

**Archaeological Site Conservation and Local Residents:
Japanese Experience and its Application to China**

考古遺跡保護と地域住民
—日本の経験とその中国への応用—

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ABSTRACT

In light of increasing threats posed by natural disasters and urbanization, as well as the need to display and utilize archaeological heritage, Chinese archaeological sites, especially large-scale examples, have been actively conserved since the turn of the 21st century. However, the wishes and emotions of local residents who are affected by site conservation have often not received due consideration. In order to protect archaeological sites, benefits to local people must often be sacrificed to prevent destruction, while common conflicts include the relocation of houses and land acquisition, preventing illegal construction within the heritage area, and generally low participation of residents in site conservation and utilization. Remediating clashes and enhancing the harmonious coexistence of conserved archaeological sites and local residents is the primary aim of this research.

The case studies selected for this research were the sites of Liangzhu, Yin Xu, and Han Yangling as these are all characterized by a close relationship between conservation efforts and local residents. These sites were selected to enable a comprehensive study of residents living within and adjacent to Chinese large-scale archaeological sites. On the basis of a review of processes of archaeological site conservation as well as a survey of the attitudes and living conditions of locals, this study identified three main disparities between the implementation of conservation policies and plans with respect to the wishes and feelings of locals that are referred to here as basic survival, diverse participation, and the recognition of local culture.

These issues have been addressed in China with reference to other international experiences. At the same time, the conservation of Japanese archaeological sites has enjoyed a long history encompassing a variety of experiences and achievements. To reflect this diversity, Nara Palace, Sannai-maruyama and Goshono, as well as a number of other typical archaeological sites within the Fudoki-no-oka project were selected as case studies where similar issues mentioned above have already been solved. Problems to do with land

acquisition and house reconstruction have been solved effectively at some sites, for example, while the participation of local residents and organizations in site conservation and utilization are frequent, a range of activities are held regularly on sites to commemorate the history and to educate the public, finally local people feel deeply embedded within the regional culture. Thus, a number of insights can be drawn from Japanese experience and applied in China to realize the enhanced conservation of archaeological sites. This study summarizes two principles for minimizing the impact of site conservation on locals while at the same time maintaining links between people and sites, as well as four strategies that include effective communication, regular activities, the search for economic benefits, and strengthening public consciousness. The approaches advocated here were applied in practice at the Xiaotun Village locating at Yin Xu site by taking advantage of successful Japanese experience.

This research highlights research approaches that involve residents in the cultural resource management. In the first place, great effort was taken to investigate and collect data on locals, an area that has generally been lacking in terms of publications in China and systematic summaries in Japan. Second, this study presents a panoramic view of Japanese models that address the involvement of local residents in site conservation and utilization and then applies them in China. Third, this research was applied in practice to generate feedback which explored the possibilities of various proposals. Thus, this research is both theoretical and practical.

It is hoped that this research will not only provide an academic benchmark for cultural resource management but will also serve as a guide and source of ideas for administrators, site managers, and locals.

Key Words:

Local Residents Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (CLASC)
Japanese Archaeological Site Conservation and Utilization (JASCU) Comparative Study

要 旨

21 世紀に至るまで、中国における大規模遺跡は保護が進められ、公開・活用も進展しつつあるが、同時に、自然災害や都市化によりもたらされる様々な脅威にさらされてきてもいる。このような保存活動による影響を受ける地域住民の感情や要望はこれまでほとんど考慮されてこなかった。遺跡の保存・活用への住民参加の低調さに加え、保存区域内からの強制退去や土地の収用に伴う衝突、保存区域における不法な建築など、遺跡保護のために地域住民の利益が犠牲となり、また住民の要求を満たそうとすることで遺跡が破壊されるといったことがしばしば生じてきた。本研究では、どのようにこれらの衝突を回避し、遺跡保護と地域住民との共存を達成するかを明らかにすることを第一目的とする。

本研究では、中国大遺跡近隣住民に関する包括的研究のため、保存活動と地域住民が密接な関係を持つ事例として、浙江省良渚遺跡群、河南省殷墟そして陝西省漢陽陵を取り上げる。遺跡の保存過程を概観し、地域住民の態度や生活状況を調査することにより、地域住民の要望と意識に加え、保存政策の実施と計画に関して、日常生活、多様な参加形態そして地域文化の認識といった3つ観点から主たる問題を明らかにした。

