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Tourism 3.0 and archaeology: approaching tourists' generated-content of World Heritage sites

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Abstract: Archaeology is not the main focus of local governments' strategy for tourism in many Spanish World Heritage contexts defined by non-archaeological criteria; but, are there alternative ways of engaging with it? The surge of 2.0 websites has upturned the traditional direction of tourism discourse from governmental bodies and marketing organizations to the audiences and participants, that is, the tourists. The tourists themselves produce the website contents (. photographs, facts, experiences…) that are then shared with the wider online communities of prospective and present tourists. What can these collaborative platforms tell us about archaeology in World Heritage destinations? Through the assessment of this user-generated content on a 2.0 websites (TripAdvisor), this paper critically addresses how archaeology is presented in fifteen non-archaeological World Heritage Sites in Spain and reflects on whether 2.0 websites may provide new opportunities for promotion. Local and regional museums, one of the most widespread elements created by governmental cultural policies, become an opportunity to generate new contents themselves while using these spaces to attract tourists to archaeological values. The issue of authenticity and the need to address experiential tourismare added potentials for the use of 2.0 websites as useful sources of information for heritage tourism planning.

Keywords: Archaeological heritage; Web 2.0; TripAdvisor; Authenticy; Destination image.

Turismo 3.0 y arqueología: acercamiento al contenido generado por los turistas de los sitios de Patrimonio Mundial

Resumen: La arqueología no es el principal objetivo de la estrategia turística local de muchos lugares de Patrimonio Mundial en España, lugares definidos por criterios no arqueológicos, pero, ¿hay formas alternativas de relacionarse con ella? El surgimiento de las páginas web 2.0 han revertido la dirección de los discursos turísticos: desde los organismos gubernamentales y las organizacionales comerciales a los públicos. Los turistas producen contenidos (p.ej. fotografías, datos, experiencias….) que son después compartidos con las comunidades online de turistas potenciales y reales. ¿Qué pueden contarnos estas plataformas colaborativas sobre la arqueología de los destinos Patrimonio Mundial? A través del análisis de este contenido generado por los usuarios en una de estas páginas web 2.0 (Trip Advisor), se aborda críticamente cómo la arqueología está presente en quince lugares Patrimonio Mundial de España y si estos sitios web pueden proporcionar nuevas oportunidades de promoción. Varias reflexiones surgen de este análisis. Los museos locales y regionales, uno de los rasgos más extendidos de las políticas culturales gubernamentales, se convierten en una oportunidad para generar nuevos contenidos a la vez que se usan estos espacios para atraer a turistas a los valores arqueológicos. El tema de la autenticidad y la necesidad de abordar el turismo expriencial también reflejan el potencial de las web 2.0 como fuentes de información útiles para la planificación turística.

Palabras Clave: Patrimonio arqueológico; Web 2.0; TripAdvisor; Autenticidad; Imágen de destinos turísticos.

1. Introduction

As a consequence of the collaboration of our research team with other groups devoted to tourism our team, which has focused on World Heritage management, decided to do a survey to understand the

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perception of World Heritage sites and explore the potential contribution of archaeology to it. Before the development of 2.0 websites (those allowing users to exchange information), Destination Marketing Organizations (i.e. national and regional governments, tourist agencies) (DMO) were the sole actors in projecting the image of and providing information about tourist destinations. The advent of websites with user-generated content has completely changed this trend by creating a space where non-officially sanctioned images and comments can be shared. Although preference for 2.0 websites over DMO websites as sources of information is subject to debate (e.g. Cox et al. 2009; Fotis et al. 2012), tourism and marketing research have recognised these websites as increasingly popular sources of information and inspiration for prospective travellers when planning their trips (e.g. Simms 2012; Xiang and Gretzel 2010; Marchiori and Onder 2015). Tourists are no longer mere receivers of stimuli from DMO but they also take a significant stance as 'prosumers' or active producers of tourism information: the 'tourist 3.0', as it has been recently suggested. Consumers of this Tourism 3.0 enjoy a great deal of independence and rebel against mass-tourism; tourists demand adapted experiences while they develop greater agency and more roles than passive consumers of standardized experiences (Uriely 2015).

Destination image is an important research topic in tourism literature. It can be understood as a construct resulting from the perceived and projected images of a destination and including mental, affective and behavioural components (Mariné-Roig and Clavé 2016, 342). Increasingly, user-generated content is employed in the field of tourism as a research channel to address tourists' perception and impression of any given destination (Lu and Stepchenkova 2015, 135). There are different sources (i.e. government, tourist agencies, blogs, mass media, etc.) contributing to conform tourists' images. Some research suggests that user-generated content is the richest and most diverse source of information on the Internet, becoming a necessary source of information for DMOs to assess the efficacy of their efforts to project a particular destination image but also to identify other interests for their consumers (e.g. Költringer and Dickinger 2015; Stepchenkova and Zhan 2013). Rather than solely exploring the whole image of several destinations, this paper also focuses on a particular (potential) segment of it: archaeology.

