report (Travers 2006) into the 'Economic, social and creative impacts' of museums and galleries in Britain. This report concludes that the economic benefits of the museum sector are in the region of £1.5 billion per year, while also presenting its impact on civil society, education and public participation. This report takes its methodological cue from the National Trust's proposed Public Value methodology, however the research makes use of financial and tourism data for economic impacts and case studies to communicate wider benefits (Travers 2006:10-11).

As noted above wider research into evaluation methodologies started at a similar time, resulting in the recommendation of using SROI approaches. Selwood (2010) has completed research into the cultural impact of museums for the National Museum's Directors

Conference. The resulting essay summarises the previous attempts to account for, and articulate, value in culture and heritage and aims to provide examples of the kinds of evidence that museums may be able to use to demonstrate cultural impact, drawn from a variety of case studies, and presents them in a qualitative way, in *'a broader, more intimate and contextualised view...than we are used to'* (Selwood 2010:51). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Arts Council (which absorbed the MLA in 2011) published practical guidance on economic impact assessments, CV and SROI methodologies for cultural organisations, and which techniques are suitable for different contexts (Arts Council 2012).

However, alongside the willingness to embrace innovative methodologies including SROI and CV, pure economic impact studies have continued. An assessment was carried out by MLA South East to assess the contribution of museums, libraries and archives to the visitor economy (MLA South East 2008). The research found that these attractions support about 20,000 jobs in the region, with visitor spending accounting for £224 million. Elsewhere in the sector the Association of Independent Museums (AIM) commissioned research into *'The Economic Value of the Independent Museum Sector'* (AIM 2010). This report states that visitors to these museums provided at least £124 million of direct, indirect and induced impacts, providing at minimum 5800 FTE jobs (AIM 2010:22-23). The AIM commissioned the study to clarify, articulate and demonstrate the contribution of independent museums, with the need to do so being particularly strong in the current economic climate (AIM n.d. a:1):

'At a time of austerity and a culture of funding cuts, the independent museum sector needs to make its case, and provide clear, robust evidence of the economic value that independent museums provide to tourism and the wider economy. Importantly, this needs to be articulated in such a way that key audiences outside the sector (...) appreciate and are convinced by the evidence and the related advocacy based upon the evidence.' (AIM n.d. a:2)

In response to this need, the report develops an economic toolkit for museums to be able to generate such data and estimate impacts themselves (AIM n.d. b).

Conclusion

The above evidence demonstrates the importance that the economic capital of archaeology plays in the justification of public support from the government, and its role in generating

value for the government. Several of the reports examined above are explicitly advocacy exercises and their role has been noted by their producers as well as reflected in government documents themselves.

The importance of economic capital to persuade the UK government of the value of heritage has changed over time, as *Heritage Counts* in part showcases. Up until around 2003, instrumental data was used as an advocacy tool but following criticism exemplified by the *Valuing Culture* debate there was a search for more encompassing value methodologies to account for all capitals of archaeology and heritage. However there is a continuation of economic use-value studies during this whole period, notably HLF's self-assessments, the HEACS study, EH's continued appraisal of regeneration benefits and the regional reports in England.

The reporting of economic capital returns to centre-stage with the onset of the global economic crisis from 2007-8 and the national elections in 2010. The following few years see a re-engagement from EH, major research by HLF and scramble for data from Wales, Northern Ireland and AIM. Economic data is pushed to the front of advocacy in this period, as shown in *'Cultural Capital'* and *'Investing in Success'*, understandably responding to an economic crisis with economic arguments. This supports Belfiore's observation of a return to defensive instrumentalism and a feeling that economic arguments are the most 'useful' in the current political climate. This continues up to the present day, with the current Culture Secretary Maria Miller declaring in April 2013, that the cultural sector must *'hammer home the value of culture to our economy'* and that *'When times are tough and money is tight, our focus must be on culture's economic impact'* (BBC 2013). In July 2013 Maria Miller further stressed that arguments for continued funding must be made on economic grounds so that they *'will get traction, not in the press, but with my colleagues – and the country at large'* (Higgins 2013), showing that little has changed since Chris Smith's view in the late 1990s.

This use of economic capital has of course, not been without its issues and problems. The tactic is criticised on a practical level by Bewley and Maeer of the HLF (forthcoming). They suggest a reliance on economic data is flawed for three reasons. Firstly, if a 'return on investment' argument is used then heritage must compare favourably with other types of government investment, which might not always be the case. Secondly, the economic impacts are geographically specific, with additions to the national economy only resulting from attracting foreign visitors or encouraging UK citizens to holiday at home. Thirdly, economic

data does not often immediately lead to new policy ideas beyond the advocacy for increased budgets, meaning success is therefore measured in how much they may have contributed to limiting budget cuts, more than helping the sector deliver.

This last point also highlights an issue which has been a theme of the several reports examined above, that of a shallow data pool on which to draw. Reports have commented on the lack of data about heritage tourism, heritage sector spending and the lack of studies such as CV techniques (ecotec 2008a; eftec 2005, 2012). There has been little time, or consistent motivation, for longitudinal studies of heritage economic impact beyond the thin figures reported in *Heritage Counts*, with the notable exception being the HLF's multi-year appraisal of the economic impact of its projects. Many studies (such as AIM 2010 or Oxford Economics 2010) have little motivation other than to produce a headline figure to defend a cause. While this situation does not seem to harm advocacy, with the final figures being reported and often little attention paid to the assumptions they are built on, it does impact on the sector's ability to utilise the data for managerial decisions and new policies.

While these practical issues exist the larger issue has been in the attitudes towards, and concepts used in, the use of economic capital for advocacy. The recent history of the use of economic capital to create value in the UK is dominated by the discomfort felt by the heritage sector in doing so, and its political relationship with the other capitals of heritage. Dissatisfaction with an 'instrumental' agenda created a debate about how to value and communicate culture. In its aftermath several theoretical schemes were proposed which sought to follow cultural economics methods in accounting for the variety of cultural values with quantifiable measures and indicators. Notable exceptions to this route are the embracing of the DEMOS framework by HLF and the multi-criteria analysis of the ARHC impact evaluations. None of the encompassing frameworks have been widely implemented, and the efforts to find a unifying conceptual system have largely failed. Against the backdrop of this conceptual vacuum there has been the mixed messages given to the use of economic capital, notably at the launch of '*Cultural Capital*'. The document also resulted in a polarised media response. It can certainly be argued that the lack of comfort with economic data within heritage has damaged its ability to act as a generator of value.

A new approach is perhaps represented by the AHRC's *Cultural Value* project which is explicitly seeking to break down perceived barriers between quantitative and qualitative data, include different types of benefit (including economic) and embrace a variety of methodologies, and

rejecting 'advocacy first' in favour of research. The project has only recently begun, so it is far too early to understand how well these intentions will be successful, however it does represent an acknowledgement of the failure of past efforts and the attempt of something new. Bewley and Maer share something of this philosophy, commenting on how to present the value of heritage:

'..the answer lies not in giving up on the economic argument, but on having a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between heritage and economy and between economy and social progress' (forthcoming:5)

A new project for HLF mentioned in this paper seeks to more widely understand how heritage contributes to the type of society and economy that is desirable. This is a more dynamic approach, trying to understand how heritage is an asset to contribute to the wider quality of business and life, rather than simply measure the economic impact heritage currently has. These new approaches might achieve the more 'positive' approach to instrumentalism defined by Belfiore.

This new approach returns to the philosophy outlined in the Capital Model. As argued in Section 1, the 'tired binary' of culture and economics needs to be broken down and the relationships between the economic, social and cultural understood. Archaeology is an asset for all three, but cannot be considered in isolation or opposition. Archaeology is able to produce a wide range of benefits, but these work best together. The challenge remains to understand how different benefits that archaeological resources offer mutually support each other and effectively articulate, demonstrate and communicate that fact. This is also a return to the original ideas of cultural economics – to support wider well-being, rather than growth in narrowly defined areas. As a result, the 'instrumentalization' which has been the theme of much of this chapter is a misnomer. There should not be a separation between intrinsic and instrumental. There is no 'core' benefit that archaeology can provide, while others are somehow second-rate. Different people, at different times, will prefer different benefits, none more important than the others. The examination of the relationship between economic capital and value for the UK at the national level has demonstrated that economic capital can indeed be a significant generator of value, but crucial to its ability to do so are conceptual ideas to guide this, and politically present it.

Chapter 8

The Local Value of Economic Capital

In Chapter 5, both McNeely and Emerton stressed the importance of the local and community level as the arena where many of the incentives to destroy or preserve heritage operate. The strategies of ICDPs and ecotourism are primarily focused on particular locations and interact with local communities. The review of implementation of ICDPs and ecotourism noted a variety of difficulties in achieving the theory of economic benefits leading to preservation. These difficulties included the generation of economic impacts, their distribution and the linking of benefits to conservation behaviours. The literature also stressed the importance of understanding the social and cultural context of projects, the understanding of greater economic impacts, as well as the need for participation structures for local involvement. These difficulties are compounded by an identified lack of data and analysis of the ICDP concept, and there is acknowledgement that many projects are not successful (p. 95).

In Chapter 6, many of the strategies used to attract resources to cultural heritage at an international level relied on the ability of the economic capital of archaeology to offer development and preservation at a local level. INGOs such as GHF and SPI have explicitly been championing the use of the economic capital of archaeology in its preservation. This chapter will examine the discourse amongst archaeologists for utilising such strategies, and the experience of these projects in terms of the success in motivating value and the connections between the economic, social and cultural capital of archaeology. This will include the examination of international charters and guidelines and the context of 'community archaeology'.

Of course, economic impacts are not the only reason why local communities are motivated to preserve archaeological remains (as Smith 2010 and Silverman 2005 make clear), however this research will focus on this relationship, noting the interactions between economic and other capitals of archaeology. As previously discussed urban cultural heritage has been promoted as an asset for sustainable development and regeneration in a variety of locations (Girard & Nijkamp 2009). While this area is of considerable importance to the value for archaeology (as seen in Chapter 7 by the reports by EH and HLF), this chapter will focus on archaeological sites that are predominantly associated with academic projects. As a result this chapter will

examine attitudes and practices present in academic archaeology but may neglect those found in commercial archaeology or that associated with local town-planning and urban development.

International Guidance

The general issues seen in the earlier discussion of tourism and ecotourism are reflected in international heritage guidelines and charters. The Tourism Manual for World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2002), as well as the ICOMOS' Tourism Charter (1999) both stress the need for local community consultation and participation, the equitable distribution of economic impacts from tourism, and the sustainability of cultural and natural resources involved in tourism.

The UNESCO manual *'Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites: a Practical Manual for World Heritage Site Managers'* (Pederson 2002) recognises the positive economic benefits that tourism can bring to sites and local communities, however stresses the need for careful planning in doing so to mitigate potential problems for the site and local people (2002:11). It forwards the idea that tourism can offer alternative economic activities to those who may threaten the site (2002:16) and that *'locals are more likely to participate in conservation when it is associated with an improvement in their standard of living'* (2002:71).

The manual however notes the difficulties in achieving this, and managing expectations appropriately (e.g. Pederson 2002:33). Guidance includes the need for managers to have a clear understanding of where economic impacts from tourism are distributed (including the fact that entrance fees and other revenues are retained by central authorities) and notes that conflicts can arise from unequal distribution (2002:34). It also notes the difficulty in translating economic incentives into conservation and protection behaviours and the need to develop clear relationships with communities and empower local people by providing ways for them to make tangible investments of labour and capital. More generally the manual notes the difficulties in developing tourism, such as the fact that local accommodation may not be of a style and luxury suitable for all markets, and the need for tourists to visit in certain suitable ways, such as the utilisation of local guides (2002:73). It highlights the need for heritage managers to engage with the travel industry, and understand the types of tourism which may be appropriate for the site and their different economic impacts. UNESCO also developed the 'Lijiang Models' (UNESCO 2001) which, motivated by the increased pressure on cultural heritage from tourism, are best-practice models for stakeholder co-operation for the

management of heritage tourism projects.

The ICOMOS tourism charter (1999, 2002) similarly promotes tourism as a source of benefits for populations as well as a catalyst for potential preservation:

'Tourism should bring benefits to host communities and provide an important means and motivation for them to care for and maintain their heritage and cultural practices' (1999:2)

However it also stresses the need for local involvement in planning, for planners to understand and respect local values, and for equitable distribution of economic benefits (1999:5).

These charters therefore acknowledge the double-edged sword of tourism as being able to provide benefits and protect archaeology but also as a source of destruction and therefore the need for careful management. This awareness is also seen in the approach of GHF (as outlined in Chapter 6), on one hand promoting the use of tourism and a sustainable and viable preservation strategy, however carefully outlining how it intends to ensure such tourism is sustainable. SPI's policies stress the importance of local community involvement stating they will not get involved in a project unless invited by the local community to do so, and unless there is an embedded archaeologist who understands the local political and social context (Coben forthcoming).

Community Archaeology and the Mobilisation of Economic Capital

Together with international guidance, another relevant trend has emerged within archaeology - 'community archaeology'. The concept of community archaeology began with an ethical motivation to convey the results of research to host communities (government or local) before evolving to consider the involvement of the public in excavations and the research process and beneficial results thereof (Giraud & Porter 2010; Moser *et al.* 2002; Simpson & Williams 2008). These benefits include fostering respect for the archaeology involved, and hoping to discourage vandalism and looting of sites. Since the beginning of the century there have been increased calls not just to involve the public in a relationship of 'archaeologists as educators' but to fully engage with local communities and indigenous peoples so that are able to play an equal, or leading, role in archaeological research (Atalay 2010; Crosby 2002; Leventhal *et al.* forthcoming; Moser *et al.* 2002). For some the approach has the aim of addressing hierarchical

relationships between archaeologists and local people, offering a lens for archaeologists to examine their social and political relationships with those who have a stake in archaeology (Leventhal *et al.* forthcoming; Simpson & Williams 2008). Arguments for a more inclusive role of local communities are also practical, benefiting research itself by incorporating a wider perspective of knowledge and views, and being more effective in providing locally-led preservation benefits (Moser *et al.* 2002). Since its introduction 'community archaeology' has to some extent been embraced, with its promise of better research, social and preservation outcomes. However, there have been criticism that 'community archaeology' is still a vague concept, can be little more than a token participation by communities, and that there has been little rigorous examination of whether community projects achieve the educational or social benefits claimed (Simpson & Williams 2008). There has also been increased recognition that communities themselves are very difficult to define, can take a variety of forms, and that archaeologists must be nuanced in their understanding of the concept (Atalay 2010; Leventhal *et al.* forthcoming; Little & Borona forthcoming; Sakallariadi 2010).

While community archaeology commonly has a wide-range of goals and issues, some archaeologists have focused on economic capital in their relationships with communities and utilising it as a preservation tool. Science journal (Bawaya 2005) profiled archaeologists using ICDPs under the tagline, *'To preserve sites, pioneering archaeologists are trying to improve the lives of the Maya people now living near the ruins'*, and later states that *'From Africa to Uzbekistan, researchers are trying to boost local people's quality of life in order to preserve the relics of their ancestors'* (Bawaya 2005:1317). Several projects are highlighted in the article including Jonathan Kaplan, working in Guatemala, attempting to utilise land-swap initiatives, improve drinking water and develop tourism plans to deliver local benefits:

'Kaplan, and others are using archaeology as an engine for development, driving associated tourism and education projects. The resultant intertwining of research and development is such that "I cannot accomplish the one without the other," says Kaplan, "because poverty is preventing the people from attending to the ancient remains in a responsible fashion.' (Bawaya 2005:1317)

The article contrasts this 'vanguard' with archaeologists who focus solely on 'stones and bones' (echoed in SPI's motto) (Bawaya 2005:1317). Profiled strongly is Arthur Demarest, who reflects on his own experience when local grievances at the distribution of archaeological excavation employment resulted in looting, and that this convinced him that community

engagement and development were necessary components of archaeological projects. Demarest espouses a 'bottom-up' approach where communities choose projects and have ownership of tourism and development initiatives. Both Kaplan and Demarest complain about the lack of funds for community archaeology, with traditional funding sources only interested in 'intellectual merit'. They and other archaeologists in the article also agree that commitment to such project has a negative impact on their academic careers, due to the time required greatly using up traditional research time.

Demarest is further profiled in Science (Bawaya 2006), where he takes the opportunity to criticise his colleagues in archaeology for not following the same philosophy. Demarest comments on the economic destruction that archaeology can have: *'Archaeology "is like finding an oil well. It can make everybody rich, or it can destroy the area"'* and further than the *'distinction between development and science is gone'*, commenting how community engagement aids research goals (Bawaya 2006:1876). Demarest is profiled again in New Scientist magazine (Bawaya 2010), where he labels his approach as 'ethical archaeology', defined as *'Ethical archaeology means using archaeology and the publicity it generates to help impoverished people living near the sites'* (2010:27). However Science also notes some colleagues accuse Demarest of conducting such activities *'for his own aggrandizement'* (Bawaya 2006:1877).

Coben, an Andean archaeologist and the founder of SPI, has previously set out his philosophy, reflecting on his experiences as an archaeologist working in Peru (2006, forthcoming). He states:

'I believe that few people will maintain and preserve their museums without an inherent belief that it is in their economic best interest to do so; indeed, I think all parties involved in this issue would agree that identity and its politics are closely tied to a desire to obtain some material or power-related goal, though I suspect we might dispute the degree of correlation' (2006:251)

and further that:

'I suggest that when measurable economic value is placed on protection, rather than the sale of object, the historic value is more likely to be recognised.' (2006:252).

Coben contributes to a volume collecting examples of archaeological site museums in Latin America (Silverman & Shackel 2006), which highlights the motivations of many of the archaeologists involved in providing tourist and cultural facilities at sites. In that volume, Castillo and Pachas (2006) comment that while not all Peruvian or foreign archaeologists engage in community projects at that time there was an increasing trend of doing so. The authors discuss the development of a site museum and associated tourism services at San Jose de Moro, later supported by SPI, commenting that *'The bottom line of this chapter is that if cultural patrimony is transformed into cultural resources, then schemes for sustainable community development are possible'* (Castillo & Pachas 2006:152). However they warn, *'if activities do not aim at the same time at the development of income, based in a rational exploitation of cultural resources, then it is doomed to fail'* (2006:153). Commenting on another project in Peru, Elera and Shimada (2006) state:

The long-term protection and maintenance of the sanctuary cannot be achieved without addressing the challenges posed by impoverished farming communities that surround the sanctuary. Traditionally, these communities have gathered firewood and pastured their animals in what is now a protected sanctuary. They have also, at times, attempted illegal occupation, often accompanied by grave looting and the felling of trees for charcoal making.' (2006:227)

Archaeologists in Africa have also written in support of the idea of community archaeology projects which provide economic and development incentives for heritage preservation. There is an increasing trend of archaeologists involving the community, and communities demanding access to social and economic benefits, resulting in the need for an effective local participation and communication (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Mapunda & Lane 2004). Over a decade ago Mabulla (2000) suggested an ICDP approach to cultural heritage management, examining how heritage could be used in Tanzania, and encourages archaeologists to:

'...explore ways that Africa can generate revenue and public support for CHM (Cultural Heritage Management). An effective means of accomplishing this goal is to make the products of the past attractive and accessible for cultural tourism. Only in this way does Africa's past heritage become economically sustainable for long-term survival, productivity, and contribution to global education, research, tourism, and pride in the past accomplishments of humanity'. (2000:211)

As well as preservation goals, the mobilisation of economic capital can be an explicit strategy adopted by archaeologists to be able to work at sites. Parks (2010) researched the history and continuing activities of the Uxbenká Archaeological Project (UAP) in Belize. Initial efforts at academic excavations in the late 1980s and early 1990s had to be abandoned after dislike of outsiders and local anger at the distribution of employment resulted in project equipment being destroyed. Subsequent efforts to establish caretaking roles in the local community resulted in in-fighting and damage to the monuments. Recognising the local motivations, a research team returned in 2005 with an explicit strategy to mobilise the economic capital of the archaeology to gain favour with the community. Parks comments that the positioning of the new project as community-based was a:

'strategic move intended to convince the community that archaeology at the site was something they not only should tolerate, but something they needed because the historical value of the site gave it potential economic value in the tourist market – an objective that is arguably unethical' (2010:440).

This strategy of economic incentives is demonstrated by the framing of the archaeological project to locals:

'When the principal investigator first approached the village leaders, it was not to request their permission to work at the site – that had already been granted by the state – but to inform them of a lucrative job opportunity at the ruins, an opportunity that he wanted to be fairly and ethically distributed to community members instead of individuals outside the community'. (2010:440-441)

The result of this strategy will be discussed later in this chapter. While the above examples demonstrate the desire of archaeologists to utilise, and mobilise, economic capital to stop activities such as looting, others have found that the demands to mobilise it have originated from local communities. Crosby (2002) argues that real community archaeology schemes are initiated by locals themselves. Describing the background social context to projects in Fiji, Crosby found that there was normally little incentive to conserve archaeology:

'The problem is one of outright apathy: the increasingly disenfranchised rural Fijians have little incentive to care for archaeological sites that take up valuable

agricultural land, and the incentive to maintain the traditional 'customs of respect' is diminishing with the migration of the chiefs to the towns.' (2002:366).

However, some local communities were keen to initiate projects which aimed for local community development that involved challenging traditional chief's authority, as well as provided a measure of economic independence. Others hoped for social and preservation goals:

'Some ethnic Fijians recognise the heritage as a key resource, one that can be conserved, managed and sold to tourists in a way that would also re-awaken an interest in the past by villagers themselves – especially the youth. They hope that the preservation of archaeological sites for economic gain may also reinforce the historical knowledge of past social relationships and genealogical connections... (in the)... community.' (2002:369).

Crosby comments the most successful resulting projects were those started as local-led initiatives. Although no data is given Crosby concludes that *'Without exception, all projects have led to improvements in the economic fortunes of the villagers and to the condition of the archaeological sites concerned'* (2002:376). Further the projects have stimulated an increased profile for archaeology across the islands which has led to increased resources for it from the government.

A similar experience was had by Natapintu (2007) in involvements with community archaeology in a village in central Thailand. Looters had offered the village US\$250 to excavate in the local temple and while the looters were stopped and arrested, the small rescue excavation that followed highlighted the history of the village to the locals, which drew enthusiasm for possible economic impacts from tourism to it. Locals themselves enlarged the looting pit, found a bronze bowl and the fame of the find encouraged small-scale local tourism from which the locals earned income from food and drink sales. Natapintu was invited in to promote archaeological tourism. He suggested to local authorities and the village that they continue excavations and develop a museum and education centre, with the participation and training of local people, the first time this type of project had been attempted in Thailand (in 2001) (2007:324). The subsequent project involved a guide training programme and the establishment of a museum. Natapintu concludes that the community museum has led to

economic development in the village, with each household involved earning about US\$100 per month. Commenting on the change in attitudes the author notes:

'It is the unusual degree of involvement of the local community with archaeology which has led to the improvement in the local quality of life.....In addition, it is quite clear that more people in this rural area of central Thailand now realise that conservation, which is normally viewed only as a means of protection, can also be considered as a way to progress and development' (2007:327).

Similarly, Pyburn (forthcoming) began her project at the site of Chau Hiix in Belize after the local community '*went looking for an archaeologist*' (forthcoming:6). The local community had mainly ignored the site until non-locals looted it and they thought it may have value for tourism (the local area was already part of successful ecotourism initiatives). Before Pyburn began academic investigations she negotiated with state authorities that the site would eventually be developed as a tourist destination. Pyburn notes that she was mediating between the government's mandate to preserve, the village's hope for economic development, and environmental responsibility. The archaeological investigations had considerable economic impact, about US\$500,000 over 12 field season, with Pyburn reflecting that this income supported both positive (houses, education, travel, communication) and negative (gambling, drink and drugs) aspects of local's lives (forthcoming:7). The academic project also donated equipment locally, and helped the village acquire loans, as well as promote the site, and tourism to it, through media and academic channels. However, while Pyburn believes that the economic impact of the project certainly improved the lives of some, her own assessment is that the long-term goals of preservation and development were not met.

In contrast to Pyburn, a reoccurring trend in the accounts of archaeologists mobilising economic capital for value is the evolution of community projects out of projects which started with purely academic and intellectual aims (Castillo & Pachas 2006; Elera & Shimada 2006; Greer 2010; Onuki 2006; Stothert 2006). Many projects are formed as a reaction to preservation threats, encountering local conditions or moral obligation. Even Demarest, as a disciple of community archaeology, came to the approach after previous bad experiences, and Parks admits the approach in Belize was driven by practicality.

One example of this is the development of a community museum at Agua Blanca (McEwan *et al.* 2006). The village of Agua Blanca is situated within a large national park but there had been no consultation with the local people and they found themselves excluded from opportunities the park offered while suffering its impacts on traditional livelihoods. Local people were initially wary of the archaeological project led by McEwan, and the local site suffered from sporadic looting, from both locals and outsiders. The locals were also perplexed that archaeologists were interested in finds but not to buy those they had looted. Locals had also destroyed large finds from the area due to a belief that there must be gold inside for them to be of such value to outsiders. Community initiatives were therefore at least partly motivated by the desire to protect the site:

'There was little doubt that further damage and even the eventual destruction of many sites would inevitably ensue unless more attractive alternative sources of income were found, and this fed into our developing thoughts about the research strategy.' (2006:193).

During the project the team also became increasingly aware of the day-to-day reality of local life. The project attempted to employ as many locals as was feasible but realised that long-term alternatives were needed. While the team were aware that economic need fuelled cultural (and natural with over-exploitation of the local forest), it had to be situated within the social context:

'A respect for (and willingness to work with) the comuna (community) has gone hand in hand with a recognition of the pressing economic realities of a community whose surrounding environment was in jeopardy' (2006:213)

The change in research strategy involved a focus on survey and mapping rather than deep excavation to avoid association with treasure-seeking. The project also gradually incorporated local people to introduce the theory and practice of archaeology into the community. Plans for a local museum were spurred by the sale of a looted stone seat to a local businessman. While the national park authorities asked the archaeological team to help recover it, the archaeologists gave control over the decision of its return to local people, promising to build a museum if they acted to return it themselves. The seat was returned due to social pressure and it, and the museum, became a symbol of the community's involvement. The project helped train local guides and negotiated with the park authorities for the locals to be in control

of tourism. The site museum was made using local materials and techniques, and the project attempted to ensure that the community were completely responsible for it so to reduce dependency on the archaeological team.

The project met some resistance from other archaeologists and the project made a point of taking community members to conferences so that they understood they were part of a new type of process. Further, the project members describe constant difficulties attracting funds for the project, including for the refurbishment of the museum. They acknowledge that the positioning of the site within an existing national park, and therefore source of tourism, represented a special set of circumstances which allowed for at least some success. They state that at the time of writing 30 out of 50 local families derived all or most of their income from tourism to the site and there was marked reduction in subsistence activities on the archaeological areas and no further looting had occurred (2006:212).

What success they had they ascribe to working with the local community and allowing them to make decisions, as opposed to imposing top-down strategies, stressing there is no prescriptive formula to apply. As they state:

'In this chapter we have tried to show in practice how efforts to research, preserve and protect archaeological sites and objects must be incorporated in to the social, political and economic fabric of local communities' (2006:213).

Ardren (2002) describes how over five years a project which was initially intended to focus on questions of social organisation and trade of Chunchucmil, a major Classic Maya urban centre, evolved to become a *'collaborative plan of research and development that uses archaeological inquiry as a foundation from which to generate tourism within the local communities'* (2002:380). Awareness of the economic potential of archaeological tourism had been known to the local villages due to their proximity to large tourism centres. Ongoing conversations with the local community increased awareness of the archaeologist's research for locals but conversely awareness of the local interest in tourism and development increased in the research team. The lack of knowledge in the community regarding the practicalities and market of tourism meant that a 'living museum' strategy was adopted as most suitable for the site. Over the course of the project Arden becomes increasingly aware of the economic impacts of the excavation and advises that:

'An archaeological project that will employ local people must have an understanding of the local wage system and rates, what alternative employment opportunities locals may or may not have, and consider the impact the appearance as well as the disappearance of their wages will have on the local economy.' (2002: 393)

The above examples show that strategies to utilise the economic capital in archaeology, for a variety of motivations including preservation, are certainly present. However it is difficult to know how widespread enthusiasm for such ideas is. The Science profile in 2005 described archaeologists using ICDP approaches as the 'vanguard' and this situation seems to still hold (Bawaya 2005:1317). Giraudo and Porter (2010) described the purposeful use of archaeology for economic development as a 'newer phenomenon' in 2010. The 'Archaeology and Economic Development' (AED2012) conference held at UCL in September 2012 was the first which was dedicated to pooling examples, investigating background concepts and understand the current position of archaeologists and other stakeholders to the use of the economic capital of archaeology (Gould and Burtenshaw forthcoming b). During that conference, 'academic' archaeologists who actively sought to implement development projects around archaeology was still felt to be in the minority. The founders of SPI and GHF both commented on the lack of archaeologists wishing to implement the strategies they promote. However the existence of these sorts of INGOs, and the holding of the conference itself, suggests a growing, if still nascent, trend.

The growth of both community archaeology and ICDP-style approaches perhaps points to a more pragmatic engagement with local people. As Lafrenz Samuels (2009) notes most people interact with archaeology on a daily 'mundane' basis, conflicting with archaeologist's own views on how relationships with the public should work (Chapter 3). Lafrenz Samuels argues that archaeological resources are used according to the necessity of the public's daily lives and that what is required is *'a more finely tuned empathy on the part of archaeologists for the 'hard surfaces' on life's daily struggles.'* (2009:70). Pyburn (forthcoming) perhaps puts this more bluntly:

'As with any impoverished community,..... site preservation for its own sake or for "the future" is considered by sane people a frivolous and even ridiculous waste of energy and time. This is not because they are not "educated." It is because they need medical care, clean water, a source of income, and security against hunger,

which are all much more important and none of which can be taken for granted'
(Pyburn forthcoming:10)

This common evolution of project goals and activities highlights the role of the archaeologist, and archaeological research, in creating economic and other capitals of archaeology. Many of the situations above result from the fact that archaeologists, through their action, create resources which have some degree of economic or social potential and therefore have to deal with the consequences. This is put in its most dramatic fashion by Demarest's analogy of an oil well. The uncovering of previously unknown sites, the addition of information to existing ones, or the new perspectives the presence of an archaeological project may transform to some degree the capital of the archaeology and stakeholders relationship with this. The sheer presence of an archaeological excavation creates new economic and social situations. This is demonstrated in how project teams have had to deal with the economic capital they have created by managing local employment carefully and addressing local's tourism hopes. Boynter (forthcoming) has made clear the large sums of money that can be involved with archaeological excavations. As Arden and Parks make clear, an understanding of how employment affects communities is key to managing the economic capital of archaeology.

Lessons from Projects and Tourism Strategies

Despite the relatively recent use of economic capital, development and tourism projects as a preservation tool for archaeology, some trends and issues can be seen from examples, many reflecting those in ecotourism. The above case studies considered so far have been fairly positive, but this may reflect the eagerness of those who ascribe to such approaches to back up their case.

One negative theme is the difficulty in targeting economic impacts at intended recipients. Adams (J Adams 2010) has examined several World Heritage sites to ascertain whether management plans have created equitable distribution of tourism benefits. He comments that while many sustainable management plans contain provisions for the economic inclusion of host communities, often through tourism-orientated enterprises, the claims and assumptions have '*escaped critical scrutiny*' (2010:104). Adams finds that '*very little has been published on the relationship between planning objectives and corresponding socioeconomic outcomes, especially in LDCs (Less Developed Countries).*' (2010:106).

The author is only able to find six case studies in developing countries where data is available and concludes that the cases *'support the assertion that LDC tourism benefits are disproportionately allocated to powerful, mostly extra-local actors, while tourism harms fall disproportionately upon poor, local individuals'* (2010:110). Adams puts the blame for this situation on differences between *'planning assumptions and host country conditions'* (2010:111). However, Adams is pessimistic about the ability of tourism to impact existing social inequality and argues that it may actually exacerbate situations. Instead he proposes encouraging heritage professionals to focus on educating communities about the pitfalls of tourism and choices about changes, while also encouraging more sustainability monitoring and interdisciplinary approaches to tourism and preservation planning (2010:117-118).

One of the case studies covered by Adams, which illustrates the difficulties in economic impact distribution, is the site of Borobudur in Indonesia. Hampton (2005) and Kausar and Nishikawa (2010, not included in Adams' research) have both pointed out the high leakages and lack of local formal employment at the site, principally due to the centrally controlled site management structure. Silverman (2005) also presents the case of the site of Sipan in northern Peru. The famous museum which houses excavated finds is 35km away from the source site and no development has occurred at the site itself, while also removing a source of income in the form of looting due to extra security. My own research in Kilmartin, Scotland (Burtenshaw 2008) showed that a large proportion of tourist spend in visiting the archaeology and the museum of the area was leaked to nearby large towns due to the lack of local services, with the Kilmartin House Museum playing an important role in retaining some of the economic impact.

Another issue raised by the review of tourism economics in Chapter 5 was the barriers to entry for people and communities. Ardren (2002) noted the lack of understanding of tourism in the communities she worked with. Similar issues are raised by McGrath (2004) in a study of guides in the region around Cusco, Peru, where access to formal training often presented a barrier.

The long-term financial sustainability of many of the initiatives started by archaeologists is also a concern. While projects can be set-up to theoretically distribute impacts equitably, if sufficient revenues are not generated this might cause resentment (see further discussion below). Kilmartin's actual tourism did not match the hoped-for tourism levels in its original plans (Burtenshaw 2008). Morris' (forthcoming) detailing of the Wildebeest Kuil Museum,

South Africa, offers a very cautionary tale of planned benefits and actual outcomes from tourism initiatives and the occasional inflated claims of tourism advice.

The literature also shows a number of trends in the tourism strategies employed to generate economic impacts. Chief among these would be the use of museums. As Silverman (2006) discusses, the museum is an effective interface between an archaeological site or material and the visitor, acting as a tangible gateway to wider sites, or providing a tangible place to visit in place of sometimes ill-defined and invisible archaeology. It acts as control on visitation, as well as on the provision of information, and can also therefore act as a chargeable experience, directly in the form of tickets or indirectly through souvenirs, guiding services or food and drink. The research at Kilmartin demonstrated the variety of roles a museum could play in the visitor experience and the local community, not simply acting as a source of information (Burtenshaw 2008). Silverman's Sipan example above demonstrates the difficulties that can arise where site and museum are separated, while as Stothert (2006) demonstrates, it is possible to have a museum where there is no physical site to visit. However museums can be difficult to financially sustain. Funding can often be found for initial construction and set-up but subsequent funding can be difficult to attract (Onuki 2006). While the building of museums can provide local economic boosts by employing local workers and materials (such as with Burtenshaw 2008; Castillo & Pachas 2006; McEwan *et al.* 2006), and offer a way to create and retain tourist spending locally, they require a long-term financial commitment which must be thought about carefully. Coben has also criticised the motivation behind the promotion of museums by archaeologists asking – *'If we are creating a museum that will not endure much beyond the length of our project, are we creating community benefits or merely a temporary institution to assist in our own research?'* (2006:252).

Another tourism strategy employed is the training of local guides to provide visitors with an economic product to purchase. Jennings's (2006) thoughtful chapter demonstrates that well-trained guides, and no formal structures, could be a tourism strategy suitable for a landscape and requiring low financial capital to start. However, training of guides is not always straightforward. As McGrath (2004) writes, informal guides can often find it difficult to break into more formal, and richer, tourism markets for not having been trained through official channels. Another strategy is the promotion of souvenirs as a revenue generating tool, employed most effectively and visibly at San Jose de Moro (Castillo & Pachas 2006, Coben forthcoming). Locally produced souvenirs can reinforce cultural connections and be attractive to tourists (Timothy & Boyd 2003). However, as Hampton (2005) has noted, souvenirs brought

in from elsewhere can be a source of leakages, and the use of souvenirs can impact of local cultural uses of material and representations of their culture.

The aligning of heritage offerings with other attractions is also pursued. The success of Agua Blanca, (McEwan *et al.* 2006) and therefore the ability to help preserve the site through tourism, is largely due to the site's position within a national park, which gives access to an already existing market and infrastructure. Mabulla's (2002) outline of how to promote Tanzania's archaeological treasures, and in doing so protect them, focuses on how these sites must be integrated into existing nature tourism, as well as with local people who act as protectors. The other resources which an archaeological site joins with could be other sites as part of parks, or trails (Castillo & Pachas 2006; Eyzaguirre *et al.* 2006; Little & Borona forthcoming; Tsaravopoulus & Fragou 2013). The combination of archaeological sites with other attractions demonstrates an awareness that individual sites by themselves may not be sufficient to attract visitors to travel, but the collective attraction might. The awareness of the market potential of the site, how it fits into the market, and what strategy to employ for that market to produce the relevant impacts is vital to the success of any mobilisation of economic capital.

Economic Capital, Value and the Social Context

The consequence of insufficient or unequal distribution of economic impacts on preservation values has been reported for several examples from Africa. At the rock-art site of Domboshava, Zimbabwe, local rituals performed in the cave conflicted with the conservation of the archaeology. Local Shona people were subsequently denied access to the site, which was developed for tourism without local involvement (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008, Pwiti & Mvenge 1996). Local anger at exclusion from both cultural and economic capital from the site led to a souvenir shop being burned and the rock paintings vandalised.

'Thus the message was clear – if they could not benefit from the site spiritually and economically, then archaeologists and the NMMZ would not benefit from it either'
(Chirikure & Pwiti 2008:470).

Subsequently the NMMZ (National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe) began a programme of public outreach, allowing ceremonies and employing local people as guides and permitting locals to sell curios. However further problems developed when the local chief

demanded increased share of revenues and control and also pushed ahead with plans to develop a local sacred forest for tourism, which the NMMZ argued against on conservation grounds. The Chief explained how he was providing employment the NMMZ did not, and that the community now preferred development over the forest (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008:470).

Joy's in-depth analysis of analysis of tourism and economic impact in Djenné, Mali provides a detailed account of the effects of inequitable distribution of benefits (Joy 2007, 2008). Djenné attracts international tourists due to its famous mud-brick architecture, markets and archaeological site of Djenné-Djeno, however, this tourism takes place within a context of poverty. As Joy describes:

'.. what became clear in Djenné is that what unites people is poverty and the fact that the long term preservation of Djenné's architectural and archaeological heritage is dependent on the way in which this heritage can be made to 'work for' local populations, both politically and economically.' (2008:111)

However Joy's ethnographic work finds a population which feels alienated from the tourist economic benefits while enduring some of the costs. There is anger that there is not access to the material benefits enjoyed from looting Djenné-Djeno, and accusations from locals that heritage organisations are keeping money from the sale of objects themselves and that promised economic impacts from tourism have not materialised. As Joy describes the view of one interviewee:

'When asked about the wider population's attitudes towards Djenné-Djeno he reported that many people thought that the site had been sold to the 'whites' for the economic benefit of the government who have become the brokers of Djenné's cultural heritage.' (2008:135)

Further, Djenné's tourism relies on a city-wide presentation of vernacular mud-brick architecture. The buildings are costly to maintain and few locals feel that they received any material benefit to make the up-keep worthwhile, meaning that traditional exteriors continue to be replaced with modern alternatives, despite their appearance being vital to Djenné's touristic future. Joy identified a 'heritage elite' with the language and skills to access and trade on the heritage designation of the city and reap the benefits of international aid and tourism projects, which did not filter down to the general populace. Joy firmly places the lack of

equitable economic distribution and access of opportunities as a cause of riots in the city which caused damage to a small museum and the objects inside it:

'...in relation to the riot in Djenné in September 2006, preventing access to the money represented by the town's cultural heritage is a dangerous flash point between Djennenkés and local authorities.' (2008:135-136)

INGO guidelines, many of the above examples and other authors (Ataly 2010; Tsaravopoulos & Fragou 2013; Vafadari 2008) have encouraged community participation in any ICDPs and wider archaeological projects. However, as noted earlier, community archaeology has highlighted the problems in identifying communities. Morris (forthcoming) describes the great difficulty in identifying 'rightful' communities to heritage locations and therefore understanding who should benefit from social, cultural or economic impacts. The lack of an easily-identifiable community with which to work can cause problems. At the site of Mapungubwe, South Africa, the forced removal of local communities during the colonial era, combined with issues of ancestral links to descendant communities now in other countries, means that there is an absence of a 'local' community with which to work, putting a halt to planned tourism developments (Chirikure *et al.* 2010). As the authors describe:

'The burdens of past unjust archaeological practice and management continue to haunt heritage practitioners in heritage planning today. Even in situations where community participation does not necessarily ensure smooth management of heritage places, heritage managers find themselves in a desperate and compromising situation for want of community participants'. (2010:36)

Others trying to implement community heritage projects have described difficulties in working with a fragmented and conflicted local community, making building consensus a priority before any project work can develop (Perkin 2010). Other project researchers have encountered situations where engagement and participation initiatives around archaeology are offered, however the local community preferred not to be involve and that state authorities make decisions (Shuannaq *et al.* 2008). As noted in several examples above the local political situation and power relations are crucial to the format and success of such projects. Added to this are the capabilities of communities themselves to participate in projects. Gould (forthcoming) has formally examined the governance institutions required in communities for development projects to be a success. He notes:

'Central to the discussion of archaeology's role in community economic development must be the nature of the institutions created to foster that development. Archaeological sites are littered with defunct site museums, failed crafts retail stands and legacies of contention between archaeologists and communities about the distribution of benefits from archaeological work..... These are at root conflicts of an economic and political character, not archaeological. Nonetheless, many archaeologists are embarking on a course to realize economic benefits of a sustainable character from archaeological and heritage assets, the future of which they also wish to sustain'. (forthcoming:1)

Gould (forthcoming) argues that for any project to be sustainable in the long-term the local communities running them must receive meaningful economic benefits and have at least some level of governance capability, such as collective choice arrangements, monitoring and transparency, conflict resolution, and access to 'light touch' funding and advice. Archaeologists must promote and support, but not supplant, these governance institutions if any tourism and development projects, and therefore preservation efforts, are to be successful.