中国におけるこれらの課題を解決するために、国際的な事例について言及する必要がある。日本の考古遺跡の保護の歴史は長く、その類型も多岐にわたる。そこで、本研究では類似の課題を解決した事例として、奈良県平城宮跡、青森県三内丸山遺跡、岩手県御所野遺跡そして各地の「風土記の丘」事業を取り上げる。たとえば、土地買収及び住居の改築に関する問題は円滑に解決がなされている。遺跡の保存・活用に対する地域住民や地域組織の参加もしばしば見られる。また、歴史学習といった社会教育のための様々な活動も定期的に行われており、地域住民は地域文化への高い帰属意識を持つ。日本におけるこれらの経験からは、中国の遺跡においてよりよい保存活動を達成するためのいくつかの見通しを得ることができた。効果的なコミュニケーション、定期的な活動、経済的利益の追求、意識の強化という4つの

取り組みに加え、地域住民への影響を最小限に抑え、住民と遺跡とのつながりを保つという2つの原則が挙げられる。最後に、日本の成功事例に基づき殷墟の小屯村において試行が始まった事例を紹介したい。

本研究では、文化資源マネジメントにおける住民研究の手法を明らかにしている。まず、日本では体系的にまとめられているが中国においては不足している地元に関するデータについて調査し収集することに多大な労力を払った。次に、中国の遺跡の保存と活用における地域住民の関与について、日本におけるモデルの全体像を詳細に提示した。そして、日本の経験から学んだ解決策を中国に援用する可能性を見出すことができた。したがって、本研究は理論的であると同時に実践的研究でもある。

本研究が文化資源マネジメントの学術研究としてだけでなく、行政官、遺跡管理者、そして地域住民が発想を得るための手引きとなることを願っている。

キーワード

地域住民 中国大遺跡の保護 日本の考古遺跡の保存と活用 比較研究

Acknowledgement

I began my studies in the Graduate Program in Cultural Resource Management at Kanazawa University in April, 2013. At that time, I decided to transfer my research topic after seven years of work from archaeology to cultural resource management. The main reasons underlying this change were a desire to share archaeological achievements with the public and to contribute to the people influenced by archaeological site conservation. This dissertation is a culmination of five years study; I therefore want to thank many people for their advice on my research and for their help with my studies abroad.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background

Archaeological sites contain large amounts of information about ancient civilizations; because they are fragile and irretrievable, their conservation is paramount. At the same time, however, the rich material and abundant spiritual lives of citizens provide the foundation of a contemporary harmonious society. Indeed, at large-scale archaeological sites where large residential populations live in or nearby, the concerns of local residents, their livelihoods and emotions are all significant issues to the conservation of archaeological sites globally.

In light of increasing threats from natural disasters and urbanization, as well as the need to display and use archaeological sites as valuable cultural resources, Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation (CLASC, 中国大遗址保护) project has been carried out by the national government since the turn of the 21st century and more than 500 large-scale archaeological sites urgently need protection. The aim of the CLASC project is to solve regional development issues while at the same time addressing the reality of numerous difficulties and challenges. In fact, except for a few strongly visible archaeological sites which are prominent and present cultural and economic values efficiently, most sites lack visual appeal and therefore do not create significant economic value. Moreover, some of administrators, managers, and locals should take a much longer time to realize cultural value that has already been widely recognized by scholars. All of this means that the balance between archaeological site conservation and the lives of residents is problematic at most sites. Currently, the damages to archaeological sites and the sacrifices of local residents' benefits are both components of CLASC. For example: Residential houses were illegally constructed within the village of Xiaosikong (小司空村) inside the buffer zone area of the Yin Xu World Heritage Site in February, 2014; The lives

and productivity of residents are limited within a protective area by laws, regulations, and plans aimed at preserving cultural relics; A low participation of residents in sharing archaeological site resources is ubiquitous; The massive relocation of houses and land acquisition along with archaeological site conservation strongly influences the living conditions of local residents, in particular their sense of belonging.

Thus, the questions of how to remove clashes and enhance the harmonious coexistence of archaeological site conservation with the livelihoods of local residents are the key issues of this research. In order to address these issues, detailed studies of local residents in the proximity to Chinese archaeological site conservation projects were performed. A number of key questions are considered in this research including: What is the conservation and management system in practice at a given archaeological site and how does it concern local people?; What are the specific issues that impact on locals involved in the preservation of archaeological sites and why are they so complicated to solve?; Are there any approaches available that can be used to address the balance between archaeological site conservation and the livelihood of local people in the context of regional development?; How can the participation rates of local residents and communities be promoted as components of site conservation?; And, most importantly, how can archaeological sites be conserved and utilized sufficiently for local people?