This paper aims to explore the role of archaeology in building tourists' image of fifteen Spanish World Heritage sites (hereinafter, WH sites). Considering that the WH sites selected are not primarily marketed on their archaeological features by DMOs, our goal is to understand whether or not tourists perceive the archaeology of these destinations and how. The subsequent questions addressed by this paper are theferore: Although these destinations are not officially promoted on the basis of their archaeological features, do tourists review archaeological sites within these destinations? How tourists encounter archaeology? Do tourists reflect on the archaeological/historical dimensions of these WH sites? And if so, how? Understanding tourists' perceptions and motivations is necessary for developing sustainable heritage management of tourist destinations (Poria *et al.* 2001, 1048), so these issues become important topics of research for heritage management. Moreover, the archaeology of several Spanish World Heritage contexts has been researched over decades. This long-standing work constitutes a significant economic and human effort made by the local and regional governments, but its results are yet to be fully assessed (see Castillo *et al.* 2016). In this regard, provided that the perceived image of a site does not incorporate this information, archaeologists and governments should assess the impact of their efforts.

To tackle these questions we have analysed the content (i.e. photographs and comments) generated by users of a well-known tourism 2.0 website: TripAdvisor. Housing a community of 390 million people all over the world and managing over 500 million opinions and comments on touristic sites and products (TripAdvisor 2017a), TripAdvisor is the world's largest website on tourism. It includes information on hotels and restaurants, but more interestingly for our purposes, on things to do in a given location. The locations under review consist of fifteen Spanish WH sites included within the UNESCO List. This WH List comprises a total of forty-five sites and most of them were not designated as World Heritage due to their archaeological features. In these contexts, archaeology is far from being the main view promoted in local and regional tourism strategies. Take the recent Archaeological Guide to World Heritage Towns, published in late 2016, as a case in point of archaeology's secondary role in promoting the tourist imaginery of some of the sites under review (Grupo Ciudades Patrimonio de la Humanidad 2016). The question, then, remains as to whether visitors see archaeology in these touristic contexts differently.

2. Methodological issues

For this paper, the case studies have been selected among all the WH sites located in Spain's territory on the basis of several criteria. First, all the nomination files of WH sites have been reviewed.

Then, only those files that do not emphasise archaeology or the study of archaeological remains of the WH sites have selected. Second, we have tried to collect a sample with all available World Heritage categories: cities, cultural landscapes, natural sites, monuments and groups of buildings. In total, the sample includes 15 WH sites not designated by archaeological criteria (see Fig. 1): the historic centres of Córdoba, Avila and its out-walled churches, Segovia and its aqueduct, Santiago de Compostela, San Cristóbal de La Laguna, Úbeda and Baeza, Cuenca, Cáceres and Salamanca; the natural sites of Teide and Garajonay; the Cultural Landscape of Aranjuez and the Mudejar ensembles of Aragon.

As already mentioned, all these places have been approached by reviewing the images and comments uploaded in TripAdvisor. This website was deemed suitable and representative for the task, as it is the largest travel related user-generated content site. Moreover, it includes a ranking system through which users can rate their overall experience of a site or service, which gives a hint of the affective component of the destination image. It is also an interesting source as it combines pictorial material (i.e. photographs) with textual material (i.e. short reviews), both of which can be approached using content analysis. Yet the size of TripAdvisor make it difficult to check all comments posted and ensure their trustworthiness; in fact, TripAdvisor has been subjected to criticism due to the large number of deceptive postings that have been spotted (Ayeh *et al.* 2013). Although TripAdvisor –as other online companies on travel-related information– have been increasingly implementing mechanisms to identify and remove these comments, it should be noted that further research in this line will have to include comparisons with other user-generated content platforms (e.g. Lonely Planet, Flickr, etc.).

Fig. 1: Map displaying all the World Heritage Sites under study.

Source: Google Maps, 2017

We have reviewed all the comments and photographs available since August 2017 backwards and both written in Spanish and English in the user-gernated content site of TripAdvisor. Naturally, all rankings referred to in this article may have changed since then. Content analysis was performed on two sources of information: texts and pictorial data. This method–which is both quantitative and qualitative– identifies frequencies of concepts, words and elements in text and visual materials, and it is based on the principles of categorization and data reduction. The underlying assumption behind this approach is that higher frequency of the themes under study suggests relative higher relevance in the context in question (Stepchenkova 2013). Data has been collected manually, as most studies in the tourism and hospitality research literature still do despite the existence of computer-assisted content analyses (Lu and Stepchenkova 2015,141). This manual approach has some limitations as it is a time-consuming task and hence sample size is smaller and it makes commiting mistakes more likely (*Ibid.* 141). Nonetheless, TripAdvisor's search tool was used only to ensure that the frequencies of appearance of archaeological-related issues in the entries of the main attractions of the WH sites (e.g. Santiago de Comspotela's cathedral, Segovia's aqueduct, etc.) were correct. In these cases, the key words used to search through this tool included some such as: archaeology, archaeological, archaeologist(s), history, historical, ancient, past and old; as well as, in its case, the names of the particular group who lived in the site (e.g. Romans in the case of the Segovia's acqueduct) This approach was adopted because of the large size of the sample of these particular entries, which ended up accumulating thousands of comments. Categories were created after a previous quick review of the materials collected to identify patterns of key themes and attributes. We opted for a manual approach to categorization, as we were particularly concerned with the qualitative side of the content analysis (i.e. category-building and its interpretation) (*Ibid.* 138); we wanted to include in our analysis the presence (and if so, its quality) or absence of the UNESCO brand to comment on these WH contexts and/or of the criteria used to designate the destination as a WH destination when describing these sites.