As will be discussed further below, the level of evaluation of archaeological local ICDPs is shallow. The above accounts are largely based on anecdotes of the archaeologists which carried them out, rather than any independent analysis of the local community or long-term objectives. Rarer still are cases which take account of economic, social and cultural capitals. What studies there are can illuminate the relationship between the mobilisation of economic capital and the social context, and economic capital and value.

As noted early, in Parks (2010) study of Uxbenká, Belize, economic capital was utilised in an attempt to gain local cooperation for the excavation and to help protect the site. Parks' study highlights the interactions of the different sorts of capital that the archaeological site contained (indeed Parks is the only researcher to use this term explicitly). Parks conducted semi-structured interviews with local residents following the resumption of the UAP. In those interviews Parks notes that while local people did not claim any cultural or spiritual relationship with the site, 97% of Santa Cruzenos believe that Uxbenká belongs to them *"because of the physical location of the site and their great economic need"* (2010:437). The economic capital of the site was clear to local people:

'In discourse, the people of Santa Cruz regularly refer to Uxbenká as an economic resource, whether through looting, employment with an archaeological field project, or in the site's potential for tourism. Looting in particular has become ingrained in the minds of community members as an acceptable form of earning money. Despite the difficulty and unpredictability of the work, Uxbenká has long been understood as a virtually unregulated source of supplemental income. Relatively few actually engage in looting – many are too busy, others do not want to waste their time in search of something which may never materialise – but a much larger number are unfamiliar with the reasons not to illicitly excavate the site. What good was Uxbenká, after all? The 'old Mayas' won't return to live in it, the archaeologists did not return to investigate it (until 2005), and just sitting there, it provides no benefit for anyone.' (2010:442)

Further, during one season 100% of households claimed they would like more tourists and that every man in the village should have an opportunity to work at the ruins:

'Fully aware of the lucrative tourism industry in Belize, the community of Santa Cruz recognises the aesthetic and historical appeal of the site of Uxbenká, even if they themselves do not know the site's history. Archaeological fieldwork and employment at the site is a part of tourism in the eyes of the community. Many residents, especially women, are under the false impression, albeit one that has been encouraged by the UAP, that the Uxbenká Archaeological Project is present at the site in order to provide jobs and generate tourism for the people of Santa Cruz (as opposed to scientific objectives). The archaeologists, claimed one man, are 'trying [their] best to help our village, to help our people'. These false impressions are not unique to the Santa Cruz/Uxbenká context. It is not hard to comprehend why somewhat isolated communities might have trouble understanding why foreign archaeologists would be interested in excavating their land, if not to bring 'development' for the people.' (2010:442-443)

Only 56% of people claimed to know why archaeologists are working at Uxbenká, with 34% believing it to be to learn about 'old' Maya, while 22% thought it was to 'help the village'. When asked about what concerns the local community had for the site 63% mentioned damage or looting of the ruins, 21% employment and tourism at the ruins, and 4% education

about the ruins (25% had no concerns). This situation shows a picture of a community's relationship with a site dominated by economic considerations. There was also some evidence of the 'right' sort of economic capital becoming a replacement for others:

'As one woman put it, villagers 'will not [loot now] because they need [jobs] more''.
(2010:443)

Parks further comments that:

'By privileging employment in archaeological fieldwork and heritage tourism over looting, community members are forced to realign their relationship with Uxbenká from one that is autonomous and personal to one that relies on village leadership and collaboration with government officials and foreign academics. While many agree that archaeology and tourism are more sustainable economic options than looting, their support of these activities is highly dependent on the fair distribution of equal financial benefits throughout the community'. (2010:444)

This demonstrates the strong social elements to the local relationship with economic capital. The need for intra-community collaboration, as well with outside bodies makes tourism and employment by the project a more complicated form of economic capital to manage. While looting relies on individual action which benefits that individual, economic capital through employment and tourism, is in some ways more of a public good which relies on the distribution of benefits. Parks notes that part of the relationship with economic capital is the community's knowledge of the impermanency of the archaeological project. Most considerations for local people are on a 'hand-to-mouth' existence and have short time-frames of planning and consideration as a result. The fact that not the whole community was convinced by the benefits of the UAP and the archaeological site was highlighted by the fact that during the project there was vandalism of the site and 'accusatory' messages on the stones and trees (2010:444). Many community members approached Parks to stress that these were a few 'bad-minded' people and that the vast majority were happy. The social difficulties which could result from the presence of the project were noted:

'The economic pressure is greater still for those who have been denied the opportunity to participate in archaeological employment at the ruins. Whereas before the archaeologists arrived all community members, regardless of their

naturalisation status, could benefit economically from the ruins (albeit illegally), today only Belizean citizens are permitted to make money from Uxbenká. Archaeology has thus contributed immensely to community factionalisation by further stressing the differences between Belizean born residents and those who have recently emigrated from Guatemala, echoing the socio-political differences in immigration status experienced on a national scale'. (2010:444)

While 100% of the households interviewed in 2005 believed that everyone should have the opportunity to be employed at the site, the control of jobs is highly politicised. Parks notes that village leaders were responsible for the distribution of work on rotation, but 16 heads of households did not work on the project in 2005. Some could not work due to their legal status others were excluded due to local politics.

Parks argues that the interaction between the community and archaeological project must rely on mutual trust. The archaeological project requires the cooperation of the local people to be able to continue and protect the site from damage, whereas the local people need to trust that the project's concern for the well-being of the village is genuine and believe that tourism offers them greater benefits than looting. This trust broke down in the past and through the UAP there was constant need to cement the trust against false rumours. An important part of this was the clarity and communication of archaeologist's intentions and aims.

In conclusion Parks summarises the interests of different stakeholders, showcasing how much economic considerations are part of everyone's relationship:

'The commodification of Uxbenká is measured differently by different stakeholders. The community of Santa Cruz sees the site as economic capital. The village extracts revenue from Uxbenká through the sale of illicitly excavated artefacts and employment in archaeological fieldwork, and in the future may benefit from cultural heritage tourism. The archaeologists of the Uxbenká Archaeological Project and the Institute of Archaeology, in contrast, value Uxbenká as a site of cultural and historical capital. The ruins are a wealth of information about the Classic period of Maya civilisation on the southern periphery and a site of monumental beauty and ancient achievement. Yet, these interests, too, resonate with economic associations. The state generates revenue by permitting archaeological fieldwork at Uxbenká and would benefit further by designating the

site as an archaeological park open to tourism. The archaeologists generate revenue by submitting (and winning) large grants from institutional funding agencies or, if they are lucky, by making an exciting archaeological discovery that will lead to publicity and, eventually, monetary reward. Ironically, the value systems that keep the local community, the archaeologists, and the state snugly within their own spheres of interaction, all culminate in different forms of the commodification of Uxbenká, objectives that are not mutually exclusive and could be satisfied simultaneously through collaborative interaction. (2010:445)

Parks use of 'capital' shows a focus on what the site 'does' for all the stakeholders involved. In comparing the relationship of those capitals with value for the archaeology Parks states:

'it is safe to say that the economic value of sites of Maya ancestral heritage can trump that of its spiritual or cultural value to descendent communities of national populations' (2010:445)

Park's analysis of the re-orientation of political associations and understanding of sites reflects the earlier discussion of the fact that archaeologists themselves, through their excavations, create new elements which must be dealt with, as well as Demarest's 'oil-well'. Similarly, Pyburn, reflecting on her experience at Chau Hiix comments that:

'A grass roots project means that the people who stand to benefit or lose define their own problems. If we go in to solve a problem that people do not have – such as the crisis to site destruction – we are creating a disaster that promotes the sort of capitalism/development that the locals do not control but that does not solve their actual problems. It also leaves them in a completely different condition the result of which is unknown and unpredictable.' (forthcoming:11)

The only project by GHF or SPI that seems to have been directly evaluated (and is publicly available) has been SPI's involvement in San Jose de Moro, with research carried out by Glassup (2011) as part of an MA dissertation. Glassup carried out a range of research methods to evaluate the project, including tourist surveys, ethnographic interviews, economic impact assessment, site mapping, surveys of local businesses, infrastructure and community groups (discussed further in Chapter 9). The SPI involvement at San Jose de Moro was in conjunction with the existing archaeological project there, led by Castillo. The contemporary settlement of

San Jose de Moro sits on top of the archaeology, and looters had previously destroyed much of the site (Castillo & Pachas 2006). Excavations, which started in 1991, provoked interest in the community and the locals requested something to be able to show visitors. From 1998 a 'modular' museum was constructed in the village, with many small buildings each contributing to presenting aspects of the site (Castillo & Pachas 2006). The site itself was actively excavated and the 'live' excavations form part of the tourist attractions. However Glassup found the modular museum was in a poor state of repair, with one building previously vandalised, and that tour groups made no use of the facilities.

SPI's involvement involved developing site facilities to include bathrooms and a seating area, and the development of a large ceramics workshop with associated shop (Coben forthcoming). The idea was to make San Jose de Moro a stop for tours to buy the ceramics (which cost up to US\$100) with the community benefitting and hopefully increasing support for preservation initiatives (Glassup 2011). SPI capitalised on the presence of an existing potter who became interested in the local Moche ceramics that were found in the excavations and had begun making replicas. The SPI scheme made local teenagers apprentices to make ceramics, who would receive all but 10% of any sales made. Sales were also made online through a website organised by SPI. SPI's involvement in the site has now reached an end.

The work by Glassup (2011) helps understand the success of the tourism initiatives and the thoughts of the local community. While far from a full assessment the study does help illuminate the relationship between economic capital and value. Annual visitor figures to the site proved difficult to establish and the tourism survey carried out indicated that out of 31 groups only four spent any money at the site, with domestic tourists spending nothing. However, some international groups spent considerable amounts in the ceramics shop, including one group spending over US\$800. The tourism questionnaire highlighted that for many groups the site, or the ceramics workshop, was the main reason for their journey, meaning that their trip expenditure can be allocated to the economic value of the site. However, it would seem the majority were domestic tourists and most spending was not in the village itself. Out of 13 apprentices, earnings in 2011 (up to July) ranged from just under US\$300 to as little as US\$5, however Glassup does not mention how this money was used by the apprentices (such as with Douglas' study below). The main ceramist earned on average US\$161.43 per month.

There were other indicators of economic impact though, with a rival ceramic workshop independently set up in the village, a strong sign that there is a perception that the manufacture of ceramics for tourism is a worthwhile economic pursuit. Coben (forthcoming) later reported that seven local women were serving lunches to tourists, generating US\$2530 in total in 2012, while three other women were selling textiles to visitors and two new small snack bars had opened (bringing the total to three) in the village. However it is difficult to know the leakages and distribution of any economic gains from the data given.

Whether the archaeological project and SPI has benefited the community, and if this aids preservation, is in part illuminated by Glassup's local survey (2011) (the full results were not published in the MA dissertation but personally passed to me and my analysis of them follows). Out of 50 questionnaires eight respondents reported they, or a family member, had worked for the project or the workshop, while all but nine respondents had visited the excavations. Only four people claimed that they were not interested in the results of the archaeological research. When asked if it would be good if more tourists came to visit the site, only three people said no. Reasons for wanting tourism included 25 mentions of economic benefit or development, however a strong theme was also that the village and site would be more well-known as a result, including one person commenting that it would gain more attention from the regional authorities. Three people mentioned that more tourism would lead to more information being available for the village and it would be better for the archaeology. The respondents were also asked if they felt the archaeology was of economic benefit. While 50% of the sample thought that the archaeology did not benefit them personally, 74% thought that it benefitted the village as a whole. However 20% of people also thought that the site hindered development in the village. There seems to be no correlation between those who work for the site with those who believe it offers economic benefit, nor correlation between perceptions of economic benefit and opinions on development, however the samples are clearly too small to draw any firm conclusions.

The local survey also asked if local people think that the community should decide what happens to the site and if they should help preserve it. All but two people thought the community should decide while only one disagreed that the community should help in the preservation, giving the reason that 'they are already in charge'. When asked why they gave the answers to these questions there were 28 mentions of tourism, economic opportunities and development (again the survey is out of 50). Four mentioned that it was because the site is valuable and important, while five responded that it was due to the need to know the local

culture and history, while a further one mentioned it was important for the culture of the village. The survey also captured some general criticisms. Nine people say that the village needs a new museum (for both economic benefits and to provide information), while other asked for finds to stay in the local village. Other concerns raised about the project include the dust and dirt the excavation creates, and the desire for more information and communication from the archaeologists.

Four people claimed that the archaeological project gave 'no benefit' and one person raised complaints that the archaeological project was only for personal and professional aims. Commenting on a different question the same person states:

'We are poor people and the rich people come and take all we have. I live here but I have the obligation to go to another location to work because my town doesn't offer me a living or opportunity. Mr Castillo exploits us to benefit himself, he has a great wealth because of our town, he takes everything he finds and only pretends to help us. We are left with nothing. No more, we demand that he builds us a museum so that all of us can benefit too.' (Glassup 2011: no page)

The veracity of their allegations is unknown, and grievances towards the motivations of the project seem to be in the minority based on the questionnaire. However it does echo the issues surrounding community understanding of archaeologists' motivations seen in Parks' survey.

Whether the archaeological project, SPI involvement and community attitude has led to preservation is largely unknown. Glassup (2011) notes there is no baseline data to assess encroachment, although Coben (forthcoming) reports that looting and encroachment have come to a halt. As a result it is difficult to know if the project is a 'success'. The SPI involvement has certainly generated economic impacts which weren't there before. However, while the village seems largely convinced that the archaeology is an economic asset in general perhaps more needs to be done to connect benefits to people personally and convince that the archaeology does not come with large opportunity costs. Coben (forthcoming) argues that local authorities now act to protect and promote the site but, without baseline data there is no way of gauging effects and assigning causality. The project is also young and Glassup's work can act as a baseline for future evaluation.

Douglas (2010) assessed the impact of the archaeological project at Çatalhöyük, Turkey. While principally a methodological exercise (discussed in Chapter 9) the results do offer some additional insights. Douglas applied a range of valuation techniques to appraise methodologies to understand the 'value' of the archaeological project. A travel-cost method established that tourist day-trips to the site were worth between US\$40,000 and US\$67,000 depending on the year, while a CV study estimated a WTP for households of the local town to save the site from destruction to be between US\$418,000 to US\$1.4 million. Further Douglas applied an economic impact assessment, however with a very high multiplier, and found the site's tourism contribution to be US\$738,000 to US\$1.3 million each year. These formal assessment methods were supplemented with ethnographic interviews. Pertinent to the discussion here was the economic role that the project played in the local community. She notes that the project's labour force included many economically marginalised individuals and that seasons were not long enough to support principal income. Douglas concluded that incomes from excavations were for 'extra' items and not treated like other income. The excavation was also a source of revenue as it offered informal microfinance in the form of small loans and small businesses resulted based around the archaeological project including making souvenirs for tourists. It is unknown how this economic activity affects the local value of the site but the CV study seems to indicate a high level of value for the site from the community. Reflecting Ardren's earlier observation, Douglas stresses the need for archaeological project to completely understand the magnitude and distribution of cash flows, as well as understand the magnitude, issues and effects of tourism to sites they are involved in (Douglas 2010:57).

Douglas' findings can be compared to Atalay's (2010) study of the same community around Çatalhöyük. Atalay applied a purely ethnographic approach to understand community feelings towards the archaeological project. The research identified the desire for local people to have a more substantial involvement in the project and highlighted very limited local knowledge about the project and the archaeology itself. As a result internship and theatre programmes were instigated.

Data in Archaeological ICDPs

Douglas's conclusion, and the data from Parks and Glassup demonstrate the value in applying valuation research to such projects. While community archaeology and local engagement has become an increasing concern of archaeologists and heritage organisations there is a lack of

robust analysis of previous projects from which to draw lessons and improve approaches. This reflects the situation described by the natural ICDP and ecotourism literature. The rather ad-hoc nature of many projects, and their organic evolution, tend to mean there is little opportunity to first gather baseline data and subsequently visit the projects over a number of years to assess success (noted by Glassup 2011). Compounding this is the relatively recent nature of many projects, meaning we have not yet seen if projects succeed or fail in the long-term and that suitable methodologies have not been tested.

Adams (J Adams 2010) notes the lack of good socio-economic data reporting the success of archaeological management plans, while Boynter (forthcoming) finds that his study on the economic impact of field schools is the first of its kind, and that it was with difficulty to find information to inform it. Some reviewers have critiqued a tendency to only publish positive news:

'...managers have only reported success and optimism, with many of the problems associated with defining community participation (and the half-hearted implantation of the concept) underplayed in the associated literature.' (Chirikure et al. 2010:32)

Parks (2010) goes further to conclude a general lack of analysis and direction for such projects:

'..a lack of critical reflection upon the experience of community-based archaeology has resulted in an inability to determine its effectiveness. Is the promotion of community tourism, as has occurred at Uxbenká and a variety of other sites in the Maya region, an ethical way for archaeologists to engage with local people?' (2010:439)

As a result there is an acknowledgment that much community engagement is not understood. The foreword to Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America freely admits that economic impacts from tourism in the featured projects are not really tracked (Shackel 2006). Within that volume Hastorf concludes that despite efforts to generate outreach and museum projects she does not *'know whether this museum has generated more sensitivity about the site among the residents who live there'* (2006:97). The lack of data and analysed case studies was evident in the conclusions of AED2012 (Gould & Burtenshaw forthcoming b), while at that conference

Coben called for the increased application of metrics and evaluation to all projects of this nature.

The lack of data also reflects a wider lack of skills. In Chapter 3 (p.63), Hodder stressed that few archaeologists receive training in managing economic and social benefits. Pyburn in 2005 stated *'This is a new endeavour, and we're learning now best to do it'* (quoted in Bawaya 2005). However in 2009 this is repeated, commenting on the largely ad-hoc nature of the approach to community engagement projects:

"There is something of a crisis emerging in archaeology...In effect, quite a few archaeologists are attempting to do economic development projects or cultural recovery projects with no applied training and no local knowledge, beyond seat-of-the-pants attempts to promote 'preservation' and 'entrepreneurship'." (Pyburn 2009:168)

The skills gap is also commented on by Coben (2006) and Castillo and Pachas (2006) who separately both comment that archaeologists are not trained in development projects and they are usually making it up as they go along. The education in development ideas to be included in archaeologists training is also suggested by Giraldo and Porter (2010) and Smith (forthcoming).

The above case studies have shown the difficulty that can be encountered in local heritage engagement and tourism projects. The need for proper evaluation methods is stressed in Throsby's general scheme for approaching projects involving cultural assets with his 'Three Golden Rules' (2009). Throsby suggests three rules. The first is 'Get the Value Right'. As Throsby explains this means:

'...that in evaluating a tourist project or process where heritage is involved, or a heritage restoration project or process where tourist demand enter the picture, the analyst needs to be clear about the types of values the project creates.' (2009:20)

Throsby is making clear the need to fully understand the cultural, social and economic impacts that any change in a heritage resource will create and plan accordingly for this. The second rule is 'Get the Sustainability Principles Right' noting that there can be a variety of meanings for 'sustainability' and that it is important for project planners to understand what they mean

and what they are trying to achieve. In particular Throsby suggests a holistic approach including economic, ecological and cultural sustainability. The last rule is 'Get the Analytical Methods Right', stressing the need for good methods to assess projects adding that correct methodologies are useless without the data to put into them.

Some have suggested advice for specifically archaeological community projects. Pyburn (2006) offers five 'rules of engagement' between archaeologists and communities, particularly those involving site museums. These include advice on relinquishing control responsibly, how decisions by archaeologists may initially be unpopular, that fundamentalism should not be encouraged, and that archaeologists should respect local cultural norms. Mapunda and Lane (2004) also offer guidelines for archaeologists working with local communities to conduct good public archaeology including recruiting local people as researchers, organising tours, lectures and exhibitions and producing low-cost publications.

Pyburn (forthcoming) compares her experiences with involvement in heritage projects in Belize and Kyrgyzstan to draw some general lessons. She argues that sustainability results from grassroots engagement and developing locally appropriate strategies. Within the context of the possible 'disaster capitalism' discussed in Chapter 6, Pyburn concludes from her experiences that archaeologists must do ethnography to educate themselves about the places they will work, and equally importantly make their goals intelligible to local communities.

'The information the locals need from you is what programs of economic development have worked and not worked in comparable situations and ideas based on your experience in their community and respect for their values about how to adapt these ideas to solve the problems that they identify. An archaeologist is not going to be able to offer much. The minimal responsibility is to make the archaeologist's intentions, resources and limitations transparent so that people can decide whether you pose a danger and whether any of your skills or connections is useful for them. The more local knowledge and ethnography you have, the better your chances of discovering something to offer and becoming welcome and figuring out how to go beyond not harming anyone to actually doing some good'. (forthcoming:12)

This advice chimes with Parks' discovery of the low understanding of the archaeologist's intentions, as well as the accusations of personal motivations seen by Glassup at San Jose de Moro.

Conclusion

While perhaps still in a minority, there is an increasing trend for archaeologists at a local level to mobilise the economic capital of archaeology to generate value. The reasons to do this vary, from preservation efforts, practicalities of working with local communities, to obligations to local communities. However, all strategies are designed to persuade a stakeholder, usually the local community in this case but may also be local and regional authorities, to value archaeological resources. The tactics to do this vary but almost exclusively involve tourism, through mediums such as museums, guides, souvenirs, trails and integration with ecotourism. Each of the tactics has its own problems and difficulties. More generally ICDP-style initiatives for archaeology reflect many of the problems seen in those for natural resources, that of difficulties with generating economic impacts, distributing them to intended recipients and long-term financial sustainability. While there are success stories of ICDPs achieving preservation goals for archaeology, there is less understanding of how widespread this is and the long-term impacts of modifying behaviours towards archaeological sites.

Similar to the situation seen with natural resources, objective assessment of success is not widespread, with most evidence based on first-hand anecdotes. There is a lack of consistent methodologies and collection of baseline data to evaluate projects. It has been repeatedly commented on that archaeologists usually lack the training to carry out such projects, with many evolving ad hoc out of academic goals.

Most data that is reported does not often look at wider impacts of the promotion of economic capital, nor its relationship with other capitals. Those few studies which have offer some very illuminating data. Both Glassup and Parks' studies show communities whose relationship with local archaeology is dominated by economic and social considerations. The actions of archaeologists, intentional or not, throw new elements into these relationships, forcing re-negotiations of relationships of value with the archaeologists, and archaeology itself. Demarest's 'oil-well' analogy may be over-dramatic, but it contains a strong element of truth for archaeology's potential. It is vital that archaeologists are aware of the consequences of their actions including understanding the socio-economic context of the wages they spend as

well as wider socio-cultural relationships with the archaeology. The changes in relationship may of course be positive, achieving the goals which archaeologists may desire, but they may also be negative and there needs to be more research in this area. Bottom-up and participatory process offer the best way to understand and manage the context of any initiatives, allowing those affected by changing relationships the opportunity to control them. Here the normal pattern of archaeological research may offer an advantage. The fact that archaeologists often spend many years working at the same location allows them a degree of understanding of the local political and social context, allowing for a tailored approach rather than a top-down applied model.

A key element therefore is the levels of trust, information and negotiation between archaeologists and local communities. The case studies often show local misunderstanding of archaeologists' intentions, harming attempts to build value for projects and sites. That locals understand the goals of archaeology or any projects is vital to their success. But this communication relies on archaeologists themselves understanding their own motivations, ethics and goals, as well as the methods of evaluations of those goals. Here Throsby's three rules offer broad guidance – that archaeologists need to understand clearly what they are trying to achieve, the context of it and how to understand the outcomes of it.

Section 2 Conclusion

The above discussion of the local level completes this section's examination of the mobilisation of economic capital to generate value for archaeology. What can be seen is that economic capital is a vital component of discourses and actions around the preservation of archaeology and heritage organisations. At all levels economic arguments are used to generate attention, relevance, funding and investment. The stakeholder 'levels' to some degree are artificial constructions and the links between them are clear. International advocacy and fundraising, as well as national funding justification, rely in some way on the ability of archaeology to deliver benefits on the local level. Local level projects often rely on international and national partners for funding and guidance, while legislation and international charters set many of the rules for local engagement.

In Chapter 5 the comparison with natural resource gave rise to additional questions which this section has sought to answer: What messages do archaeologists utilise to persuade of value?

What strategies are used to incentivise stakeholders to modify behaviours or value archaeology? Why do archaeologists want to (or not) use such strategies?

There is a variety of messages archaeologists use. The international level heavily utilises messages of the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development, while some INGOs also ape environmentalists in arguing for the urgent need for preservation. In the UK, various avenues are used to show the utility of archaeology to national concerns and the economy – tourism, regeneration, employment and a role in ‘resilience’. Locally, the promise of tourism opportunities and employment dominate the messages seen employed. The strategies these messages use broadly reflect those outlined by environmentalists – a mix of political persuasion and practical impacts. Particularly at the national level data has been collected and presented to make arguments, while the GHF has employed the same tactics internationally. The types of stakeholders approach have also varied, from individuals, the private sector and government to local communities. Motivations for employing such strategies and messages also vary. Internationally the concept of ‘attachment’ is a useful one, where global heritage organisations are ‘playing the sustainable development card’ to attract interest and relevancy amongst contemporary agendas. The form of attachment at the UK national level is more defensive, with many actions motivated to maintain a funding status quo. Locally archaeologists are employing ICDP-style strategies for preservation, ease of work and moral obligations.

However the strategies and motivations are not without their critiques and problems. Internationally there is concern about the impact of the interests of the World Bank, and also questioning of the interests of international heritage organisations. Nationally, there is concern about the shortcomings of arguments based on economic impacts, as well as persistent problems in how to communicate values between the government and the cultural sector. For projects involving tourism there are concerns about the sustainability of tourism itself, the social and long-term repercussions of initiatives, as well as the effectiveness of such projects to generate economic impacts sustainably and deliver them successfully. There is also a need to better understand the wider implications of the generation of economic benefits at sites and how relationships with archaeology for individuals and communities are affected.

What unites all three stakeholder levels is the need for the development of data, concepts and methodologies. In the UK, the lack of (successful) conceptual frameworks within which to communicate value is harming the ability of economic capital to contribute to value.

Internationally there are calls to develop discipline-wide attitudes towards the use of economic capital, as well as more active engagement with other stakeholders involved. Locally, there is a need to develop better understanding of intentions and ethics, as well as a need for the proliferation of case studies and testing of the concepts involved. All three chapters have commented on the lack of data gathering and research into economic capital, particularly those which go beyond basic figures for advocacy and can contribute more fully to policy.

Conceptually the view of the Capital Model is an aid. The clarification of 'economic value', and focus on the interrelationship between archaeology's capitals, as well as the breaking down of the 'tired binary' of intrinsic and instrumental (or culture and economics) can be usefully applied to each stakeholder level. Blunt valuations of economic benefits certainly have their place in advocacy and archaeologists must have this data available, and be comfortable with it, to appeal to certain stakeholders. However the use of economic capital is better applied within a more holistic context and understanding of how it mutually contributes (or subtracts) from cultural and social concerns. This makes both a stronger case for what economic capital can offer, as well as helps make its promotion sustainable. The need for more methods and data, particularly at the local level, will be the focus of Section 3.

Chapter 9

Measuring Economic Capital

The preceding section (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) has showcased areas where the economic capital of archaeology has been used to promote value for archaeological resources. As noted at the end of Chapter 8, there are two main concerns about the use of economic capital to motivate value. The first is the lack of data. Consistent throughout the chapters are calls for higher quality data, a better depth of data, and a wider understanding of how archaeology contributes to economic impacts. Added to this are critiques that data collected is simply for advocacy and does not inform management decisions and policy. This situation reflects both the relatively short time period of concerns with this area and therefore the lack of build-up of methods and reports, as well as the lack of overall conceptual direction and understanding of what archaeology would like from such data and therefore a coherent plan of what to collect. This lack of conceptual direction in part informs the second of the noted criticisms, which is the isolation of economic capital and the lack of a holistic approach. While connections between economic, social and economic capital are sometimes discussed, overall economic arguments tend to be used in isolation from, or worse in opposition to, cultural arguments.

Following these criticisms, this section (Chapters 9, 10 and 11) will seek to answer the third research question – what methodologies and approaches can archaeologists employ to best understand, and manage, economic capital? This question will be answered by considering existing approaches and cases studies, many of which have been examined already, and through the case study of Wadi Feynan, Jordan. This chapter will first examine general approaches to economic impact studies. This review will not be an exhaustive look into the technicalities of economic impact assessment, but rather a review of available methods and how they relate to different goals archaeologists may have. The chapter will then consider examples from archaeology which have considered mainly economic capital, before reviewing those which have attempted to link economic and other capitals. Following this review it will propose general advice for archaeologists to approach the understanding of the economic capital of the archaeology where they work. As a result, the proposed approach will chiefly concern the local level of archaeology's, and archaeologists', interactions with communities and individuals.

As discussed in the previous chapter the local level can often be the most important arena for understanding economic capital and value. Data is crucial for archaeologists to inform and manage any attempts to mitigate negative effects on local communities or archaeological sites, or initiatives to raise value. Good data is vital to understand any management decisions archaeologists may have to, or like to, make. As noted, too often ICDP-style projects around archaeology are performed on an ad-hoc basis with archaeologists using little other than intuition to guide the process and achieve results. Projects also need to be analysed and evaluated for success so that they can inform future projects.

Measuring the Economic Capital of Archaeology

Chapter 2 discussed the available non-use methodologies and their application to cultural heritage and so these are not reviewed here. Non-use methodologies, including WTP, CV and CM techniques, are designed to measure the value felt by a population arising from all the asset's capitals, not just economic. However, it is worth noting that methods such as Choice Modelling may offer pathways to understand the relative importance of different capitals of a heritage site, as Kinghorn and Willis' (2008) study demonstrated.

Directly relevant to the understanding of economic capital are methods for understanding use-value, principally the economic impact study. As outlined in Chapter 2, the generation of revenues and jobs will leave financial trails and flows in the economy, of which an assessment can be made, usually expressed in revenue (including GDP and GVA) or employment. As Snowball describes, the idea of an economic impact study is to ask '*what would be the loss of revenue in a certain area if a certain economic activity was not there?*' (Snowball 2008:34). Key to the assessment of economic impact is the 'multiplier effect' (Bowitz & Ibenholt 2009; Stynes 1997), the re-spending of initial spends in a certain economy to produce direct, indirect and induced effects. Certain amounts of re-spending happen outside of the intended target group, which is referred to as a 'leakage'. This effect highlights the importance of understanding not just the magnitude of any economic impact but the distribution of benefits and costs. As a result the economic capital of archaeology can be understood through the measurement of the jobs and revenues it currently provides, and further who receives those economic impacts.

The fundamental method of the economic impact assessment is not significantly challenged. The chief objection is poorly applied methodology in order to inflate figures to ensure

maximum effectiveness in advocacy. As Crompton (2006), focusing on travel impact studies, argues:

'Most economic impact studies are commissioned to legitimize a political position rather than to search for economic truth. Often, this results in the use of mischievous procedures that produce large numbers that study sponsors seek to support a predetermined position.' (2006:67).

Bowitz and Ibenholt comment that this exaggeration has *'threatened to cast the entire field of analysing the economic effects of using the public purse to stimulate culture (including cultural heritage) into disrepute'* (2009:2). Snowball (2008) argues that such cultural economic impact studies provide a useful 'bottom-line' figure that can be easily understood and compared, and inform decision-making and policy formation, but many have methodological flaws.

There are several flaws which can lead to inaccurate or inflated figures. The inclusion of local residents' expenditure on an attraction can raise figures, which should not be included as this is money that would have been spent on something else in the same economy (Crompton 2006). This highlights the need to properly define the geographical area under study (and therefore if someone is an 'outsider') and further if visitors would have visited anyway, simply switching the time of a visit, or even displace others who might have come (Crompton 2006; Nijkamp 2012; Snowball 2008). Snowball (2008) and Crompton (2006) stress the need for accurate visitor information (including numbers, spending and length of stay) and the use of appropriate multiplier figures including accounting for the manufacture of goods outside the region and the leakages of non-local suppliers and workers. The long-term positive and negative effects of migration or attracting businesses and their relation to background trends are also often ignored by studies (Bowitz & Ibenholt 2009:6-7; Snowball 2008). Crompton and Snowball argue that there is a lack of attention paid to the costs of new activities, including displacement of visitor and opportunity costs (Crompton 2006; Snowball 2008:38-39). The need to properly understand the distribution of economic benefits is emphasised as well, with Snowball (2008) noting that impacts can be unevenly distributed amongst a population due to differing abilities to access the spending of visitors, while Nijkamp (2012:90) reiterates that rich residents usually profit more than poor residents from projects concerning cultural heritage (2012:90).

Crompton concludes that the political pay-off of methodological ‘shenanigans’ is positive, as, while there has been some backlash against the claims of tourism to be an engine of economic benefits, figures used are rarely challenged or debated (2006:80). Bowitz and Ibenholt (2009) argue that previous poor studies should not be an argument against pursuing well-performed future studies.

Nijkamp (2012), in his review of methods to measure the economic value of cultural heritage, notes that economic impact assessments are not always used in isolation. He notes that *‘at the interface of tourism and cultural heritage, cost-benefit studies have provided a meaningful contribution, often in combination with reveal or stated preference methods’* (2012:90). In particular economic measures have been combined with multicriteria analysis, which weights and assessing simultaneously qualitative and quantitative effects of plans and programmes (Ost 2009:90-91; Nijkamp & Riganti 2009). Social Return on Investment methodologies seen in Chapter 7 can be seen as part of this suite of techniques.

Studies into the Economic Capital of Archaeology

Many of the economic studies featured in the previous chapters use different methodologies, cover different aspects and produce different data, depending on the intended use of the research. For those that look at the economic impact of a collection of archaeological assets, two broad methodological approaches are seen. ‘Top-down’ methods attempt to separate the activity due to heritage from a wider activity (e.g. tourism or construction), while ‘bottom-up’ approaches add up individual elements (or a sample of them) to account for the whole (Oxford Economics 2010).

As discussed in Chapter 6, the GHF (2010a) researched the value of tourism to heritage sites in the developing world², looking at 500 sites and estimating that tourism was then worth US\$24.6 billion, which could increase to over US\$100 billion in 2025, with an average annual growth of tourism of 10%. These figures were calculated in a ‘bottom-up’ fashion. Data on domestic and international visitors was collected for each site and spends of US\$40 for each domestic and US\$200 for each international visitor were applied, assuming an average stay length of 1.4 days (GHF 2010b). This is a very rough analysis as visitor spends will vary hugely between sites. The report acknowledges that the estimates of individual site revenues *‘may be higher or lower than actual, but spread over 500 sites this does not affect the economic*

² GHF defines ‘developing countries’ as those whose Per Capital Gross National Income is less than US\$8,855 per year

analysis too much' (2010b:4). This statement is debatable at best as it is not clear where these 'average' daily spend estimates used come from. Compounding this problem is the lack of evidence for the visitor figures themselves. While many sites in the database cite UNESCO management reports, nearly 300 sites are listed as 'GHF Estimate', meaning that there is no data, while many other sites rely on sources such as Wikipedia and popular news websites (GHF 2010b). This probably reflects the availability of such data, rather than a lack of rigour by the GHF researchers. There is also no attempt to understand the motivation of visitors to understand the quantity of trip spend which can be applied to that site, nor of the multiplier or distribution of the economic impacts. However, this report is primarily an advocacy tool, designed to showcase the economic value of tourism to heritage sites in the developing world, and so data beyond these headlines figures is superfluous to its core aim.

In the UK, the HLF-commissioned Oxford Economics report focused on the impact of heritage tourism to the UK economy (Oxford Economics 2010). In contrast to the GHF report, the methodology was one of 'top-down' rather than 'bottom-up' with heritage tourism calculated as a sub-set of total tourism to a given area (the report separated cultural and natural heritage). The report defines 'heritage tourism' by what visitors report is the purpose of their trip rather than what they actually visit as trips may include a variety of activities where visiting heritage is only incidental.

The report utilises a variety of sources to established the number and spend of international, domestic and day visitors in the UK and number of partial sources to build up a picture of how many of those tourists, and how much their spend, can be attributed to heritage motivations (the allocator). Allocators ranged from 33% for international holiday makers to just 1% for domestic tourists visiting friends or family (Oxford Economics 2010:21). Out of a total of £86.4 billion of tourist expenditure, the researchers allocated £7.2 billion to cultural heritage tourism (excluding green spaces), coming from 102.6 million tourists (the vast majority being domestic day visitors). This expenditure is then converted to GDP and employment figures using known ratios for tourism in general – giving £4.3 billion in GDP and 113,000 full time equivalent jobs for heritage tourism (Oxford Economics 2010:21). Equally the report applies general tourism multipliers, giving a total economic impact of £11.9 billion, however distribution of impacts within the UK is not covered. The report notes several areas where estimates are used as no directly relevant data was available (including for the allocator), but takes care to cross-check assumptions and results where possible.

Similar top-down tourism methodologies are used for the national and regional studies into the wider economic impact of heritage carried out in Scotland (ecotec 2008a), Wales (ecotec 2010a, 2010b), Northern Ireland (eftec 2012) and within England (ARUP 2005, Amion *et al.* 2009) (see Chapter 7 for full background). Within these studies the definition of heritage used, and therefore studied, varies. For example the Scotland and Northern Ireland studies do not include museums, whereas the report for Wales does where they are located in historic buildings, while the study for the North East of England (ARUP 2005) also includes galleries and archives.

All the studies broadly aim to establish the economic capital of heritage through measurement of its contribution in three areas: the built heritage sector (construction), the heritage sector itself, and tourism. For the three country-wide reports tourism is calculated in the top-down fashion, applying an allocator to existing data. However the North East of England (ARUP 2005) was able to count the number of visitors to heritage attractions within its region and apply average spends to them. Similarly the North-West Regional Development Agency study (Amion *et al.* 2009), estimated tourism revenue using both a top-down and bottom-up approach, incorporating data both from its own case studies and regional visitor surveys.

The impact of construction is also largely understood in a top-down fashion in these studies (although not considered in ARUP 2005). The Scottish study, for instance assumed that 20% of repair and maintenance of buildings relates to the historic environment, meaning a total of £501.1 million GVA (ecotec 2008a). The North-west study supplemented an allocator with information on employment in heritage-related maintenance companies (Amion *et al.* 2009).

The contribution of the heritage sector itself is established in a largely bottom-up fashion, through surveys or 'consultations' with heritage organisations. The Scottish study surveyed 83 (from a sample of 500) heritage organisations to ascertain how many people they employed, their income and expenditure, and the source of their income (ecotec 2008a). The direct contribution of the heritage sector itself, based on the survey response, is estimated to be £170 million GVA, supporting about 4000 FTE employees (ecotec 2008a:36).

To this data the studies may add various multipliers, examine possible sources of leakages, or convert direct impacts to GVA. The application of multipliers highlights a constant theme through these national and regional studies, the lack of relevant data on which to base estimates. Both the Wales and Northern Ireland studies draw heavily on the Scotland study to

make estimates for tourism allocators and multipliers despite the acknowledgements in that report of the lack of depth of information to support those estimates (ecotec 2008a:40).

The more thematic rather than regional UK studies all have followed primarily bottom-up methods. The reports into the impacts of Cathedrals (ecotec 2004b), MLA in the South-East (MLA South East 2008), and independent museums (AIM 2010) all use collected data about spending of, employment in, and tourism to, attractions considered by the report. The survey responses are used to then build up a general picture of jobs created, leakages, and tourist spending to give sector-wide estimates. As with the Northern Ireland study above, the robustness of the results was often dependent on the amount of survey responses received (MLA South East 2008).

Outside of the UK, Wijesinghe (1993) proposed a top-down methodology to measure the 'economic value' of cultural monuments to tourism in Sri Lanka. He sought to calculate this simply by applying an allocator for cultural visitors to total tourism receipts for the country, and further to multiply this by the number of days spent at cultural sites as a proportion of average total trip duration. To work out the allocator for cultural tourists Wijesinghe uses the number of tickets sold to tourists visiting the sites of the 'Cultural Triangle', a series of important sites. The resulting economic impact figures are used to justify an excavation and conservation programme of the Cultural Triangle sites by comparing predicted rises in revenues to the programme costs.