It is clear that comparative research on successful cases where the issues of local residents have been solved in other countries during archaeological site conservation may offer new ideas and insights. In general, Japanese archaeological site conservation (JASC) can offer a wealth of experience, as well as solutions to a number of similar issues. For example in Japan: Issues that occur during land acquisition and house reconstruction have often been resolved smoothly; The participation of local residents and organizations in site conservation and utilization are commonplace; Various activities are held regularly at sites which involve local participation; And local people commonly tend to recognize and

appreciate their surrounding culture. The consideration of these experiences in specific cases can provide a number of basic guidelines for addressing the issues of local residents during site conservation.

Thus, this research focuses on solving issues to do with the involvement of local residents in Chinese archaeological site conservation by consideration of Japan's successful experience.

1.2. Literature Review

Along with the implementation of CLASC since around 2000, studies that deal with the conservation of archaeological sites are extremely abundant. Nevertheless, within previous research, limited discussion has been afforded to local residents; studies that investigate the perspectives of local people in evaluating their needs and ensuring their rights are limited and so underlying data related to research in this area remains insufficient.

In the first place, the subjects that have been considered in the context of CLASC are broad and have included protection techniques, management, utilization, tourism, and regional development. Thus, although a series of Masters theses and Doctoral dissertations related to CLASC have already been published by scholars from Northwestern University, (西北大学), such as Lijuan CHEN (陳理娟), Junmin LIU (劉軍民) and Yinglan ZHANG (張穎嵐), the studies that do exist in the field of site conservation and its relationship to the lives of local residents are not comprehensive. Li WANG (王立, 2012), for example, focused on the economic benefits to residents and their attitudes to relocation at the Yin Xu site (殷墟遺址), even though this issue is just one of many issues in archaeological site conservation. In addition, as Yin Xu is a National Archaeological Site Park, it cannot just be considered as a tourist attraction. Junmin LIU (2013) investigated archaeological sites in the context of the regional economy and in doing so subordinated the wishes and feelings of local residents. Further, the suggestions offered by his research, including

providing compensation to locals, lack precision and are thus currently not feasible. One of the aims of this research is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the issues important to local people during site conservation. Thus, three levels of issues are recognized that encompassing basic survival, abundant participation, and the recognition of local culture.

Second, CLASC research has mainly been carried out from the perspective of managers and administrators. Xianmin MENG's (孟憲民, 2012) study of CLASC theories and practices serves as a useful reference for administrators and planners, for example, and Yun ZHANG (張蘊, 2010) studied management organizations and functions related to systems in place to administer such sites within China. The perspective of this research is to view site conservation from the point-of-view of local residents. Thus, requests from locals to site managers and the requirements of site conservation to locals are given equal consideration in this study.

Third, available data on local residents in the context of site conservation are limited. Some plans, investigation reports, and primary studies on regional conservation have been published by local governments and research institutes which mention some of the issues facing local residents, but these have been mainly focused on Xi'an (西安), Zhengzhou (鄭州), and Luoyang (洛陽) cities where there are large numbers of large-scale sites. It is worth noting that the publication of a conservation plan is not a compulsory requirement and it remains unpopular to do so in China. Similarly, the participation of local residents in site conservation as well as the number of preservation organizations remains insufficient, and publications from protectors and conservation movements as well as related activities remain rare. To remedy this, field surveys were carried out in the context of three representative CLASC projects where the issues facing between site conservation and the livelihoods of local residents are acute and typical. Data were collecting using questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews, as well as listening and observation. These data form the basis of this research and enrich our understanding of the situation of

residents in site conservation.

Lastly, a number of concepts in international heritage protection have been introduced to China and there have already been a number of successful case studies in this area. Jun WANG (王軍, 2000), for example, presented the concept of Japanese historical parks to the Chinese audience, taking the Toro (登呂遺跡) and Yoshinogari (吉野ヶ里遺跡) sites as well as the Asuka area (飛鳥地方) as case study examples of new site conservation approaches. This article broke new ground in terms of research directions and numerous subsequent publications followed introducing further cases and experiences from abroad. Topics related to protection laws, display, and utilization approaches have been discussed while matters relating to local residents have not been analyzed comprehensively and there has been a lack of detailed data. A further aim of this research was therefore to address the experiences of locals in JASC and utilization given temporal social background and taking into account both the advantages and disadvantages of these experiences.