Destination image is one of the most significant research topics in tourism as it influences tourists' behaviour. Final destination images (as mental representations of a site) are constituted by emotional and perceptual components (Ferreira Lopes 2011), being the second shaped by different sources of information: mass media, friends, social groups… However, media imagery is not a reproduction of reality but a selective and non-neutral representation of it (Hall 1982, 60), it shapes and signifies the world we experience. To do so, images are constituted by content and composition (Albers and James 1988, 139): content refers to the sum total of a photograph's appearances whereas composition refers to the way in which those appearances relate one to another. For both aspects, there is some repetition. As to content, photographs reveal elements that are taken to be representative of a given subject. We have performed a content analysis of photographs of archaeological contexts. This sort of analysis takes the attributes of photographs at face value, quantifying them and trying to understand the relationship between them. In other words, the picture becomes a sign of what is photographed (Stepchenkova and Zhan 2013, 592-3). For this research, we have followed the first approach to identify representative aspects of archaeological contexts from the tourists' perspective.

On top of that visual approach we have also reviewed the comments of TripAdvisor users for the archaeological 'attractions', as they are called in tourism discourse. According to their content, several categories could be identified for each comment (e.g. references to location, exhibits, collections, staff-rating, service-rating, etc.). In this case, the overall rating of the comment through the 'bubble' system explained below was additionally taken into account in order to identify aspects explaining the 'success' or 'failure' of the archaeological 'attraction'. Writing reviews in tourism platforms such as TripAdvisor responds to diverse motivations including (Fotis 2015, 310-1): the need to reward the service provided, restore the positive—in their view— image of the attraction, punish a poor service or attraction and also help or advice other users planning their holidays. As already mentioned, these reviews have an impact on prospective tourists. Logically, those touristic 'attractions' (i.e. monuments, museums, sites, etc.) best reviewed are first encountered when searching for inspiration to plan a trip. In TripAdvisor, attractions are classified according to a 'bubble rating' ranging from one bubble (i.e. 'terrible') to five (i.e. 'excellent'). Ultimately, however, the overall ranking of an attraction depends not only on the sheer quantity of reviews and its bubble rate but also the time of the last review (TripAdvisor 2017b).

It was expected that some inferences could be drawn from the comparison between English-writing visitors and Spanish-written ones. However, no apparent differences have been observed. Additionally, the authors at first aimed to identify differences between local and tourists' assessments, however, the number of local users was in general too small to be representative of 'a local view' of the site. It should

be also kept in mind that, although a possibility, it is not compulsory for TripAdvisor users to state their town/country of origin and they tend to value this anonimity.

3. Discussing archaeology: new views for 'non-archaeological' WH sites?

Prospective tourists do encounter and comment upon archaeological contexts in all the sites reviewed. Comparing the official offer of archaeology in the cases selected and the opinions written by TripAdvisor users, some issues arise. First, the offer does not include archaeological sites for all the cases. The cultural Landscape of Aranjuez, the town of Baeza and the natural side of Teide National Park have no archaeological sites open to the public. This absence contrasts with the measurable fact that, in Spanish WH contexts, the number of archaeological works have increased (see e.g. Castillo 2017). Moreover, TripAdvisor users have selectively reviewed the DMO's archaeological offer. Not all archaeological 'attractions' were deemed as interesting enough to have their own entry in the WH site's TripAdvisor website, at least in TripAdvisor users' eyes, so they become almost 'invisible' for the TripAdvisor community. In 24 archaeological sites open to the public, 6 of them are not reviewed (see Fig. 2). Most of these non-reviewed sites have in common their location as they are situated outside the main touristic attractions, for example in the outskirts of historical city centres. However, they are also sites not aesthetically striking or monumental and in some cases they lack updated tourism infrastructure. These shortcomings contrast with well-presented and intensely researched sites such as Alcalá de Henares' *Casa de Hippolytus*, also located in the outskirts of the town but with aesthetically-pleasant remains like mosaics. These two are the main factors behind *Casa de Hippolytus'* top ranking in TripAdvisor.

Fig. 2: Graph displaying the ratings of archaeological contexts in 15 WH sites.
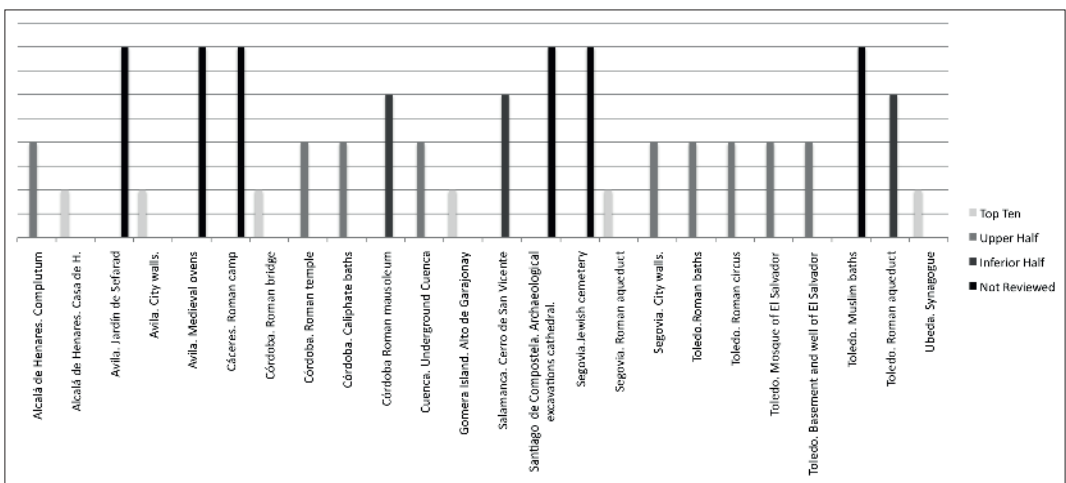
Source: authors.