The economic impact of heritage tourism to St. Johns County in Florida (Confer *et al.* 2002, Stevens *et al.* 2003) is based on a survey of over 1000 visitors to the area, establishing the nature of their visit, their activities, types and amounts of expenditure and demographics. The primary analysis of the data was to separate day-trip and overnight tourists, establish whether or not they originated inside the county, and to classify tourists as primary or secondary heritage tourists (as a sub-section of all tourists). A primary heritage tourist was one whose chief purpose was to 'experience and learn about early American History' while a secondary heritage tourist engaged in heritage activity but did not necessarily travel to the area for that purpose (about 98% of all tourists qualified as secondary heritage tourists (Stevens *et al.* 2003:12)). Expenditure patterns could then be stated for the different sorts of tourists identified. For instance it was found that overnight primary heritage tourists spent about 12% less on average than overnight secondary heritage tourists (Stevens *et al.* 2003:11). Dedicated software was used to estimate multiplier effects, rather than apply outside figures. Including

day-trip visitors, the study estimated that the economic impact from all types of tourism was US\$1.58 billion in 2001, supporting 28,191 jobs, about 50% of employment in the county. Of this, primary heritage tourism accounted for US\$544 million and 9,667 jobs (Stevens *et al.* 2003:13).

Cela *et al.* (2009) have investigated the economic impact of heritage tourism to the 'Silos and Smokestacks National Heritage Area' (SSNHA) in Iowa, USA. The sites of the SSNHA are designed to tell different stories in the development of American agriculture. The study consists of a large-scale tourist survey (616 respondents) covering 47 sites within the area. Similar software programmes to the one used at St. Johns was used to calculate multipliers. The survey established visitor spending on different sorts of services and the motivation of visitors i.e. those who travelled specifically to visit heritage sites, those for whom it was a side trip. The data showed, for example, that those on a specific heritage trip spent more on lodging than those in other categories. Based on the survey, direct economic impacts for all tourism to the sites are established (US\$62 million) before multipliers are added, based on the different sectors that visitors spent on (giving a total of US\$102.9 million, supporting about 1981 jobs) (Cela *et al.* 2009:252). Further analysis demonstrated that heritage visitors accounted for over US\$42 million in direct and indirect impact, accounting for 802 jobs and had a slightly smaller multiplier effect than general visitors. The aim of the study states that its focus is on community benefits, however the geographical distribution of the economic impacts is unclear, and linkages to any target communities not presented.

The above studies all relate to research conducted on archaeological assets that are not distinct i.e. they are a collection of assets on various scales. They employ both top-down and bottom-up techniques. The approaches used in part depend on the ability to survey the factor under consideration (easier for smaller scales) and the aim of the data being produced. Different approaches also emphasise different sorts of data with top-down methods needing informed allocators, while bottom-up quality, scalable data of individual elements is key.

The above reports have primarily been used for advocacy, and as such, the magnitude of the impact is often the most crucial element. Connections with heritage management and policy are a feature, with several of the studies presenting advice and frameworks for management and policy actions, often aimed at improving or managing the economic impact analysed (e.g. ecotec 2008a, 2010a, 2010b; eftec 2012). As discussed in Chapter 7, some of the reports

combine economic impact analysis with other methods, such as non-use valuations and case studies, in attempts to give more rounded perspectives (particularly ettec 2012).

Distribution effects are not the main consideration of these reports, beyond reporting the economic impact for certain regions. They are often only really considered as part of leakages, while sometimes only very generalised multipliers are included. The recipients of the economic impact under research are broad populations, rather than individual communities or target groups.

For some studies, where economic impact takes place is of vital importance for both advocacy and management. One of the first economic impact studies of a heritage attraction in the UK was carried out by Johnson and Thomas (1992) on the museum at Beamish. This study took just one museum and examines its impact on the local economy, principally in terms of employment. The museum at Beamish is an open-air museum portraying life in the North-East of England in the years before the First World War. The study was focused on policy concerns as the area has traditionally been one of high unemployment.

'It is not the purpose of this study to deny the significance of other perspectives, but whatever their validity, economic impact remains an important external yardstick for assessment which is directly relevant for policy purposes.' (1992:4-5)

At the time of the study Beamish was the largest tourist attraction in Northumbria. The study analysed the development history of Beamish and the impact of its current labour force. Amongst other results, the study calculated that the museum generated gross employment (including multipliers) of 256, of which 156 are direct jobs, but only 61 of the extra jobs created are located in the North-East (1992:59). The research uses information on visitor patterns, numbers and origins (the authors conducted a survey of 560 visitors) principally as a means to justify staffing levels at the museum. Finally the study analyses the possible future impacts of the museum and methods to increase revenue and therefore employment. The study is chiefly an advocacy tool, highlighting the museum as a source (or potential source) of jobs in a deprived area, and as a result, demonstrating where these jobs are and the measures to increase benefits for a target area are at the forefront.

As discussed in Chapter 7, the HLF has conducted a programme of assessing a sample of the projects to which it contributed funding (BDRC 2009; Ecotec 2006, 2007, 2008b; GHK 2007,

2008, 2009, 2010). The latest of these reports (GHK 2010) is illustrative of the methods involved. In it ten HLF projects were selected as a representative sample and for each case study a range of outcomes of the project was examined:

- the impact of project expenditure and ongoing expenditure on the local economy
- the effect of expenditures on employment
- the impact on visitor numbers and expenditures
- the impact on the attractiveness of the local area as a business location
- the financial sustainability of the each project

The data for each case study included HLF and project records, interviews conducted with personnel involved in the projects, a survey of visitors to a sub-set of the sites, and background information on the socio-economic characteristics of the project locations.

A key feature of the studies is the reporting of the geographical distribution of economic impacts. For instance, the 2010 study found that only 12% of goods and services purchased across the case studies came from the 'local' area (within 10 miles), while 66% came from the 'regional' economy (within 50 miles) (GHK 2010:8). While gross magnitude of employment (direct, indirect and induced) is established, key is the location of those jobs, with the same style of reporting as for the procurement. The report concludes that for 2010 just less than 40% of expenditure was leaked from regional economies (GHK 2010:9). The ongoing annual benefits from the invested capital are also broken down into local and regional. In addition, examples of regeneration and improved business environment are reported, as well as the proportion of sites that are located in 'deprived' areas and the economic impact those areas receive. The ongoing financial sustainability of the projects is considered by analysis of their revenue streams against core budgets and the levels of outside funding required. Lastly the ten case studies are scaled to provide an estimate of the impacts of HLF funding in general, and added to the previous reports to give an account of impact over the past five years. The in-depth understanding of geographical distribution of spending means that the HLF can potentially react to agendas such as increasing impact in deprived areas, increasing local impact, or monitoring financial sustainability.

The analysis of visitor spending forms a significant part of the HLF research. Dedicated tourism surveys were conducted at five out of the ten case study sites (for 2010). The surveys were conducted by a separate consultant, BDRC (GHK 2010:12), who also conducted surveys into

visitor opinions, impacts on well-being and learning, and the demographics of visitors, to understand who benefits (e.g. ethnic and socio-economic groups) (BDRC 2009). The visitor spending surveys covered aspects such as distance travelled, motivations of the trip, including why they chose to visit the sites, and expenditure in a range of categories. Having such data allows for useful fine-grained analysis. The 2010 report (GHK 2010) is able to closely tie trip motivation to spending. For instance, for Hastings museum the survey found that all those surveyed were primarily drawn to the area for other reasons than that attraction. Therefore the attributable average local spend of a day-tripper would be zero, while the maximum for the sample in that year was Weston Park Museum with £6.24. However, different sites had the largest overnight local spend, or highest regional spend, highlighting the large variety in how tourist spending could be distributed. From the basic data the report is able to state the level of tourism expenditure attributable to each site that is spent in the local and regional economy, and the effect this has on GVA and employment.

Economic Capital in Context:

The above studies generally focused on economic impacts of archaeology, although some supplement this picture through information on case studies. As outlined in the Capital Model and discussed through the examples of the previous chapters key to the management and preservation of archaeological resources is the understanding of economic capital within the context of value and its other capitals.

Relevant methodologies to examine a range of capital and values have been developed in tourism studies and occasionally applied to heritage. Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) conclude that in the 1980s and 90s there was a distinct lack of research into the non-economic impacts of tourism development. Instead there was only a mosaic of theoretical approaches that had not been tried and tested. To correct this situation the authors suggest carrying out face-to-face interviews with residents of the host community for a tourism development. Surveys should cover a range of impacts, including those on employment, socio-cultural impacts, environmental impacts and quality of life. This includes demographic information (to include employment and involvement with tourism); perception of the impact of tourism; opinions of future tourism development (including who should pay); and any adjustments to tourism they have had to make.

Faulkner and Tideswell's method is designed for a developed country context. More recently Simpson (2009) has developed a 'Sustainable Livelihoods Framework' (SLF) to assess the impacts of sustainable tourism initiatives on the quality of life, including economic and social impacts, of the local communities involved in a variety of contexts. Simpson identifies a methodological process to be able to capture these impacts. This begins with a literature review and collection of baseline data before holding semi-structured interviews to understand the background and motivations of key stakeholders and project participants. Local data collection begins with a household questionnaire to provide data on household composition, economic activity, education levels, dependence of tourism and other income related data. Complementing the survey are 'participatory processes', which are a range of techniques designed to allow local communities and stakeholders to express their values and opinions on tourism and a project. The idea is that the surveys and interviews feed into a systematic understanding of how a tourism development has affected aspects such as business opportunities, capacity building, environmental and socio-cultural impacts, and policy and planning. This qualitative stage is followed by a quantitative one where the different factors affecting livelihoods are statistically modelled.

The SLF focuses on understanding the real livelihoods of the communities involved in tourism, using this as a base within which to understand the impacts of any tourism (or other development) project. As a result the key outcomes of the data are understanding aspects such as if a community is getting more food, has more business or feels more connected than before, rather than simply understanding the impacts of the project itself in terms of revenues or participation generated. It also provides a space for local communities to express their own thoughts and interests rather than impose outside measurements on them. In practical application to projects in South Africa, Simpson (2009) comments that the many different stages of the method were time and resource consuming and were limited by the availability of baseline data to judge changes over time. Further it proved difficult to assign causality to changes i.e. which were due to the project and which to background factors.

Kausar and Nishikawa (2010), in their evaluation of Borobudur, use a SLF approach. The authors conducted household surveys as well as direct observations, informal discussions with locals, and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders. As Simpson suggests the survey focused on assessing the financial, physical, and social resources and social capital of households, and further how tourism interacted with household activities and whether respondents felt tourism contributed to their well-being. The survey also asked how

respondents felt about their level of participation in the tourism project and their capacity to influence policy. As a result much of the data involves people's perceptions of impact, which may differ from real impacts in some cases. As discussed in Chapter 8, the survey found that, in general, tourism was perceived to contribute to well-being but there was a lack of local empowerment, while economic opportunities and impacts needed to be expanded to wider populations.

Another approach to appraising progress in culture and development initiatives has been the use of indicators. Indicators are only proxies for underlying larger changes in value or well-being, but have more tangible aspects that can be tracked, allowing for assessment that can give understanding of larger changes and movements. As discussed in Chapter 6, UNESCO has been keen to develop an indicator approach as it is attractive in being able to assess some sort of quantifiable change on complex and vague situations (UNESCO n.d. d, UNESCO 2011).

Ost (2009) develops an indicator methodology to apply to heritage cities to understand their values and impacts, and inform management policy. Ost uses a scheme of non-use, direct use and indirect use values to cover the different sorts of 'value' that heritage cities may have for occupants and visitors. For each sort of value different indicators are developed to show their presence and strength. For example, non-use values may be accessed through willingness to finance heritage projects. Each indicator is assigned a measurement technique and a score to show the strength of the relationship between the indicator and the value being considered. The application of a range of indicators and measurements theoretically allows you to assess if the city is currently strong or weak in certain types of value. Ost is keen that the measurements are represented graphically on maps to best show the correlations of different indicators and values and therefore more effectively inform municipal management.

Ost applies this method to the historic city of Djenné in Mali (2009). Ost only collects use-value data for this exercise which includes data on property prices, public and private investment in neighbourhoods and cultural attractions, tourist numbers and spending, and tourism business diversity and income. The combination of this data allows Ost to map areas of high commercial and tourism use and where there are concentrations of revenues from tourism. This case study is limited and Ost's technique principally theoretical. Its quantitative nature can be compared to Joy's very different ethnographic approach to similar issues in Djenné (Joy 2007, 2008) (as discussed in Chapter 8). While Ost's work shows very detailed spatial distribution of at least direct economic impacts, Joy's work is vital in understand the

social and cultural consequences of such a distribution, although lacks quantitative understanding.

As noted in Chapter 8, a handful of studies have attempted to evaluate the success of ICDP-style heritage projects or have examined the impact of an archaeological site or project. These have covered a range of methodologies. Joy (2007, 2008) uses ethnography while Parks (2010) utilises household surveys, talking to 63 households in all, but offers no further quantification of economic impact.

The appraisal of the 'Longstones Project' (PWC 2007b) attempts a varied understanding of that project and the history of research at the site of Avebury (see Chapter 7, p. 146). The Longstones Project itself is analysed for its academic outputs, contributions to education and training (including tracing individuals who gained employment or research opportunities based on the experience from the project), promotional and media coverage, contributions to knowledge, improvements to site significance and the building of social networks with local residents. The 'skills and learning benefits' of the Longstones Project are calculated by equating the volunteer time spent on the project to minimum wage, giving a total of £85,000 of income across all the volunteers (2007b:18).

The measuring of the 'value' of the Longstones Projects, and all past research activity at Avebury, is attempted in a variety of ways. All past projects, going back to 1650, are assigned a star rating for the visual character of the site and the impacts on understanding or academic scholarship. The report argues that the past projects have increased the significance of the site for visitors. This is quantified using CV studies of other UK heritage sites and concludes that the history of research is worth £0.70 per visitor and £87,500 worth of 'intrinsic value' would have been lost without it (2007b:17). The report suggests that as many as 50% of visitors would not come to the site if none of the research projects had been carried out (including the effect of therefore not getting World Heritage Status), which over the past 20 years would equate to £8.4m in gross visitor spend (£13m if multipliers are added) (2007b:21). Lastly it is suggested that the research and subsequent significance of the site creates local value, which creates a premium for property in Avebury village. Hedonic pricing is used to calculate a 13-18% premium for living in Avebury over surrounding villages, which, if reduced to 10%, would be worth £6.5m across the whole village (2007b:23).

My own research in Kilmartin (Burtenshaw 2008) did not conduct any new tourist surveys, instead relying on previous surveys, financial accounts of the museum, and widely available background tourist and multiplier data. This study was fortunate in that the tourist and multiplier data available was of high quality and relevant to the study area, allowing a fairly detailed understanding of tourists spending patterns to be built up. However the lack of resolution in the data used meant that assumptions had to be made e.g. that the trip to Kilmartin took a whole day of someone's trip, rather than a portion of it. This is probably an overestimate and demonstrates the difficulties of building up a picture of trip cost from a top-down method (i.e. dividing average trip expenditures by average trip lengths) rather than building it up from reported spending at a location. Secondly, data on the total number of visitors was fairly weak, although it could be compiled from several anecdotal sources. The motivation allocator was also weak, although based in part on survey data available.

The original research design for Kilmartin had focused exclusively on economic impacts. Interviews with local tourism service providers, residents and museum staff greatly improved the understanding of the distribution of economic impacts, allowing for a greater appreciation of leakages, spending patterns and real benefits than the allocation of basic multipliers. However the interviews were also instrumental in revealing perhaps the more significant element of the research – the linkages between the different sorts of capital, allowing for a greater and deeper understanding of the economic role of the museum. However this research had no systematic approach to these elements.

A more quantitative approach to assessing the relationship between communities, heritage sites and tourism has been attempted by Iyer (forthcoming). Iyer conducted 165 interviews (roughly 300 individuals) at 16 archaeological sites across the Cusco region in Peru. Each interview was coded to account for three different factors – community organisation, economic potential and cultural awareness. Iyer then ran statistical analysis on the data to understand the correlations and relationship between the different factors. This allowed for conclusions such as that association with a particular community organisation plays no part in cultural awareness, while economic potential and cultural awareness were strongly positively correlated indicating that individuals who gained financially from sites were also motivated to have increased cultural awareness (although the causality between the factors is difficult to establish). Iyer also discusses four of the sites as case studies with more depth to offer specific examination of the data collected and to provide a context for it. Through this she argues that perceptions of economic potential are also strongly linked to changes in the number of foreign

tourists (forthcoming:10). While Iyer's study is perhaps limited in its scope and causality is difficult to establish, it does represent an attempt to gain a tangible understanding of the links between economic, social and cultural factors around archaeological sites and heritage tourism.

Glassup's study of San Jose de Moro (Peru) (2011) and Douglas' study of Çatalhöyük (Turkey) (2010) are both pieces of research designed to test methodologies to understand the success or value of archaeological projects. Douglas' study is the most diverse in terms of the methods used and explicitly states that the goal of the research is not policy orientated but rather to create a picture of what 'value' means to the community and to test different methodologies to do this. Douglas applies four different methods – travel-cost method, a CV study, an economic impact study, and finally ethnographic interviews (results of the study are given in Chapter 8). Douglas aims for a new standard in economic impact assessments, one which combines statistical measurements and ethnography to place the resulting measurements in proper socio-political context (2010:7-8).

Douglas notes the general difficulties in applying her methodology. As with Glassup, the research is a Master's dissertation based on only one limited research season. Sample sizes are small and not often statistically significant, however Douglas argues that the trends are strong enough to be of value. Another compliant is the lack of general background statistics for the region which hampered efforts, notably the understanding of economic impacts and multipliers.

Douglas justifies the use of the travel-cost method as the isolation of the site means that visitor's travel that day can only have one motivation. Basic data come from the site guard's visitor logbook with trip costs informed by interviews with site personnel, tourists and business owners. No overall trip motivation is included in the calculations, just the motivation for that day's travel. The CV study also proved difficult to implement, with some respondents finding it difficult to give numerical figures, the refusal of some people to partake in the survey, and the need for correct framing of the questions (the use of the term 'voluntary tax' in the initial question causing resentment amongst respondents for example (2010:34)).

Douglas' economic impact study was based on project expenditure, the spending of non-local archaeologists and the expenditure of tourists to the site. Data came from the archaeological project's accounts and interviews with archaeologists, tourists and local businesses. The main

problem encountered for the methodology was the lack of suitable multipliers to apply to the expenditure, coming up with a multiplier of 10 (typically multipliers are around 1.3) based on an only tangentially relevant study, which even the researcher doubted as extremely high (2010:43). Douglas concludes that *'Regardless of whether or not the multiplier is applied to data, it is enormously helpful to track and understand where money is flowing from a site's operations.'* (2010:46).

It is the ethnographic data that is constantly used to flesh out, give perspective on, and interpret the results of the other three methods employed. For example interviews with tourists helped explain who visits the site and why, and what may increase or determine travel-cost spend. The interviews with project workers helped establish how the wages are spent and where. The understanding of attitudes towards historical value and impacts of changes in the productivity of local agriculture helped contextualise the answers to the CV study. The ethnographic interviews threw up areas of interest not covered by the other methods, namely perceptions in changes in tourism in the local and regional area, impact of infrastructure and social changes caused by the presence of the project, and the two-way benefits between the site and local community (2010:47).

Methodologically Douglas makes two observations. The first is the necessity for archaeologists to keep quality records, such as with project accounts and visitor logbooks, as these are vital for any value appraisal. The second is the problem of the lack of contextual background data for the region to add to micro analyses and within which to interpret results. The study highlights the difficulties in attempting some methodologies, but also the advantages of mixing approaches. In particular the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods helps contextualise the measurements but also provides tangible data to be able to perceive the value of the project. The key message of Douglas' work is not to be caught up in the narrow results of one method. As she states in her conclusion:

'First, we (must) understand more fully the dynamics of not just how much benefit a community receives from a site but to whom it accrues, when they experience it and in what manner.' (2010:55, emphasis original)

Glassup (2011) presents an 'ideal' method for archaeologists to assess the 'success' of ICDP style projects and charts her own success in achieving this within the limitations of the research project studied, available data and local conditions. Glassup sets out the ideal

approach for evaluation in three areas; economic impact, social and cultural impact, and impact on the archaeological site. Economic assessment includes tourist impacts (established through questionnaires), impacts from archaeological projects on income and infrastructure, and the distribution of economic impacts. These economic impacts should be contextualised within the cost-of-living and economic diversity of the host community. Social and cultural impacts should be assessed through local community questionnaires that analyse well-being. Finally the impact on the archaeology itself should be assessed through a selection of site-specific measures like mapping of site boundaries and surveying the people to ascertain site values for people.

However, while outlining this 'ideal' approach Glassup finds she is unable to carry out the majority of it. She has problems in assessing the number of site visitors due to no accurate record keeping in place. She also finds no multipliers to apply to spending data and argues she is unable to generate them herself due to the large amounts of information and expertise needed. There was a lack of background data to be able to benchmark local earnings against, and no formal property market to assess the cost-of-living as she intended. Glassup is successful in mapping the current economic diversity of businesses in the host community but notes that this is only baseline data given the lack of any previous work on this issue.

To assess social and cultural impacts Glassup completes 50 local questionnaires with the aid of a local resident. She found that she could not carry out the survey herself due to being seen as attached to the archaeological project (2011:47). Other difficulties in carrying out the survey included previous coaching by schoolteachers to children to give 'correct' answers, and issues surrounding culturally appropriate questions. To examine community well-being Glassup noted the existence of several local community groups, however again lacked any previous data with which to compare this. Similarly, with the measurement of impacts on the archaeological site, Glassup is able to carry out a GPS analysis of the current boundaries of the site but is unable to show changes in encroachment due to a lack of any prior assessment.

Several lessons can be drawn from Glassup's work. Glassup's own conclusions argue strongly for the need for archaeologists to integrate basic data collection into the 'business-as-usual' approach so that changes can be easily tracked rather than retro-fitted (2011:53). She notes that only anecdotal evidence was available prior to her work. Glassup also stresses the current lack of skills within archaeology to collect appropriate data. This is further compounded by the lack of background statistics available to understand and further analyse any economic

measurements, reflecting Douglas' problems in this area. Glassup's study also highlights the difficulty in rigidly trying to apply an 'ideal' methodology. While high standards should be sought, in Glassup's study a fuller understanding of the situation is sacrificed for data which fits ideal methodology, which, in the end, provides less information than a looser research structure may have done. As Throsby suggested in Chapter 8 (p. 180), correct methods are useless without the appropriate data to inform them.

Approaches to Economic Capital for Archaeologists

The above review of methodologies of economic capital studies shows the range of options on offer to the archaeologist. For studies that only look at economic capital there can be top-down and bottom-up approaches, and different levels of interest in distribution effects depending on the use and aim of the document – for advocacy or management for example. Economic impact studies can suffer from methodological weaknesses and deliberate attempts to inflate figures for a political advantage. The principal difficulty seen with many of the economic impact studies is the lack of data upon which to base them, leading to many assumptions, some subsequently taken through to other studies. This problem is also seen with the more holistic studies which attempt to situate economic capital within other capitals and contexts. Here many of the 'ideal' methodologies applied fall down due to a lack of previous work, background studies or lack of skills and understanding amongst archaeologists.

However these studies do show the value in a range of approaches, particularly the combination of qualitative and quantitative data to mutually inform each other. Quantitative data allow for tangible measurements and communication of impacts but qualitative interviews and assessment allow for greater understanding of those scores and a clearer idea of how economic capital operates. A prime example of this regards multiplier effects. Several studies highlighted the difficulty in finding appropriate multipliers to apply to visitor expenditure data. However a more qualitative understanding of who receives income, what they spend it on and where it is spent, established through interviews, can be of much more use in understanding local leakages and importance of income than the application of a multiplier figure (as Douglas' study shows). As a result it is key for archaeologists to understand the nature of what they are trying to find out rather than the simply the pursuit of a number.

An aspect of this understanding is the need for archaeologists to be familiar with the techniques and the goals of any impact or value assessment so that basic data collection can be part of 'normal' archaeology. As Glassup stresses, basic data collection, especially baseline data, needs to be part of the 'business-as-usual' approach of archaeologists. Some non-use value techniques applied above are taxing in the amount of times and resources required to inform them and reach robust conclusions. However, some of the most valuable data comes from carrying out simple surveys and interviews with tourists and local communities, which can still cover a range of economic, social and cultural issues (Parks study being a strong example). In Chapter 8 Pyburn stressed the need for archaeologists to conduct basic ethnography to inform projects (p. 180). As a result the data that needs collecting need not be strenuous.

There are a number of key areas for archaeologists to focus on. Projects must be aware of their own spending on provisions and wages, and crucially who receives benefits and how this money is subsequently used. Tourism information should focus on basic numbers, origins of tourists and their motivations for visiting (as the HLF studies highlight). Archaeologists should have a sense, or find out about, background economic conditions of the places where they work so that their impact can be understood over time. The social and cultural capital of archaeology can be best understood by simply asking people about them (perhaps in participatory meetings), including key stakeholders away from the site as well as local communities around it. Finally there should be a record of the state of the archaeology itself including looting, encroachment and any deterioration. For all these areas, baseline and final evaluations will be most crucial to understand changes over time and causality. These basic data can inform a variety of management issues for archaeologists and form the bedrock of any more in-depth analysis to take place.

This is a basic structure of how archaeologists might approach the understanding of economic capital and its relationships with other economic capital. This will be applied to the case study of Feynan, Jordan and tailored specifically to the context of that site, as outlined in Chapter 10.

Chapter 10

Background to Tourism and Archaeology in Jordan and Feynan

The previous section argued for the need for archaeologists to collect further data about the mobilisation of the economic capital of archaeology, while the previous chapter presented methods, examples and issues for doing so. This chapter will provide the context and background to the case study of Wadi Feynan, Jordan, and present the methodology for investigating the economic capital of the archaeology there. Following Simpson's (2009) suggested SLF approach, this chapter will first consider the nature of archaeology and tourism in Jordan, the political and legislative context of the relationship between the two, and the key stakeholders in that context, before examining previous efforts to mobilise the economic capital of archaeology in the country. These efforts, and their resulting successes and failures, provide the context for the consideration of the economic capital of archaeology in Feynan. This background to Feynan is informed by literature and by interviews conducted with stakeholders of the sites during fieldwork. Field notes on these interviews are given in the Appendices (Vol. 2) and referenced accordingly. Further information about how the interviews were carried out, and their notation in the Appendices, is given in Chapter 11. All prices given are in Jordanian Dinar (JD), which equates roughly to the British pound and so has not been converted.

Archaeology and Tourism in Jordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is located in the Middle East, surrounded by Israel, Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia (Figure 2). The current territory of Jordan contains significant Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, Hellenistic, Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic and Crusader archaeology (R Adams 2008a). Most well known are the Nabataean and Hellenistic remains at Petra, the Hellenistic Decapolis cities including Jerash and Philadelphia (Amman), Byzantine mosaics at Madaba and Um Al-Rasas, Crusader Castles including Ajloun and Kerak, and Neolithic remains including the site of Ain Ghazal. Jordan contains four World Heritage sites: Petra, Quseir Amra (one of the 'Desert Castles'), the mosaics at Um al-Rasas and the Wadi Rum Protected Area (a mixed natural and cultural site) (UNESCO 2013).

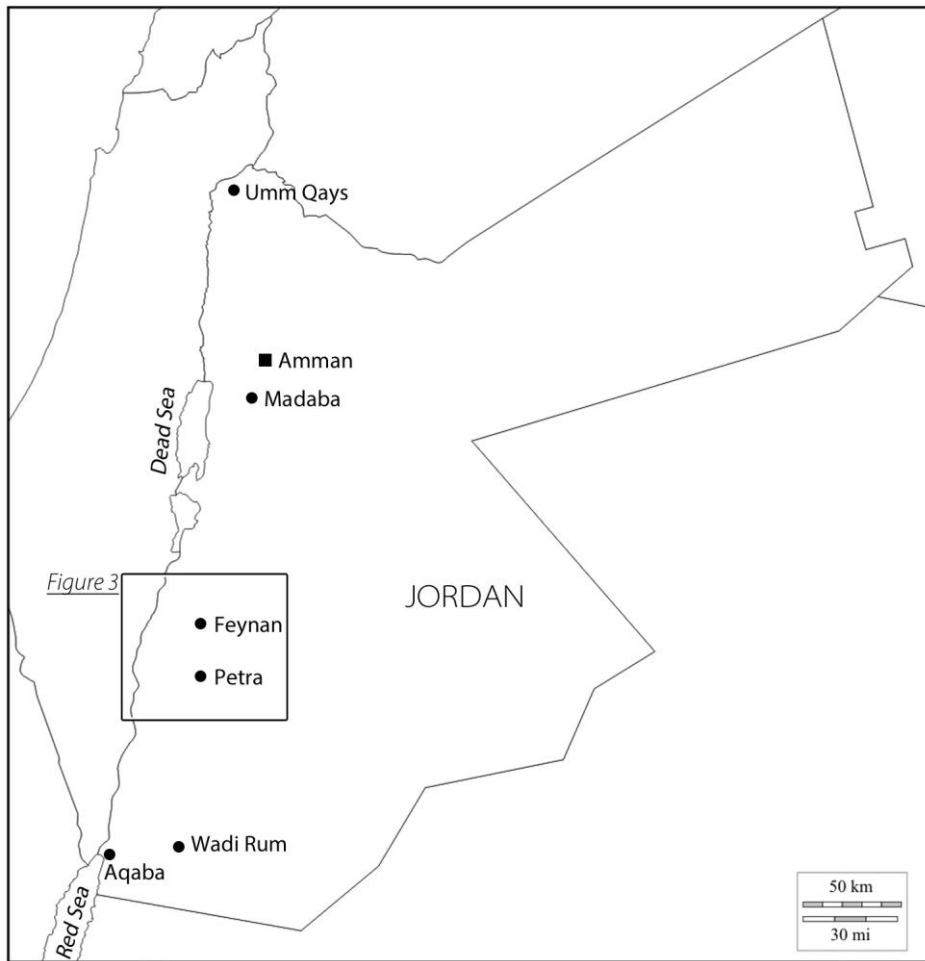


Figure 2: Locations in text in Jordan

Archaeological exploration also has a long history in the country with early exploration beginning in the early 19th Century, including Johann Ludwig Buckhardt’s ‘rediscovery’ of Petra (1810-1812) (R Adams 2008b). Archaeology initially was driven by efforts to find evidence for historically or biblically recorded sites, although the 1970s and 1980s saw a rise in research on the Palaeolithic and Neolithic, as well as environmental studies. During the 20th Century, under the British Mandate (1918-1967) and later during independence, archaeological research was primarily conducted by international schools. Archaeology today is significantly driven by Jordanians themselves, although retains a strong international flavour (R Adams 2008b, Interview NS5).

Tourism to Jordan is a very important industry, accounting for 12.4% of GDP in 2010 (MoTA 2011) and experiencing annually growth rates of 17% from 2004-2008 (Rosenberg & Choufany 2009). There were over 8 million visitors in 2010 (of these 4.55 million were overnight), while receipts grew from JD943 million in 2004 to JD2.4 billion in 2010 (MoTA 2011). Direct employment in 2010 as a result of tourism was estimated to be 41,900, while indirect jobs

supported may be several hundred thousand nationwide (MoTA 2011). Jordan's tourist accommodation is concentrated the hubs of Amman, Aqaba, Petra and the Dead Sea, although the vast majority of the country can be reached from these locations. Jordanian seasonality is not marked, although arrivals peak in March, April, August and October (Rosenberg & Choufany 2009).

The number of visitors to Jordan has fluctuated as the result of regional and global issues. Thomas Cook & Sons began offering package tours to Petra in the 1920s (Angel 2012) and since then Jordan has seen booms in tourism following negotiated peace with Israel in the early 1970s and 1994. However events such as September 11th and the recent uprisings in Egypt and Syria have had large negative impacts on tourism. There was a 19% drop in overnight and day visitors between 2010 and 2011, presumably due to regional instabilities, the continuation of which is likely to have further negative impacts (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012a). Another weakness of the Jordanian tourism industry is traditionally short-stays in the country, which was an average of 7.7 nights in 2006/07 (Department of Statistics, Jordan, 2008) reducing the economic impact of tourism (Interview NS2, SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012a).

Jordan has a potentially diverse tourism product, including religious, health and wellness, and adventure tourism, however cultural heritage tourism is a significant sector. In 2007, 813,267 people visited the site of Petra, 351,508 visited Jerash and 326,702 visited Mt Nebo, the three most visited heritage sites in the country (Al Haija 2011). The nature of heritage tourism has evolved, with early tourism focusing on a few key sites before initiatives in the 1990s attempted to develop more secondary sites. Daher (2007) has noted that 20th Century tourism in Jordan focused on religious and classical sites, tending to ignore Islamic and recent history, however historic urban heritage is now increasingly being brought into tourism (also Timothy & Daher 2009).

While the largest group of visitors to Jordan are Arabs (71%) they view the country as a leisure destination and stay in certain locations (mainly Amman, Aqaba and the Dead Sea) (Rosenberg & Choufany 2009). The vast majority of Arab visitors do not visit heritage sites, making up only 3% of visitors to Petra (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012b). Heritage tourism is therefore vital in attracting non-Arab visitors and spreading the impacts of tourism throughout Jordan. Roughly half the 'heritage tourism market' is European, while 75% are from long-haul destinations and 60% visit more than one country in the region (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy,

2012b). Due to the nature of the market heritage tourism suffers from the additional weaknesses to Jordanian tourism in general. The market is more exposed to factors such as the Euro crisis, increases in long-haul flight costs, and regional instability (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012a, Timothy & Daher 2009). Timothy and Daher (2009) note that heritage tourism throughout all of Southwest Asia and North Africa has been stunted by political tensions and resulting negative perceptions from 'western' tourists.

Economic considerations, particularly in relation to tourism, form a large part of the public's relationship with archaeological sites (discussed further below). Badran (2011), examining the role of archaeology in education in Jordan, interviewed teachers about why children should learn about archaeological heritage. The answer was often (10 out of 16 interviews) so that students understand their duty to preserve an important economic resource (2011:209). However heritage tourism has also played a role in providing a variety of political messages (Al Mahadin 2007). After political relaxation and liberalisation in the late 1980s, tourism was seen as part of the new direction for Jordan. Heritage images have been used to support the political powers of Jordan, providing a 'Jordanian' image in a country dominated socially by Palestinians, while also deemphasising Islamic aspects of society to the outside world after September 11th.

Stakeholders in Tourism and Heritage

The close political and economic relationship of tourism and archaeology is also reflected in its governing authorities and legal framework. The Jordanian Law of Antiquities (updated in 2004) identifies the Department of Antiquities (DoA) as the national authority for the '*protection, excavation, restoration, conservation, presentation, and management of antiquities in Jordan*' (Myers *et al.* 2010:27). DoA responsibilities also include the prohibition of illicit excavation and the overseeing of all archaeological missions in the country. The DoA issues approximately 100 excavation permits each year, of which 95% are for foreign teams (Interview NS5). It considers its main mandate to be centred on conservation, and research, but also carries out exhibitions, publications and educational activities (Interview NS5).

The DoA sits within the larger Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) (Myers *et al.* 2010). The DoA is managed by a director-general who is overseen by the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities. The Minister is in charge of the DoA, the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) as well as the Jordan Tourism Board (JTB) (which is charged with promoting tourism to Jordan). The three

bodies under the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities (DoA, MoT and JTB) are designed to be separate from each other, so while the DoA is under the Minister, it is not under the MoT. However the tensions between the policies and goals of the DoA and MoT are a theme which reoccurs in this thesis (Interviews NS3, NS5 and A2). DoA directors have previously embraced strategies of presenting archaeology as an asset for development (Interview NS3), however this policy has not been consistently applied due to frequently changing leadership.

The MoT is responsible for the development and promotion of publicly owned tourism sites (Myers *et al.* 2010:28). The MoT is guided by National Tourism Strategies (MoTA 2004, 2011), the latest of which proposes various improvements including product development, widespread training initiatives, and an increased role for the private sector. The MoTA wishes to *'Engage with the private sector to improve the presentation, management and interpretation of cultural resources and key heritage sites'* and *'revolutionize and promote Jordan's museum as distinguished experiences'* (2011:50). This role of the private sector includes developing, promoting and managing tourism services at heritage sites. The strategy states that a decision must be made about whether such management expertise should be *'outsourced'* or built up within the DoA.

An important Jordanian NGO (or RONGO as under Royal patronage) for heritage tourism is the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature (RSCN). The RSCN has three basic principles which guide its activities: maintaining biodiversity and wildlife, promoting the values and culture of the local community and using ecotourism for local community benefits (Myers *et al.* 2010). The RSCN was established in 1966 under the patronage of King Hussein, but is independent from state institutions and able to raise its own funds (Chatelard 2003). It has set-up and currently manages seven protected areas in Jordan, and others are planned (RSCN 2013). Since 1994 it has pursued a strategy for using ecotourism to both raise revenue and integrate protected area conservation with economic development for local communities. It states on its website that one of the ways it achieves its aims is by *'Ensuring the socio-economic development of rural communities by creating job opportunities through ecotourism, craft production, and other nature-based businesses.'* (RSCN 2013). As is detailed below this initiative began with the project at Dana and has included Wadi Rum and activities in Feynan.

A smaller but significant local NGO is the Friends of Archaeology and Heritage (FoAH). This was founded in 1958 by Jordanian and non-Jordanian archaeologist and residents who wanted to

expand awareness and enjoyment of Jordan's heritage amongst the general public (Interview NS6). Since that time it has run a programme of lectures, educational activities and field trips. More recently it is seeking to increase its involvement in heritage education and emulate the RSCN in providing a strong link between archaeologists and tourism, focusing on public archaeology and heritage management initiatives, and moving the traditionally archaeologist-dominated membership to one that includes a wider selection of the public (Interview NS6).

Other key stakeholders are international organisations. The Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) has a minor involvement in Jordan, running a collaborative study with the DoA into the development of management plans, based at Jerash (Myers *et al.* 2010). A more substantial stakeholder is the SIYAHA project, a tourism development project funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (SIYAHA 2011). SIYAHA was initially a three year project from 2005 to 2008 to help Jordan implement its first National Tourism Strategy. Within this SIYAHA supported the DoA in the development of the Strategy for the Management of the Archaeological Heritage in 2007, which outlined that tourism at archaeological sites should only occur with a DoA-approved site management plan (SIYAHA 2011). A second project began in 2008 (running until 2013), widening SIYAHA's scope to improve Jordan's general tourism competitiveness and focusing on upgrading the tourists experience and site management at Petra and the Amman Citadel as well as aiding the nomination of Wadi Rum as a World Heritage Site in 2011. A representative of SIYAHA (Interview NS1) stated that the projects were obliged to be part of conservation and management plans due to the role of archaeology as a main asset for tourism.

The World Bank has conducted three major projects involving heritage and tourism in Jordan (WB 1976a,b, 1997, 2007b). The first, began in 1976, aimed to provide for the preservation and protection of Petra and Jerash through development of facilities and infrastructure at the sites (WB 1976a,b). This project also involved the resettlement of the Bedouin population in Petra, which is discussed in greater detail below. The second project (WB 1997) began in 1997 (finishing in 2005), reacted to an increase in tourism to the country following the 1994 peace accord with Israel. The project again focused on Petra and Jerash, and also included the sites of Wadi Rum and Karak. The latest project began in 2007, with the World Bank contributing US\$56 million (WB 2007b). The proposal seeks to strengthen the tourism industry, tackle urgent development problems and preserve Jordan's rich cultural heritage. The project involves Jerash, Karak, Madaba, Salt and Ajloun, and therefore has a more urban focus than previous projects. The focus is to diversify Jordan's tourism product and encourage local stays,

as the proposal identifies an over-reliance on a few iconic heritage destinations. While the second project had poverty alleviation as a stated goal, the third project aims for a more general idea of development of the country. Rejecting a purely 'cultural heritage-driven' project as economically unsustainable, the proposal frames the latest project as a mixture of tourism, municipal development and cultural heritage goals that are mutually supportive (WB 2007b:9). The project also acknowledges a strong working relationship with SIYAHA.

Archaeology, Tourism and Development in Jordan

Archaeology is seen as a major asset for sustainable development and economic benefits in Jordan. However its mobilisation as an asset has been difficult, reflecting the patterns of management seen in Chapters 6 and 8. International development projects in the 1970s and 1980s were generally top-down exclusionary initiatives, with the importance of local consultation only seen in the 1990s (Brand 2001a). Recently ideas of ICDPs and local engagement have been coming to the forefront, with projects involving a complex mosaic of local, government, NGO and international stakeholders.

The World Bank projects in Jordan have been indicative of this history. Their own evaluations only focused on economic benefits after the first project (WB 1985), while the second project noted the failure to construct a visitor centre in Petra and the need to better understand local conditions, including local communities and the capacities of local partners (WB 2005). Despite this, Lafrenz Samuels (2009) notes that the most recent project proposals make little acknowledgment of the problems of previous projects, and criticises issues of leakages to international hotel chains in Wadi Rum and Petra.