Compared with the Chinese situation, primary data related to local people in the context of site conservation are much more abundant in Japan. Studies have been carried out on the conservation movements and the participation of local residents, as well as on various regional construction projects of JASC.

In the first place, underlying data related to local residents in the context of JASC are abundant. Conservation plans for archaeological sites are published and include information on the issues faced by residents as well as their participation and utilization. One example, the *Guide to the Maintenance of Historical Remains—for Conservation and Utilization* (Monuments and Sites Division 2005) is a five book series which introduces the general situation, plans, techniques, cases, laws, and other documents related to site conservation. These books encompass discussion of both the general situation and particular cases relevant to local residents. And, the *Dictionary of Site Conservation* (National Council for Cultural Properties Conservation 2006) also introduces approaches

that can be utilized to encourage participation in site conservation by local residents and site protectors. In addition to limited coverage in official data, numerous media materials, publications of local organizations, biographies, and other manuscripts also contain data relevant to local residents; the novels, biographies, and manuscripts of Kajuro TANADA (棚田嘉十郎), the protector of Nara Palace, provide one varied example. Thus, a further aim of this research was to collate the various available types and accurate data in the context of the role of local residents in site conservation. It is noteworthy that, on the one hand, data subdivisions can present models which can be utilized to establish databases for the study of Chinese local residents, while on the other hand, detailed information can be more practical in referring to China.

Second, research studies on local residents within the context of JASC have been numerous, including the history of site conservation, activities of site conservation movements, opposition to site conservation, organizations and their activities, the participation of local residents, and even regional construction project (まちづくり). Some examples include the *Romance of Heijo-kyo in the Past, Present and Future* (INOUE and AWANO 2010) and *Nara World Heritage and Citizens' Movements* (ISHIBE, SUGITA and HAMADA 2006); these introduce a number of specific issues, processes to solve them, and results related to local people as components of the protection of the Nara Palace site. Several Japanese archaeological sites that have closely involved local people were therefore chosen as references for this study. A further aim of this research was to be as comprehensive as possible by incorporating the complete process as well as various aspects.

Thus, this research presents a comprehensive analysis of the issues related to local residents in CLASC from their point-of-view. Attempts are made to address these issues via comparative research with Japan where abundant data has been accumulated as a result of numerous similar studies in archaeological site conservation.

1.3. Research Question and Purpose

The CLASC initiative has already achieved remarkable results regarding the conservation of a number of important archaeological sites from destruction by urbanization and natural disasters. However, issues related to local residents have not been sufficiently taken into account during the conservation process, and numerous conflicts remain. One key research question is, therefore, how to achieve the harmonious coexistence of archaeological site conservation and the livelihoods of local residents while at the same time not unduly influencing their daily lives but nevertheless offering opportunities for participation in cultural activities, promoting recognition of the archaeological site, and enhancing enthusiasm for site conservation.

In particular, this study emphasizes local residents in order to comprehensively analyze their living conditions and requirements in the context of archaeological site conservation. This was achieved by collecting published information and conducting field surveys at representative Chinese and Japanese archaeological sites. This study therefore has four fundamental aims.

(1) By introducing the general situation of CLASC and investigating the specific cases related to local residents in three representative local site areas, this study attempts to summarize the main disparities between demands from locals and government requirements. This was achieved via stakeholder field surveys to determine the demands and emotions of local people with respect to Chinese archaeological site conservation.

(2) By solving the main disparities that currently exist within CLASC, this study references successful cases related to local residents by comparison with JASC. Outside the context of selecting experiences, this study comprehensively documents and analyzes entire events in detail that include the origins, development processes, advantages & disadvantages, as well as results and influences. The panoramic view of Japanese models to encourage the involvement of local residents in site conservation and utilization are

presented.

(3) By taking into account the social background of China, this study attempts to identify beneficial situations from Japanese examples in which the harmonious coexistence of archaeological site conservation and local resident interests have been maintained. A number of suggestions are then proposed regarding the involvement of locals in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites. This research therefore encompasses both the theoretical and practical aspects.