The example of natural national parks is significant. They are both located in two separate islands in the Canary Archipelago: a popular destination for their 'sun and sea' type of tourism. Interestingly, however, the natural parks are among the top attractions of both regions. For Teide National Park's example, there are two visitor centres giving information about, among natural topics, the past of the park. Yet, no TripAdvisor user has mentioned archaeology in their comments, rather they review the natural and geological information provided. The national park has no archaeological remains open, hence, it is not surprising that only seven out of 11377 comments have mentioned archaeology or the pre-hispanic past of the site. Tenerife islanders have made half of these 7 comments, and interestingly they describe an emotional attachment to the volcano included within the national park. One comment, for example,

describes the volcano as father Teide ('padre Teide') as he considers himself as a guanche (a pre-hispanic inhabitant of the island), as such, reaching the volcano 'gives [him] goose bumps' (Daniel A. 19/12/16). He encourages visitors to find out about the area and its pre-hispanic past beforehand to enjoy the trip. The remaining comments, however, use the archaeological past of the island merely to mention the pre-hispanic name of the volcano, in some sort of 'colourful' or 'exotic' way or maybe to boost the site's 'primitiveness'.

The other natural site reviewed, Garajonay National Park, has just one archaeological site open: *Alto de Garajonay*, a prehispanic shrine. This site is not classified as part of the heritage resources of the island in the DMO website but is rather publicised as a viewpoint for sightseeing (Cabildo de la Gomera 2017). Although there are routes to this location (Ministerio de Agricultura y Pesca 2017), no TripAdvisor comments on the national park mention its archaeological past and just a pair in forty-two refer to *Alto de Garajonay* as a historical place. There is just one photograph of the archaeological site in 738 pictures, focussing just on the materiality of the site rather than the informative panels around it or visitors themselves. Photographs focussing on archaeological remains as if they were frozen in time (aside from human life) reinforce their meaning as relics of a past that has not changed—something common in tourists' holiday photographs (Stepchenkova and Zhan 2013, 592). Archaeological sites in WH sites designed for their natural values are not prime options as it has been observed.

Archaeological sites or assets, when they are open to the public, can be top attractions in WH contexts, despite DMO's lack of interest in promoting them. Probably the most remarkable example of this phenomenon is Ubeda's synagogue '*Sinagoga del Agua*'. Found by a local developer during some construction works, the synagogue is privately-owned. After its restoration it was open to the public in 2010. As the best rated Úbeda's attraction in TripAdvisor, this relevance is diametrically opposed to its promotion in the local government's website: the synagogue is merely categorised as 'other site' of interest (Ayuntamiento de Úbeda 2017). The town, being recognised as WH due to its Renaissance buildings and churches, has projected itself primarily in this guise.

The small number of negative remarks of the site (11 out of 597) mostly focuses on the synagogue's authenticity. Authenticity has also been called into question by university scholars (Ayaso 2013) and partly due to the absence of official archaeological reports supporting its restoration (Garcia 2014). Furthermore, the site is decorated with decontextualised Jewish objects and displayed without explanatory panels. Yet, only eleven comments echo this criticism, expressing some feeling of being 'betrayed' since it is a 'pseudohistorical' (Rosmarher 8/2/16) or artificial space. This scarce criticism regarding the material aspects of the synagogue reinforces a well-known philosophical understanding whereby authenticity is multifaceted. In marketing and tourism approaches, authenticity fundamentally has to do with experiencing something as authentic; in fact object-related authenticity might not necessarily determine the former (e.g. Wang 1999; McCannell 1999). Although tourists are driven by a search for 'authentic experiences', this may take very different forms.

The overall experience of this synagogue is authentic, as it can be seen by the scarce criticisms, but also because several users praised what they considered as a well-preserved site (3,8% or 23 out of 597). Additionally, the guide contributed significantly to making the site authentic as she 'explained everything clearly and enthusiastically, so she almost takes you to that period' (Ivette D. 26/5/16). The atmosphere also was frequently mentioned, being the bath for purification or mikveh the most photographed feature. A sense of religiousness, spirituality or even 'magic' then, is frequently described. As one TripAdvisor user puts it:

'(…)as soon as you descend [through the stairs] and leave behind you the door you can feel its [the site's] history on the skin. [It is a] fine job of retrieval by the people who have opened its doors. The guide[was] very professional' (jharo8. 29/8/16).

Regardless of doubts, most people recommend visiting the synagogue due to its surprising discovery and how unexpected was for them to encounter a synagogue- indeed, the external façade of the synagogue does not suggest what is within it. This topic of surprise and encountering the unexpected draws on a well-known understanding of tourism as the opportunity to live an experience that differs from everyday life. Additionally, the existence of this synagogue has been positively acknowledged in some instances (1%) as diversifying the town's touristic offer:

'They [synagogue management] knew how to faithfully restore and manage this synagogue hidden in the midst of some houses. I recommend it because it is a curious visit, interesting and different. (…) I recommend this visit to see something different from what we can see in Ubeda' (Fran B., 29/7/16).