Petra, Jordan's most important site for heritage tourism, has been the focus of several international development projects as well as fierce criticism of its management, conservation and relationship with local communities. A recent review by Comer (2012a, 2012b) concludes that the enthusiasm for tourism at Petra has 'overwhelmed reality', with only lip-service paid to conservation, while many projects have only benefitted the rich while causing damage to the social fabric of communities.

When Petra was listed as a WHS in 1985, there was little concern with a management plan and no boundaries were prepared (Comer 2012c). Since then the management of Petra has been through a mosaic of competing bodies, including an increasing plethora of NGOs with links to

aspects of the site or local communities, and did not come under unified management until at least 2003 (Akrawi 2012; Brand 2001a). The lack of management has contributed to several conservation issues. The number of visitors consistently surpasses stated carrying capacity (1500 people per day), especially since Petra was included in the 'New 7 Wonders' in 2007 with visitation averaging 2740 a day soon after (Akrawi 2012). Visitors, and events held at the site, are causing damage through erosion, humidity, vandalism and theft (Paradise 2012). Unplanned development around the site, including in the local town of Wadi Musa, are encroaching on archaeological remains, as well as causing problems of sewage, loss of green cover, loss of views, pressure on water resources, pollution, and flash floods (Akasheh 2012; Comer 2012d).

The management of Petra has been criticised for its lack of consultation with, and provision of benefits to, local communities (Angel 2012; Brand 2001a; Farajat 2012). A USAID management plan in 1968 recommended the relocation of the Bdul tribe, who had occupied and practised a pastoral economy within Petra for centuries, due to site conservation concerns. Disputes about the location of a new village (Umm Sayhun) meant relocation only began in 1985, however the lack of consultation with the tribe meant that the houses were inadequate for the needs of the tribe and offered no economic opportunities (Brand 2001a). The 1990s saw increased efforts to engage the local community through local NGOs however Farajat (2012) concludes that today local communities still lack political representation in the management of Petra, as well as access to economic opportunities.

The Bdul tribe now faces challenges of unsustainable tourism, rapid village growth, and the negative effects of regulations from local and national authorities (Farajat 2012; Interview NS1). Employment in tourism has become the tribe's principal cultural focus, raising concerns of over-reliance and erosion of traditional identities. In the town of Wadi Musa, while 30-40% of people benefit from tourism, major commercial interests are often monopolised by a small elite (Farajat 2012). The uneven economic situation has had social effects and impacts on preservation:

'Economic opportunities, however, are not distributed equally among the various communities as a result of geographical and social factors as well as dysfunctional management and decision-making processes. This inequitable distribution of tourism benefits has caused and intensified conflict among some of these communities. It has also resulted in poverty, social challenges, including low

educational levels, and behaviour that places duress on the archaeological sites, despite the increase in the number of visitors and associated financial benefits. This in turn impacted the tourist experience in Petra, threatening the site's position as a premier tourist destination.' (Farajat 2012:163)

Similar themes of difficulties with local relationships have also been seen at the archaeological site of Umm Qays (Brand 2000, 2001a; Shuannaq *et al.* 2008). Brand (2000) argues that over the past four decades national and international interests have re-shaped the '*physical contours, social composition and economy of the local area*' within a context of insufficient responsiveness to those displaced by 'development' and the continuing struggle for local people to have their voices heard in this process.

Umm Qays, one of the Decapolis cities, has been excavated since the mid-1960s, and in 1970s local authorities sought to relocate villagers who lived on the site due to conservation concerns (Brand 2000, 2001a). The villagers were initially prepared to move, however delays in compensation payments and the inadequacy of the new village caused widespread anger and distrust between the community and the government. From the mid-1980s the abandoned historical village attracted schemes to develop museums, a dig-house and a rest-house. Despite all these projects stressing local involvement and employment, Brand (2000) finds evidence that the local community never felt part of the plans, or benefited from them economically. The rest-house was subsequently managed by someone from outside the village. As Brand states:

'Villagers' animosities and management by outsiders have led to an almost total separation between the rest house's activities and the surrounding village and its residents. Aside from a handful of jobs, the economic impact of the rest house on the village has been minimal.' (2000:30)

These projects also misrepresented the original reasons for the village's abandonment, saying people moved for economic reasons:

'They (the local community) understand that outsiders are preventing them from significantly benefiting from a potential gold mine (tourism to the site). The feelings of having been cheated are exacerbated by the fact that their houses and

lands were sequestered for "archaeological purposes," according to the original government decree.' (2000:30).

Brand (2000, 2001a) also notes that the villagers themselves are not unified in the approach to outside authorities, with some keen to take part in developments, while others are resistant or hoping to develop their own opportunities. Shuannaq *et al.* (2008), hoping to instigate a 'bottom-up' approach in the area for a new heritage tourist trail, found that while local leaders expressed enthusiasm for the project, they also expressed doubt about the government's ability to address local concerns and were reluctant to get involved before the government developed infrastructure. The authors more generally note the lack of interest in community level tourism projects in the past in Jordan, but also the difficulty in dealing with the complex tribal power structures of the local area (2008:11).

A similar chronology and issues are again seen with development projects at Wadi Rum. Brand (2001b) and Chatelard (2003, 2005) describe a picture of competing national and international organisations over jurisdiction of the economic potential of the area, as well as a chronic lack of local consultation and consideration in development plans. The World Bank is particular criticised for their hastily developed management plan based on little local understanding, and Brand (2001b) argues that they were 'centrally complicit' in the process of minimising local input and benefits. However, community-led approaches by the RSCN in the area in the 1990s were also deemed to 'inevitably' fail due to local political deadlock and non-cooperation (Brand 2001b).

The difficulties with utilising archaeology as an asset for tourism has led Al Haija (2011) to summarise the current relationship between tourism and heritage in Jordan as one dominated by conflict. In addition to the cases described above Al Haija notes the separation of tourism and local communities in Jerash, and that development in Madaba is aimed at tourists rather than local people. Jerash and Madaba have some of the highest unemployment rates in Jordan (16% and 18% respectively) (2011:95). He concludes that heritage tourism has a history of displacement of communities and a conflict of interest between private sector, foreign aid, and public services, which has resulted in a scarcity of benefits to local and host populations while simultaneously transforming rural and Bedouin habitats. Several authors also raise concerns about the commodification of the culture and intangible heritage of Bedouin communities as a result of tourism (Al Haija 2011; Bille 2012; Chatelard 2005).

Shuannaq *et al.* have stated that Jordan has been slow to embrace community-led ICDP-style initiatives, although RSCN has implemented these for natural heritage (2008:4). SPI have recently considered conducting projects in Jordan and commissioned dedicated research to understand the potential success of their model (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy 2012a,b). The resulting report examined the strengths and weaknesses of the Jordanian tourism sector, identified possible sites (together with possible benefits and risks) and overall assessed the potential of SPI, and archaeological ICDPs in general, to successfully operate in Jordan. The research team interviewed tour operators, government leaders, NGOs, archaeologists and local community members and visited 35 archaeological sites.

Strengths of tourism include a large and historically strong market, which has seen recent investment in training and infrastructure (as per the MoTA plans above). Inbound tourism is characterised as highly organised with established routes, and is dominated by tour operators (76% of tourists purchase packaged tours). However there are also major concerns. As detailed above, the market for archaeological sites is exposed to several risks, including regional instability. The traditionally short-stays of tourists means that time to go to additional places is limited, further complicated by conclusions in the report that new destinations have difficulties making an impact on fixed tourist routes, and that the current market is not very sophisticated in understanding archaeological sites (2012b:16).

The report concludes there is an abundance of potential locations for archaeological ICDPs, with a vast number of archaeological sites requiring preservation, as well as having surrounding populations with economic needs that could be linked to that site. Further there are a large number of non-profit organisations and NGOs offering numerous local partnership opportunities for SPI, as well as plenty of archaeology and tourism graduates. However, local NGOs, including the RSCN, have expressed past difficulty in working with local communities due to the lack of elected bodies, and a sense of 'entitlement' to tourism. Many archaeological sites with local initiatives have been developed for tourism before, however poor quality control has caused an abundance of substandard experiences and tourist goods. Projects have found that they do not necessarily generate many economic impacts due to the control tour-guides have on the spending locations of their groups. Additional challenges to such projects include the difficulties in working with MoTA due to their bureaucratic nature and constantly changing leadership.

The report stresses that any attempt to conduct ICDPs in Jordan must engage multiple stakeholders early in a project's development; build and leverage relationships with tours operators, guides and tourism service providers; provide an enriched tourism experience; and have a deep understanding of local communities while managing their expectations. The report identifies potential projects for SPI by applying the criteria of whether a grant will make a significant impact, whether the site would be able to attract visitors, and if the historical significance of the sites will be apparent to them. Sites which meet these criteria (7 out of 35) are further scored on aspects including site accessibility, potential of SPI impact, local community connections and the potential tourist experience. Potential project designs and budgets are subsequently drawn up for the highest scoring sites.

Despite the identification of a variety of potential sites, the report is cautious about the entry of SPI into Jordan. The instability and condition of the tourist market ultimately make SPI's approach difficult to implement. In summary the report advises:

'Jordan's archaeological richness presents promising opportunities for SPI; however, the regional instability combined with extreme competition in the tourism space make Jordan a very difficult market.' (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy 2012a:5)

This conclusion re-affirms the position that ultimately ICDP models rely on the ability of archaeological resources to produce economic impacts, which in turn often relies on the strength and character of the tourism market involved. While the local management of such projects is vital, background economic conditions must also be favourable. The SPI report reflects many of the background systemic problems faced by archaeology and tourism that will also be discussed in relation to Feynan.

That archaeology is so often viewed as an asset for development and tourism, and is often associated with international organizations and tourism, has influenced local relationships with sites. Abu-Khafajah (2010, 2011) has conducted local ethnographic work in Jordan to understand local communities' relationships with cultural heritage, carrying out a small number of interviews with the local communities in two locations: Khreibt al-Suq (2010), a small town 20km south-west of Amman, and the citadel of Amman (2011).

In Khreibt al-Suq, 18 interviews were carried out with residents, about their knowledge of, and feelings towards, the local sites; a Byzantine chapel and two Roman mausoleums. One major theme in the interviews is the context of the 'developed' and the 'developing'. In Arabic the latter means roughly the same as in English while the former is translated to something more like 'cultured', and so 'developing' contexts are perceived as uncultured. For two-thirds of respondents the perceived lack of development of Khreibt al-Suq was a major influence on the perception of the archaeological remains. An interviewee describes how those in wealthy places, like some neighbourhoods in Amman, can claim to have 'cultural heritage' as they are in a 'cultured' context while *'those who live in deprived or economically marginalised contexts do not have the right for such a claim'* (2010:131). Another respondent claims that if the sites were in America they would be considered cultural heritage, but as residents of Khreibt al-Suq are struggling to secure basic needs the past cannot be a concern for them. Similarly another respondent, comparing with 'cultured' Europe, states *'here we have no culture ... here we have only athar (Arabic for 'archaeological site'), athar without (contemporary) culture is like a body without soul'* (2010:132). The same respondent goes on to explain that the local community does not have the luxury to think about the past, and if it were not for the tourists coming then they would receive no attention at all. This sense that the site is only used by the 'developed' world is expressed by a further respondent who states *'the developed world uses the past to educate itself, the developing one uses it to entertain the developed one'* (2010:132).

Other voices express displeasure at such a relationship. One interviewee expressed frustration that the past is not 'taken seriously' in Jordan, another that tourism development is only for the benefit of hotels, not locals. Yet another argues that the past should be cared for whether or not tourists visit it, complaining the past is seen *'as a market, as a commodity if you like, that we sell to whoever pays, we sold Petra, Jerash and God knows what we are selling next...'* (2010:133). A sense of alienation from the site is evident in many interviews, with some seeing the fences around the sites as attempts to keep out 'barbaric' locals, while others complain that when tourists visit the sites, the locals are treated as if they do not exist. The potential benefits of the site are hinted at as seven of the interviews mention the sites could improve the contemporary context of the town as a symbol of when the area was wealthier, inspiring people to achieve that again. However within this, some of the interviewees remark that the ability of the sites to do this is limited by people having the time and luxury to *'capitalise on the past as a source of inspiration'* (2010:135), emphasising again the need to focus on more pragmatic needs.

Similar themes are seen in Abu-Khafajah's (2011) other comparably-sized study at the Citadel of Amman, which contains significant Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad structures. Comparisons between the recently excavated and unrestored remains on the slope of the Citadel and the central, restored and tourist-friendly parts of the sites, demonstrated several contrasts. Some felt that the 'tidied-up' parts of the sites were the only important places, a feeling enhanced by the use of the tourist zones for cultural events, therefore making the remains 'culture'. Some felt the unrestored parts should be 'fixed' to make them 'cultured', or even covered up by a car park to provide services for the rest of the sites, a feeling also expressed in Khreibt al-Suq. For other respondents the management and relationship with the site is highly political. Some saw the use of parts of the site for exclusive cultural events as an expression of elite power. For some local people, the domestic unrestored remains connected them to the ordinary people who had lived there before, and the government's lack of care for these remains was a sign of their disregard for present ordinary people. Family histories and memories of the site were often associated with the citadel as a site of political protests against the government. For both sites, Abu-Khafajah concludes that 'archaeology' is transformed into 'cultural heritage' when people find in it something relevant for their lives today (2010:138). This conclusion chimes with the Capital Model's perspective on what sites 'do' for people to generate value for them.

Abu-Khafajah's research, and Badran's above, although on a small scale, suggests the importance of economic capital in influencing the value of archaeology in Jordan. The informants' relationship with archaeological remains is inseparable from connotations of development status, wealth, political control and use for tourism. The economic and social capital of archaeology has attracted a wide variety of international and national stakeholders, each with individual agendas and often in competition for control of archaeological resources and their opportunities. Efforts to mobilise economic capital have followed a similar arc to those described in the previous section – from top-down exclusive plans, to bottom-up inclusive strategies that utilise economic capital for preservation. Many projects have, and continue to face, a variety of failings and problems, including social and economic transformations as a result of tourism, while attempts at ICDPs have also met with local and national difficulties.

Archaeology and Background of Feynan, southern Jordan

The above gives the background to examine the case-study for this research, that of the area of Wadi Feynan. Various spellings can be used for 'Feynan' including Faynan, Feinan and Finan. For this research I shall use Feynan due to the name of the current Ecolodge, which is therefore representative of its tourism industry. However 'Faynan' is the name used in archaeological research and as a result, some sites and references will use this name. There is no geographical or other difference between the terms.

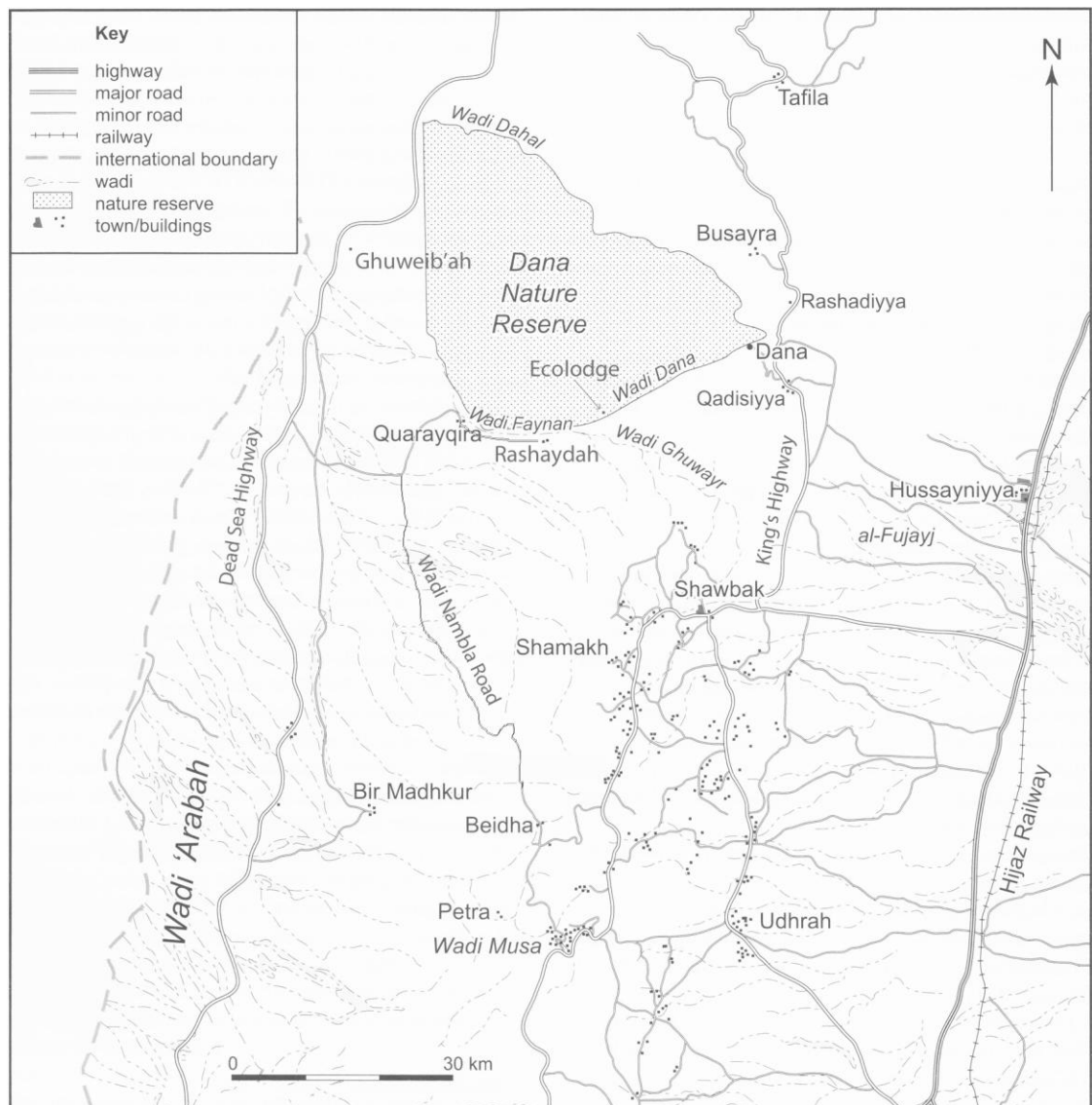


Figure 3: Contemporary Area of Feynan (partially redrawn from Palmer et al. 2007:40)



Image 1: View East from Khirbit Feynan up Wadi Feynan and Wadi Ghuwayr



Image 2: View West of Wadi Dana from Dana Village towards Feynan.

Geography

Wadi (a river valley) Feynan (or simply 'Feynan' to mean the area of the Wadi) is located in southern Jordan, running east-west between the Wadi 'Arabah and the Mountains of Edom on the Jordanian Plateau (see Figures 3 and 4). The Wadi 'Arabah contains the Jordan River and forms the current border with Israel. The Wadi Feynan forms where three main tributary wadis, the Dana, the Ghuwayr and the Shayqar, emerge from the Mountains of Edom to the East (Image 1). As the Wadi Feynan flows west to meet the 'Arabah it becomes the Wadi Fidan (Figure 4). The Jordanian plateau at the head of the tributaries is approximately 1500m above sea level, falling to 30m at the Wadi Feynan. The headwaters receive around 200mm rainfall a year (Finlayson & Mithen 2007b), while the Wadi Feynan itself has been described as a 'hot and hyper-arid desert', with annual temperatures ranges from 12-40C (Palmer *et al.* 2007).

As will be discussed in more detail the area is currently sparsely populated, with permanent settlement only taking place in the last few decades. In the area of Wadi Feynan there are two settlements, the town of Quarayqira and smaller village of Rashaydah, and numerous temporary Bedouin camps which extend over much of the landscape. The human landscape is also dominated by the presence of the RSCN-managed Dana Biosphere Reserve, whose southern boundary is the northern bank of the Wadi Feynan.

Feynan is quite isolated from the rest of Jordan. The major road access to the area is via a single road which connects with the Dead Sea Highway (a major trunk road which runs along the Wadi 'Arabah, connecting Amman with the Dead Sea and the port of Aqaba). To the east of Feynan are a series of small towns on the edge of the plateau, the most important of these being Dana (and the modern village of Qadisiyya near to it) at the head of the Wadi Dana (Image 2), and Shawbak, at the head of the Wadi Ghuwayr. There is no direct road access to these populations. Instead road access is via the Dead Sea Highway and Tafila (the regional capital) to the north, or along the newly constructed Wadi Nambla Road via the area of Beidha near Petra (See Figure 3). Both routes take approximately 3-4 hours to drive. It is possible to walk up the wadis to connect Feynan and the plateau. This is a popular tourist option, which takes approximately 6 hours.

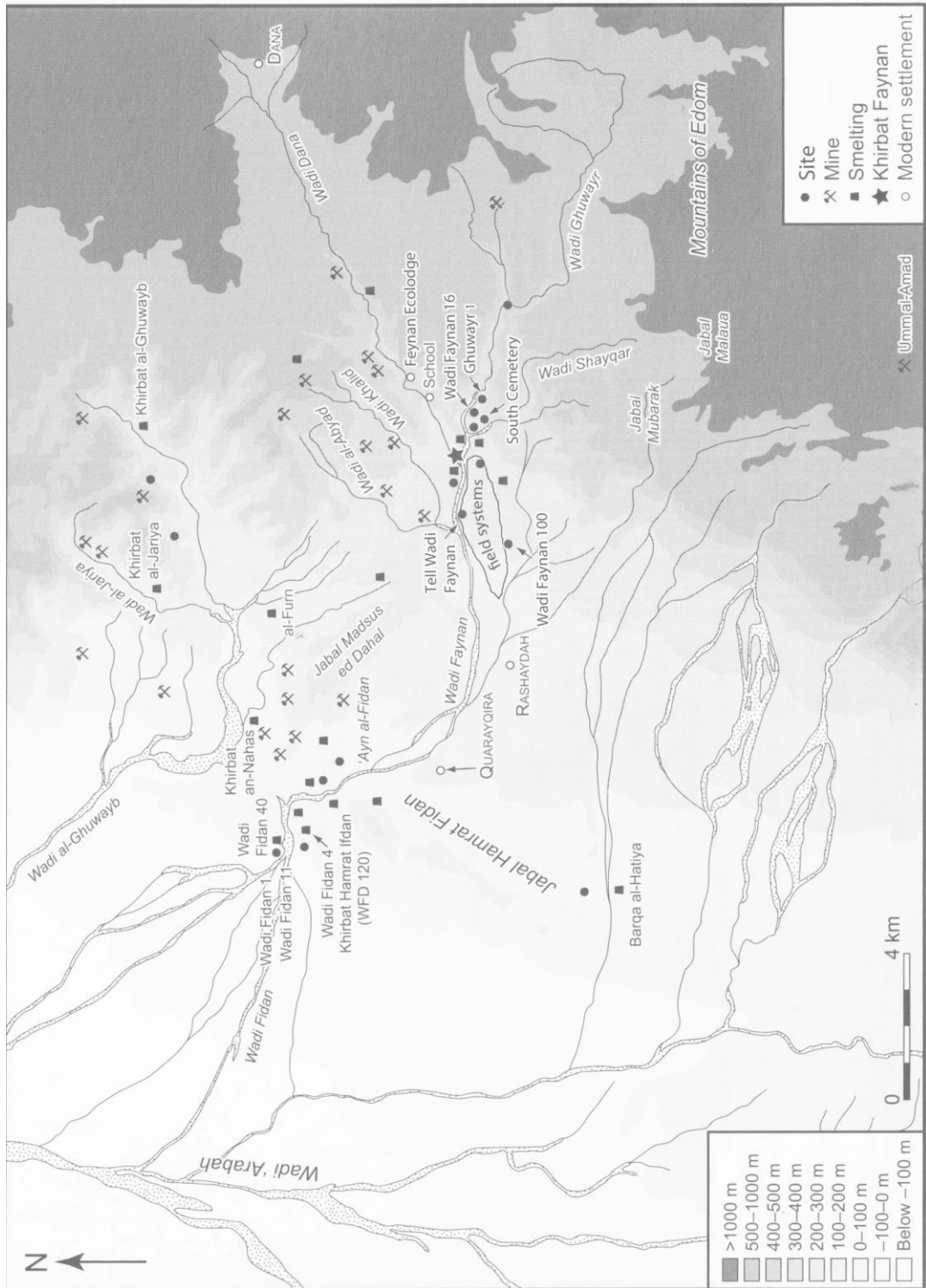


Figure 4: Archaeology of Feynan (partially redrawn from Palmer et al. 2007:27)

The Archaeology of Feynan

Wadi Feynan, and its surrounding area, is a rich archaeological landscape (Figure 4) and one where conditions have meant a high degree of preservation (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). The area is particularly notable for its significant Neolithic remains, its long history of copper

exploitation, its early Christian religious heritage, and as a centre for geoarchaeological research into desertification.

The earliest evidence of human occupation in Feynan is stone artefacts dating between 450,000-150,000BP (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007; Finlayson & Mithen 2007). While there is some evidence for Middle Palaeolithic activity, there appears to be little for Upper Palaeolithic or Epipalaeolithic occupation (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007; Mithen & Finlayson 2007).

Wadi Feynan contains significant remains from the pre-pottery Neolithic (PPN) period (Mithen & Finlayson 2007). The site of Wadi Faynan 16 (WF16) is thought to have been occupied between 9,600 BC and 8,200 BC, in the PPNA period (usually dated ca. 10,000 to 8,000 BC) and this is followed almost immediately by the site of Ghuwayr 1, a PPNB site very close to WF16, at the mouth of the Wadi Ghuwayr (Simmons & Najjar 2006) (Images 3, 4 and 5). Both WF16 and Ghuwayr 1 would have been substantial villages of hunter-gatherers with early farmers exploiting the lowland and highland environments, and excavations have provided substantial insights into the geographical spread and social organisation of the Neolithic in the region (Mithen & Finlayson 2007; Simmons & Najjar 2006). Excavations at WF16 have revealed an extremely significant communal structure interpreted as a 'ritualised gathering place' (Mithen



Image 3: View of WF16



Image 4: View from Ghuwayr 1 West down Wadi Feynan



Image 5: View of Ghuwayr 1 from Wadi Feynan

et al. 2011; Finlayson *et al.* 2011). Wadi Fidan 1, near the Wadi 'Arabah, is another PPNB site in the area (Twiss 2007), while Tell Wadi Feynan (Najjar *et al.* 1990) has occupation in the Pottery Neolithic (ca. 6500-5000BC).

There is a general decrease in settlement in the area in the Chalcolithic (ca. 5000-3600BC) (although occupation of Tell Wadi Feynan continues) (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). It is proposed that at this time copper ore is being mined in Feynan, and transported to Israel for smelting. Local copper smelting is seen from the late Chalcolithic and into the Early Bronze Age (EBA) (ca. 3600-2000BC) at Wadi Faynan 100 (Wright *et al.* 1998), and at the site of Wadi Fidan 4 (ca. 3500-3000 BC) (Adams & Genz 1995). Khirbit Hamra lfdan (KHI) (ca. 2800-2000 BC) is argued to be the largest EBA metal manufacturing site in the whole of the ancient Near East (Levy *et al.* 2002). During this period there are several copper mines in the area of Wadi Khalid, Wadi Dana and Wadi al-Abyadh. Following the EBA there is a large gap in the occupation of the Feynan area during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, which reflects the re-location of copper production to Cyprus and the general collapse of civilisation in the region (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007).

In the Iron Age (ca. 1200-539 BC), Feynan shows evidence of large-scale copper exploitation. The most significant production site is Khirbet en-Nahas (KeN), a huge industrial complex with over 120 buildings and 34 large slag heaps, as well as a large fortress, where copper processing occurred from the 12th to 9th centuries BC (Levy *et al.* 2008; Smith & Levy 2008) (Image 6). The dating of the production has significant impact on debates concerning small-state politics at this time, including connotations for Biblical references, such as 'King Solomon's Mines' (Levy 2007). Several other sites near KeN, around the Wadis Fidan and Ghuwayb, such as Khirbat al-Ghuwayb and Khirbat al-Jariya, as well as over 100 mines, attest to the intensity of the industry at this time (Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2010). The Iron Age cemetery site of Wadi Fidan 40 contains over 1000 burials, and may have been for the workforce of the production sites, while also showing some evidence for the nomadic nature of the populations buried there (Levy *et al.* 1999) (Image 7). There are suggestions that the Iron Age population of the area could have reached 2000, considerably more than at any other period, up until the present day (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007).

Evidence for subsequent Nabataean period (ca. 300 BC to AD106) comes from large-scale field and water management systems, together with a small fortified watchtower on the south side of Wadi Feynan (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). Little is known about how much the Nabataeans

exploited the copper reserves of the area, however under the Romans (ca. 106-363 AD) Feynan again becomes a major centre of copper production with an estimated 2500-7000 tonnes of copper processed during this period (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). With associated mines in Wadi Khalid and Umm al-Almad (as well as up to 70 others), the centre of copper production was Khirbet Feynan. The site of Khirbit Feynan ('the ruins of Feynan') is situated at the confluence of the three wadis at the very beginning of Wadi Feynan itself (Images 8 and 9). Associated with Khirbit Feynan is an 'industrial area' dominated with slag heaps and containing an aqueduct, water channels and reservoirs (which possibly drove a mill) with which to process copper mined in the area (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). The site is presumed to be the settlement of 'Phaino' mentioned in the Bible and historical accounts state that its industry was supported with Christian slave labour in the third and fourth centuries AD (Barker *et al.* 2007a). As a result, Khirbit Feynan subsequently became a pilgrimage site, and three Byzantine churches form part of the ruins. The 'South Cemetery' dates from the late Roman/early Byzantine period (4th-7th centuries AD) and may have been used to bury both residents of the settlement and pilgrims, as some graves are marked with headstones engraved with crosses (Findlater *et al.* 2007) (Image 10).

Following the Roman and Byzantine occupation (from AD 636) there seems to have been little systematic exploitation of the copper resources in the area, although some slag heaps contain Mamluk remains and there is a small Ayyubid smelting site in the vicinity. As a result the history of the area up until modern times is characterised as occupation by perhaps a few hundred pastoralists (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007).

While there is a high level of preservation in the area the remains have suffered from looting. Contreras and Brodie (2010) have reviewed looting activities in the area with satellite imagery and note that tomb robbing of the South Cemetery was reported as early as 1934, however by 1996 more than 700 graves (40% of total) had been badly damaged, prompting a rescue excavation. They estimate that the area has lost 6934 sq m of Roman/Byzantine archaeology to looting while the South Cemetery lost 9674 sq m. Some appraisal of conservation is included in the research below, but while there is evidence for its continuation, it does not appear to be a large-scale issue at the moment. Other conservation threats come from the extreme temperatures of the area and weathering. Human activity around the sites is investigated as part of the research and presented in Chapter 11.



Image 6: The Fortress at Khirbit-en-Nahas



Image 7: Burials at Wadi Fidan 40



Image 8: Slopes of Khirbit Feynan



Image 9: Remains of Byzantine Church at Khirbit Feynan



Image 10: View of the South Cemetery



Image 11: Neolithic Reconstruction near WF16

While Feynan contains an abundance of sites, much of it is remote or difficult to discern for the non-specialist. Prehistoric remains are often only visible where excavated, while other features often require aerial views. Many of the copper processing areas, while vast, are remote and difficult to access. Khirbit Feynan is the area's most prominent feature, however even this site, beyond the remains of the churches, can be difficult for the lay-person to interpret. Therefore while Feynan is a dense archaeological landscape, this fact is not necessarily immediately clear for visitors.

History of Research

The archaeology of Feynan has attracted, and been investigated by, a rich variety of archaeologists. Late-nineteenth century and early 20th century explorers commented on the remains of Khirbit Feynan and its connection to biblical accounts (Barker *et al.* 2007b; Finlayson & Mithen 2007b; McQuitty 1998). Modern investigation of the area began in 1983 with a team from the German Mining Museum, led by Hauptmann, researching copper production and mining in the area (Palmer *et al.* 2007). In conjunction with this project excavations were carried out at Wadi Fidan 4 (Adams & Genz 1995), Tell Wadi Feynan (Najjar 1990) and later Ghuwayr 1 (Simmons & Najjar 2006).

British teams became involved in the area in the early 1990s centred on two major research projects led by Barker and Finlayson and Mithen (Barker *et al.* 2007a; Finlayson & Mithen 2007a). In 1993, the British Institute for Archaeology and History at Amman (BIAAH, which later became the Council for British Archaeology in the Levant (CBRL)), was asked by the RSCN to conduct an anthropological survey of the Wadi Feynan area to inform the establishment of the Dana Nature reserve (see below) (Finlayson & Mithen 2007b). This was followed the next year by a BIAAH mapping project, also requested by the RSCN. The RSCN was motivated to carry out work after recognising the threat to the archaeological heritage in the wadis from economic development and looting (Finlayson & Mithen 2007b). On the basis of the survey BIAAH carried out a rescue excavation at the 'South Cemetery' (Findlater *et al.* 1998). This initial activity sparked a variety of projects in the area under the 'Wadi Faynan Project' including excavations at WF100 (Wright *et al.* 1998) and survey of the industrial area of Khirbit Feynan (Freeman & McEwan 1998).

In 1994 the RSCN had commissioned Finlayson to carry out an archaeological survey of Wadi Dana, and he was then approached by BIAAH to work on early prehistory of the Feynan area to

complement other projects (Interview A2). Finlayson, in collaboration with Mithen, completed a reconnaissance year in 1996, then followed with fieldwork between 1997 and 2004 (Finlayson & Mithen 2007b). The project aimed to document early prehistoric settlements and reconstruct their palaeoenvironment. The discovery of the site of WF16 as part of the survey caused the project to focus on that site (Finlayson & Mithen 2007a). Finlayson carried out focused excavation at WF16 in 2008-2010 (Mithen *et al.* 2011, Finlayson *et al.* 2011). In autumn 2010, together with post-excavation work, an experimental archaeology project to construct a Neolithic structure from the site was conducted (Image 11), and I was resident with the team during my initial period of field work in the area.

Barker first came to the area in 1995 with the BIAAH and developed an interest in the remains of Nabataean field systems, which were being harmed by renewed gardening (Baker *et al.* 2007a,b). Following another reconnaissance survey in 1995, the 'Wadi Faynan Landscape Survey' was started to research themes of desertification and long-term human-environment interactions (Baker *et al.* 2007b:9). The first fieldwork for the project began in 1996 with elements lasting until 2000.

Tom Levy has headed US research in the area, focusing on the social aspects of copper production, which he had pursued in Israel prior to Feynan (Interview A6). Levy has worked in close collaboration with Mohammed Najjar, a Jordanian archaeologist. Initial research in 1997 expanded research at Wadi Fidan 4, and conducted excavations at the nearby EBA cemetery as part of the 'Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project' (Levy *et al.* 1999). That same year Levy led an expedition with Najjar and Hauptmann to recreate the proposed Chalcolithic Copper trade route between Dana and the Negev (Levy 2007). Excavations at Tell Tif'Dan (Wadi Fidan 1) followed in 1999 (Twiss 2007). The next phase of Levy's work focused on EBA and Iron Age metallurgy sites in Wadis Fidan and Ghawayb, including a focus on KHI in 1999 and 2000 (Levy *et al.* 2002), before working at KeN in 2002, 2006 and 2009 (Interview A6). Supplementary excavations were also carried out at the nearby site of Khirbit al-Jariya (Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2010). The most recent excavations were carried out in 2011, designed to finish working on the Iron Age and switch focus to Khirbit Feynan to understanding the subsequent development of copper production and social organisation (Interview A6). This project was to last five years from 2011. I was resident with the research team during my main period of fieldwork in 2011.

Evidently, the archaeology of Wadi Feynan has been intensely investigated and researched, providing a wealth of information. Over the past 30 years archaeological teams have been

working almost continuously. As Palmer concludes: '*In summary, by the mid-1990s archaeologists were very much part of the Feynan landscape.*' (Palmer *et al.* 2007:56-57). As a result archaeologists have inevitably formed a major part in the interactions between local communities and the archaeology.

The 'Human Landscape'

The Feynan area contains a variety of tribal groups, each with distinct areas, social histories and socio-economic circumstances. Palmer *et al.* (2007) have reviewed the social history and current population of the area, which is relied on here and supplemented by information gathered in local interviews.

The communities of Feynan can be considered to be 'Bedouin' (Palmer *et al.* 2007). Bedouin are the largest social group of southern Jordan, with many settled in permanent communities but a significant number are still nomadic, living in tented accommodation. Not all residents of southern Jordan would consider themselves Bedouin even if they live in tents, calling themselves 'fellahin', which means 'villagers' or 'cultivators' (Palmer *et al.* 2007:32). The basis of local social organisation for both Bedouin and Fellahin is the 'tribe', based on common patrilineal descent. Land is collectively 'owned' by tribes, however land claims shift over time. Pastoralism has traditionally formed a large part of the subsistence economy of most tribes in the area, with the Bedouin associated with camel breeding. There have been significant social changes in the area over the past 50 years, including the move to private ownership and salaried employment (particularly in the 1990s), which has meant that pastoral activities are supplementary rather than primary for most of the population (Palmer *et al.* 2007:44). Another factor is the significant social impact of Palestinian refugees who have settled in Jordan, including Feynan, in the decades after the formation of Israel in 1948. Contemporary Bedouin are employed in a range of sectors, notably the army, public sector, agriculture and tourism.

Pastoralism has played a significant part in the use of the land in Wadi Feynan. Traditionally Bedouin would winter around Wadi 'Arabah and then move to high altitude areas between Shawbak and Petra during summer. While the amount of people keeping large amounts of animals has reduced there are still strong ties between these areas. In addition to pastoralism, the springs of Wadis Dana, Ghuwayr and Fidan have fed significant agriculture, usually at higher altitudes. However recent irrigation schemes have utilised this source of water to bring

agriculture to the Wadi floors (mirroring prehistoric efforts), utilizing modern plastic pipes and fertilisers (usually chicken manure). As discussed below agricultural projects form one way of formalising rights to own land.

The current human landscape is split into different tribes who occupy different parts of the area (Palmer *et al.* 2007). The principal groups are the 'Ammarin, 'Azazma, Sa'idiyyin, Rashaydah, and the Manaja. Of these, the populations of 'Azazma and Rashaydah live in closest proximity to the archaeological remains of Wadi Feynan. While employment varies for the tribes, agriculture remains the largest economic activity in the area, with pastoralism only of supplementary interest to most, reflecting the wider trends seen in Bedouin society. Local sources describe how pastoralism has fallen dramatically in recent years due to expensive feed and reduction in natural fodder (Interview LTC8). Work with copper exploration used to be a source of employment for some prior to the establishment of the Dana Reserve. During interviews several people stressed that the area is one of high unemployment, and many interviewees rely on government support. While conditions vary within the area, as a whole it has recently been described as 'economically depressed' (Levy 2011).

The Rashaydah have camped in the area of Feynan for over a century. They have historic connections to the area of the plateau around Shawbak and are traditionally pastoralist, with other tribes carrying out cultivation for them (Palmer *et al.* 2007:53). Efforts to permanently settle the area began in 1992, motivated by the need for new villages and economic opportunities, with the laying of irrigation pipes for tomato cultivation, however the land claim was contested violently by other tribes (being only formally resolved in 2009 (Interview A4)) (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007:418). As noted above, these initial agricultural efforts prompted the archaeological activities by Barker. An agricultural co-operative was established in 2003, with farming recommencing after the confrontations in 2004 (Palmer *et al.* 2007). A housing grid and road connection for a permanent village were constructed in 2000 and permission was obtained for a village of around 200 families. By 2004 the village was connected to utilities and had asphalted roads and a school constructed (Interview A4). The village now has a population of approximately 300 people in around 45 houses, as well as new schools and a mosque, while the agricultural scheme has also been expanded (Image 12). The Rashaydah established a tourism co-operative in 1998 which now numbers around 150 people and controls access to tourism work opportunities for the tribe. As part of its activities it constructed a 'tourist centre' in the village in 2004 (Interview LTC8) (Image 13).

The 'Azazma occupy a wide area around the head of the Wadi Feynan, and into the Wadis Dana and Shayqar. They are a Bedouin tribe who originally came from the Negev, migrating into the area in a number of waves since 1948 (Palmer *et al.* 2007). The 'Azazma adopted goat herding and become a labour source for agricultural projects. Legal status for the 'Azazma was only granted in the 1980s and 1990s, meaning that until recently the tribe has largely lacked access to public jobs and facilities. None of the 'Azazma in Wadi Feynan live in permanent houses, although a primary school was built in 1989 in the Wadi Dana giving access to education for children of the area (Palmer *et al.* 2007). Those seeking to live in houses often move to Quarayqira. Many of the 'Azazma lack access to regular employment and livestock remains the primary source of income for the tribe, although it is subsidized through other activities including tourism and archaeological excavations (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007:421). The population in Wadi Shayqar in particular relies on government support. There is distinct tension between the Rashaydah and the 'Azazma based on previous land disputes and perceptions of the 'Azazma as outsiders (Palmer *et al.* 2007). There is a connected 'Azazma group settled at Ghuwei'bah who have settled permanently near the Dead Sea Highway and are attempting to start an agricultural scheme there (Interviews LP26-30). Due to their location in the mouth of the Wadi Dana, the 'Azazma group have been intimately tied to the development of the Dana Biosphere Reserve and are often the target of RSCN projects (see below).