(4) By building on suggestions presented, the feasibility of implementing new projects that ensure the harmonious coexistence of archaeological site and local residents in China is then discussed.

Through achieving these four specific goals step-by-step, this research ultimately aims to suggest a pattern by which local residents can coexist with an archaeological site and conservation goals can be successfully attained.

1.4. Research Scope, Respondents, and Methods

This research focuses on local residents as the core stakeholders in the conservation of large-scale archaeological sites in China and Japan through interdisciplinary and comparative research.

1.4.1. Scope of Archaeological Sites

The Chinese archaeological sites discussed in this study include those nominated in 2013 on the list of 150 Chinese large-scale archaeological sites (CLASs, 中国大遗址). Thus, within these, sites were also considered in cases where there is a close relationship with residents and that are mainly located in urban-rural fringe areas. Key sites studied in this research include Yin Xu, where many conflicts occurred during and after large volumes of

land repossessed and residents relocated many times, as well as Han Yangling (漢陽陵遺址) where the opposite is true and few connections exist between residents and sites after land acquisition. Finally, the Liangzhu site (良渚遺址) is considered in this study as new attempts closely challenge the relationship between the area and the residents.

The scope of Japanese archaeological sites includes a number of representative examples that have typical characteristics for solving issues between site conservation and local residents. The Nara Palace site (平城宮跡), for instance, has a complicated and long conservation history over the course of which a number of issues have been solved with residents. In addition, the Sannai-maruyama (三内丸山遺跡) and Goshono (御所野遺跡) sites were also selected because of the diverse participation of local residents and organizations in site conservation and utilization in these areas. Archaeological sites encompassed by the Fudoki-no-oka (風土記の丘) project comprise a number of large-scale sites and multiple preservation initiatives that exert significant influence on residents and strengthen their recognition of local culture. These cases offer experiences from both horizontal and vertical directions over long timescales and of various types, as well as providing approaches from physical, mental, and emotional aspects to local issues within CLASC.

1.4.2. Types of Respondents

Local residents were the primary respondents used in this research. However, in addition to this group, this study also includes five other stakeholder groups.

(1) Local residents were defined as people living in, or near to, a site protection area. As many archaeological sites are located within urban-rural fringe areas, locals in this context mainly comprise villagers who live in traditional Chinese communities and thus share homogeneity, ascription, self-identity, universal ethical values, beliefs, and customs. However, these traditional communities also face significant changes as part of the present

society. Therefore, locals are divided into three types for this research (Table 1.1).

(2) Administrators: Staff in various levels of government, especially in the cultural heritage bureau.

(3) Managers: Curators in the site administration (遺址管理處) and the site museum (遺址博物館)—the basic-level management organizations.

(4) Archaeologists: Researchers in archaeological research institutes and professors in the faculty of archaeology in universities.

(5) Volunteers: Members of non-profit organizations (NPOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other civic groups.

(6) Relevant persons: People who own cultural organizations or private companies.

Table 1.1 Divisions of Local Residents

Type	Description	Example
Type A	Living within the site protective area. Therefore, the local residents' daily lives and work, such as farming or working in a factory are all related to site conservation. This category also includes relocated people.	Villages in Yin Xu and Liangzhu sites; Villages in Nara Palace site.
Type B	Living in the village where the site is located or quite close, but not in the protective area. Therefore, the site conservation is not directly related to the lives of local residents or exerts little influence.	Han Yangling site with 4 villages (Parts of farming area are sold); Sannai-maruyama with 2 Towns (The usage of land changed).
Type C	Living in the district/county, city, and province/prefecture. The site with associated culture is part of the local residents' spirit of belonging and commercial resources.	Citizens in Yin Xu, Han Yangling and Liangzhu sites; Citizens in Nara Palace, Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites.

1.4.3. Research Methods

This research is in nature both interdisciplinary and comparative. Interdisciplinary research requires both archaeological and sociological concepts and methods, an approach which is required since this research includes two primary objects—archaeological sites and local residents. On the one hand, the significance and value of archaeological sites are based on knowledge of archaeology. The conservation of archaeological sites is determined by their importance and value, and the utilization of archaeological sites is as parts of public archaeology. On the other hand, the collections of published documents and the field surveys are used in such a way as to get the opinions of local residents and other stakeholders. Generally speaking, this research is a comparative study of Chinese and Japanese archaeological site conservation and local residents. However, the purpose of this research is not to find the similarities and differences between two countries, but to solve the current and specific issues of locals in CLASC from the experience of the more-advanced country—Japan, which has a long history and various methods for addressing similar problems. The core part of this research is therefore Chinese archaeological site conservation and local residents and the Japanese cases constitute the references.