Synagogue's the high profile in TripAdvisor surely will change the narrow DMO's image of Úbeda as merely a Renaissance and olive town. As the existence of this attraction becomes popular, more people will flock in it. It will be up to the private company running it to avoid the risks of mass tourism such as overuse. More importantly for WH towns, it may be sensitising people to the richness of WH towns' soil and the obstacles in preserving it against development, specially in these towns where the 'visible' is mostly promoted:

'(…)I must say that I was impressed by the restoration works of the buildings. It is unbelievable that all that was underneath those three buildings went for so long without [anyone] knowing. Retrieval works were excellent as I see them, as well as the guided tour, and it left me thinking about the marvels that are still to be found in Andalusia, hidden treasures under the soil and the buildings of our historical centres (…)' (Mª Angustias G. 18/9/14)

The synagogue's example is an exception in this sense. Iconic, well-publicly promoted monuments in all the WH destinations are the main attractions. Furthermore, these monuments are mostly understood in 'visual' terms, history plays a secondary role. Take the example of Santiago de Compostela's cathedral as a case in point. It is the gem of the historical town and reason the behind a world-famous pilgrimage route; it has been excavated since 2013. These works can only be visited as part of a guided tour organised by the cathedral's museum. The cathedral is fundamentally understood as an architectural monument, 'the most outstanding work of Romanic art in Spain', so the archaeological excavations are underpublicised in the official website of the town. Difficult being to find information about them, these tours are also scarcely reviewed by TripAdvisor users and with no impact on the cathedral's image. No single photograph out of 2,319 shows the archaeological works, most focussing on the façade of the temple itself. Similarly, among over 7,000 comments, only 15 people have mentioned the archaeological tour; seven of these people just cited this tour as part of the touristic offer of the cathedral. The remaining views are mostly positive and recommend this tour. The tour's downside was its short length, suggesting a low quality-cost relationship. In contrast, the guide arises as the main reason to enjoy it:

'Fascinating and wonderful! Everything [was] magic. If you visit it early, around 8.30 [a.m], there are a few people. We are not really devout and we left it with a huge sense of respect for all we saw my wife and I. They put you in context from the 9th century through the late medieval times in an extraordinary way. We were lucky (…) with a guide who turned out to be a scientist in the topic, [she] showed such an interest and love in explaining [the site] that we were bewildered' (Miguel P., 9/6/16)

Similarly iconic, the Roman bridge of Córdoba, the walls of Ávila or Segovia's aqueduct act as a significant 'things to do' in the site. Again, a word of caution is yet needed as archaeology or history are hardly a site's feature. This is the case of the Roman bridge of Cordoba: out of 100 comments, most references highlighted two aspects of the monument. First, the bridge becomes a sightseeing point: 'a place to walk by and get amazing views of the town and take the best pictures' (Alejandro M, 1/4/17). The second view of the bridge highlights its aesthetic values as an 'impressive' and 'beautiful' monument. The historical dimension of the monument seldom goes beyond qualifying it as 'Roman' or 'historic'. Only 16 comments elaborated a bit more on this feature of the bridge. Most of them just include them as plain historical facts: devoid of emotions. Considering that one reason behind posting reviews of tourist attractions is to advice other tourist peers, it may be argued that the aesthetic and functional aspects of this attraction are the strongest reasons to visit it.

From a pictorial perspective, the predominant aesthetic view of these sites is evident. Among the 564 pictures reviewed of the Roman bridge, almost half of them (265) depict it emphasizing its external monumental appearance (see Fig. 3). Tourists, however, gaze upon the bridge in a way that reinforces its aesthetic features rather than its functional and living nature. Gazing, as Urry (1990) recognises, is a socially constructed way of seeing, a lens through which tourists make sense of the world that encounter. Being contingent and fluid, the 'tourist gaze' is influenced by DMO imagery but not constrained by it. Indeed, marketing organisations actively search through tourists' photographs to update their knowledge on the tourist gaze and adapt their products accordingly (Urry and Larsen 2011, 187). For this bridge, 265 photographs depict its external façade, avoiding capturing the human transit occurring on it (see e.g. Garrod 2009 for similar results) but, interestingly, only 35 out of those pictures are similar to the 'official' view of the bridge. The most common touristic image of the bridge focuses on it to highlight its presence over its setting.