The settlement of Quarayqira was established in the mid-1970s at the lower end of Wadi Feynan, where it meets the Wadi Fidan, following the establishment of a well and a co-operative agricultural project in the area (Palmer *et al.* 2007). It is the main centre of the other tribes in the Feynan area with the 'Ammarin and Sa'idiyyan having the longest association with the Quarayqira and Wadi Fidan areas. The population of the town has grown rapidly with a population estimate of about 120 in 1993, and local sources describing the population today as over 1200 people, with approximately 500 'Ammarin and about 700 Sa'idiyyan (Interview LTC8). In 2009, the average monthly household income in Quarayqira was estimated to be around 100JD (Levy 2009). The 'Ammarin also have settlements at Beidha, near Petra, and near Shawbak, and have developed tourist businesses in the Petra area (Palmer *et al.* 2007). The Sa'idiyyan also have numerous settlements but are primarily associated with the agricultural schemes of the area. The Manaja' are not numerous in the Feynan region, but have links with the Sa'idiyyan and with the agricultural developments at Quarayqira. Further agricultural projects are currently being built down the Wadi Nambala Road.



Image 12: View of Rashaydah Village



Image 13: Rashaydah Tourist Centre / Ecolodge Reception

Tourism Development in Feynan

The Dana Biosphere Reserve, and the presence of the RSCN in the area, has had a huge impact on the current human landscape of Feynan. The Reserve was established in 1993, covering an area of ca.308 km², and given 'Biosphere' status in 2001 (Interview NS8). The initial conservation focus of the Reserve management was on the village of Dana, the traditional settlement of the 'Ata'ata tribe (Palmer *et al.* 2007) (Image 14). By the early 1990s Dana had largely been abandoned as people moved to the nearby settlement of Qadisiyya, drawn by jobs in a cement factory. The initial management of the Reserve by the RSCN was not participatory, as Wrath (2002) notes:

'the stated objective was to protect biodiversity. The implementation of this goal started in the traditional style: Nature conservation without the participation and compensation of the population, in fact even against their will.' (Wrath 2002:4)

The RSCN's early strategy focused exclusively on wildlife conservation, restricting access for local people, including for grazing rights, reflecting the attitudes to such projects seen in Petra and Wadi Rum. Similar to Dana, the relationship between local people and the RSCN in Feynan did not start well, as the organisation appeared to represent a process of land alienation for the local people, and there was considerable animosity and suspicion of the local people towards the RSCN (Lancaster & Lancaster 1993; Palmer *et al.* 2007). Realising the problems with their approach the RSCN sought to instigate socio-economic projects aimed at local people, linking conservation and ecotourism (Palmer *et al.* 2007). That the RSCN realised its mistakes in its early management of Dana is reinforced by Brand's research at Wadi Rum:

'The RSCN's insistence on community involvement from the beginning (at Wadi Rum) derived in part from its experience beginning in the early 1990s with Dana, a nature preserve in the Tafila governorate, which was the RSCN's first attempt at integrated sustainable development, with "integrated" meaning concern with people and their livelihoods as well as wildlife and the environment. Having learned painful lessons at Dana, the RSCN team was determined to "get it right" from the beginning in Rum. This meant that in addition to seeking inclusion of locals in their management instances from the beginning, the RSCN began its work by commissioning an in-depth socio-economic study of the region..' (Brand 2001b:584).



Image 14: Part of Dana Village



Image 15: RSCN Guesthouse at Dana

In Dana the instigated projects included the development of ecotourism and local craft projects including a silver workshop and fruit processing. The RSCN built a Visitor Centre and Guesthouse complex in Dana to sell craft products and act as the principal gateway to the Reserve and the starting point for guided walks. The Guesthouse is designed as a high-end ecotourism initiative (Image 15). This is complemented by the Rummana eco-campsite to the north of Dana. As there is no road access between Dana and Feynan, the RSCN operate a transport service between the areas for people or luggage, with all proceeds going to the local drivers from the Dana and Feynan communities. All schemes aim to employ local people and be economically self-sufficient. Outside of the RSCN projects, Dana has few permanent residents, with the majority who do live there involved in tourism services, notably the three privately run hotels in Dana. One of the hotels is run by the local Dana tourism co-operative to benefit local people. The RSCN are also involved in a large-scale USAID project to rehabilitate Dana village itself and return its buildings to working order. However this project still faces local grievances over the policies of RSCN in their co-operation and consultation with local people, particularly over land rights (Interviews D1-4).

The RSCN's initiatives in Feynan are intertwined with their conservation efforts against goat herding and the prospect of renewed mining. Following an anthropological survey of the area the RSCN initially began a goat-fattening scheme, with the aim of reducing herd sizes by making each animal more valuable (Palmer *et al.* 2007). A new management plan in 1996 took a sympathetic approach to local economic difficulties and allowed unlimited grazing in the Feynan area of the Reserve. However the goat fattening scheme was later suspended as the RSCN felt uncomfortable directly encouraging people to raise goats (Palmer *et al.* 2007).

The RSCN's initiatives in Feynan have centred on the mouth of the Wadi Dana. Mining authorities constructed a camp there in the 1950s, which was later used and developed by the German archaeological team in the early 1980s. After the establishment of the Dana Reserve, the RSCN took over the camp, turning it into an ecotourism camp like that at Rummana. The use of the camp as an archaeological base continued under the British teams, and the BIAAH signed an agreement with the RSCN to run the camp jointly as an archaeological base and for eco-tourism (Palmer *et al.* 2007). In 2001 the camp was re-developed into an 'Ecolodge' hotel (Images 16 and 17). The hotel was designed as a tangible economic asset that could symbolize the potential of tourism to offer an alternative to copper exploitation (Interview NS8). A more substantial presence was also considered the best way to open tourism to the west of the Dana Reserve and provide benefit to the local 'Azazma. The 'Azazma were targeted for

benefits as they had been identified as the population that offered the most threat to the Reserve's ecological assets from goat herding (Interview NS8).

The Ecolodge (the 'Lodge') was designed to be ecologically sustainable and is not connected to mains electricity (although a back-up generator does run occasionally), and serves only vegetarian food (Interview A1). The Ecolodge is lit by candles at night, in part to create a romantic and quiet atmosphere. The 'Feynan Ecolodge' was opened in September 2005 and run by the RSCN until it signed a management agreement with the current owner, 'Eco Hotels', in September 2009, where the RSCN receives a percentage of the Lodge's income (Interview NTC6). This move to private management was motivated by several reasons. The Lodge had a growing reputation and it was felt that RSCN did not have the management skills to promote and maintain this, and that private management would help maximise local socio-economic development (Interview NS8). It was also felt that the RSCN should focus on conservation and less on tourism (Interview LTC2). The Ecolodge is seen as a test to see whether private management could be an option for other properties currently managed by the RSCN. The development also fits with MoTA's strategy to include private management in Jordan's tourism (p.209).

The Ecolodge offers its guests a variety of guided walks, the opportunity to hire mountain bikes and attend stargazing events. The reception of the Lodge contains old information boards on the local archaeology, which appear to date from the early British projects. Archaeologists continued to use the Lodge as a base for research, and parts of the lodge were built specifically to cater for them. Archaeologists have previously given lectures to Lodge guests which, according to the Lodge staff, were very successful. The Lodge is aiming to offer 4X4 trails to archaeological sites and the CBRL recently ran training for Ecolodge staff on the local archaeology, and are producing a leaflet to advertise the new trails.

The Ecolodge is designed to encourage the local community to preserve the area's natural resources (Interview NS8, LTC6). The Lodge benefits the local area in the number of ways (more detailed analysis given in Chapter 11). The Ecolodge currently directly employs 26 people, runs a candle making scheme (for use in the Lodge) and a project that employs local Bedouin women to use goat skins to make picture frames. This latter scheme was designed in part to replace the failed goat-fattening scheme. The Ecolodge has a policy of local procurement and has been active in introducing environmentally friendly schemes to the area, such as recycling.



Image 16: Feynan Ecolodge (looking East)



Image 17: Detail of Feynan Ecolodge

One of the key economic impacts of the Ecolodge is a transfer scheme for guests operating between the Rashaydah village and Lodge. As this route can only be done in an off-road vehicle, most guests park at the Rashaydah Tourist Centre (now the 'Ecolodge Reception'), and are transferred by local people from there. The transfers are split equally between members of the Rashaydah and 'Azazma tribes. The Ecolodge has rented the tourist centre since 2006, providing direct income to the Rashaydah Tourism Co-operative (Palmer *et al.* 2007).

The current RSCN director (who was director at the time of creating the Ecolodge) considered the Ecolodge a large gamble, but one which had paid off (Interview NS8). Palmer *et al.* (2007) report more positive attitudes towards the reserve were present in local populations at the time of writing. However, problems have resulted including inadvertently encouraging local settlement around the Lodge and tensions with the Rashaydah (discussed further in Chapter 11).

The Ecolodge is the major accommodation provider in the Feynan region. There are no hotels or hostels in Rashaydah or Quarayqira. Temporary camps are set up in several locations in the wadis to cater for walkers. The Ecolodge has previously attempted to encourage local people to set up simple accommodation for the drivers and guides of its guests but these attempts have been unsuccessful (Interview LTC6). During the research period the Rashaydah co-operative developed a tourism camp in Wadi Feynan, which will form part of the analysis in Chapter 11 (Images 18 and 19).

The RSCN's activities, motivated by the conservation of natural resources, have had a large impact on stakeholder relations and the rise of tourism in the Feynan area. In contrast, there have been few such explicit projects centred on the archaeology, beyond the tourism experiences offered by the Ecolodge. Simmons and Najjar obtained funds to develop the site of Ghuwayr 1, including site presentation, a signboard and a fence around the site. However, without continued funds the site infrastructure has fallen into disrepair.

There has been an aborted attempt to develop a museum in the area, with the shell of it a prominent landmark in the Rashaydah village. This Museum was originally funded by the Jordanian Water Authority as part of mitigation for a (aborted) project to build a dam in Wadi Fidan (Interview A4). The museum was to display local artefacts, contain a lab and living space for archaeological projects and give more representation in the area to the DoA. The museum shell was built in 2008 (Image 20), however, the then DoA director was resistant and so the

project stalled, despite there being numerous attempts by Levy and Najjar to help in terms of materials and expertise (Interviews A4, A6, NS8). A subsequent director was again keen on the project, but was removed from his post in summer 2011, again stalling progress. The museum has been the victim of the ever-changing political leadership identified by the SPI report.

One distinct proposal for tourism development is the 'Neolithic Heritage Trail' (NHT). The Trail aims to create a tourist attraction around a group of early prehistoric remains in southern Jordan and was proposed in 2007 by a group of national and international archaeologists, including the CBRL, and involves the cooperation of the DoA and SIYAHA (Finlayson *et al.* 2007). The Trail links six excavated Neolithic sites, including Ghuwayr 1 and WF16, and includes an 'Ammarin museum. The other sites are located along the Wadi Nambla road, or in the area around Petra. It is intended that tourists can drive the trail, although hiking between most of them would also be an attractive option. The Trail is designed to have a 'gateway' in Feynan and the reconstruction at WF16, as well as the aborted museum, was intended to be part of the attractions for this trail.



Image 18: View of Rashaydah Tourist Camp from Khirbit Feynan



Image 19: Accommodation in Feynan Tourist Camp



Image 20: Shell of DoA Museum in Rashaydah Village

The Trail is intended to tell the 'story' of the Neolithic, increase awareness of the importance of the remains in southern Jordan, and challenge assumptions that this period is not of interest to tourists. Further the trail is an ICDP, hoping to involve and benefit the local community (Finlayson *et al.* 2007:1). Economic capital and empowerment are seen as crucial components of the project and conservation of sites:

'It is vital for the success of the project and the preservation of the sites that the local population are persuaded that the trail has an economic benefit for them, for them to identify with the remains as being part of their own heritage, and for them to have a sense of ownership regarding the trail.' (Finlayson *et al.* 2007:5).

Tourism development activities are most advanced at the site of Beidha, adjacent to 'Little Petra', close to Petra itself, supported by SIYAHA and CBRL. Previously teams directed by Finlayson have built two experimental structures to act both as experimental archaeology and to provide tourist interest at the site (Interview A2). A site management plan for Beidha, in collaboration with the CBRL, is currently being developed, which aims to further develop the interpretation material at the site and provide increased local opportunities through craft sales.

Tom Levy (together with Najjar) has also proposed projects, in particular an application to the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation (Interview A6, NS8). This proposal sought to construct an exhibition in the aborted museum, training local people to act as guides in it, while also training DoA staff in 'cyber archaeology'. The proposal notes the unprotected nature of the archaeology and hopes that the museum might raise the profile of the area, stimulating local pride and bring economic benefits. Another similar proposal was entitled '*Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in the Faynan Region, Jordan: A Community-Based Conservation Project for the Wadi Araba*' (Levy and Najjar 2009). The project stresses the potential to generate jobs, as well as noting the irony that one of Jordan's richest archaeological areas is in one of its most economically poor regions. The proposal is ambitious, proposing an archaeological research and ecotourism visitor centre; ethnographic museum; construction of an 'Oasis' with ecotourism and swimming; conservation of ten sites; hiking and off-road routes; and the establishment of a 'Bedouin Tribal Digital Village' to boost connectivity and education in the area. The proposal envisaged the creation of 71 jobs. Currently neither proposal has received funding.

There have also been tentative proposals to get the Dana-Feynan area listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This listing has been chiefly motivated by added protection against the threat of mining rather than as a tourism or management tool (Interviews NS8, LTC1). The idea of listing has existed for many years and proposal documents have been drafted, however the process has not progressed beyond this stage. Calls for World Heritage listing continue to be used by archaeologists to combat mining threats (Levy *pers. comm.*). Alongside looting, mining remains the principle threat to the conservation of the area's heritage, the threat that many of the schemes listed above have been designed to combat.

The copper of Feynan and past mining activity have also left a legacy in the form of pollution (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007). The Wadi Faynan Landscape Survey comments that during Roman and Byzantine times, the land and water of the area would have been so polluted that it could not have directly sustained human, animal or plant life. The projects found that in places the metal concentrations in sediments were greater than in the Lower Swansea Valley, the world's primary site of sustained copper smelting in the nineteenth century. This level of pollutants prompts the researchers to conclude:

'It is clear that the Bedouin living in Wadi Faynan are exposed to high concentrations of metal within their domestic environments. Despite appearances to the contrary, they are in fact living in an environment which contains occasionally profound levels of industrial contamination. Living in such an environment from birth may pose real problems for human health; constant exposure may overwhelm the body's excretory processes and lead to accumulation within important organs, compromising their function and in the long-term increasing the risk of failure and serious illness.' (Gilbertson *et al.* 2007:412)

Reflecting on the research project, including its legacy in the form of pollutants, the Wadi Faynan Landscape Project concluded:

'The modern landscape is a complex palimpsest of multiple episodes of aridification, desertification and partial recoveries; of episodes of changing technologies; of human and economic impact with different intensities and at different scales....Depending on the choices made, the many legacies of the past

could prove to be either blight or boon for the future well-being of the Wadi Feynan and its inhabitants'. (Gilbertson et al. 2007:418)

Archaeology and Tourism in Feynan: Blight or Boon?

The archaeology of Feynan is extremely rich and has attracted sustained archaeological research, covering nearly every time period represented in the area, over the past 30 years. As the above quote notes, this archaeological resource may be a boon or blight. The potential blight may not just be in the health implications, but also in whether its presence offers positive or negative social, cultural and economic impacts. Archaeologists, and the RSCN, are actively opposing mining in the area which may otherwise bring positive economic benefits for people. However, the archaeology may also have the potential to be a boon. The RSCN have explicitly tried to mobilise the natural resources of the area to bring benefit and enhance conservation. Similar efforts to utilise the archaeological resources may be promising but are much less advanced. The relatively late development of these ideas perhaps reflects the wider trends seen in Jordan and international archaeology discussed above. Archaeologists have previously been criticised for not doing more to monitor and or conserve the remaining archaeology (Contreras & Brodie 2010). However, that the future conservation of the archaeology of Feynan is dependent on the local population has been realised by the academic community working in the area:

'...balancing the needs of protecting the natural and archaeological heritage, on the one hand, and promoting the economic well-being of the present day inhabitants, on the other, is inevitably proving to be a complex and delicate process, but the long-term sustainability of the Reserve will only be secure when these interests genuinely merge, when local people have a significant economic stake in the protection of their remarkable natural and archaeological landscape.'
(Palmer et al. 2007:57)

Palmer et al. correctly assert that attempts to balance those needs are difficult (as the examples in Chapter 8 attest to), but vital for long-term sustainability. However, the understanding of the archaeological history of the area is not matched by the understanding of how the archaeological resource interacts with, and provides benefits for, the contemporary population of the area. Palmer et al. (2007) have completed a thorough review of the history general socio-economic position of the local communities but what is lacking is a more

detailed understanding of values towards archaeology and how this is affected by the context of tourism and relationships with stakeholders. As discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, this sort of understanding is vital if proposals such as those by Finlayson and Levy are to be successful in achieving the mutual aims of conservation and local benefits. This thesis will aim to provide a picture of how the capital of the archaeology of Feynan operates, focusing on its economic capital.

Methodology for Understanding the Economic Capital of Archaeology in Feynan

The aim of this methodology is to understand:

- the current expression of the economic capital of the archaeology of Feynan
- the relationship of economic capital with other capitals of the archaeological resource
- the relationship these capitals have with value
- how the actions of archaeologists and other stakeholders are part of this relationship

and to:

- provide advice that can be incorporated into future management plans and preservation initiatives.

The review of case studies in Chapter 8, and the review of methods in Chapter 9 highlight several important trends to bring to bear on these aims. The first of these is the need to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches to gain an understanding of not just economic impacts, but the context of these. This methodology will roughly follow the SLF approach suggested by Simpson (2009). This chapter has performed the first step in that process, that of a literature review and understanding of the stakeholder and political context of activities in Feynan. However, the aim of this research is not evaluating a particular initiative, rather attempting to understand the current situation to feed into any future plans. As a result some of the evaluating methods, such as the participatory approaches are less emphasised. The studies by Glassup and Douglas highlight the difficulties in following rigid methodologies and data requirements, and as such, this method is designed to be more simple and loose to allow for the type of information that can reasonably be expected.

The first part of the methodology is to understand the current expression of economic capital. This necessitates an understanding of the current tourism market to the area, as well as economic impacts due to other processes, such as archaeological excavations. The priority in this understanding is the distribution, rather than the magnitude of economic impacts. As noted above, the tourism market to Jordan (and the presence of archaeological teams) fluctuates considerably, and as such the magnitude of impacts also does. It is more useful to understand who benefits economically from the archaeology, the pathways for this impacts and the importance of the income for them.

A variety of data can inform this picture. Available reports and literature about tourism or other activities to the area are studied. Interviews with tourism providers and other businesses in the area (principally the Ecolodge in the case of Feynan) can establish data such as the market they serve, visitor numbers, staff levels, location of staff and procurement strategies to understand the distribution and multiplier effects of their businesses. For archaeological projects their economic impact is established through interviews with archaeological teams, particularly about their accounts and through understanding the distribution of wages and procurement spending. Also included are local shopkeepers and other businesses who may receive business from tourism and archaeologists to assess their integration with these economic impacts.

A survey of tourists to the Feynan area is carried out to establish the nature of the local market. As demonstrated by the HLF studies showcased in Chapter 9, good data is necessary to establish exactly the economic impacts attributable to certain tourism attractions. This questionnaire aims for 250 respondents, to be split equally between Feynan and Dana. Carrying out a questionnaire in both locations is necessary not just to understand the local market, but also the principal adjacent market to understand where more of Feynan's tourists may come from, and to act as a comparison.

The tourist questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1, along with further detail of the rationale of the questions asked. The questionnaire is split into three main parts. It first establishes details of the respondent's trip to Jordan in general including country of residence, nature of travel (e.g. independent or with tours group), length of stay, and the main reasons for travelling to Jordan. This allows the understanding of how the tourists who visit Feynan and Dana compare to other places in Jordan and how much archaeology and history, or other factors, play in the motivation of visitors to Jordan and therefore any allocators of economic

impact. The second part establishes the practicalities and motivations of tourist's trip to Feynan and Dana. For both locations this includes how people visit, for how long, and what motivated them to visit. For Feynan specifically, tourists are asked the importance of Feynan in their trip to Jordan, their activities, their knowledge of Feynan and its archaeology, and the source of that knowledge. In Dana specifically, tourists are asked what they know of Feynan and its archaeology. This part of the questionnaire allows for the understanding of the local economic impact of tourists, what factors this impact is due to (including archaeology), and opportunities to improve the experience of tourists. Finally the last part asks about knowledge of the Neolithic sites and tourist's interest in visiting attraction based on this period, to inform potential future plans of the NHT.

As noted in Chapter 9, there are several issues raised with the accuracy of economic impact assessments. For this study the geographical area considered is the communities in and around Wadi Feynan, including the 'Azazma around the Feynan Ecolodge and in Wadi Shayqar, the Rashaydah village, the town of Quarayqira and the settlement of Ghuwei'bah. As there is no 'domestic' tourism within this area and so all tourists are 'outsiders'. This includes Jordanian domestic tourists who may come to the area instead of other areas of Jordan. It is not the Jordanian economy as a whole that is assessed, rather the economic impact within Feynan. The assessment does not evaluate a certain event so time-switching and displacement effects are not relevant. The methodology will not apply multiplier figures directly, instead seek to understand in more detail exactly where spending and leakages occur.

This combination of methodologies provides an understanding of how the economic capital of the archaeology of Feynan operates. The second main part of the methodology is to understand how this pattern interacts with the local population and their value for the archaeology of the area. This situation is established through semi-structured interviews with the local population. The interview structure is given in Appendix 8, along with further explanation of the questions asked. The interviews use translators (from different tribes to ensure access to certain groups) and attempts to cover all members of the local tribes, but focuses on the 'Azazma and Rashaydah. The interview has three main components – tourism, archaeology and archaeologists. The first section seeks opinions of, and any problems with, tourism in the local area; whether the interviewee would welcome more tourism and how tourism could improve; whether the interviewee (or their family) has ever worked in tourism and what work that was; and finally their opinion of the Ecolodge. The second section asks if the interviewee believes the archaeology is important, and why; their knowledge of

archaeology and if they would like to know more; their interaction with archaeological sites; and if they believe the sites should be protected. Finally the last section seeks opinions of archaeologists; the nature of any work the interviewee had done with archaeologists; and what archaeologists may do to increase their value to the local community. Finally an additional question asked their opinion about the possibility of renewed mining.

The different sections build up a picture of the relationship between the capitals of the archaeology, the value of the archaeology for the local people, and how these relationships interact with, or are caused by, tourism and archaeologists. Further it examines what actions may increase the value for local people in the face of threats such as mining.

As established in Chapter 8, the political and social context of the local relationship with archaeology is important. Interviews were also carried out with key stakeholders, including significant local figures, representatives of national and local stakeholders, and archaeologists. These interviews are unstructured but follow the same broad themes including the history of involvement in Feynan and comments of the background policy structure and attitudes to the mobilisation of the economic capital of archaeology. The history of involvement and attitudes displayed by these stakeholders are vital in understanding how the current relationship of the local population with archaeology came about, and how it might be affected in the future.

This research will not attempt an explicit appraisal of current levels of conservation. This is partly due to being covered by Contreras and Brodie (2010) as detailed above, but also the fact that there would be no way to assign causality to any changes in protection. This research will also not carry out non-use value methods, such as choice modelling or CV studies. Initial impression after the first research season in 2010 suggested such methods would be too complicated to use on the local population, and so simpler interviews are carried out instead (although they may offer an avenue of future research).

This methodology establishes the current situation of the expression of economic capital and its relationship with value to aid management plans designed to enhance that value. For instance, the data helps to understand how different tourism strategies impact different people, and how different economic impacts impact on the other capitals of the archaeology locally. The following chapter, Chapter 11, gives the results of this methodology.

Chapter 11

The Economic Capital of Feynan, Jordan

The method presented in Chapter 10 was carried out over two field seasons. Initial scoping and some stakeholder interviews were carried out in October 2010, while the main fieldwork (including the tourist survey and local population interviews) were carried out in October and November 2011. The interviews and questionnaires collected are detailed in the Appendices and analysed in this chapter. Appendix 1 gives further information on the Tourist Questionnaire and how the results were subsequently coded and presented in the data tables that form Appendix 2. Appendices 3-7 present the stakeholder interviews. These are broken down into several groups and labelled accordingly:

Appendix 3: National stakeholders including organisational representative (NS1-8)

Appendix 4: Archaeologists who have worked in Feynan (A1-6)

Appendix 5: Tourism and Community figures in Feynan (LTC1-10)

Appendix 6: Ecolodge Staff (EL1-10)

Appendix 7: Local Community figures in Dana (D1-4)

Interviews were not recorded as a matter of course to encourage more open opinions. Transcripts given take the form of extended notes taken at the time of interview. Appendix 8 provides more detail on the Local Population Survey structure and how they were subsequently coded into the data tables presented in Appendix 10. Appendix 9 presents the notes of the Local Population interviews (labelled LP1-74).

The Economic Capital of the Archaeology of Feynan

Distribution of the Economic Impact of Tourism

As described in Chapter 10, the Ecolodge has been up until very recently the only permanent and formal tourism accommodation in the Feynan area. Exact visitor figures to the Lodge were hard to ascertain. The owner of EcoHotels, Nabil Tarazi, was unable to give exact numbers but estimated a total of 5000 person-nights per year with an average stay of around 1.8 days (Interviews LTC5, LTC6). This would mean just around 2800 individual visitors. However,

occupancy figures provided by Tarazi (Interview LTC6) would suggest approximately 4000 guests a year. Therefore a conservative estimate for annual Ecolodge guests is 3000. However, no 'normal' visitation level has been established due the relatively recent change of management, and the recent disruptions to regional tourism (Interview LTC6). This figure compares to numbers recorded by RSCN for recent years – 2486 Ecolodge guests in 2008, 931 in 2007 and 1360 in 2006 (no earlier figures are available) (Interview NS4). This implies the EcoHotels management has had a positive effect but it is very difficult to separate this from background trends. This figure can also be compared to the 50,000 people who visit the Dana Reserve annually (Interview LTC2)

The Ecolodge employed 26 people in 2011, up from 11 people when EcoHotels first took over management (Interviews LTC2 and LTC5). While the RSCN targeted 'Azazma employment the current management aim for equality in who they hire (Interviews LTC5 and LTC6). Housekeeping staff were generally 'Azazma, while the sample of Ecolodge staff interviewed (mainly English speaking, more skilled staff - see explanation in local population survey below) contained two 'Azazma, three 'Ammarin, one Rashaydah and three of other tribal affiliations. The Ecolodge only has one Rashaydah employee (EL10) who works at the Ecolodge Reception. Tarazi stressed that this situation only reflected the fact that they received very few applications from Rashaydah, usually for the more skilled jobs and applicants often did not meet the requirements (Interview LTC6). The lack of applications was blamed on residual ill-feeling between the Rashaydah and the RSCN, and the lack of appeal of unskilled jobs. The 'Ammarin tribe are well represented, including a duty manager and two guides. Outside of the immediate area, the Ecolodge employs seven people from the area of Tafila/Karak, six of whom work in the kitchen while the other is a duty manager (Interviews EL4, EL9). This is mainly due to a lack of necessary skills to work in the kitchen amongst the local community.

However the tribal affiliations of staff do not necessarily describe the location of economic impact. Receiving a regular salary has encouraged many of the staff to move to permanent settlements. Out of the 10 Ecolodge staff interviewed five lived in Quarayqira (with a further one due to move that month), two lived in the Rashaydah village, one in Karak while only one still lived in a tent in the nearby wadi. Further, out of the six housekeeping staff, four live in Quarayqira and two live local to the Ecolodge (Interview EL7). As a result much of the indirect and induced economic impacts will be felt in Quarayqira and not adjacent to the Lodge.

The craft scheme run by the Ecolodge employs six women with one manager (Interview EL7). Five of those employed are 'Azazma, who all live around the Ecolodge (the detail of the other two employees was not collected). The RSCN pay these employees a regular wage with total wages for this scheme in 2010 at 14,442JD, implying an average salary of around 2000JD per person (RSCN 2010). The income was described as important, or as covering the basic needs of a family for five of the craft workers (LP1, 47, 48, 49 and 50), although one complained it was not enough for her needs (LP52).

The other important way the Ecolodge benefits the local communities economically is through the transfer scheme between the Ecolodge and its reception in the Rashaydah village. The transfer is organised through a list system, with the pool of drivers split equally between the Rashaydah tourism co-operative and the 'Azazma community, with transfers offered on a sequential basis between the tribes. Almost everyone in the local area who owns a vehicle – or has access to one – is on the list. As a result the quality of the vehicles used can be highly variable, with some guests complaining that while they often enjoyed the ride, the fee was too high to justify seating in very old and uncomfortable vehicles. The current price for a transfer is 11JD, but at the time of research there were heated negotiations between the local communities, who wish to raise the price, and the Ecolodge, who felt higher prices would begin to deter visitors (Interview LTC6). The transfer scheme is indeed very lucrative for local people (the Ecolodge takes no revenue from the transfers). In the first 22 months of EcoHotel's management the scheme generated 76,000JD, with 36,000JD being earned in the last year (Interview LTC6). This figure is split between approximately 50 drivers, representing about 720JD per driver (although some do more than others).

The Ecolodge has policies to source as many supplies locally as possible, however the management admitted some items were difficult to acquire (Interview LTC6). The management claims that despite the local communities growing a variety of vegetables, they are uninterested in supplying the Ecolodge and instead sell their produce to Amman (Interviews LTC6, EL9). There is also a lack of co-operation between the Ecolodge and shops in Quarayqira to supply other groceries. Some shopkeepers (LP31, 71) complained that the Ecolodge buys much of its supplies outside the region and that it does not benefit Quarayqira. However, the Lodge management claimed they supplied the shops with lists of what they needed, but were ignored with shops seeming uninterested in supplying them (Interviews LTC6, EL9). Only in late 2010 and early 2011 was the Ecolodge able to persuade a local shop to formally supply them with some products (Interview LTC6). The shopkeeper (LP72) confirmed

that an agreement was made but was yet to sell directly to the Lodge and suggested another shopkeeper (LP15) had a more long-standing relationship.

A recent RSCN (2010) report sought to quantify the extent to which the expenditure of the Dana Biosphere Reserve stayed within target communities. The report states that the original intention of the RSCN was to ensure 100% employment from the local community in all jobs associated with the reserve. The RSCN has various target zones to indicate the importance of creating economic impacts - A, B and C - with 'A' being most important and containing the area of Feynan, Quarayqira and Ghuwei'bah. The Reserve as a whole directly contributes 85 jobs in the running of the reserve, tourism and craft activities. Indirectly, the Reserve provides revenue through the attraction of tourists, procurement and development projects to 200 families. Overall 84% of the economic impacts are spent in the 'A' target zone.

Of the total turnover of the Reserve the areas of Quarayqira, Feynan and Ghuwei'bah receive around 27% of everything spent on salaries and procurement (not including craft projects) of which Quarayqira receives 13.3%, Feynan 11.5% and Ghuwei'bah 2.2%. The 'Feynan' area includes both the Rashaydah village and the area around the Ecolodge. When just salaries are considered Feynan's share drops to 6.7% (of 23.2% total for the area), probably reflecting the number of employees based in Quarayqira. Conversely when craft projects are included Feynan's share rises to 13% (of 27% total, Quarayqira receives 12%), reflecting the importance of this scheme in the local Ecolodge area. These last percentages represent roughly 65,000JD and 70,000JD for Quarayqira and Feynan respectively, out of total impact of the Reserve of about 550,000JD.

The report also gives details of the Feynan Ecolodge specifically, stating that the Ecolodge generated in the region of 150,000 – 200,000JD of economic impact in 2010. 69% of the Lodge's outgoings were received by local communities – Quarayqira received 32%, Feynan 31% and Ghuwei'bah 6%. The next biggest recipient of economic impact is Tafila, with 15% of the economic impact, due to the staff employed from there. The loss of income outside of the 'A' region is given as 11%. Tarazi queried if the report included the money EcoHotels paid to the RSCN or overheads such as tax (Interview LTC6). The report does not clarify this unfortunately.

Tarazi himself thought that the report was generous in its assessment, suggesting that the local retention was closer to 45%, with half coming from salaries, pointing out leakages to Amman for the EcoHotels office (although this expenditure is used to promote the Lodge)

(Interview LTC6). He believes the Ecolodge indirectly has an impact on about 400 people locally. He reports that since EcoHotels took over payroll has grown by 100% and income per employee by 50% (Interview LTC6).

Outside of the Ecolodge, and the transfers associated with it, tourism earnings are much more informal and almost exclusively directed through the Rashaydah tourism co-operative. Interviews with two Rashaydah tourism operators (Interviews LTC7 and 8, LP25) established that opportunities for the co-operative come as a result of operators elsewhere in Jordan, mainly Petra and Amman, requesting specific services for their visitors to the area. Services requested are mainly providing camping, food and guiding for groups. The co-operative seems to be controlled by a few well-connected Rashaydah, who then employ others depending on the needs of each group. The majority of the market appears to be walking groups, coming down the Wadi Dana or Wadi Ghuwayr, with some groups staying the night, before departing by road, or walking on to Petra (see tourism survey below). The local operators are at the mercy of what services are required by the operators of the groups, who may bring their own guides and food. Often groups will be met in the village by outside private transport and so do not use any local services at all. Even if local services are used there is no opportunity for tourists to spend money on anything other than the camp itself (guests in the Ecolodge can shop, or purchase experiences). Although not in evidence during the research, informants described large groups who would drive into the area, but again bring all supplies with them, leaving no economic impact (one estimate thought as many as 2000 people would do this each year in a 'normal' year) (Interview LTC8). This situation highlights the lack of the 'gateway' to the area and that people can visit for free if no local services are required.

Both Rashaydah operators interviewed estimated independently that in a good year they would cater for 10-11 groups a year, averaging around 10 individuals per group. This means an averaged total for each operator of around 100 people a year. As they seemed to be the main Rashaydah operators, traffic through the co-operative probably numbers only a few hundred a year. Both operators also said that in a good year they would earn about 2000JD, which is only supplementary of other principal incomes. This is poor compared to potential agricultural earnings (possibly over 5000JD a year), and comparable to the salaries in the craft project. The average they paid to local people hired for tour groups was about 40JD a day although this can be higher or lower depending on the job employed for (e.g. a chef would enjoy a higher wage). The number of people hired locally would vary depending on the requirements of each group, however 5 or 6 people per group was typical. While the magnitude of economic impact

through this channel may be low, leakages will also be low as staff and supplies are sourced locally.

Previously the only formal income received by the Rashaydah tourism co-operative is the rental of their tourism centre to the Ecolodge for 150JD a month (Interview LTC7). The co-operative has recently attempted to develop a more significant formal stake in local tourism through the development of a tourist camp. This camp is located on the south side of Wadi Feynan, in the Roman industrial area of Khirbit Feynan (Images 19 and 20). The establishment of the camp attracted heavy criticisms from the RSCN and archaeologists due to its location on a slag heap, not only damaging an archaeological site, but posing a health threat to tourists, and especially local workers who can breathe in the polluted dust. Asked by the Ministry of Planning to give permission for the camp, the RSCN encouraged its development to diversify tourism in the area, but in a different location, even offering money for its construction and design (Interview NS8). However, the Rashaydah resented RSCN involvement outside the Reserve and interpreted this advice as discouraging competition. Archaeologists also advised the local people against the camp, offering alternative locations (Interviews A2 and A4). The camp was eventually authorised, and the Rashaydah received a 50-60,000JD grant from the Ministry of Planning (Interviews LP74, LTC5). The camp was yet to be fully finished in autumn 2011 but had failed to attract any tourists up to that point. Locals note that the camp is in a bad location and that the Rashaydah do not have the skills to run it successfully (Interviews NS8, A4). The camp is rented to a local businessman for 3000JD annually (Interview LTC5), which is the only income the camp provides.

The town of Quarayqira seems to earn very little direct revenue from tourism. Local shopkeepers complained that tourists did not stop in the town to use the shops, or services such as the local mechanic (Interviews LP11, 15, 16 and 18). Only one shop enjoyed significant tourism revenue as it was situated conveniently on the main road but still this was described as a 'bonus' (LP72). There is currently little reason for tourists on the way to the Ecolodge or the Wadi to stop in Quarayqira. However the town does benefit from hosting Ecolodge employees. Even less tourism income is experienced by those in Ghuwei'bah, having neither direct tourism (LP26-30) nor benefiting significantly indirectly via the Ecolodge.

The economic impact of tourism in Feynan has two distinct arenas – through the Feynan Ecolodge and through the Rashaydah community. While these two arenas share some overlap (notably the transfers and rental of the Ecolodge Reception), they can be considered separate,

and indeed service different markets (see tourism survey below). The Ecolodge is able to offer formal, well paid employment and can attract a range of spending from its guests. The Rashaydah arena is informal, sporadic and low-value, only providing supplementary incomes to those involved. Revenue is lost to the area as a whole by tourists who use no services, and by a level of leakage from the Ecolodge, however overall local retention is fairly high. As a result the impact of tourism is not homogenous even in this relatively small area. Changes in tourism to the area will affect different communities differently depending on its nature.

Tourism Survey

The tourism survey achieved a sample of 254 people, travelling in 71 groups (33 children were also in these groups, who were not included). The survey population was split roughly equally between the survey areas of Feynan and Dana, with 129 (32 groups) and 125 (39 groups) respondents respectively. The results were also roughly split in terms of gender with a total of 122 males (61 Dana, 61 Feynan) and 132 females (68 in Feynan, 64 in Dana). Many interviews were carried out with groups as a whole and so occasionally the opinions given are those representing the group rather than perhaps those within the group. On several occasions it is thus not possible to correlate some aspects of individual group members (like residence and gender) with opinions. Also, where large groups skew results it will be commented upon. No statistical correlations are offered between questions as the sample is too small and varied to achieve robust outcomes, however, where relevant, overall trends are discussed.

The amount of time that tourists could give for the questionnaire was highly variable. Some groups in Feynan Ecolodge were very happy to discuss their travel and could therefore go into a lot of detail, while other groups had time restrictions and so only answered the most basic questions. The questions that were prioritised included basic trip details and motivations and knowledge of the Feynan area, including of the archaeology there. Opinions on the Neolithic archaeology were considered a 'bonus' if time allowed. As noted in Appendix 1, it was originally intended to ask questions regarding overall trip spend and trip spend in Feynan. However, due to the reluctance of respondents to answer such questions this was abandoned in favour of estimated local spends based on activities and length of stay. A question on accommodation levels was also abandoned due to the highly varied nature of accommodation used within each trip.

For Feynan, the majority of surveys were carried out in the Feynan Ecolodge (91 of 129 – 71%). Beyond the Lodge the surveys were the results of encounters with four groups around Wadi Feynan ranging in size from 5 to 17 people, reflecting the arenas of tourism discussed above. Only one group interviewed in the Ecolodge (entries 103-106, Appendix 2) were camping in the wadis. In Dana the survey locations are split between the various accommodation where people were staying with 43 at Dana Guesthouse (although 10 of these were staying elsewhere), 54 in the Dana Hotel (where I stayed), 21 in Dana Tower and one group of seven in Dana Village who were day visitors.

Due to the rather limited quantity of tourism to Feynan, there was no explicit sampling strategy. I was resident in the Ecolodge for a period of approximately three weeks and guests were approached in the communal areas of the hotel. As occupation of the Lodge was not high the respondents to the survey represent the vast majority of the guests of the hotel. The main group that I was not able to connect well with were Arab and Jordanian visitors who did not frequent the common areas of the hotel, and as such they may be underrepresented in this part of the survey. Excepting this, the survey is highly representative of the clientele of the Lodge during this time, but it is unclear how representative this sample is of tourists throughout the year. The time of year for the survey was chosen as autumn is a high season for tourism to the area.

Connection with other groups in the Feynan area relied on chance encounters and local informants. Local tourism service providers alerted me when there was a group in the area and take me to interview them. Time was also spent time at strategic locations, such as the Ecolodge Reception and at the end of the Rashaydah village road to connect with tourists. While in Dana attempts were made to regularly visit the different accommodation providers in the village and would approach tourists at the RSCN visitors centre. This location was a favourite for people coming to view the sunset and so I was able to approach a range of tourists there.

Versions of the questionnaire in French, German and Spanish were prepared to give to tourists who did not speak English, however these proved unnecessary as no group had difficulty understanding and responding to the questionnaire in English and so the sample is not biased in this regard.