This study entailed simultaneously collecting published documents and conducting field surveys. In the field studies, the questionnaires are anonymous, and the interviewees used an assumed name with permission. In total, the study consisted of four phases.

The first phase was the preliminary survey to collect primary materials, determine the sites and respondents, and interview some relevant people. In March, 2014, I accessed documents relating to Chinese archaeological site conservation in the library of Peking University. However, publications relating to locals were limited. I then chose three representative cases to research further. I also interviewed professors in Peking University and administrators in the State Administration for Cultural Heritage.

The second phase consisted of surveys in three CLASs in order to collect specific documents and interview stakeholders. The data from the interviews is the primary data for the research into locals in China since published data is limited. From July 26 to September 26, 2014, I surveyed the Han Yangling, Yin Xu, and Liangzhu sites. An accidental-sampling approach was used with local residents in the Han Yangling and Yin Xu sites through a face-to-face questionnaire. An accidental-sampling approach is easy to conduct but the representative nature of the respondents is hard to control. A face-to-face questionnaire-based survey therefore makes the data more reliable. One problem remaining is that the scope of the investigation is not broad. Data from newspapers and other stakeholders' opinions was therefore collected in order to support the ideas. A judgment-sampling approach was also used with the administrators, managers, archaeologists, some villagers, and related persons in the three sites where a semi-structured interview was conducted in order to obtain the data. The respondents had already been decided and the questions prepared for the fixed-research questions.

After collecting essential documents relating to JASC in Kanazawa University, the third-phase survey started in typical Japanese archaeological sites in order to collect specific documents and interview the stakeholders. In Japan, record-gathering and interview were both used for research with locals. During the period of August 4-13, 2015, I surveyed the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites. I gathered publications in the library of each site, interviewed the managers and members of NPO, and also sent questionnaires to volunteers in the Sannai-maruyama site. Listening and observation was used in field research at the Goshono Site. The field surveys at the Nara Palace site were conducted on three occasions: November 4-11, 2015; March 7-11, 2016; and August 15-25, 2016. I collected data from newspapers, publications by related organizations, biographies of primary protectors, and the manuscripts of local residents held in the library of Nara Prefecture and Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties. I interviewed the

archaeologists and members of local organizations; and on several occasions, I also participated in festivals held at the Nara Palace site. In addition, as a means of developing my understanding of JASC, I visited a number of other Japanese archaeological sites to observe participation by locals, such as five archaeological sites in Fudoki-no-oka projects.

The fourth phase entailed a return to China. I conducted a field survey in Yin Xu site for two weeks in February-March, 2017. I interviewed the principal stakeholders in order to understand the difficulties of Xiaotun villagers and Xiaotun Troupe, as well as introducing the Japanese experience and gauging response.

Through continuous field surveys in China and Japan, this study has created a picture of the Chinese local residents' basic situation, as well as their needs and emotions during site conservation, something which still requires deeper and wider research. In the meantime, the study has ensured the collection of a wide range of information concerning Japanese local residents which not only offers a reference-point for comparative research with China but also offers models for the establishment of a database for research concerning local residents.

1.5. Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation has nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides the research background, a literature review, the research question and the purpose of the research, as well as the scope of the research, the respondents, and the methods. The ultimate aim of this research is to solve the issues local residents have in relation to CLASC by use of the Japanese experience.

Chapter 2 explains the development of archaeological site conservation, the local residents and their hometown, as well as their relationships with society, especially in terms of urbanization, modernization, and globalization.

Chapter 3 provides general information about CLASC and the specific cases of local

residents during site conservation. Specific situations have been analyzed in detail by reviewing publications and conducting field surveys in relation to the three different representative cases of the Yin Xu, Han Yangling, and Liangzhu sites. The issues of locals during CLASC are summarized on three levels—basic survival, diverse participation, and recognition of local culture.

The Japanese experience in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites is dealt with in the next three chapters. Chapter 4 provides a review of the maintenance process of JASC, especially the early conservation stage, taking the Nara Palace Site as a case-study. The analysis of different conservation periods helps to make clear the formation of conservation movements in Japan generally, and in particular, solutions to the problem of maintaining local residents' livelihood during site conservation, with an example of the latter being the harmonious coexistence achieved at the Nara Palace Site.