Fig. 3: Screenshot of Tripadvisor's most common photographic perspective of Cordoba's Roman bridge.
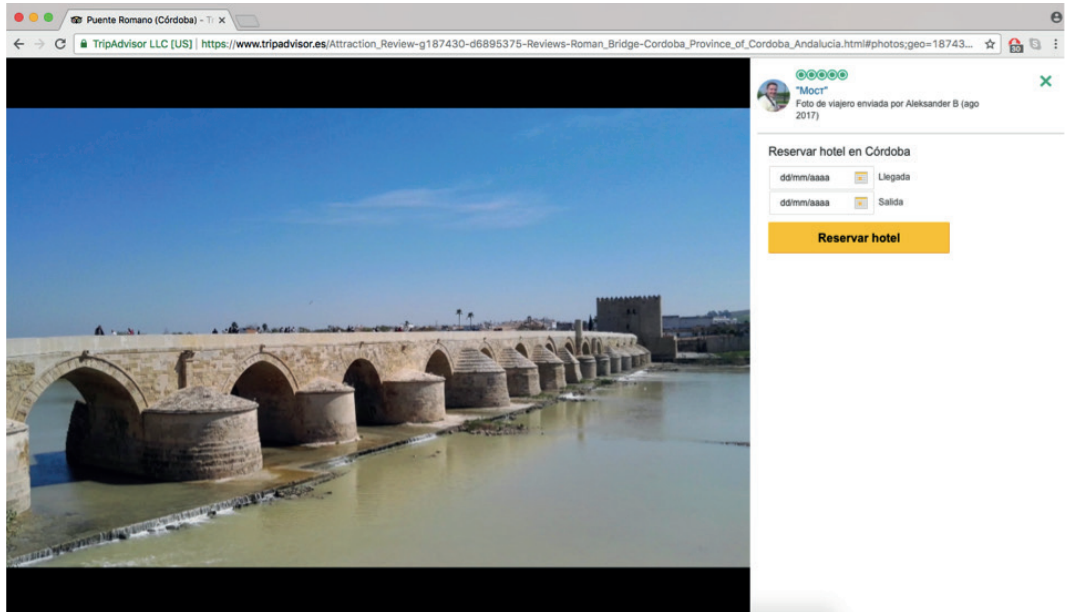

Source: TripAdvisor

Museums related to WH sites' history and archaeology are present in all of the cases selected. They can be significant allies to convey the criteria for which a site, even natural sites, is designated as WH since they are ubiquitous equipment of towns where visitors tend to spend time during their holidays, or at least pass by. Yet, museums capacity in this regard must be contextualised as museum-goers are a small fraction of society from a well- educated, upper/medium socio-economic class and many people perceive them as imposing and unfriendly spaces (Hooper-Greenhill 2000). Having said this, it is significant for the purpose of conveying archaeology of WH sites that a significant number of them, at least in the Spanish context, are not solely archaeological but include a melange of materials interpreted from art and ethnographic approaches. Furthermore, their focus is not solely on the town or the site, but tend to encompass the broader region where they are located. Despite these issues, users tend to rate very well museums: just one of them is below the median ranking (see Fig. 4).

The lowest rated museum is Zaragoza's Museum of Roman Baths. It is part of an official tourist pack including three other Roman archaeological sites turned into museums: the town's foro, port and theatre. All of them are remains of the Roman town of Caesaraugusta (old Zaragoza). The reasons behind this museum's poor rating are several. As there is a tour of all these Roman museums, the Roman Baths' museum is necessarily compared with the rest. The remaining three museums include impressive large structures (such as the Roman threatre), well preserved, as well as educational and engaging videos and panels. In contrast, the Museum of Roman Baths is small and includes what is perceived as a site overly reconstructed. It does not deserve, as different users have stated, a visit in its own. This low rating suggests the need for planning the (archaeological) heritage tourist offer of a site carefully and in a comprehensive way.

Eight museums are recommended among the top ten attractions in their respective destinations. They are quite diverse in terms of content and geographical scope, however, there are several reasons behind their success, according to tourists. Alcalá and Aranjuez museums have collections that are attractive to tourists, although due to different reasons. Alcalá museum's permanent collection is well regarded (43,23% of comments mention it) but particularly because of its Roman mosaics. Additionally, these materials are considered as having good explanatory panels and being didactic. As to the town Aranjuez, its museum is devoted to the royal longboats that used to sail the Tagus River crossing

Fig 4: Graph displaying museums' ratings of all WH sites reviewed in TripAdvisor.
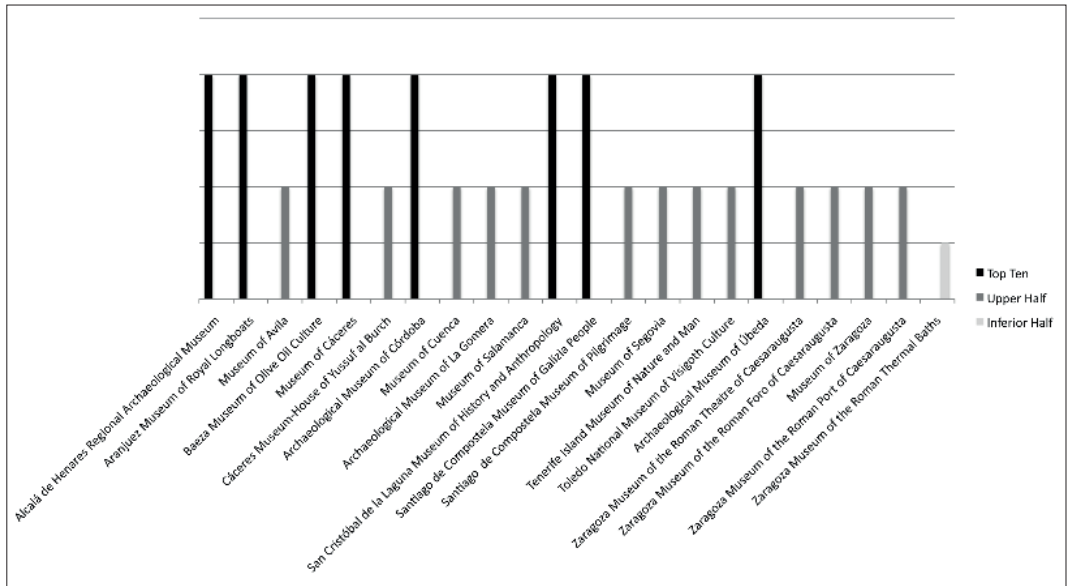
Source: authors

Aranjuez. The principal reason behind its popularity is the museum's context. It is located within and associated with the gardens of the Royal palace. This is the main attraction of the town, and the visit to the longboats museum is included within the palace's ticket (visitors mention this aspect in 31,89% of comments). Besides, as this museum is associated with the Royal palace, therefore, many visitors refer to the longboats' relationship with the lives of the royal family over the centuries and single out this relationship (42, 24% of comments mentioning it).