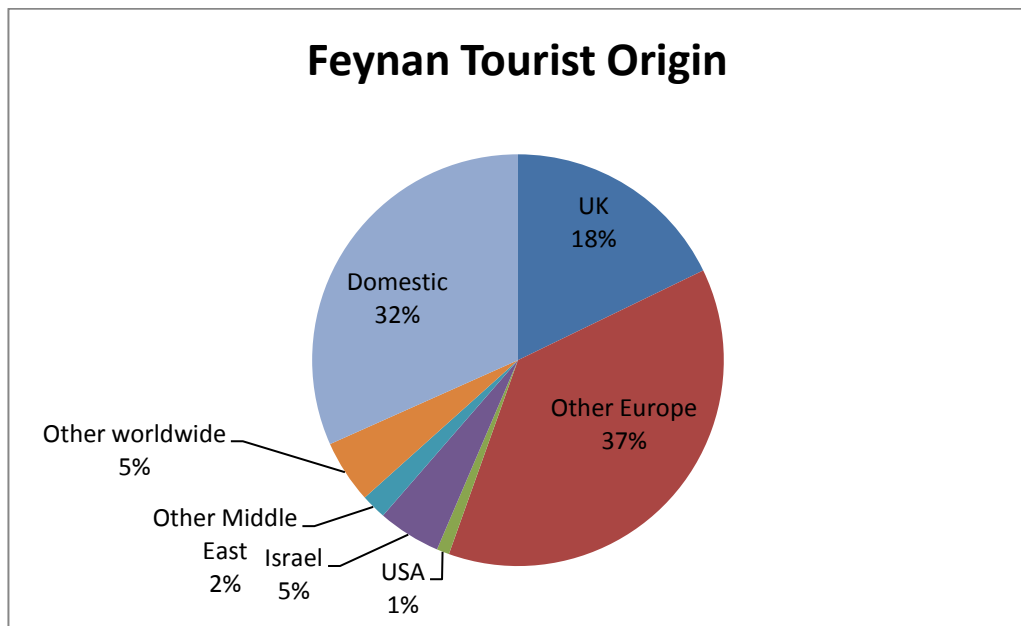


Figure 5: Origin of Tourists in Feynan (n=129)

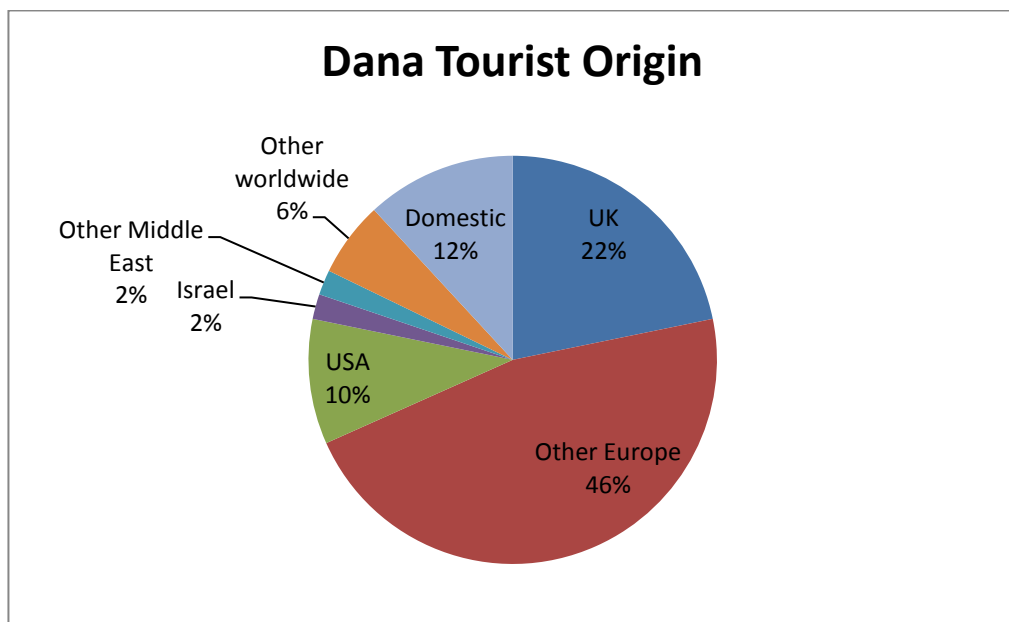


Figure 6: Origin of Tourists in Dana (n=125)

Figures 5 and 6 show the country of origin of tourists from Feynan and Dana. Points of origin of visitors were collected to understand the costs of travel. Although nationality was not directly collected, it was observed that outside of domestic tourists, nationality and origin normally overlapped. The most dramatic difference between the two places is the large number of domestic tourists visiting Feynan (probably underestimated considering the underrepresentation of Arab visitors). This reflects the popularity of the Ecolodge as a

weekend retreat for people in Amman (see below). Although not exclusively (notably entries 89-94, Appendix 2), the majority of domestic tourists in Feynan were foreigners resident in Jordan, and only one of the domestic tourists in Dana was of Jordanian nationality.

This situation can be compared to the 'heritage tourism market' outlined by SPI in Chapter 10 (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012b). In 2010, excluding domestic and other Middle-East destinations (Israel excepted), Europeans make up roughly one third of the market to Jordan. However, levels of European visitors at Petra, Jerash, Um Qays and Wadi Rum in 2010 were between 70% (Petra) and nearly 90% (Um Qays). For Feynan, about 80% of the non-domestic, non-Middle East market is European, showing some equivalence.

The present situation can also be compared to previous RSCN figures to see changes in the make-up of the market in Feynan (Interview NS4). In 2006 43% of tourists to Feynan Ecolodge were European, 10% from North America, and 43% Jordanian. In 2008 50% were European, 10% North American and 35% Jordanian. This suggests that while the market has been broadly similar over the 6 years before the research. Comparing to 2011, while the number of North American tourists has dropped, European and domestic tourism has increased or stayed around the same. It is difficult to know how domestic tourism compares as the RSCN data collects nationality rather than origin, and, as noted, many of the domestic tourists surveyed in 2011 were foreign nationals. Nonetheless, the domination by the European market to the Feynan area seems a strong trend.

In Feynan just over a third of tourists (36%, or 32 out of 88 responses) were travelling independently, 48% in a pre-arranged group tours, while just 5% had pre-arranged private itineraries. 10% were visiting friends and relatives, while only one respondent was on business (writing a book). All independent or private travellers staying overnight (or longer) were staying at the Ecolodge. Only one of the smaller tour groups was staying at the Ecolodge overnight (entries 113-118, Appendix 2). All other pre-arranged group tours were camping in the wadis and are dominated by two large European groups camping overnight as part of a multi-day trek to Petra, and a walking Israeli group on a day-trip. This reinforces the identified separation of two distinct tourism markets operating in the Feynan area – small private groups and independent travellers in the Ecolodge and large tour groups using the Rashaydah to camp.

The fact that the Feynan Ecolodge relies more heavily on independent tourists has been cited as a reason why tourism to the lodge has been less affected than other areas of Jordan by the regional disturbances. Tarazi reported that tourism was only down 5-6% for the first 6 months of 2011 compared to the same period in 2010, while tourism in Jordan as a whole is down 40% (Interview LTC5) (although SPI note only a 19% drop (SPI & Tuck Global Consultancy, 2012b)). He suggested that independent travellers are less likely to be put off by regional problems, and that large tour groups tend to visit Jordan along with Egypt or Syria.

By contrast 65% of non-domestic tourists (110 respondents) in Dana were travelling independently, 25% in pre-arranged groups, 8% by private pre-arranged tours, while two respondents were travelling with friends and relatives. However very large tour groups, some numbering over 40, would stop very briefly in Dana to admire the view on the way to (or from) Petra, but I was only ever able to hold brief conversations with their guides. It would seem very few large tour groups stay in Dana, meaning the majority of overnight guests are independent travellers. The tour groups I did interview consisted of four groups numbering 25 people in total and of these 11 people were staying overnight or locally in Dana.

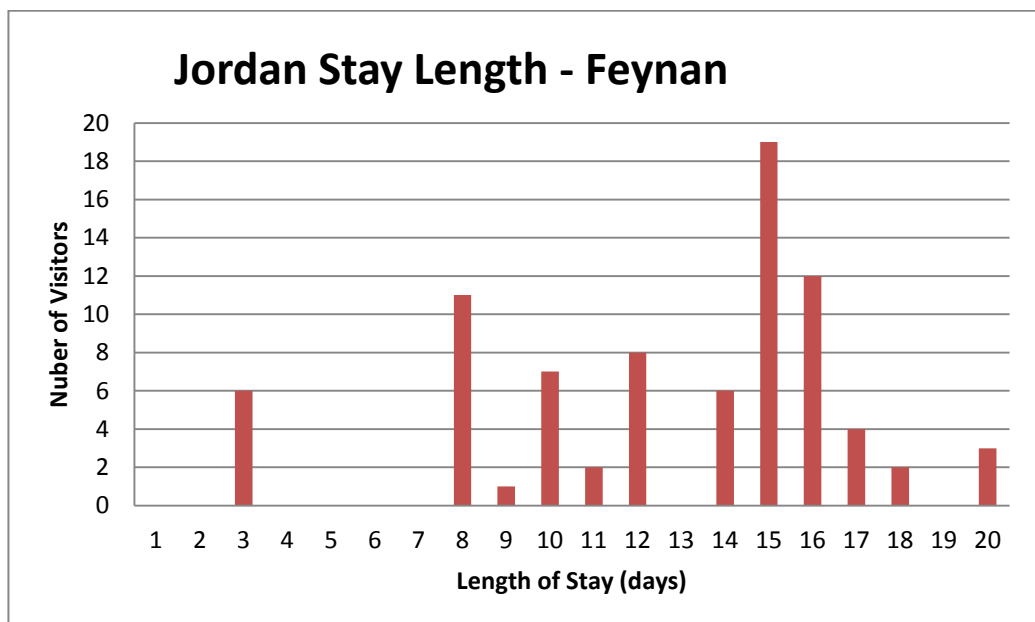


Figure 7: Length of Stay in Jordan – Feynan Tourists (n=81)

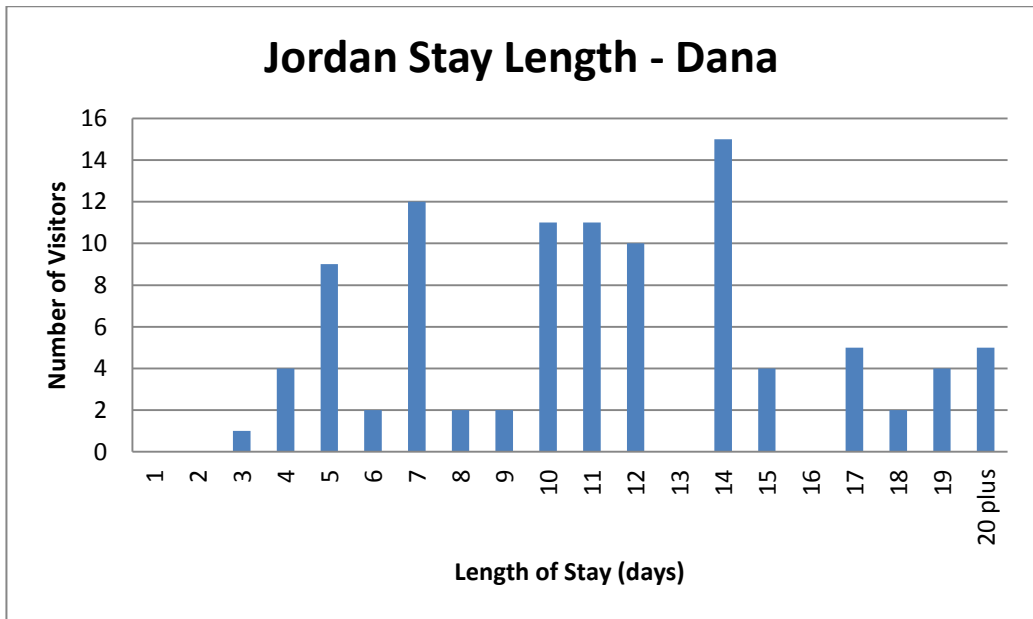


Figure 8: Length of Stay in Jordan – Dana tourists (n=99)

The spread of trip lengths is given in figures 7 and 8 for Feynan and Dana. For Feynan most trips are between one and two weeks, with an average of 12.7 days, while for Dana most trips are between a few days to two weeks with a lower average of 9.1 days. The average for all foreign visitors in Jordan in 2006/07 is 7.7 nights (Department of Statistics, Jordan 2008) indicating that the destinations, especially Feynan, enjoy the market of those who stay longer than average, meaning they have more time to seek out secondary sites. For both Feynan and Dana, 91% of tourists said this was their first visit to Jordan.

In Feynan 78 tourists gave reasons as to what motivated them to travel to Jordan. The question was asked with 10 categories including 'other', and respondents could give more than one answer. Figures 9 and 10 describe the reason for both Feynan and Dana.

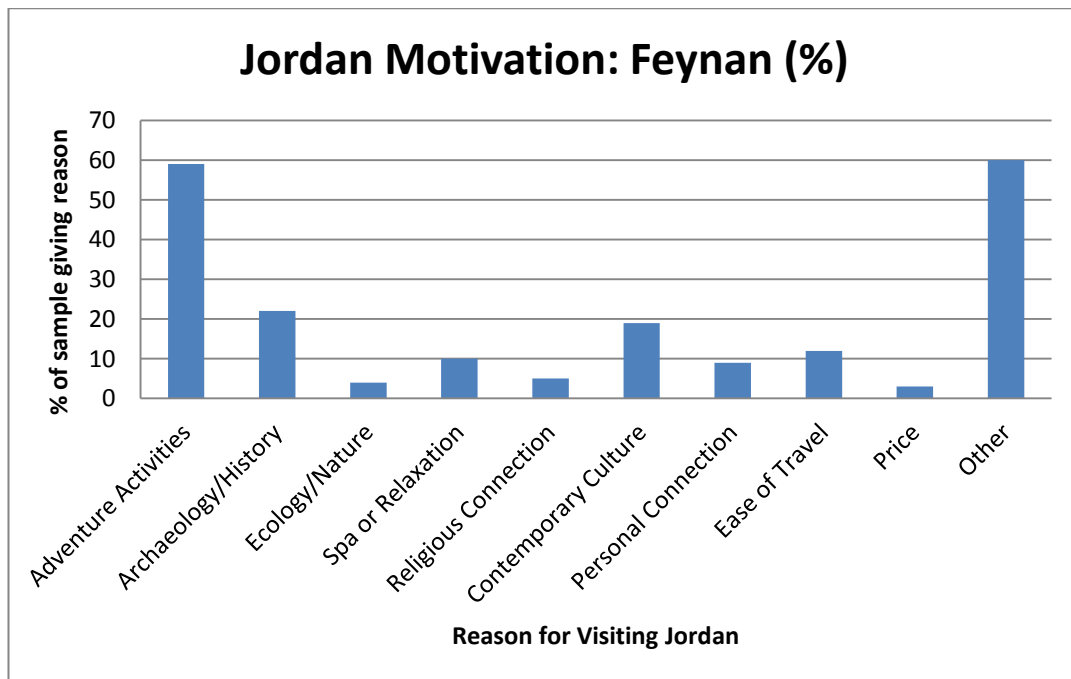


Figure 9: Motivation to Visit Jordan - Feynan Tourists (n=78)

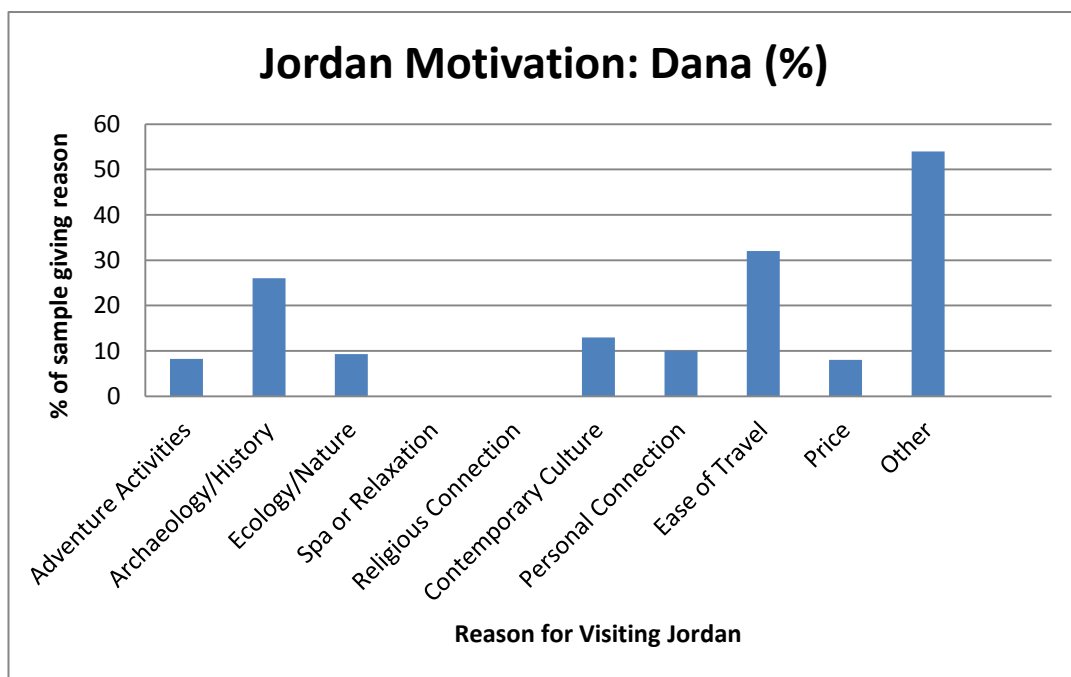


Figure 10: Motivation to Visit Jordan - Dana Tourists (n=97)

From the results it is clear that ‘Adventure activities’ (including walking) dominate reasons to come to Jordan amongst tourists in Feynan. The importance of adventure activities is partly due to the large tour groups staying in the wadi, all of whom gave this reason, while only 10 of those staying in the Ecolodge (out of 46 who cited this reason) mentioned this aspect. Also, apart from five Israeli’s all those mentioning this aspect were European (UK or rest of Europe). For ‘other’ in Feynan, this response was dominated by people mentioning coming specifically

to visit Petra (28 of the 47 answers). Of these people 17 mentioned Jerash in addition, while two came especially for the Dead Sea as well as Petra. Other comments in 'other' included 'something different' (ten responses) and 'a break with children' (five responses) while two others came particularly for writing. Those in Dana were actually more interested in archaeology and history, as well as ecology and nature, than those in Feynan. In Feynan people were attracted to Jordan for spa and relaxation and religious sites, while there were none in Dana, which may be due to its proximity to the Dead Sea spa area. In Dana ease of travel and price were bigger factors than in Feynan. Of those mentioning ease of travel, around two-thirds mentioned it was for the comparative safety of Jordan and had originally thought to travel elsewhere in the Middle East. Like in Feynan, the 'other' category contained 25 responses (out of 52) who wished to 'see sights' in Jordan, and an additional nine mentioned seeing Petra in particular.

Feynan and Dana Trip Details

As Appendix 1 explains respondents in Feynan and Dana were asked different questions regarding the practicalities and motivations of their stay in Feynan and Dana itself, although some of the questions mirror each other.

In planning their trips to Jordan, 90% (out of 75 respondents to this question) said that they had planned to visit Feynan before coming to Jordan. However over 90% of these tourists said that Feynan was incidental to their choice to visit Jordan, while the remaining 10% said that it was only part of the general attraction. No-one said that Feynan was the main reason, or one of the main reasons for coming to Jordan. This indicates that if they had not visited Feynan they would have spent the additional time somewhere else in the country. Some of the large walking groups interviewed did not even know they were in a place called Feynan, it was simply a stop as part of their Petra trek. As a result very little, or even a negligible, amount of the overall trip spend to Jordan can be allocated to Feynan and so the area does little to contribute to the overall impact of tourism in Jordan. By contrast the repeated mention of Petra as a reason to come to Jordan demonstrates its importance in economic impact from tourism to Jordan.

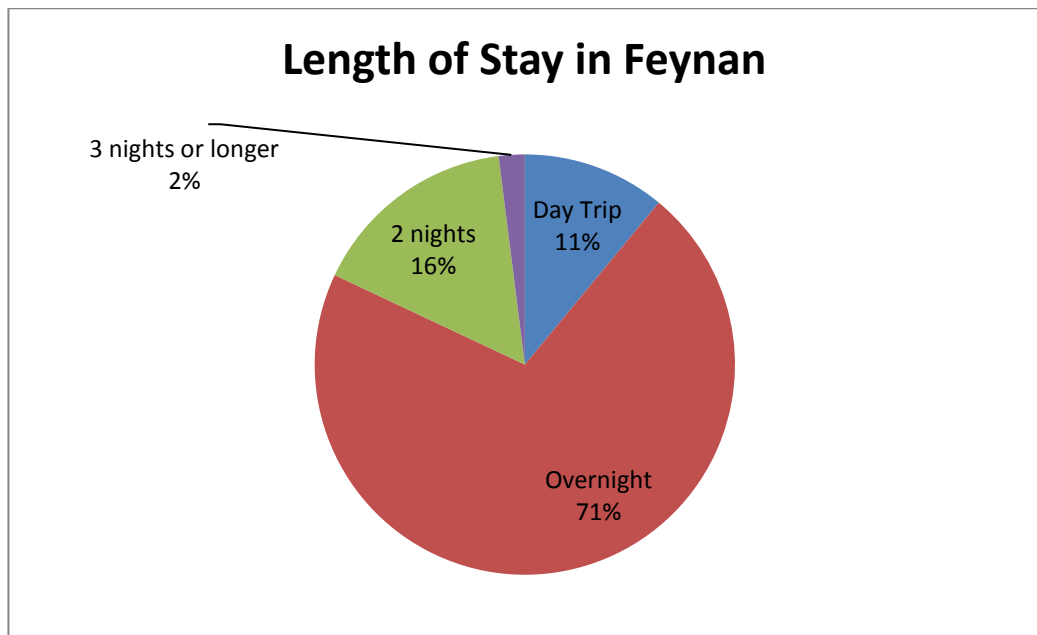


Figure 11: Length of Stay in Feynan (n=129)

In Feynan the large majority of visitors came as overnight visitors (figure 11). None of the groups outside of the Ecolodge were staying for more than one night. This obviously has economic consequences, reducing the economic impact of tourists for the Rashaydah.

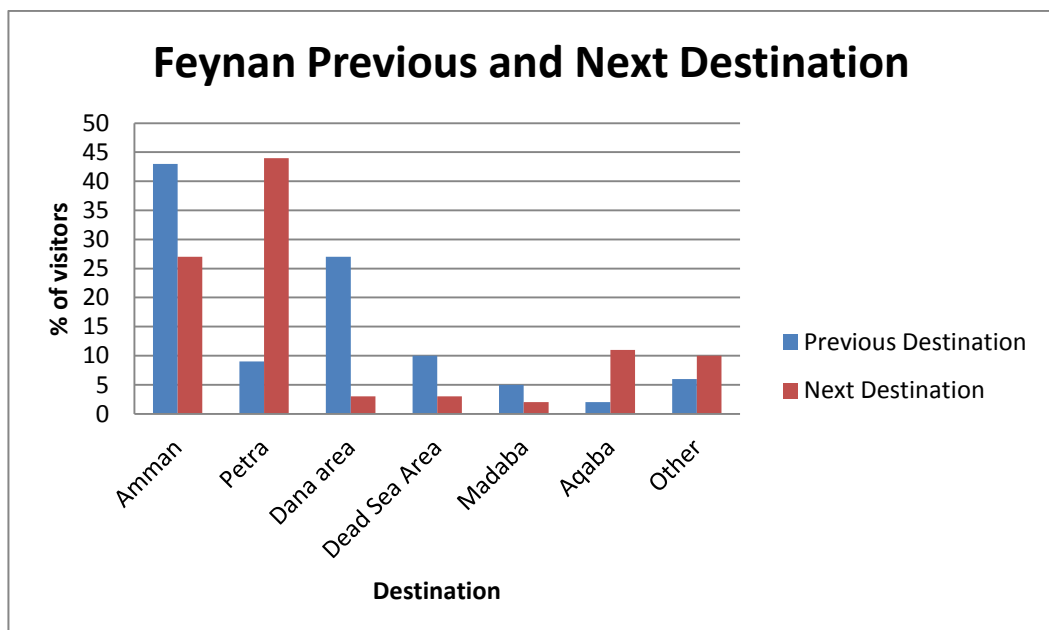


Figure 12: Previous and Next Location of Feynan tourists (n=127)

Figure 12 shows where tourists coming to Feynan were previously, and where their next destination is. It should be noted that those going to Petra on multi-day treks were included under 'Petra' even though their next night would be camping, as this was their ultimate goal.

The data shows a general direction of travel from north to south. All those who were travelling on to Amman, had come originally from Amman and are therefore all on short breaks in Feynan (apart from two people these were all domestic tourists). As a result we see a trend of people coming from Amman, Dana, the Dead Sea area and Madaba heading south, primarily to Petra, but also to Aqaba. There are of course those moving in the other direction but none of the people going to Petra had come from there showing that people were not coming then returning south. Equally, only two people who had come from Dana were returning there.

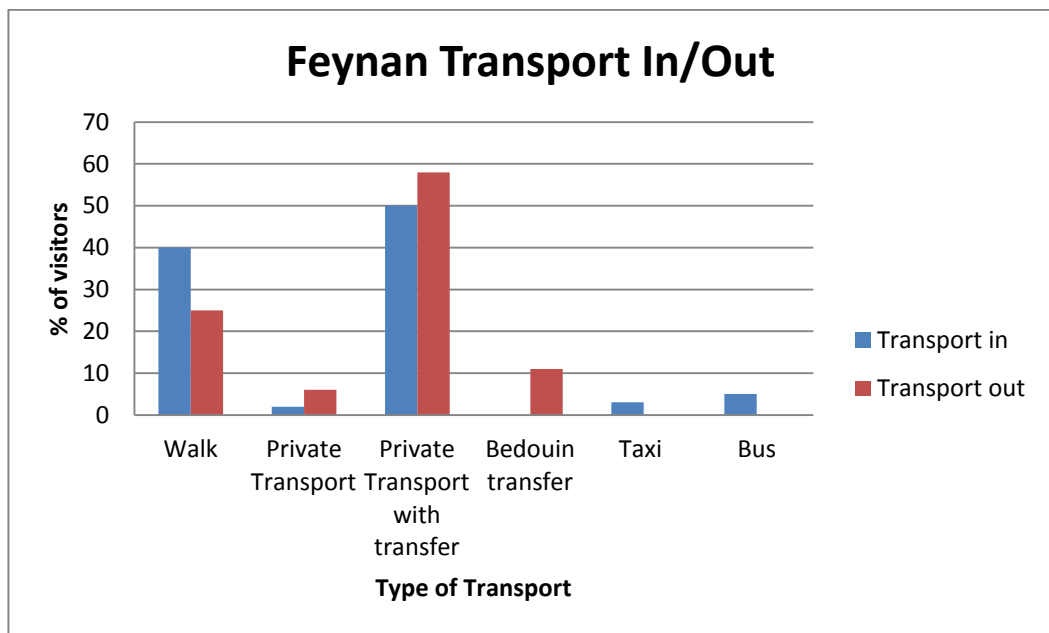


Figure 13: Transport Used In (n=129) and Out (n=125) of Feynan

People used a variety of transport methods to access Feynan (Figure 13). While many people walk in from the Dana area, it was mostly those on multi-day hikes to Petra who subsequently walked out. Others tended to meet private transport or used a local Bedouin transfer service out to a variety of destinations. Those arriving on public transport (taxi or bus) all took Bedouin transfers out (effectively a taxi service) reflecting a lack of other public transport options. Most of those using private transport would use the transfer service from the reception to access the Lodge itself.

Respondents in Feynan were asked what activities they did there, including the guiding services offered by the Ecolodge. This information was combined with details of their transport, length of stay and what meals they had consumed to estimate a spend per person in the Feynan area. For those visiting the Ecolodge spends ranged from 43JD to 281JD per

person, with an average spend of 106JD. These figures should be considered an underestimate as it only included known spending and where ambiguous (such as the class of room used) the lower estimates are used. If this average spend is applied to the estimated 3000 visitors this would give a total of around 300,000JD for the year, considerably more than estimated in the RSCN impact report, suggesting that either this figure is an overestimate, or that the RSCN report did not include some expenditure. For those camping in Feynan their only spending would be on the local staff and services, as there is no opportunity for other spending. Using the data supplied by the operators each group may use around five local people to make camp at a cost. Assuming around half of costs are spent on wages and assuming a 100% mark up, this may cost about 600 JD per group, or about 50JD per person in the group. While both these estimates are very rough they do highlight the differences in the magnitude of economic impacts through the different arenas of local tourism.

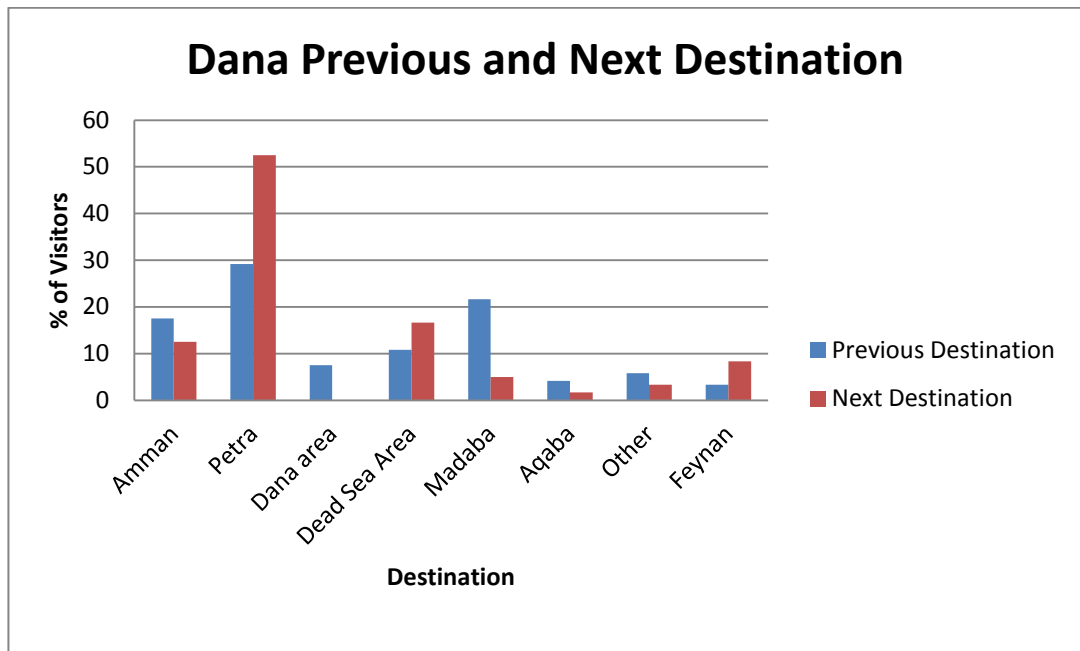


Figure 14: Previous and Next Location of Dana tourists (n=120)

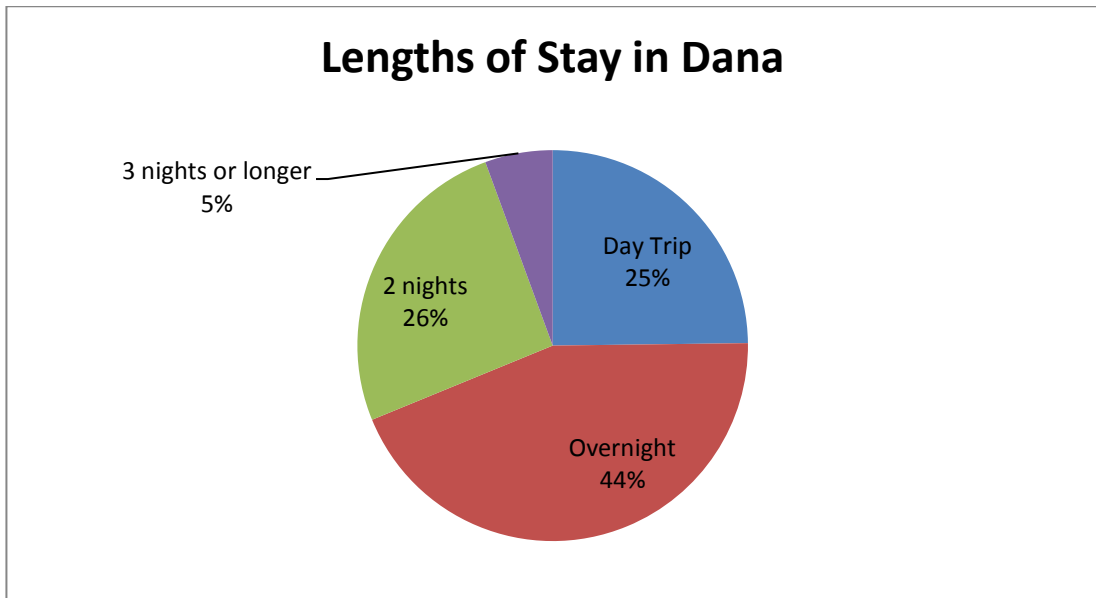


Figure 15: Lengths of Stay in Dana (n=125)

The market for Dana is quite similar to that for Feynan (figures 14 and 15). There is a slightly greater spread of the time people spend in Dana (Figure 15). Dana sees significant traffic to and from Petra (nobody coming from Petra returns that way). The trend is still north to south with Petra the destination for over 50% of Dana tourists and Dana acting as a funnel for tourists from a variety of destinations while subsequent destinations are more limited, although there is a strong trend of people travelling to the Dead Sea area. About the same number of people who come from Feynan also travel there afterwards. 63% of people used private cars to travel to Dana, 25% used private group transport while 19% used public transport including taxis, showing that private transport dominates access to the area in general (to save time only arrival method was collected).

Tourists in Feynan were asked what motivated them to visit that destination (the question was open and respondents could give more than one answer). The answers were subsequently coded into different categories reflecting those and the interests of this research, and are shown in Figure 16.

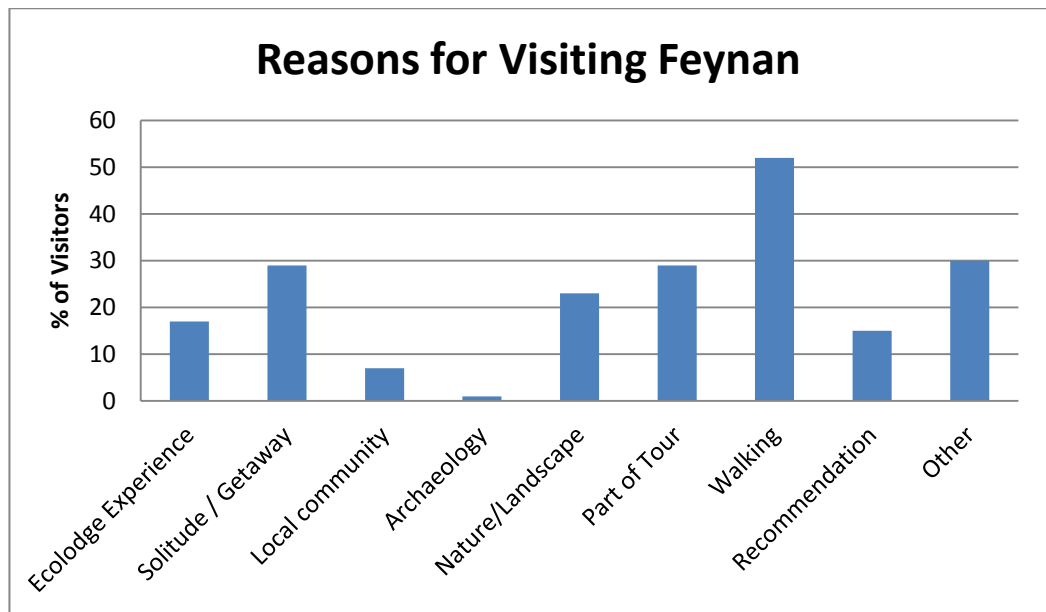


Figure 16: Reasons for Visiting Feynan (n=129)

The most popular reasons why people came to Feynan were to walk and because they were brought there as part of a tour (indicating that they had no special desire to visit Feynan itself). However, all those interviewed in the wadis, or due to camp there, were motivated by walking, or were part of a tours, with no individual giving any other reasons for coming. This means all other reasons are associated with Ecodge guests, rather than visitors to Feynan in general. The Ecodge guests come for the Lodge itself, and it is seen as a destination for solitude, nature, connection with local people, and a getaway from urban environments. For the 'other' category out of 39 respondents 19 mentioned the association with the RSCN as a reason for visiting, while 12 people particularly mentioned the Ecodge as a good place for families.

Only one visitor in the sample mentioned archaeology as a reason for coming to Feynan. This person had come to specifically see the Bronze Age and Neolithic sites to inform a book she was writing. Evidently, very little of the annual economic impact from tourism in Feynan can be attributed to archaeology. This means that if the archaeology disappeared it would currently make very little difference to the economic impact of tourism to Feynan.

This compares with some local opinion of why people come to Feynan. Some commented that few people came for archaeology (LTC8, LP10, LP35, EL3), while others thought it was a factor in why people came (LP25, a local tour operators), while some Ecodge staff thought that archaeology was very important for visitors (EL2, EL10). Many of the Ecodge tourists do interact with the archaeology as part of their visit during walks, however this interaction should not be confused with motivation to travel.

The lack of motivation provided by archaeology is backed up by the fact that 112 people out of 129 (88%) had not heard of the archaeology of the area before arriving. Many people commented they only knew Feynan as a 'nature' destination. Members of some tour groups had been given no information about Feynan, including one group who were camping inside Khirbit Feynan and were unaware they were surrounded by an archaeological site. For those who did know about the archaeology it was most common that they heard about the copper mines, but Roman sites, being part of the 'Exodus route', and the presence of British archaeologists was also mentioned. Only two visitors had any knowledge of the archaeology beyond a couple of facts – the writer above and a domestic tourist who worked for SIYAHA.

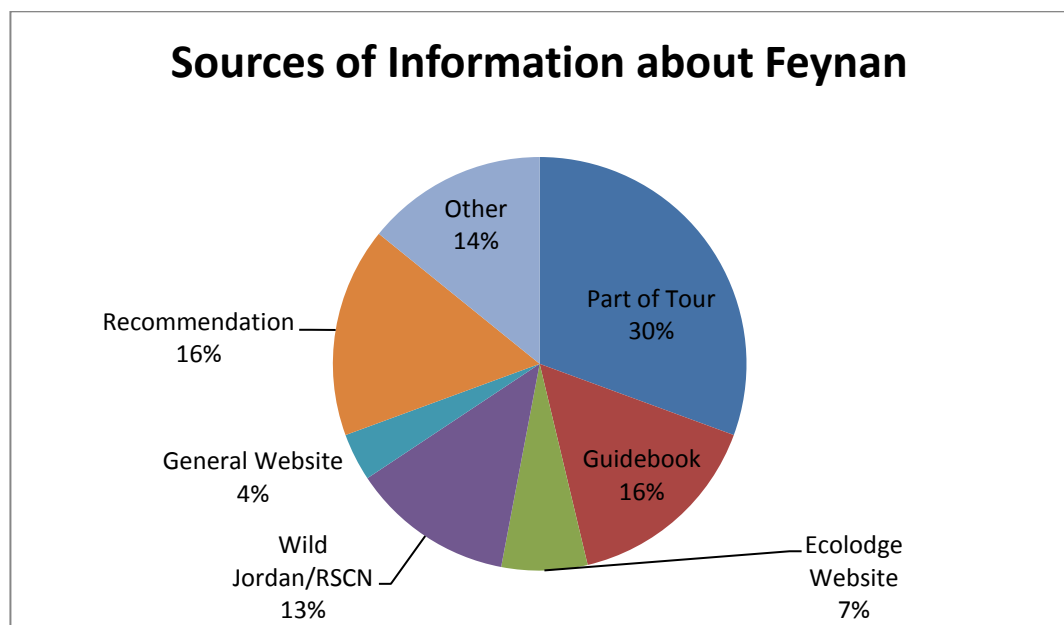


Figure 17: Sources of Information about Feynan

Figure 17 shows how Feynan tourists had heard about Feynan and indicates no single strong choice. Lonely Planet was by far the most popular guidebook choice (16 out of 23 who named this source). It seems to be the case that the results of the archaeological research in the area are not reaching tourists through these channels in any significant way.