The building or its architectural features are significant aspects of Úbeda, La Laguna and Santiago de Compostela's museums. Take the *Museo do Pobo Galego* in Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, northern Spain) as a case in point: near half of the pictures taken by TripAdvisor users (87 out of 209 photographs) are of the building itself rather than the artefacts on display. Likewise, a large number of comments recommend visiting this museum for its architectural features, some even singling it out as the only reason to pay a visit to it:

> 'to me it is worth visiting this museum fundamentally for its triple spiral stairs [made] by Domingo de Andrade which are the best and most spectacular stairs that you will ever see and also [it is worth visiting it] for the Gothic church of Santo Domingo de Bonaval, the cemetery of distinguished Galizians, which is close to the museum, it is a unique architecture in Santiago de Compostela and undoubtedly it is well worth a visit. The rest is an ethnographic museum where opinions can be more controversial according to different interests and tastes' (tamarafdz, 6/4/14).

According to this comment, appreciation for ethnographical materials is subjective, while architecture is supposed to speak for itself. What's more, the archaeological dimension is, in fact, scarcely recognised by visitors; the museum's ethnographic collection is better regarded. This poor recognition has also been observed in other museums where archaeological collections coexist with other materials, for example, the regional museum of Salamanca. TripAdvisor users have posted just 30 comments, nine of which refer to the collections: only five mention the art collection or refer to the museum as an art museum. Despite having a whole floor devoted to archaeology, the museum's archaeological collection is not singled out as the main reason to visit it.

Córdoba and Cáceres museums are also top-rated. One of the strongest reasons behind their success is the archaeological remains housed within them. Córdoba archaeological museum has part of the Roman amphitheatre excavated in its basement. The amphitheatre is frequently singled out in the comments

(100 out 217 comments) as a remarkable feature of the museum, although it should be mentioned that tourists also recognise how well laid out the museum is: materials clearly arranged and explained with technologically interactive material. For Cáceres museum, its aljibe (or Muslim water tank) is highlighted as the most remarkable feature and is mentioned in over half of the 345 comments made over the period under review. It is frequently cited as a 'must'.

Significantly, in contrast to the typical 'sun and sea' tourism to the Canary Islands, three archaeological museums are well rated attractions. Within Tenerife island, there are two museums with good ratings: the Museum of Nature and Man amounts to the 54th best thing to see (out of 382) while visiting the Museum of History and Anthropology is in the top ten of recommended things to do (7th out of 55 things), although only within the WH town of San Cristóbal de la Laguna and not in the whole island. Similarly, in La Gomera Island, the local archaeological museum is the 21st recommended thing to do out of 70 possibilities. It is clear, then, that people are interested in the archaeological and historical features of these islands. Nevertheless, visitors do not connect these materials and information with the WH sites where they have been found.

The emphasis, as it is evident, should be put in the future to directly link these collections with the WH status itself. Additionally, considering that architectural movements are an intrinsic part of the designation of many Spanish WH towns, re-using old buildings as archaeological/ historical museums within city centres constitutes a brilliant opportunity to connect visitors' apparent interest in the museums' façade or architectural features with the broader WH status of the town. Furthermore, it can become an opportunity to connect these features with the materials housed within the museum: through the people behind their mutual construction. Archaeology contributes significantly to understand how people (of different social groups) used to live. Urban landscapes result from all these contributions throughout history. Subsequently a positive museum strategy to display archaeological materials could merge them with the historical buildings where they are housed by means of the human lives behind both.

Generally speaking, visitors to these museums virtually do not reflect on the UNESCO status or criteria. When the UNESCO status of the site is explicitly cited, it frames the museum's location, but visitors do not reflect upon how materials may contribute to represent or reflect such international status. Nonetheless, some museums constitute a great opportunity to convey the criteria to designate the site as a WH site. Furthermore, it has been observed that visitors reflect on them even without necessarily acknowledging it. The museum of pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela is a case in point. It displays the historical evolution of this religious practice that is one of the criteria for designating Santiago as a WH town (ICOMOS 1985). By contrast, Cáceres museum does not invite to observe UNESCO criteria as straightforwardly as Santiago. Cáceres was designated as a WH town in 1986 as an 'exceptional testimony to the fortifications built in Spain by the Almohades' (ICOMOS 1986) and its fortified character. Cáceres museum is located in an old noble house built over Muslim fortifications. Although the direct material traces of the stronghold are not evident nowadays, the museum's aljibe used to provide it with water. Therefore, it can help visitors to delve into the people of the past who built these WH features.