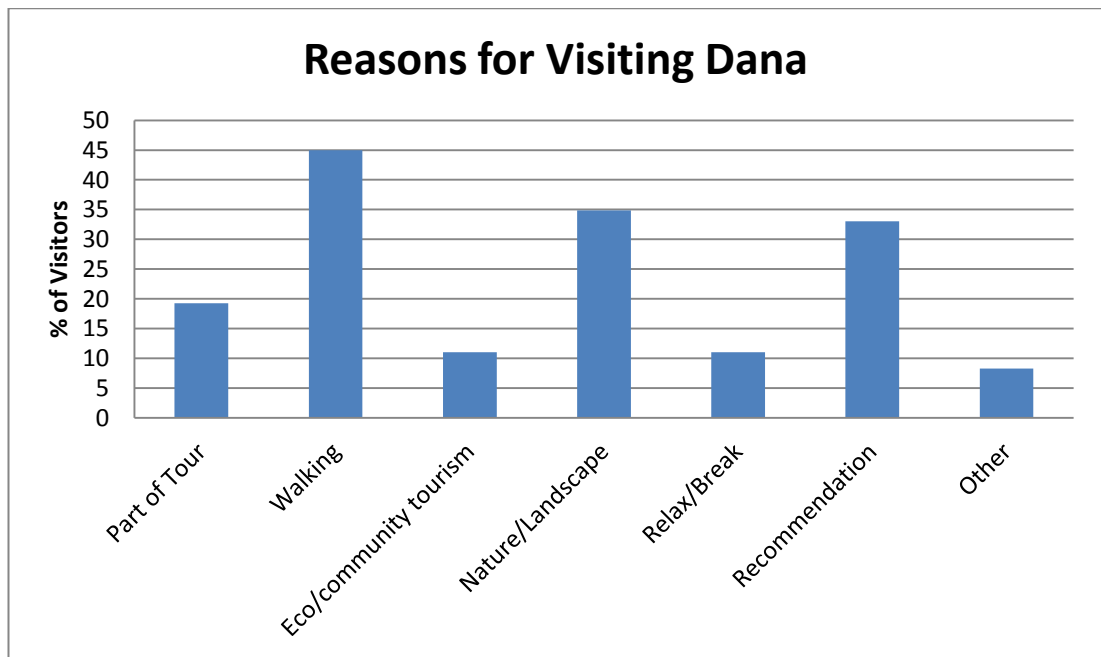


Figure 18: Reasons for Visiting Dana (n=109)

For Dana, walking and nature were the main reasons people came (Figure 14), showing some comparison with Feynan. However recommendations also played a large role. No-one visiting Dana was motivated by archaeology, not surprising given the lack of remains visible in the area. Just over half of tourists (57%) there had heard about Feynan in some way, and around two-thirds of these associated Feynan with the Ecolodge, while some associated it with nature or hiking. About a third of tourists (31 out of 92) had heard of the archaeology of Feynan, a much higher percentage than Feynan itself. Over half of these mentioned copper or copper mines, but Byzantine remains, Christian slaves and the presence of archaeological researchers was also mentioned.

This comparison suggests that actually choosing to go to Feynan does not expose someone to any more information about the archaeology of the area and further reinforces a picture of it as a lack of motivation to visit. It seems that most people simply read very small bits about the area in their general information gathering about Jordan. What was known about the archaeology was quite similar in the two areas, which suggests some consistency of information in sources.

Feynan tourists were also asked to give feedback about their experience of Feynan and what could be improved. This question was considered a 'bonus' and so was only answered by 20 individuals (all in the Ecolodge). Most people said they enjoyed the connection with the local community or the RSCN, the isolated and adventurous feeling of the area, or particular walks.

For improvement people asked for better signs on the trails, more information on transfers and access, or more on topics such as water and geology. There was one request to visit archaeological excavations.

Tourists in both Feynan and Dana were asked about their knowledge of the Neolithic period in Jordan, and their possible interest in visiting attractions based on this period. In Feynan 56% (of 89 responses) of people had heard of the Neolithic while in Dana 75% had (of 44 responses). In both locations knowledge was usually very shallow, having just heard of it as a period and very often not associated with Jordan at all. In Feynan 13 out of 50 responses said they would be interested in visiting such sites, while only two said no. In Dana 24 out of 37 responses said they would go, while four said they would not be interested. The rest of these respondents had neutral responses i.e. they had some interest in going but would need some persuading. They were keen that the sites be practically accessible and not require a special effort and that there was good information or reconstructions available, as there was concern that the sites on their own would not be worth visiting.

Survey Conclusions

The split in the local tourism arenas Feynan is reflected in the markets they serve. Ecolodge guests are attracted to Feynan by the Lodge itself and Feynan largely as a destination which offers nature, local connections and a 'retreat'. This market includes many day visitors and those who may stay more than one night. The second market, served by the Rashaydah when they need services at all, are groups of walkers coming through Wadi Dana or the Wadi Ghuwayr, staying overnight, with some of these walking on to Petra. As noted above the Ecolodge market is much more lucrative, due to guest spending on accommodation, guided walks and souvenirs, while the second market has limited opportunities for further spend.

What is also clear is that the archaeology of Feynan does not significantly, if at all, contribute to the economic impact of tourism in the area. Tourists do interact with the archaeology, however they are not motivated to visit by the archaeological sites. Nonetheless the EcoHotel's owner was confident that, if promoted, the archaeology may add to the length of stays in the area (LTC6). It appears that key to this would be promotion in the sources of information tourists consult (guidebooks and websites chiefly). Currently knowledge about archaeology amongst tourists in general is relatively low, and so tourists cannot choose in

advance to extend their stay, as it would seem that the majority of guests plan their trip in advance (as 90% had intended to visit Feynan prior to arriving in the country).

The survey offers some optimism for development of archaeological tourism attractions, including the plans for the Neolithic Heritage Trail (NHT). The largely European market in the general area, and the average lengths of stay are encouraging as these suggest that Feynan guests have the time and the inclination to try new attractions. The experience of the Ecolodge suggests this group are more resistant to background fluctuation in the market, a point of difficulty emphasised by the SPI study. Particularly encouraging is the general movement of tourists from areas like the Dead Sea and Feynan south to Petra. This is the exact route of the Wadi Nambla Road tourists would use to follow the NHT. This road is very difficult for large coaches to follow, however the fact that the majority of guest leaving Feynan use private vehicles or local transfer services suggests that many would be able to use this route. This is important in satisfying the condition stated by many that it is not be out of the way of their usual itineraries. There is some knowledge of the Neolithic already in the tourism market, and a reasonable amount of enthusiasm for such an attraction. However key would be to prepare a very good communications strategy, both at the sites and through the sources of information tourists consult when planning their trips, principally guidebooks (mainly Lonely Planet) (see Figure 13). The Dana market may be more difficult to access, relying on promoting the NHT as an alternative route to or from Petra. The data from Feynan suggests that the NHT is unlikely to attract new tourists to Jordan, however might move tourism to new areas and raise the profile of the Neolithic, reflecting the aims of the original plan (in Chapter 10). However any project such as the NHT must be very conscious of the economic pathways new tourism follows i.e. through the Ecolodge or through the Rashaydah set-up, to create equitable benefits. As no revenues are generated at site and transport would be the main source of income, a system like the current transfer system may be most suitable.

Archaeological Projects as Economic Capital

The tourism survey establishes that the archaeology of Feynan has very little economic capital through tourism. However the economic capital of archaeology can also be mobilised through archaeological research teams, and the employment and purchasing that they provide.

The economic significance of the projects was highlighted by the reaction to the moving of the archaeologists' camp by Tom Levy. Levy had previously based his archaeological excavations in

Quarayqira, as research was focused in the nearby Wadi Fidan. During 2011, the research was to switch from these sites and to begin in Wadi Feynan itself, particularly at Khirbet Feynan. As a result Levy moved his camp to the compound of Dr Mohammed Najjar, Levy's research partner, within the Rashaydah village (Interview A6). While the local population in Quarayqira expressed disappointment at the loss of easier access to work opportunities (e.g. LP17, 19), the move caused widespread political friction over negotiations to control the economic asset which the research team represented in Wadi Feynan. Leaders of the Rashaydah tribe insisted that, as owners of the land where work was to be carried out, as well as the location of the camp in their village, their tribe should have sole access to employment opportunities (Interview A6). There has even been a suggestion of threats against one high profile member of the 'Azazma tribe who was to be a project manager (LTC10). Levy had to negotiate strict work quotas with the tribes, and as a result, against Levy's wishes, the 'Azazma were largely prevented from working on the project in the Wadi Feynan area (they had access to work on sites Levy was researching outside of the Rashaydah area and limited opportunities in the camp (Interview A4)).

The Rashaydah also tried to persuade the project to use their new tourist camp but Levy refused, giving the excuse of safety due to the polluted grounds the camp was built on and the fact that it was an ancient monument. The research continued during 2011 however when Levy returned in 2012 to continue research the project found that renewed local demands created an unfair situation in the local area. As a result Levy has suspended his research project for the foreseeable future (Levy *pers. comm.*).

The local population interviews highlighted some of the problems caused by this situation. Equality of work for tribes was one of the chief criticisms of the archaeologists (see below). Interviewees took the opportunity to discuss the current problem with one of my translators (LP6-10, LP12). A member of the Ecolodge staff (EL7) described the issues as a 'match strike' that might go away, or cause a large fire between the communities. One interviewee suggested that the tribes may become enemies as a result with children fighting in school about it (LP14).

Both Bill Finlayson and Tom Levy (Interview A6) are aware of the importance of balancing work between different communities. Finlayson has worked principally around the Ecolodge and Rashaydah village, and has always split work equally between the Rashaydah and 'Azazma,

however ascribes the communities different jobs i.e. on site or in the camp (Interview A1 and A2). Commenting on Levy's situation Finlayson reflected:

'The local Bedouin foresee that part of what you are trying to do is put money back into the local community and they see this and have their own ideas and then you find yourself having to employ people who are put forward as they have no other work and have no skills or stake in the field systems. The team you end up with is a compromise in many different directions.' (Interview A6: p.425)

Both archaeologists stress the need to hire people with skills to be able to carry out research but are also aware of the need to introduce new people to the workforce. Pay for both projects salaries ranged between 7 and 15JD per day, depending on the job employed for. Finlayson believes his pay is good, but not compared to a salaried job. He has experienced difficulty hiring during busy times for agriculture. These sums are also less than those paid for a day's work in tourism.

The quantity of economic impact from the archaeological excavations in Feynan is considerable. Levy (Interview A6) estimated that the current annual budget of the project was US\$100,000, of which 70-80% was spent within Jordan, and of that 80-90% in the local Feynan area on salaries and supplies. The camp cook confirmed that the project suffered from similar procurement issues to the Ecolodge. The project uses two local shops for groceries but must get fruit and vegetables from outside the local area, typically spending approximately 150JD on a week's supply. The camp cook estimated that food for the project cost on average 40-50JD a day, meaning at around half is being spent outside the immediate area.

The British teams have stayed at the Ecolodge in past years, and so spending on local supplies and accommodation would have followed the same paths as identified for tourism spend. Bill Finlayson supplied me with basic accounts for his 2009 and two 2010 seasons. In 2009, a total budget of £84,659 was spent, of which £18,582 was spent on 'Bedouin wages', while approximately another £1300 was spent on local supplies such as car fuel and phone cards. The accommodation at the Ecolodge cost the project just under £34,000, meaning a total local spend of around £54,000. In 2010, a comparable season spent £85,216, with £35,000 spent on accommodation and subsistence in Wadi Feynan, and £7,680 spent on local workmen. A smaller season in October 2010 (during my first research season) had a budget of £11,778, where £1795 was spent on local accommodation, £3010 on local staff, and £887 on food,

representing a minimum local spend of over 50% of the budget. To all these totals should be added the casual spending of members of the archaeological teams.

As with the Ecolodge, some Quarayqira shopkeepers felt little impact from the archaeological projects. Shopkeeper LP72 benefited most, supplying all the food for Levy's projects (apart from vegetables) in 2011. As with tourists, archaeological team members would stop at his shop, due to its positioning on the main street, which although not a significant amount was a 'bonus'. Other shopkeepers (LP15, 17 and 31) as well as the local mechanic (LP16) reported little or no business from archaeologists, while LP15 and LP17 directly complained that archaeological teams tend to bring in supplies and cars from outside so that local impact is minimal, and that archaeologists should spread the business around more.

The local archaeology also provides economic impact through guards hired for the site. The manager of the guards confirmed there were five guards paid for by the DoA (the number has reduced from eight over the last few years), all of which are Rashaydah (Interview LTC8). Other local people complained about the Rashaydah monopoly over this employment (LTC10). The CBRL pay one Rashaydah to guard near WF16, and he received 80JD a month which is not his main source of income (LP41).

The economic capital of the archaeology of Feynan is expressed more through archaeological projects than through tourism at present. Although it can vary the archaeological teams hire large numbers of local people, usually spread out between communities of the area. The local spend of overall budgets are high, and with salaries making up the majority of impact. However, the presence of archaeological projects can be unpredictable, reliant on continued funding, as well as highly seasonal. Beyond the guards, work is informal and can be difficult to access for some unskilled people. The recent dispute over work highlights the importance of the excavations as an economic asset, and the close connections between economic capital and social relations.

Local Community Perspectives on Archaeology

The above outlines the sources and distribution of the economic capital of the archaeology of Feynan. The next stage is to understand in more detail how this economic capital interacts with other capitals and with local value for the archaeology. This is completed through a

survey of the local population to understand their perceptions of tourism, archaeology and archaeologists.

Local Population (LP) Survey

As described in Chapter 10, these interviews were semi-structured covering three main areas of tourism, archaeology and archaeologists. Appendix 8 gives more detail of the interview structure and the subsequent coding and presentation of data in Appendix 10 which is presented in a table format, with summarised comments.

Appendix 9 gives the notes of each interview (labelled LP1-74). None of the interviews were audio recorded as it was advised that this would restrict what the local people would say and make it seem 'official'. This was especially true for people sharing opinions of stakeholders such as the archaeologists, Ecolodge and RSCN. All interviews were carried out with the aid of a local translator. Three translators were used, which enabled access to different local populations due to some mistrust between tribes. Notes on interviews were taken at the time, which present the information given by the translators. Translators sometimes used the second person to describe what was being said, and sometimes used the first person for direct translation. The notes will often paraphrase opinions of the interviewees but all efforts are made to faithfully reproduce their original meaning. The 'quotes' below are excerpts from those field notes, referenced accordingly to Appendix 9. As there is a risk that individual opinions may affect employment opportunities for local people, the interviews are anonymised except where interviewees are notable local political figures.

The interviews did not all follow the same order, as themes considered naturally overlap and conversations took their own path. Different interviewees were keen to discuss different aspects and the time available of each interview varied, so not all respondents provided information in each theme. The majority of interviewees were individuals, however some people were interviewed as part of small groups (LP6-10 and LP26-30 notably). In the case of groups, each individual is recorded and assigned any individual opinion they expressed. Only when each member of the group agreed with any opinion is that applied to the whole group. Due to the semi-structured nature of the data and the relatively small sample size, statistical correlations are not calculated, however, where relevant, trends between factors are noted and given.

To be representative of the local area, interviews were conducted in a variety of locations and with individuals from a variety of tribes. 74 interviews were completed in this sample. 30 interviewees were 'Azazma, 13 Rashaydah, 13 'Ammarin, seven Sa'idiyyan, three from other tribes, while in eight cases tribal affiliation was not established (shown in Figure 19). Figure 20 gives the details of where the interviews took place and residence of interviewees, while Figure 21 gives the locations of each area referred to.

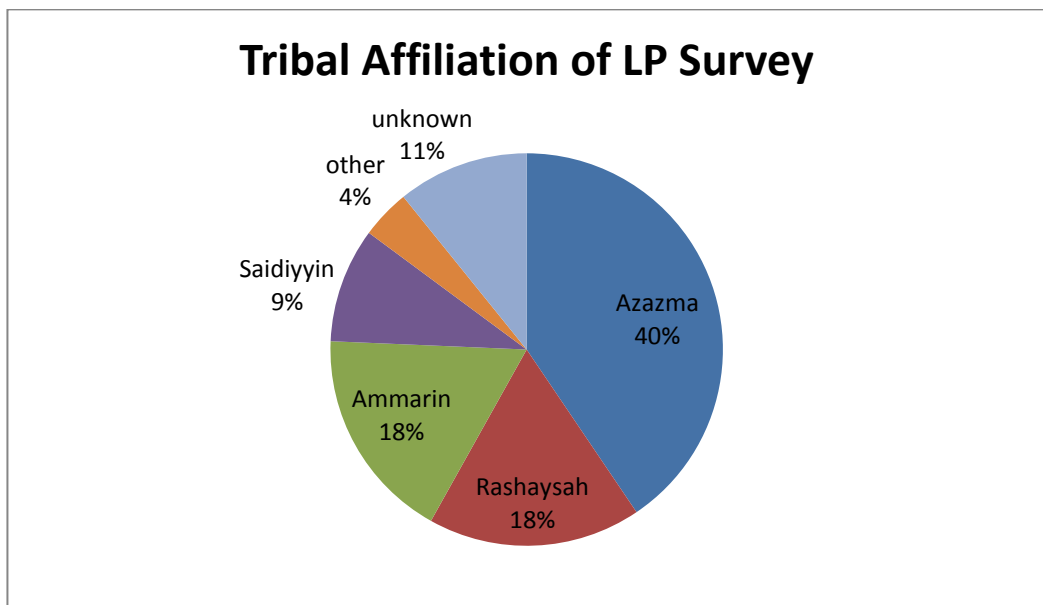


Figure 19: Tribal Affiliation of LP Survey (n=74)

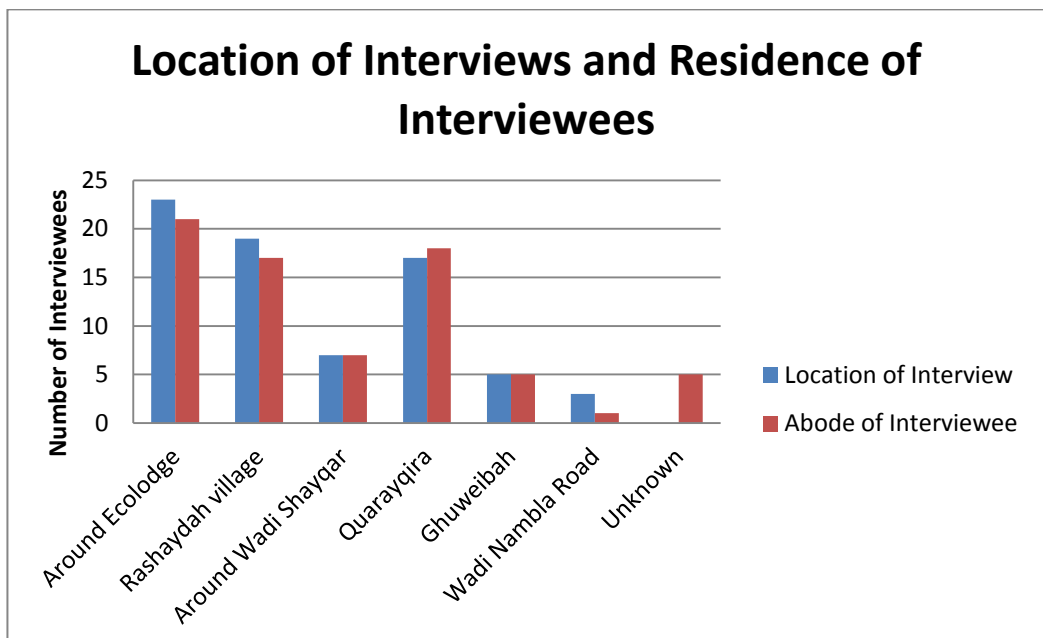


Figure 20: Location of Interviews and Residence of Interviewee for LP Survey (n=74)

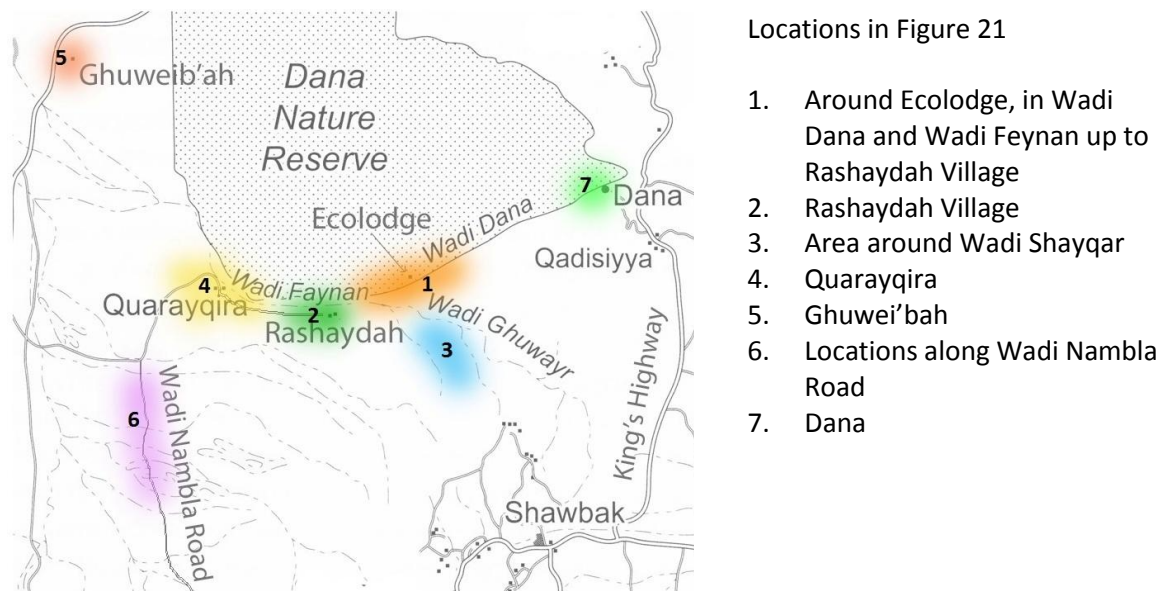


Figure 21: Geographical Areas Used for Interviews

Only seven females are present in the sample, six of whom worked in the RSCN craft project (LP47-52), and one was a local student (LP58). This was due to social conventions limited opportunities to talk to females and could not be avoided. Sampling for the interviews focused on ensuring a variety of respondents geographically and tribally. Interviewees were usually approached in their homes at different times of the day with the translator, as well as taking advantage of chance encounters. As a result the sample may be biased towards those who were around to be interviewed i.e. not in regular employment which would take them out of the local area.

In addition to the LP sample, two additional local groups were interviewed: Four interviews were carried out with members of the local Dana community (Appendix 7, interviews D1-4) for additional information and comparison to the Feynan area. Ten interviews were also carried out with employees of the Feynan Ecolodge (Appendix 6, interviews EL1-10). The Ecolodge interviews are not included in the primary local population sample for two reasons. Firstly, these interviews, although following the same broad themes, were unstructured and carried out in English directly, so not under the same conditions of the other interviews. Secondly, these interviewees can be considered 'inside' the ICDP process and are directly impacted by it, and its philosophy. As such, they do not represent the 'background' population. However, they can be considered as additional to this information and allow for a comparison with the directly collected data. It should be noted however that the LP survey included eight people employed by the RSCN in some form, including seven attached to the Ecolodge craft project (LP1, 47-52), one who works in housekeeping for the lodge (LP57), and an RSCN ranger (LP59).

Local Perceptions of Tourism

The local opinion of tourism in the area was overwhelmingly positive. Out of 53 comments, 46 people responded positively (either good or no problems), seven had neutral opinions (expressing both positive and negative aspects), while there were no wholly negative comments. Respondents emphasised the opportunity to extend Bedouin hospitality (LP2), share cultural customs with outsiders (LP6-10), and the economic importance of tourism for the community (LP49, 60, 62). Equally out of 39 responses, only one person (LP14) did not wholly welcome more tourism as he perceived he got no personal benefit.

For those that were neutral to tourism, complaints chiefly concerned access to opportunities from it. In particular a lack of income from tourism in Quarayqira (as reflected above) was a concern (LP11, LP15, LP16, LP18), although all these people still welcomed tourism. As one respondent, LP15, put it:

'Only a few people work in tourism in Quarayqira, most do not. .. No justice for who works with tourists. Some places have archaeological sites which tourists visit while other places do not. Would like it that all the people in the area benefit equally and that tourism is spread out a bit. But tourists still welcome even if he doesn't make money' (p.503)

Only one direct complaint was received about some inappropriate behaviour of tourists (LP3). The Ecolodge staff were more concerned about the cultural impacts of tourism. EL5, 7 and 8 all expressed concerns about social and cultural changes that tourism might bring, although EL9 believed that Bedouin tradition was strong enough to resist such changes. When interviewees were asked what could be improved with regard to tourism, responses chiefly revolved around the need for more tourism development and publicity. Several people mentioned the need for signs in the area and for promotion in the media (LP11, 18, 21, 22, 31, 35, 46, 74), while two people hoped the area would become as famous as Petra (LP16, 19). Many felt that more projects, such as camps and the development of archaeological sites, was required (LP11, 18, 20, 31) particularly to diversify the economies of Quarayqira (LP6-10, LP11) and Ghuwei'bah (LP26-30), while others noted that the current opportunities through the Ecolodge (LP35) and the transfers (LP60) were limited. The Sheikh of the 'Ammarin tribe, based in Quarayqira, summed up some of the feelings:

'He would like to make development for his area and to have progress - would like to make camps for tourists to archaeology and nature to make a lot of local jobs. People in Quarayqira now work in agriculture and the government so would like to add another side and industry to Quarayqira with tourism.... He would like support from government and archaeologists to make sites famous by things like signs or websites. If nobody knows, nobody will come.' (LP11, p.500)

An important point made by some was the lack of local skills to start initiatives themselves. LP20 would like to make a tourist camp but admittedly that he did not have the skills or speak English, while LP41, LP74 (both prominent members of the Rashaydah community) and LP15 all requested training in tourism skills and recognised the need for experience in these areas. One of the local Rashaydah tour operators explained that contact between the local community and tourists is kept to a minimum as the majority do not have the necessary tourism or language skills (Interview LTC7).

Aside from the Ecolodge staff interviewed, 14 people (out of 63 respondents, including those mentioned above) reported that they, or a family member, worked or had worked with the RSCN or the Ecolodge. 18 people have worked with tourism in some other way, mainly as informal guides, with the Rashaydah camps, or doing the transfers. The remaining 31 people (49% of the sample) have never worked in tourism, and included some students. Only those connected to the RSCN reported that their tourism income was significant to them (LP1, 2, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57), although this was not universal in this group. As a result the interviews confirm that only the Ecolodge offers steady and reliable income in the local area from tourism. One interviewee (LP40) reported that 2011 had been a bad year for tourism, and that tourism was very important to the local economy and so this lack of business made a big difference.

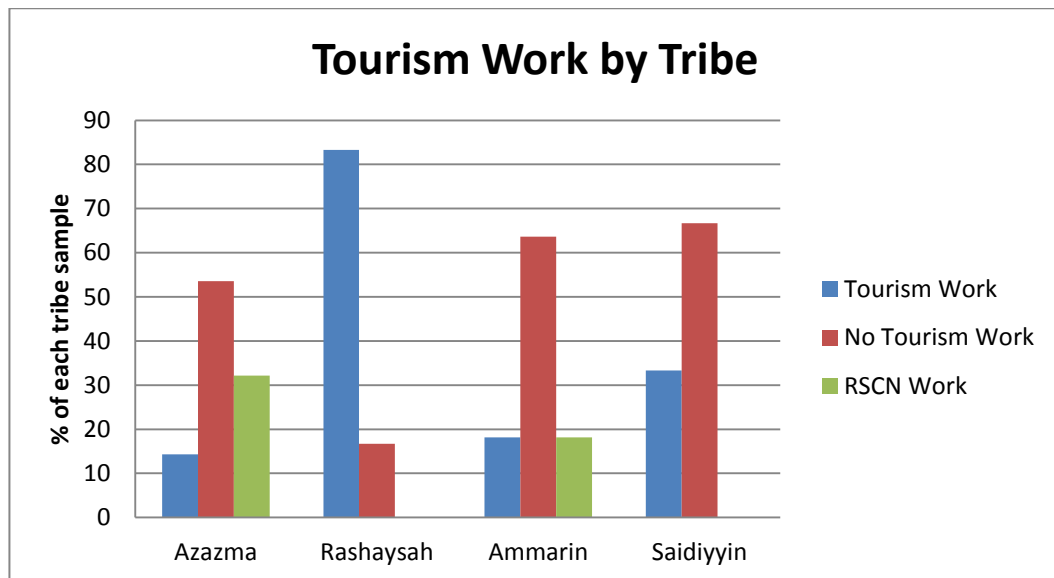


Figure 22: Tourism work by tribe (as percentage of the sample of each tribe n=63)

Figure 22 presents the tourism work data by tribe. It confirms some of the patterns identified above. RSCN employment (outside of the EL sample) favours the 'Azazma and 'Ammarin with no Rashaydah, or their families employed. However conversely a high proportion of Rashaydah work with tourism in some way while access to this sort of work amongst the 'Azazma is lower. Over 50% of 'Azazma, 'Ammarin and Sa'idiyyan have never worked in tourism (the later tribes probably due to the lack of tourism in Quarayqira). This reflects the fact that while Ecolodge employment is discrete, tourism employment in general is more spread out, with many doing small informal work.

28 people expressed views on the Ecolodge. Of these 19 were positive, of which four had employment connections. The positive comments are split equally amongst the tribes (nine 'Azazma, five Rashaydah, three Sa'idiyyan and two others), and in fact the Rashaydah are slightly overrepresented in giving positive comments, although the sample is too small to draw firm conclusions. Two further interviewees described the relationship as 'half and half' (LP38, 41– both Rashaydah), with one commenting that Nabil Tarazi was a businessman only interested in himself. LP21 and LP31, both Quarayqira residents, felt that the Ecolodge brought no benefit to the town. Four Rashaydah (LP25, 37, 45, 74) complain about the recent problems surrounding the transfer price, and about the RSCN policies in taking land, the lack of jobs and favouring the 'Azazma or certain families for employment. One 'Azazma student (LP63) noted that as the Ecolodge control tourism opportunities in the area her own opportunities to start a tourist camp would be limited.

Local Perceptions of Archaeology

66 people responded to the question asking if they thought archaeology was important, of which 60 (91%) said it was. Two people commented it was not important (discussed below). Four responses were classed as 'neutral' (no opinion or both good and bad points).

People could express multiple reasons why the archaeology was considered important to them. The resulting reasons given could be divided into three broad themes (the coding includes all positive answers and two neutral answers (LP14, 52)). The first, and most popular (with 41 giving this reason) was for economic reasons. People who gave 'tourism' as a reason were considered a sub-set of this category as no-one explicitly separated them. The other broad categories were 'knowledge/history' and 'prestige/fame'. Figure 23 shows the percentages of interviewees who gave each reason for value (along with 'other').

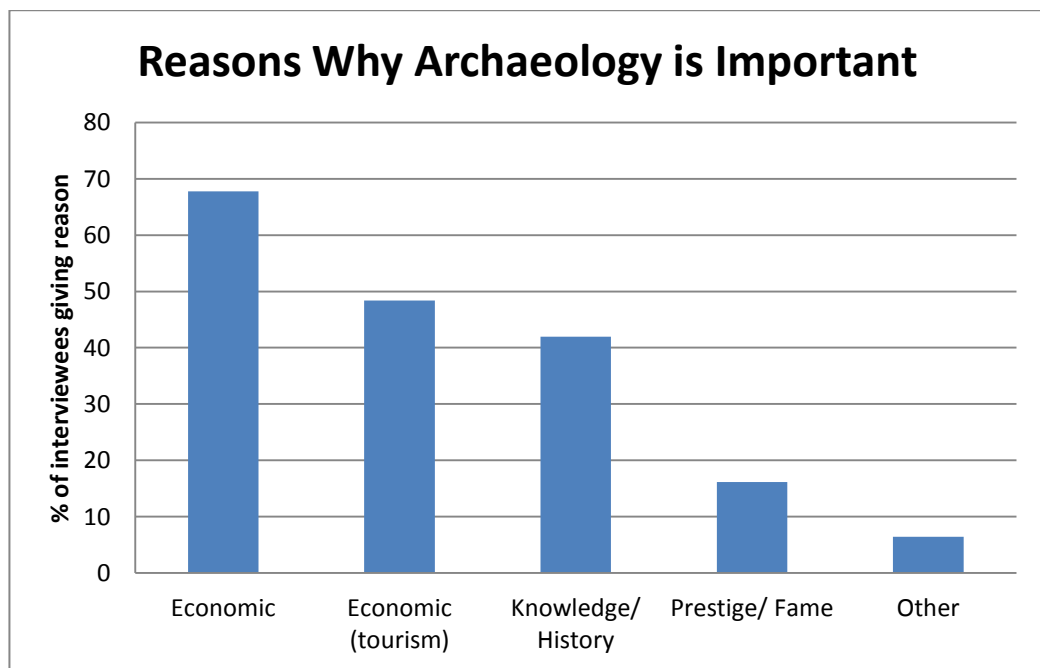


Figure 23: Reasons Why Archaeology is Important (as % of sample n=62)

Economic reasons to value the archaeology included employment in archaeological projects and tourism. 30 (out of 41) directly related economic importance to tourism in some way. For some the offer of work dictated if archaeology had value:

'Before work with archaeologists the archaeology is 'nothing' for him. (LP5: p.498)

'for me (the archaeology is) not important, important for those who work in archaeology and get benefit from archaeology. I have my goats and my job, so no benefit to me.' (LP69: p.544)

The second main reason reported was its contribution to history or knowledge in some way, with 26 mentioning this. The following expresses some of the sentiment:

'(personally) it means history. He can understand what the culture and history is before - he can know it by archaeologists and archaeological places' (LP73: p.548)

For LP21 and a community leader in Dana (D1) the absence or presence of knowledge about the archaeology drove value.

'(archaeology is) not important for people as do not know about it. Without the knowledge it is not important.' (LP21: p.510)

'if you know the story (of the archaeology) then you will recognise and respect'
(Interview D1: p.486)

Of the 26 people mentioning knowledge/history, 15 also mentioned economic reasons (with 10 of those mentioning tourism). The third reason was one of prestige or fame for the area. 10 people mentioned this (although five are from the area of Ghuwei'bah) and nine of these also mention economic and tourism reasons. It seems that for these respondents the archaeology could be a way for the area to gain greater prominence and attention, including from the government and foreign archaeologists. The categories are therefore very often not exclusive but reasons often complement each other as these opinions show:

'(The archaeology is important) from economic side helping people work with archaeologists and also helping with history. Nobody knows about the archaeology before as no-one discovers it, now we have many sites for many archaeologists... Famous universities are coming here and making archaeological sites.' (LP41: p.526)

'If we take more about archaeological places and protect them and look to history it will provide visitors to the area and make visit so a good thing for community' (LP61: p.539)

'Two reasons (why archaeology is important): 1. It is the country's history and 2. That maybe tourists will visit and provide jobs for local people.' (LP74: p.549)

'Before no-one knows about history of area, now discover something very good for us and history..... In the south Feynan is the 2nd most important archaeological area after Petra. We hope that Feynan have big sign from archaeologists and government and other organisations that care about site because maybe make something good for region and community' (LP70: p.545-546)

Two further people (in 'other') mentioned that the archaeology was important for attracting the practical benefits archaeologists offered including free transport (LP12, 31).

The reasons for value which people expressed can be compared to other factors. Figure 24 shows the reasons for value only amongst those who work with tourism. There are increases in the percentage of people giving economic reasons, especially related to tourism, while knowledge/history is stable and prestige/fame falls slightly. The sample is too small to draw firm conclusions but it hints that people relate tourism employment to the archaeology and therefore value the archaeology.

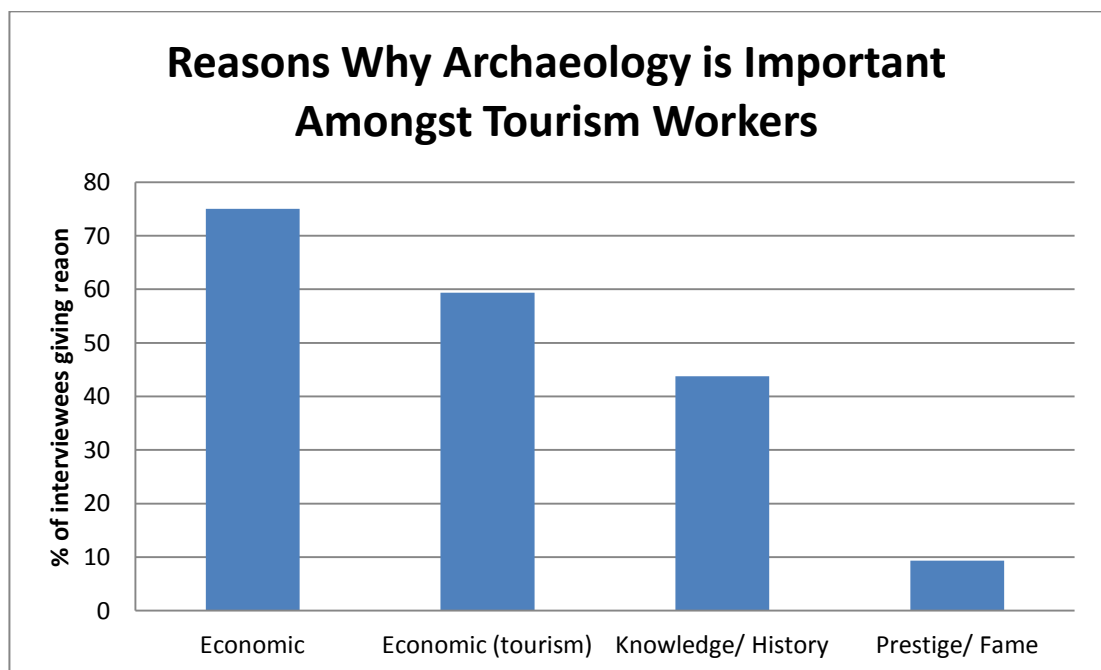


Figure 24: Reasons Why Archaeology is Important (as % of sample) amongst Tourism Workers (n=32)

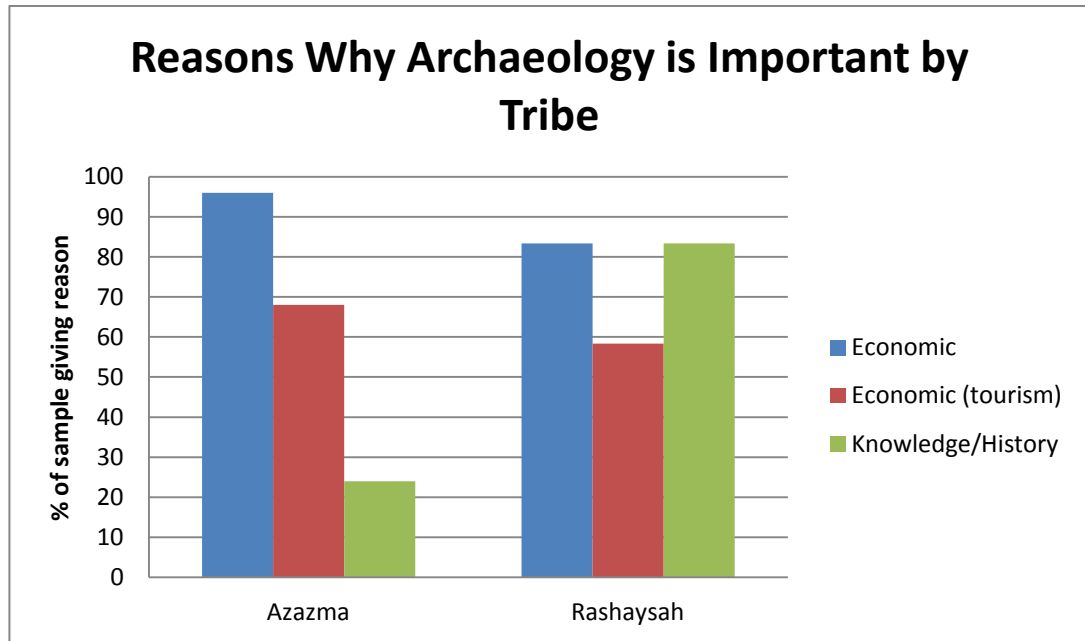


Figure 25: Reasons why archaeology is important in the 'Azazma (n=25) and Rashaydah (n=12) tribes (% of sample)

The Rashaydah and 'Azazma tribes can also be compared (Figure 25) (other tribes are not included due to small sample sizes). Although broadly similar, the data shows that the 'Azazma slightly favour economic reasons (nearly all 'Azazma give this reason), perhaps due to their attachment to the Ecolodge. However the Rashaydah mention knowledge and history much more (although it must be remembered the sample is quite small).

The research found very little personal or community connection with the archaeology i.e. it is not associated with ancestors or personal history. The importance of historical knowledge was in a general sense that it was good to know and interesting, not 'their' history in particular. There seems little connection between the archaeological past and community identity, perhaps a reflection of shifting land claims and recent migration into and settlement in the area. Only one oral history was found connected to the sites, a story about the disagreement between a community at Khirbit Feynan and a contemporary group in the Wadi 'Arabah (LTC9).

The importance people ascribe to the knowledge of history is not matched by actual levels of knowledge in the local community. 62 people responded to the question of how much they knew about the archaeological sites. These responses were ascribed to three levels. 'Good knowledge' are people who knew about multiple sites, including details about age and

something about the lives of ancient people. ‘Some knowledge’ was ascribed to people who said they have, or appeared to have, some basic facts, like the location of sites, or perhaps the age of one of two, but knew nothing about the people from the past. The last group have no knowledge of the archaeology. This group were largely self-determined, although during the interviews additional questions were asked to see if in fact, they did know something.