4. Discussion: archaeological efforts...what for?

Destination image is one of the most researched topics in tourism and hospitality literature. It influences and inspires prospective tourists to act and visit the sites. This paper contributes to the larger literature on destination image but focusing particularly on the potential contribution of archaeology to it. Social media, as a significant source of information for prospective tourists, has to be reviewed to understand this contribution of archaeologists' work in building the destination image of WH sites. Not only does this need stem from the long-term efforts made to balance (with more or less positive outcomes) different socio-economic and scientific interests in managing WH sites (e.g. archaeologists, developers, tourist agencies, local and regional governments, civil society, etc.), but also from the fact that archaeological heritage is frequently cited in the laws of countries from all over the world as of 'public interest'.

As we have seen, the results suggest that TripAdvisor may be a source for promoting archaeological features and assets scarcely projected by DMOs. Although TripAdvisor seems to reproduce, to a certain extent, the 'tourist gaze', it, however, is a living and changing tool to approach heritage. Beyond criticisms of aesthetic and monumental views of the past, we are concerned about the real contribution

of all these new archaeological studies in WH sites. Drawing on the periodical reports on Spain's WH properties over the last years, we have seen an increase of archaeological studies (see e.g. Castillo *et al.* 2017). Nonetheless, these discourses do not apparently help to better understand or to enrich the values of these sites. In many cases they are not being translated into new attractions for tourists and inhabitants. This sample clearly shows that archaeological assets are underpromoted from a touristic perspective and this makes us question archaeological heritage's social return regarding tourists. Yet, this poor social return can also be observed for inhabitants (see e.g. social perception studies in Toledo, Córdoba and Alcalá de Henares in Castillo *et al.* 2016). In this same line, it is representative that the locals are the ones highlighting the past of sites like the Garajonay National Park; probably this is so due to local education.

As a result, there are several implications for the management of these and sites with a similar status if we want to ensure that everyone's investment in archaeological works have a socio-economic positive impact on the people living in and enjoying these locations. We believe that re-using museums in a planned manner is key. They have proven to be significant attractions in all the WH sites under review and, importantly, archaeology as an activity generates a large number of materials. These materials should not merely fill in museums' stores, but rather they should contribute to a site's individual personality and character–one of the main goals of tourism marketing. Moreover, it would be an interesting experiment for curators of 'miscellanous' museums (i.e. museums' collections made of archaeological, ethnographical and art materials) to try to interconnect all of these materials into several coherent narratives to make the most out of the diversity of materials.

In addition, it is also worth revisiting the issue of authentic experiences and archaeological tourism. Although different voices have increasingly called for the relevance of creating so-perceived authentic and engaging experiences in archaeological tourism (e.g. Chhabra *et al.* 2003; Hughes *et al.* 2013), there is still work to do in many archaeological contexts. It is becoming increasingly more important to reconsider the experience on archaeology's contribution to our lives if we want to turn the static views of the past into dynamic ones. Photographs do not give relevance to people or tourists themselves, highlighting shapes and monumentality. This focus reinforces the past understood as something dead. Archaeology can help to replace this view with one whereby the past is something constructed and therefore always changing. In order to do so, we need to keep our quest for means of communication to promote these dynamic views. Archaeology can use these sources of information to improve the way it communicates to the public. Heritage construction and its translation into the touristic experience must stem from multidemsional models of the past (Castillo and Querol 2014), getting away from simplified archaeological discourses that, contrary to its aims, drives away people from their interests in the past. Discourses disconnected with people's everyday lives will irremissibly fail in presenting archaeology as socially useful to create sustainable tourist destinations.

Additionally, to be aware of tourists' interests and perceptions is of key relevance for managers of WH sites. Understanding of tourists' experiences in any given site allows managers to plan more sustainable tourism strategies to avoid touristic congestion and difficulties associated with mass tourism. It is common in tourism strategies that well-visited sites or popular values can act as attractive 'hooks' to draw tourists to less popular sites and help in managing tourists (over-)flows. Further, managers of these WH sites may use underpromoted archaeological resources to increase the tourist offer and spread tourists' flows spatially; this re-organization would contribute to providing "socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed" as sustainable tourism should do (UNWTO 2005, 17).

As it has already been noted, however, further research into the destination image of WH sites should compare different 2.0 websites –including not only websites but probably also travel blogs- in order to contrast these TripAdvisor's results. As Ayeh *et al.* (2013) have observed, not all comments included in TripAdvisor have beeen made by actual consumers of the service. Then, further research into this line should include a comparative approach. Furthermore, future work should aim to make comparisons between tourists' and locals' images, for example, by exploring the growing number of websites providing 'tips' to experience a site 'through the locals' eyes'. Unfortunately, many of these sites are still focused on an English-speaking audience and are still absent in mainly Spanish-speaking destinations where locals may not be fluent in English or have not come across these sites as a result. Other lines of future studies should include the issue of the UNESCO 'brand'. This paper has corroborated the low impact of the UNESCO brand: TripAdvisor tourists hardly made references to the UNESCO status of the sites reviewed, as it is not a well-recognised brand in tourism and it

does not affect significantly tourists' motivation to visit the site (see Poria *et al.* 2010). Probably a better marketing strategy, as it has been suggested (*Ibid.*) would help in making the UNESCO brand and associated values more widespread. In our case, we think that managing the WH site as a comprehensive area where different 'attractions' (including archaeological) and not just the most iconic 'monuments' are presented as WH sites could help in raising the visibility of the UNESCO status of the site.

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