Only six people (10%) had ‘good knowledge’ (not including the Ecolodge guides who have had dedicated training). 32 people (52%) had ‘some knowledge’, while 24 people (39%) had no knowledge. As a result only very few people have knowledge of the local archaeology beyond understanding where some sites are and perhaps being able to name a time period they are associated with. This lack of knowledge is a factor in the discussions about archaeological work and perceptions of archaeologists below. All but one of the people (84%) with ‘good knowledge’ gave knowledge/history as a reason why archaeology is important, while only 35% of those with some knowledge and 25% of those with no knowledge gave this reason compared to an average of just over 40% across the whole sample. This does suggest that actually having more knowledge does make people value the archaeology more for its ‘intellectual capital’.

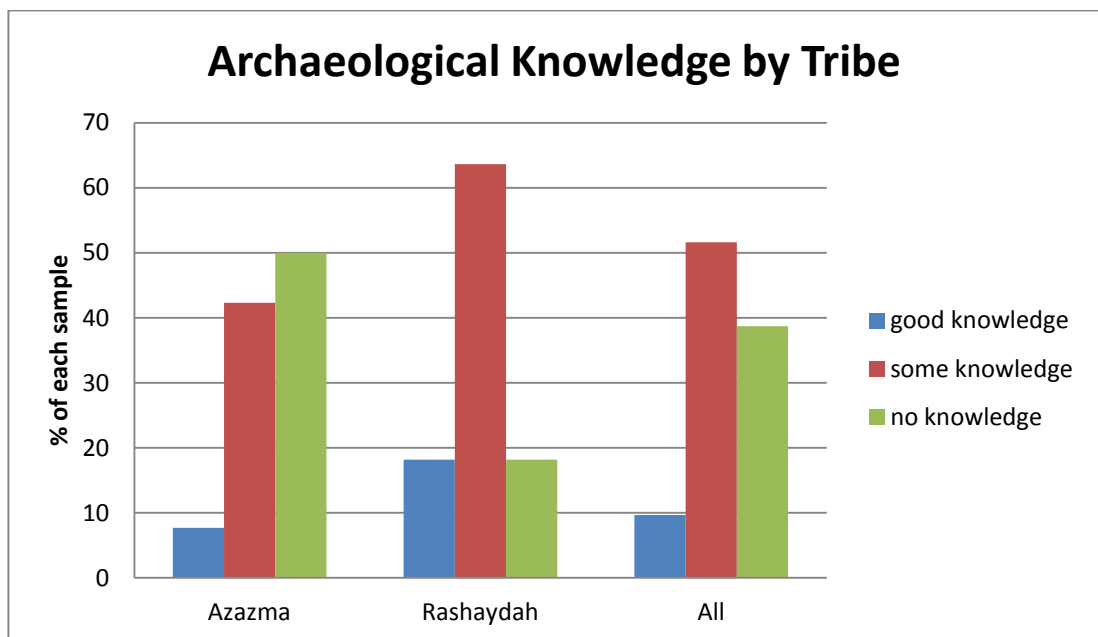


Figure 26: Archaeological Knowledge by Tribe (‘Azazma n=26, Rashaydah n=11, All n=62)

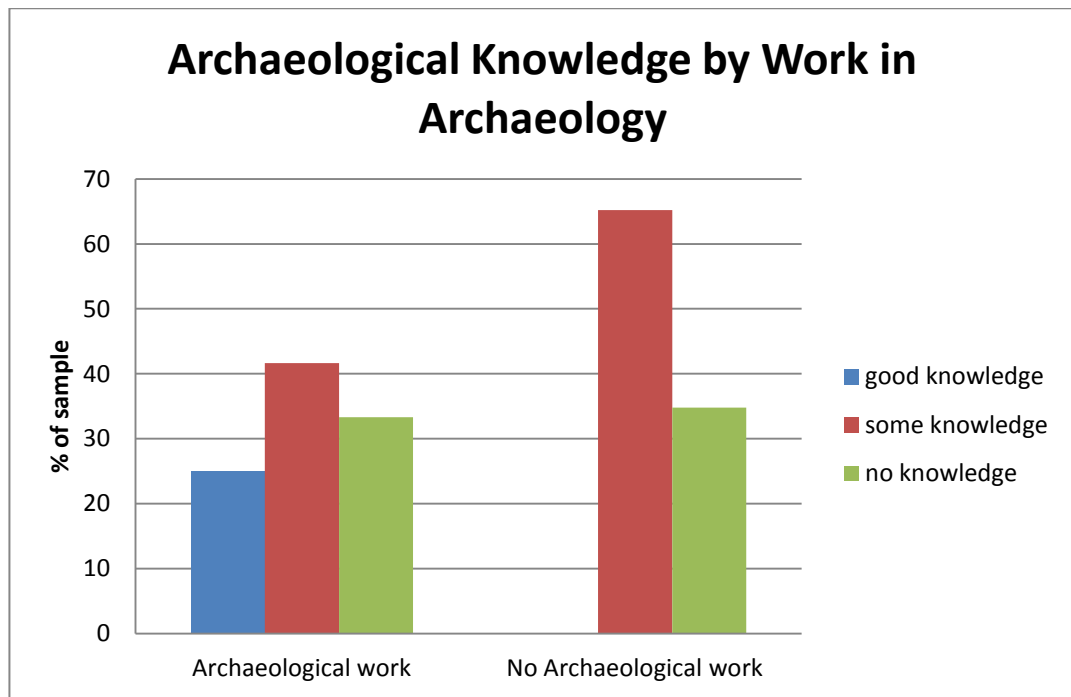


Figure 27: Knowledge by Involvement in Archaeological Work (Archaeological work n=24, No Archaeological work n=23)

Figure 26 compares knowledge between the 'Azazma and Rashaydah and with the overall result. While good knowledge is seen in both tribes the Rashaydah had fewer people with no knowledge and more with some knowledge than the 'Azazma. Figure 27 compares those who have worked with archaeology and those who have not. It shows that all of those with good knowledge have worked with archaeologists, showing this is the only source of good information (or those with knowledge are favoured for work). However archaeological work does not create fewer people with 'no knowledge', suggesting the Rashaydah's better score here may not be to do with their involvement in archaeological projects (see below). Further discussions of archaeological teams' role in knowledge are below.

Out of 39 people, 32 were interested to learn more about the archaeology. Two were neutral, with one noting that they were not able to read or write to take such information. Five people did not want to learn more, with some questioning the benefit of such information:

'it's important to feed my family, not to go look for archaeological place - what benefit for me to learn?' (LP69, p.544)

The local community interacted with the archaeological sites in various ways. Eight (of 36) people reported they went with tourists, 14 in activities with their animals, and four just in

general pass by the sites. Three people said they took friends or guests to see the sites. However nine others said they specifically went to see what the archaeologists do (LP16, 17, 22, 25, 29, 30, 39, 46, 59), while five said they go out of interest (LP40, 43, 44, 45, 52). However, seven people said that while they go, they do not understand what they see (LP15, 17, 20, 25, 29, 30, 52):

'Sometimes he takes his family and guests to the sites and has lunch or picnic there. Is able to give them simple information but no more so wishes he had more information, like from books.' (LP15: p.504)

'Yes, sometimes he will go to a new site and see what archaeologists have done but doesn't know or understand what he is seeing.' (LP17, p.505)

The 23 responses to a question on if the archaeological sites should be protected reflect some of the concerns above. Many asked for more guards to protect the sites (12 comments). Some related this to keeping the sites for tourism (LP4, 19, 22, 36, 38, 61), while others for local history (LP38) and for future generations (LP15). The threat to sites was mentioned to come from looting (LP2, 22) and from goats (LP34).

Local perception of archaeologists

When asked directly the vast majority of people were positive about archaeologists (41 of 46 responses, 89%). People cited their ability to bring work, and the good relationship between them and the local community. Only one person was outwardly negative (LP14), complaining about lack of access to work.

47 people responded to the question on whether they had worked with archaeologists before, of which 29 had (62%). Of these, 19 had worked for British teams of some sort, 13 for Tom Levy and 12 for other archaeologists. Many people have worked for multiple teams over many years. The work people carried out was a mixture of working on site, driving, working with floatation, working in camp or acting as guides or guards. Most reported the work to be good, with good money, although some complained that pay was not as good as for tourism or agriculture, or that it had stayed the same for many years (LP35, 36). As with tourism, the work is informal however two people nevertheless described the income received as 'important' (LP43, 54).

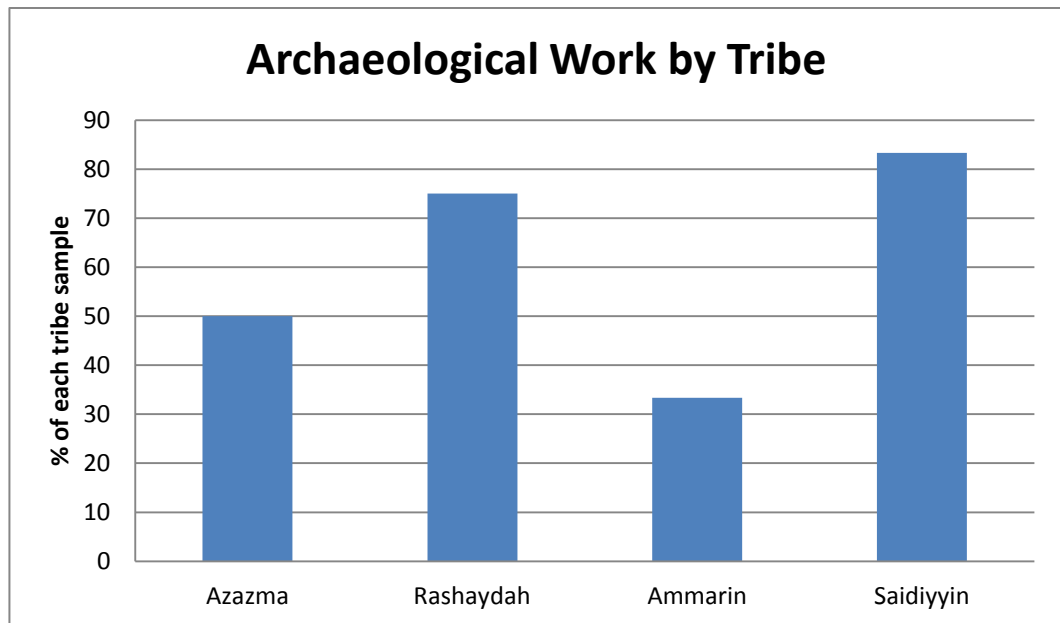


Figure 28: Archaeological Work by Tribe (n=47)

The spread of work by tribe (Figure 28) shows that the Rashaydah have an above-average involvement in archaeological work. The Sa'idiyyan also show an above average involvement in work, but the sample here is very small (only 6 people).

Beyond grumbles about pay, there were two chief complaints about the nature of work: its temporary nature, and access to opportunities. Both LP38 and LP39 complained that the archaeologists only offer work for one or two months, which was not enough to rely on. The group in Ghuwei'bah complained that very few people from that area were employed by archaeologists. Six others (LP14, 15, 21, 33, 54, 60) complained that there was no justice with who received work, and that the same people would be regularly re-hired, creating few opportunities for others. These complaints of course may have been exacerbated by the issues surrounding the distribution of work that year as discussed above.

Respondents were also questioned about what they learnt through working with the archaeologists. 18 comments were received about this, but only one was positive in terms of the information he was given about the site and the people who lived there (LP35). Several people recounted particular things they had found as part of projects, such as some ruins, skulls in graves (LP22, 32) or about the age of the particular site they worked on (LP10, LP25). Some of the workers commented that when excavating graves they would dig the first layers and then be sent away while archaeologists excavated the rest (LP2, 25). Overall people

commented that they only learnt a few individual facts, or learnt the practical skills to complete their job:

'Knew nothing about results of the dig and nothing about people who would have lived there. Knew 'only what he find'.' (LP5: p.499)

55 responses were received to how archaeologists might improve. These coalesced around several themes already seen above – the need for information, site development and protection, promotion of the area, and increased co-operation with other stakeholders.

Many people asked for longer work, or more work (17 people, 31%), while seven people requested that work be spread equally between the tribes of the area (13%), while one asked for more work for women (LP63). Two people asked for more guards (LP11, 19), one to help the local community more (LP14), one for increased local co-operation (LP44) and one person was concerned about the environmental damage archaeologists do (LP58). The perception of archaeologists' role in tourism was pronounced with eight people (15%) requesting archaeologists do more to develop the sites, like make signs and promote the area in media to make the area more famous. In addition three mentioned finishing the museum (LP18, 35, 70), while three people also mentioned the need to keep what was found at the sites in the local community (LP11, 18). 13 people (24%) asked the archaeologists to provide more information. This information took many forms, including about the sites and for background to their work and strategy. The following demonstrates some of the feeling:

'There are more sites but no co-operation between archaeology and Ministry of Tourism. How are tourists supposed to know to come if there are no signs, there is nothing. Need support from government to help people discover area. Maybe one other village in Jordan has one famous site and gets lots of money and tourists while Feynan has a lot but not famous so no-one comes. Would like to see Ministry come in and do something with the sites.' (LP16: p.505)

'Museum built five years ago and nothing has happened and they would like to see this finished and open. Would like to see what archaeologists find put in the museum. Good for tourists to come and see history and the area and then more visitors come to give jobs.' (LP18: p.507)

'Need more sites for archaeologists as archaeologists 'make development'....Would like new sites for the archaeologists so that they can come and create sites for tourism.' (LP74: p.550)

'He wants archaeologists to protect sites after they leave and wants museum to put what they find from the sites.' (LP46: p.529)

'Would prefer better communication and work with all tribes. Would like better communication of the strategy of the work rather than information about what they find out. Better communication of the plan. Would like more research and work to discover more things hidden in the ground. Create new jobs and bring tourists. Good for community and good for country through taxes and things like this.' (LP53: p.534)

One of the strongest criticisms offered was about what happens to sites after the archaeologists leave. Eleven people (20%) mentioned that they felt archaeologists desert site, or simply abandon them when they have finished their own work, without an interest in what happened to the sites afterwards.

'One thing to discover them and then leave them to sleep rather than make tourists come and make money for the community. Archaeologists can take the knowledge and we don't know what happened. As a student I should know about my area... Some people pay money to see things which come from this area but the local people do not know about it. Archaeologists come for one season and then go, but who is responsible for the archaeology? There are many archaeological places which no-one works on and should be someone from the local community to work with archaeological team. If someone does research from community then the community will look after things better than if everything is new for him.' (LP63: p. 540)

'The archaeologists must protect sites and say 'this is for you'. Archaeologists leave but the sites are for you and maybe tourists come and create work for you.' (LP36: p.521)

'Is angry that the archaeologists don't and didn't help the local community here..... They just come to work and then leave site. Some archaeologists come and work many years but then they never see them again. Archaeologists 'only feed themselves' not other people... Only take what they need and don't care what happens to the things afterwards. They don't come back and they do not care about the sites'. (LP14: p.502)

'Some archaeologists just come for excavation to find out things just for himself and leave the site without helping local people. Archaeologists only have 'one target', which is the information they want and don't help local people. Archaeologists didn't give local population any information at all - how the ancient people eat and dress and what they grow. Just take from site what they need and then leave site open for thieves without protection. Archaeologists who are here, just work for themselves, never give locals information, no benefits....Researchers who come here should know that there are human beings here i.e. don't be interest just in the ancient past but also the people who live here now.' (LP21: p.510)

However, while there are many grievances, it should be remembered that reactions to archaeologists in general was overwhelmingly positive and work with them strongly valued. The majority of requests reflect on what archaeologists to the area could possibly do, rather than have done. The context of, and ability of archaeologists, to meet any grievances is discussed below.

The LP survey demonstrates that the archaeology of Feynan is highly valued and that the economic capital of archaeology provides the strongest reason for its value amongst local people. Tourism contributes a major part of this 'value', despite the fact the tourism survey showed that archaeology does not actually generate tourism benefits. Archaeology as a source of knowledge of history, as well as an asset to promote the area also contributes to value. These areas of capital have distinct interrelationships. That the archaeology can attract foreign tourists and archaeologists is associated with economic benefits and local prestige. Archaeologists are both the source of economic benefits and the only source of good knowledge about archaeology, which potentially has a link with value. Knowledge of the archaeology amongst the local community is shallow, paralleling the lack of knowledge in tourists. Archaeologists are well-liked and are seen as one of the principal stakeholders who

may be able to transform the archaeological sites into usable, and valuable assets. They face criticism where they are deemed to not be fulfilling their obligations in this regard.

Public Archaeology

The academic importance of the archaeological sites set out in Chapter 10 is not matched by public knowledge. There have been efforts by archaeologists to disseminate knowledge about the area. While based at the Ecolodge, Finlayson (Interview A2) would produce reports on the research and leave them in reception for guests. They would receive many visitors to the sites, from both the Ecolodge and walkers, as well as give lectures to guests. British research in the area was also responsible for information boards in the Ecolodge. However these are now very out of date and largely ignored by guests. During 2011 the CBRL organised a training weekend for Ecolodge staff, which was the first time formal detailed information had been taught. This was very positively received (Interviews LTC6, EL7), although it did serve to highlight the general lack of knowledge, even amongst RSCN staff. Tom Levy (Interview A6) and Bill Finlayson (Interview A2) both make efforts that the Ecolodge and RSCN in Dana would receive copies of publications associated with their research. However only one book was available in each of the RSCN lodges, one a photocopy. Even given this presence the publications are in highly academic language and so of limited accessibility to tourists (who already have to be in the area to read them) and almost impossible to read by local people. EL6, who studied archaeology and tourism at university in Jordan stated that they were not taught anything about the Feynan area beyond a bit on copper mining, as information on it did not appear in textbooks, and so they could not quote archaeologists.

Local schools also confirmed the limited dissemination of information. Interviews were carried out with the headteachers of the schools in the Rashaydah village (LP70) and in the Wadi Dana (LP73) (near the Ecolodge), as well as a teacher in the Rashaydah school (LP45). Both schools teach ages 6 to 14 years old, with approximately 50-70 students in total in each school. The headteacher of the Rashaydah school stated that students were taught some local history, but information only came from local community members rather than from the archaeologists. The teacher in this school took older students to some of the sites on visits but could only tell them what he knew, which was little. The headteacher in Wadi Dana also had little information to pass on to his students, admitting that while he knew there were Roman and Byzantine remains, he did not know which of these came first chronologically. Local students of that school (LP61-63) confirmed that while they were taught about archaeology in general,

there was little information about the local sites. All three teachers requested information in the form of simple books or brochures to teach from, while two also requested site visits, although the headteacher in Wadi Dana noted that female students may not be able to go on these.

The headteacher in Wadi Dana also confirmed that a visit to the school by Tom Levy in 2011 was the first time archaeologists had visited that he was aware of. Bill Finlayson (Interview A2) could only remember one other previous occasion when archaeologists engaged with the local schools. Tom Levy visited the school during the 2011 season, displaying finds from the excavations, along with showing images of the sites on a laptop (Image 21). The visit garnered a lot of interest from the pupils and the school staff, as well as many questions. Levy also used the opportunity to ask children to tell their parents that they should oppose renewed mining in the area to protect the archaeology. While educational initiatives from local archaeologists have been limited, both Bill Finlayson and Tom Levy have attempted to initiate community-orientated tourism development plans, as discussed in Chapter 10. However, all the proposals so far have been in collaboration with other national stakeholders or with other archaeologists. The top-down nature of these initiatives has meant that the local population are largely unaware of the efforts, as they do not witness the development of the plans. Although Finlayson has carried out the reconstruction at WF16, some local people (LP14, LP35) complained that they, and others, had no idea what it was. The lack of local consultation (or rather opportunities for communication) could potentially mean that the projects could suffer the alienations and problems seen with similar Jordanian projects in Chapter 10, as well as seen in Dana. While there is no lack of enthusiasm from archaeologists to try and protect the archaeology and aid the local people, the progress of these initiatives, particularly with the museum, has also been severely hampered by the political context in which the archaeologists have had to operate, as will be discussed further below.



Image 21: Visit to Wadi Dana School, October 2011

The opinions of local people and the efforts at public archaeology by archaeologists in the area are put into perspective by the context of renewed mining and of the socio-economic position of the community. As noted in Chapter 10, many of the archaeologists' and RSCN's initiatives have been motivated by a desire to dissuade renewed mining in the area. Plans for renewed mining are currently vague, however there have been studies looking into the possibility and new access roads constructed (Interview A4). The Ecolodge manager thought that mining would re-appear in the near future (Interview LTC5). Attention appears to focus on an area south of the Dana reserve and it is unclear what the direct effect on the archaeology, or for tourism, would be. The LP survey found strong support for mining (29 out of 38 responses) including members of the RSCN craft project and one Ecolodge staff member (EL7). Some expressed concern at the environmental damage that could result from mining (LP13, 36, 59, 63) although most of these would welcome mining if safeguards were satisfactory. Six people were against mining, including two members of the RSCN craft project (LP 59, 61) and one

other (LP3) who considered tourism income more valuable than mining, also arguing that mining was only suitable for young workers while tourism was available to people of all ages. Interestingly two local students (LP61, 62) were against mining, one saying that tourism offered more continuous benefit, while the other suggested that archaeology was better than mining. A third student (LP63) summed up some of the feeling:

'If mining helps the community and make benefit it is a good thing but if it damage health and environment and after a short time leave we prefer tourism. We are the ones who are here, we pay the price but benefit goes elsewhere' (p. 540)

The support for mining of course stems from the development and employment opportunities offered. Many of the interviewees highlighted the low employment of the region and the need for opportunities in the area. Many people were also unemployed themselves and relied on government support, particularly those in the Wadi Shayqar area. As noted by some, the ability to learn about archaeology, or voluntarily become involved in it is partly led by its relevance to basic needs and benefit that it offers. At the end of interviews when I asked for any extra comments some simply said the priority was work above all else (LP38, 39).

The Political Context

The actions of the archaeologists should be understood within a larger political context. As outlined above, some of the archaeologists working at Feynan have been enthusiastic about developing initiatives which help protect the archaeology from threats and benefit local people. The NHT explicitly links these concepts. However, these efforts have been hampered by the structure of archaeological management in Jordan and the attitudes towards ICDP style initiatives within Jordan and globally.

Initiatives have been halted through the changes of leadership in the DoA. Projects such as the museum and World Heritage nomination have been encouraged and subsequently discouraged by successive DoA directors (Interviews NS2, NS8, A4). More generally the promotion of tourism to encourage conservation comes up against systemic difficulties in Jordanian heritage management. Some directors of the DoA have championed ICDP approaches (such as Interview NS3) while others have been less keen. Part of this is the tensions between the aims and approaches of the DoA and MoT (Interview A2, A4). A representative of the DoA (Interview NS5) acknowledged that the relationship between the

DoA and MoT sometimes contains conflict and described the DoA's role as principally protecting and conserving archaeology, which often involves trying to reduce tourism. As Finlayson describes, the MoTA is on one hand trying to create tourism, and on the other take it away (Interviews A2). A representative of SIYAHA (Interview NS1) gave three reasons why the use of archaeological sites for ICDPs had obstacles. The first is that there is lack of awareness amongst archaeologists of the economic importance of archaeology for tourism, the second is that all tourist revenue generated by sites is returned to central government so there is no incentive for archaeologists to develop tourism strategies to fund conservation, and third the lack of guidelines and their implementation (Interview NS2).

However attitudes and practices do seem to be changing. At the time of research the DoA and MoT were both developing guidelines to work better together and to have more effective site management, including a focus on local community involvement (Interview NS7). The acting Director of the DoA (Interview NS5) stressed the need for local people *'to touch the potential profits of the sites, they will protect it, because wherever you go the financial aspects are very important. If they see that they can benefit financially they will protect it, even fight for it'* (p. 403). It remains to see how effective the new guidelines will be.

More generally attitudes to local involvement and ICDP style approaches seem to be growing in Jordan. Despite a harsh assessment of archaeologists' awareness of economic opportunities in 2010, the representative of SIYAHA in 2011 concluded that mindsets were changing towards understanding economic benefits, seeing a steady change over the last few years (Interviews NS1, NS2). As noted, one of the recent DoA directors was a champion of ICDPs (Interview NS3). The DoA representative (Interview A5) of Levy's excavations had previously engaged in local communication and persuading foreign teams to follow culturally appropriate behaviour. While he still believes he is in the minority he acknowledges that attitudes are slowly changing.

The changing leadership and lack of close relationship between the DoA and MoT has caused a vacuum in organisational leadership of integrated archaeology and tourism development schemes. The RSCN has performed this 'bridging' role between conservation and ecotourism for environmental areas (as they have in Dana) but there is no equivalent for archaeology and heritage (Interview NS6). SIYAHA has acted in part as this bridge but are wary to take on further responsibility in this area due to the organisations impermanent nature (Interview NS2). The FoAH have recognised a need to fill this vacuum and have expressed a desire to do so (Interview NS6). The RSCN itself is very interested in the archaeology within its reserves but

lacks the mandate and skills to take on a more involved role in cultural heritage management (Interview NS8).

This lack of more centralised leadership is evident in Feynan. Other Jordanian projects discussed in Chapter 10 suffered from competing NGOs and in Feynan the Rashaydah successfully negotiated the spaces between competing organisations to obtain funding and permission for their camp (Interview NS8). Tourism development in Feynan has occurred in a haphazard way with little overall control by anyone, which creates ineffective situations which cost money to undo (such as the museum and the camp). This political context is further hampered locally by the lack of local representative political structures to engage with (a problem pointed out in Chapter 10 in other projects in Jordan), making local consultation which takes account of all local groups difficult to conduct.

However necessary political contexts are not just confined to Jordan. Foreign archaeologists working in Jordan need to enact good practice in local community and economic involvement, something which currently simply relies on individual inclination (Interview NS5). As noted earlier in this thesis, attitudes to public archaeology and ICDPs have been slow to develop and remain in the minority. Finlayson (Interview A2) described the persistent existence of 'academic pirates' who simply come for the information they require and leave. Finlayson is keen not follow this practice (despite some local criticism above as doing so), and is conscious of the need for local engagement and the creation of opportunities for benefit. Archaeologists who have worked in the area (Levy, Finlayson and Najjar) have shown a keen willingness to develop ICDP-style initiatives, and an acute awareness of the responsibilities towards local impact. Their efforts to preserve archaeology and create local benefits are hampered by local and national contexts as above, but also by the conditions of international archaeology. Finlayson and Levy (Interviews A2, A6) acknowledge that their funding requirements leave little time, money and energy for public archaeology, as they receive no direct funding for this. Their ability to return to the area over the long-term depends on funding which is largely academically orientated, while efforts to attract funds for public archaeology initiatives have been attempted but not successful.

Conclusion

This case study has attempted to explore the economic capital of the archaeology of Feynan, how it interacts with other capital, and how it contributes to value. The tourism survey

established that the economic capital of the archaeology operates mainly through archaeological projects. The archaeology plays a very minimal role in attracting visitors to the area, nor in increasing their economic impact on the area. That the archaeological excavations themselves have significant economic capital is demonstrated by the competition over excavation jobs, and the local budgets of the excavations themselves. The management of economic capital of the projects (and the archaeology) has significant social impacts on the local community, causing strains and tensions which may exist long after archaeologists depart.

The presence of the archaeological teams also lends an element of prestige to the area, and surveys of the local community showed that the archaeology was in part considered important as an asset to make the area more well-known and attract attention and development. However the archaeology was most significantly valued for its economic benefits, most often seen as coming from tourism, within a context of local socio-economic difficulty. This is at odds with the actual reason why tourists visit the area. However alongside economic capital, cultural capital is an important source of value with the archaeology widely perceived as important as a source of historical knowledge. As noted above there is very little social capital in the sense that the archaeology is not a source of tribal or group identity, however the archaeology is seen as a potential source of local prestige and fame. It could be argued that the archaeology has negative social impacts, with its economic capital acted to exacerbate tribal tensions. Here there is a clear interrelationship between capitals. The sense that sites are important for history comes in part from the presence of archaeologists, who are also sources of economic benefits and are seen as producing assets for tourism to bring jobs and further prestige to the area.

However the survey also shows that local knowledge of the archaeology is shallow, which has important consequences. Firstly, over 40% of the local community identified 'information capital' as a source of value, however this is arguably not being met, and there is some evidence that increased knowledge can lead to increased value for the archaeology. More practically the lack of dissemination has limitations on tourism development. Prominent members of the local community commented on the lack of skills in the community to develop tourism. One of these skills is knowledge about the area so people are able to act as guides. Perhaps more importantly the lack of dissemination means that the 'stories' about the sites, things that make them exciting for tourists to visit are not developed or communicated. Nabil Tarazi identified this as the key need to integrate archaeology into local tourism:

'The key for the archaeologists is to be able to tell stories. The story needs to be in layman's terms. For Petra you don't need the story, you can just be wowed by the place. But for Feynan, if you see the remains of a Neolithic village you thinking 'big f-ing deal' unless someone tells the story to bring it alive.' (LTC6: p.458)

The lack of local knowledge is tied up with a perceived lack of development of the archaeological sites. There is local frustration at this lack of perceived attention paid by archaeologists to the transformation of sites into useable assets for the community. Instead archaeologists are accused of letting the sites 'sleep'. Archaeologists have attempted ambitious projects in a top-down fashion. These have been stymied by the political context, lack of coherent structure within which to operate nationally, and lack of local leadership over the asset. It is perhaps debatable if such current approaches would not repeat initial mistakes seen in the Dana Reserve in alienating local opinion through a parachuted initiative. However, initiatives are needed if archaeology is to be considered of higher value for the local people over the prospect of renewed mining.

Pathways for the future

So how does this illumination of local perceptions and economic impact help in future management of Feynan? As noted above the tourism survey does suggest some interest in the archaeology of the area which is not being realised. Important future considerations must be how to spread out the benefits of tourism, particularly to Quarayqira and develop opportunities which includes more of the population. Perhaps the most crucial first step is the promotion of the archaeology to tourists, so that those who are interested can plan to stay longer. This should be done through guidebooks, in other museums in Jordan and through websites like the Ecolodge's own website. An important part of this is the creation of the 'stories' which transform sites into experiences for tourists.

Tourism in general may continue the theme set by the RSCN in creating tangible assets to dissuade national stakeholders from pursuing mining. In this the museum may offer a good path, but its completion relies on a stable political context. If a museum is developed careful attention must be paid that it fits with current visitation patterns e.g. moving the Ecolodge Reception to the museum itself would provide a steady supply of visitors who are stopping

anyway and may then spend time (and money) in the museum. Currently they are at opposite ends of the village.

As this research has found, the economic capital of the archaeology operates mainly through archaeological excavations. While this employment is welcome, efforts need to be made to provide more consistent and regular employment. While the future of projects is currently in doubt (with the withdrawal of Levy's team), the focus of renewed efforts should be on the establishment of work outside of the typical excavation season by building up local skills and employing people to do low-level but longer-term tasks such as finds analysis and sorting which could offer more predictable income. However the ability to do this relies on the practicalities of international funding and local capacities to host such extended research.

For archaeologists wishing to raise the value of the archaeology for local people, economic capital offers one path. As seen, the archaeology of the area is seen as an economic asset, but mainly for its potential to be such, with frustration that the perceived full benefits of what it could offer are not being realised. If the economic capital of the archaeology could be mobilised and made more tangible, it may decrease the value for the more immediate economic benefits offered by mining. However development of such plans depends on the political context, funding and successful implementation. As the SPI tourism survey showed tourism is a fickle industry and the current climate in Jordan is not supportive of ICDPs.

As a result other paths need to be followed to increase value. While World Heritage Status and tourism projects may offer visibility on a national and international stage, more can be done on a local, smaller scale. Perhaps most pressing is the need to increase local knowledge of the archaeology, which for some at least is a path to value. Efforts should be focused on producing simple brochures and books about the archaeology of the area which can be produced cheaply. Small displays for the locals not only increases knowledge but would be a source of local pride, further interacting with value sources which are already present. Better connections with the local schools can be built. Dissemination efforts require little investment to begin, although of course spare time and budget do still need to be found. Efforts to disseminate information can also act in building local collaboration and participation in larger schemes around the archaeology. Of course, increased knowledge of the archaeology is a crucial skill for being tourist guides in the area and the some of the same tools can be used to raise awareness in tourists.

The building up of local familiarity and knowledge of the archaeology may provide a more resilient long-term base for the community's involvement with the archaeology. The combination of this with more secure economic benefits, through a range of channels, could be effective in mobilising the capital of Feynan's archaeology and transform it from a potential asset to one which is 'awake' and for the local people.

Chapter 12

Conclusion: The Economic Capital of Archaeology

This thesis has sought to examine how archaeology approaches 'economic value' and the contemporary role it plays in perceptions of archaeology's importance. To do this I first examined conceptual models around 'economic value' and developed a new Capital Model. This model was developed to escape past separations of economic and cultural benefits and provide a framework which focused on the interrelationship of archaeology's impacts, and the perception of the 'user' of archaeology. Through the lens of this model I explored the various ways that the ability of archaeology to generate economic benefits – its economic capital - generated value or importance in various stakeholders. This was informed by perspectives from natural resource management and found a variety strategies used by archaeologists, and the wider heritage 'sector', to attract resources and interest in archaeology. These strategies have a variety of political and practical considerations for archaeologists. These can, at least in part, be overcome through better and increased data collection, and better conceptual models to guide data collection and 'value' communication. The Capital Model is offered as a more suitable conceptual model than current approaches. What techniques archaeologists might use on a local level to collect data on archaeology's economic and other capitals was examined and suggested methodologies proposed and applied to a case study. The case study conducted at Feynan allows for reflection on the many themes surrounding the economic capital of archaeology discussed within this thesis, and the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

Section 3 (chapters 9, 10 and 11) asked what methodologies and approaches archaeologists employ to best understand and manage economic capital. The Feynan study reflects some of the difficulties seen by Douglas and Glassup in establishing some background data to inform assessments, notably visitor figures. As with the HLF studies, tourists' motivations and knowledge proved crucial in understanding the economic capital of the archaeology of the area. For Feynan, the distribution of economic impacts was a vital element for both understanding the nature of local tourism industries but also to relate to local attitudes towards stakeholders and social issues relating to access to employment and economic opportunities. For this case study, exactly how tourism and archaeology generated impacts, and to whom was more valuable than understanding an overall magnitude. While this may

lessen some lobbying it is unlikely that tourism would be able to compete directly with mining for economic impact. A more rounded understanding allows for the promotion of a range of possible local benefits and better informs any future projects. This rounded understanding is informed by a range of data and methodologies. Quantitative understanding of economic impacts and qualitative understanding of surrounding values and perceptions has proved a solid basic approach.

These methods are relatively simple to employ, and should be prioritised over more complex economic models which may provide a more accurate, but limited window on local capital and value. Most crucial is the need for archaeologists to integrate such awareness and data gathering into the 'business as usual' (as Glassup puts it (2011:53)) of archaeological research. Most of the case studies reviewed, including Feynan, have struggled to understand aspects of causality and change over time due to their nature as one-off assessments, without a foundation of earlier research. A basic understanding of the capital of archaeology for local, and other, stakeholders should be sought before any fieldwork, during it, and afterwards. This sort of understanding is not restricted to archaeological projects involved with potential tourism projects. As Feynan has demonstrated, economic, as well as other, capital can operate through pathways other than tourism, ones with which archaeologists are intimately associated. The collection of data on economic capital need not be complicated. The major effort required is the sustained application of research over a length of time.

Why archaeologists need to understanding economic capital is made clear by Feynan and the other cases considered in this research in Chapters 8 and 9. Although not the only factor, the local relationship with archaeology in Feynan, Jordan as a whole, Uxbenká, Djenné and San Jose de Moro is significantly involved with themes of development, poverty and economic opportunity. The cases of Uxbenká, San Jose de Moro and Feynan highlight a situation where archaeology is seen as a potential asset by the local communities. There are expectations to different degrees from all of the communities that archaeologists play a part in using archaeology to produce benefits, and anger can come when archaeologists are seen to use such an asset to only benefit themselves or are thought to neglect perceived obligations to make that asset of use to local people. In all three cases archaeologists have, at least in part, been the creators of that asset either through discovery (as in Feynan) or have been major players in the re-orientation of communities' relationship with the archaeology (as in Uxbenká). Particularly in Uxbenká and Feynan subsequent relationships with the economic opportunities which archaeology offers have strong social and political dimensions which can

damage the monuments themselves, or the ability of archaeologists to operate. As both Douglas and Ardren stressed in Chapter 8 there is a need for archaeologists to be acutely aware of their own economic impacts due to the significance they can have for local economies. Atalay's discovery of the low levels of knowledge amongst local people around Çatalhöyük (p.177), even among those working with archaeologists, parallel the findings in Feynan.

The viewpoint of local communities in these cases highlights the importance of the role and position of the archaeologist. Through their actions archaeologists create an asset and its capital, change relationships and perceptions of it, and are often the catalyst of projects surrounding it. While local communities may have expectations of archaeologists, archaeologists also have their own goals. In Uxbenká, Parks described the different commodification of the site for stakeholders and in Feynan too archaeologists have largely commodified the archaeology as one of scientific research. Efforts for local tourism and development projects are motivated often by a desire to retain this commodity, but there is also a realisation that doing so must involve and be of benefit for local people. However, in general, as discussed in Section 2, ethical and conceptual guidance for archaeologists is often lacking, as well as the skills to do so. Archaeologists face difficult choices in pursuit of any aims. Do they attempt to maximise value for archaeological sites amongst stakeholders by mobilising its capital? If they do so, what tools are the best to do so? As shown in Chapter 8, such initiatives can be difficult to get right and create long-term financial commitments which might not be sustainable, especially with museums. Further, as the cases in this thesis show, and theorised in the Capital Model, mobilisation of any of archaeology's capitals to create value can have complicated interactions with other capitals and social contexts. To give the best chance of success initiatives should be informed as much as possible about the current relationships of capital and value around any archaeology considered. In Feynan, a foundation of education in skills and knowledge, as well as more public consultation and integration in the process, may aid the NHT not to fall victim to some of the errors that have been seen in other Jordanian heritage projects.

Section 2 (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) examined the issues of how economic capital motivated value at a variety of stakeholder levels. While these levels were separated for analysis, the philosophy which motivated this structure stressed the need for examining their integration (Chapter 5). The research in Feynan has also highlighted this issue. Archaeologists' efforts have been both helped and hindered by the policy and structures of national and international

organisations. Section 2 stressed the need for archaeologists to get more involved in discourses around sustainable development and benefits to the economy. Key to this is how archaeologists communicate 'value' to different stakeholders. In the UK, a decade of 'valuing culture' debates has not produced a coherent approach, although recent signs are positive of a more fruitful direction. The conversation happening between international stakeholders requires a more proactive role from archaeologists themselves. As Lafrenz Samuels has stated (p. 55-56), we need to get involved in the discourse which is happening and be able to comfortably communicate the development potential of archaeology to people without feeling it diminishes any other aspect of archaeology.

The Capital Model outlined in Section 1 (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) has guided the research at Feynan, providing a conceptual base with which to study and understand the issues present. The Capital Model has provided a more useful language to apply to the local situation than previous notions based on 'value'. The use of the concept of 'capital' has allowed for a separation of the economic impacts that archaeology provides from the need to place an overall 'economic value' on the archaeology. This research has not attempted to apply a single metric of value to the archaeology but rather tried to understand its economic capital, its relationships with other capitals and its relationship with value (or importance).

Feynan highlights the two main features of the model – the use of 'capital' over 'values' and the interrelationship of capitals. What dominated local views of the archaeology, and relationships with it, is what archaeology can do for them, what as an asset it can offer. This includes a range of benefits - historical knowledge, regional prestige and economic opportunities. This picture reflects the small studies done by Abu-Khafajah (Chapter 10), and the approach urged by Hodder (Chapter 3), which stress that archaeologists should focus on what archaeological sites 'do' for people. The Capital Model prioritises these views, seeking first to understand the public perception of archaeology rather than expert accounts of what 'values' it may be considered to have. The stress on understanding public opinion by cultural economists should, in part, be adopted by archaeologists. Feynan shows these different capitals cannot be considered in isolation. A calculation of the economic impact of Feynan would have done little to inform future projects, and missed the key understanding of the interrelationships of economic, social and cultural capital present.

As a result, economics must be an integral part of how archaeologists see archaeology and be part of the vision of public archaeology. The reality is that the public's relationship with

archaeology has economic factors as a significant part of it. As Mason says (p. 35), economics plays a large part in why people are willing to protect archaeology. Archaeology is currently ill-equipped conceptually and with skills, to understand, analyse and communicate this element. The underrepresentation of economics in public archaeology (as outlined in Chapter 3) needs to be rectified. While archaeologists may not pay it a lot of attention (considering it an 'alien' subject), other stakeholders do, and this research has demonstrated the importance of such discourses at international, national and local levels. The measurement and management of economic capital must be seen as much a part of archaeology as everything else and archaeology must have the ideological and ethical foundations to be able to be comfortable with managing it. The separation of culture and economics is a false one and one which must not be followed in archaeology. They can be mutually supportive or destructive and it is part of the role of archaeologists to attempt a mutual support. Archaeologists must be able to make informed decisions about maintaining archaeology and its capitals and making it a sustainable asset. Not all the techniques and concepts needed to do so are in place, but these are best developed through engagement, not avoidance. This necessitates further research into concepts, ethics, methods and case studies. I hope this research has set a foundation to do so.