Chapter 5 selects several different types of site conservation and utilization, taking Sannai-maruyama Site and Goshono Site in the Jomon Period as case-studies. Through the analysis of various conservation and utilization models, it helps to clarify the role and position of local residents in site conservation, as well as how to achieve the balance between site preservation and locals in reality and in ideal terms.

Chapter 6 introduces the national project of Fudoki-no-oka. It provides approaches to improving local residents' recognition and enhancing local cultural construction, which finally aims to achieve regional, social, and ecological benefits.

References relating locals' participation in Japanese archaeological site conservation and utilization (JASCU) to China are summarized in Chapter 7 according to two essential principles and four strategies. The two principles are: minimizing impacts on locals and keeping links between locals and sites. The four strategies are: effective communication, regular activities, seeking economic benefits, and improving awareness. The participation of locals should be improved if these principles are kept in mind and the strategies

followed.

To explore the possibilities of these reference ideas working within CLASC, the Yin Xu site and Xiaotun Village are chosen as the subjects of analysis in Chapter 8. This chapter analyzes the changes in locals' daily lives before and after World Heritage Nomination, especially the failure of Xiaotun Troupe. As a way of resolving the issues, six practical suggestions are offered to administrators, managers, archaeologists and even locals at the Yin Xu site.

Chapter 9 summarizes three primary highlights in relation to research methods and practical suggestions arising from the research into local residents' involvement in archaeological-site conservation and utilization.

Chapter 2. Archaeological Site Conservation, Local Residents and Society

Generally speaking, the balance between archaeological site conservation and the needs of local residents is hard to achieve at many sites. Commonly, there is tension between, on the one hand, the drive to conserve archaeological sites at the expense of locals' interests and, on the other, the demands of locals to destroy the sites. The effect of archaeological site conservation on local people and the role of local people in archaeological site conservation therefore need full discussion. Moreover, with societal change, especially in terms of urbanization, modernization and globalization, a people's living environment changes more rapidly in line with their thoughts, habits, and customs. For instance, with more and more people moving from bungalows to mansions, inhabitants' tight relationship with the land may become fickle, and their thoughts of native land and hometown may thus become apathetic as well. The social influence should therefore not be overlooked in researching the position of local residents during archaeological site conservation.

Therefore, before turning to the analyses of the relationship between archaeological site conservation and local residents in China and Japan, three general factors should first of all be taken into account: the process and current position of archaeological site conservation; the local inhabitants and their attachment to their native land or hometown; and finally, the relationship of the first two elements to a rapidly-changing society.

2.1. The Process of Archaeological Site Conservation

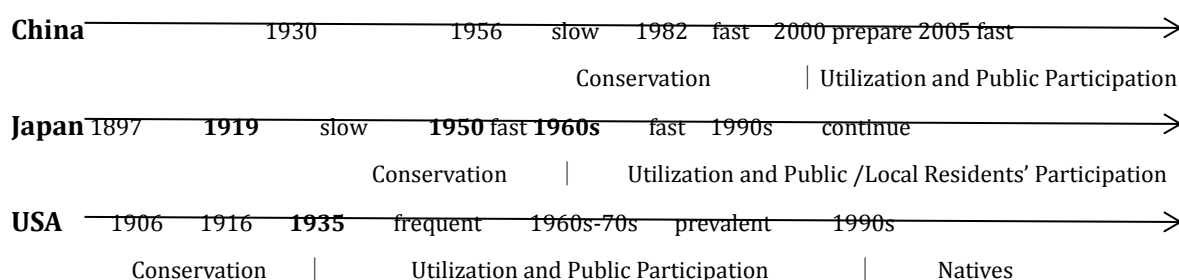
An archaeological site used to be simply the research focus of archaeologists, but nowadays it is of interest to all and is simultaneously a political object, a visitor attraction, and a focus for nostalgia. A representative example is a Neolithic site in Turkey—Çatalhöyük. Çatalhöyük was first discovered in the late 1950s and rapidly became famous

because of the settlement's large size and dense occupation, as well as its spectacular wall paintings. Since 1993, an international team of archaeologists, led by Ian Hodder, has been carrying out new excavations and studies to shed more light on the people who inhabited the site. For instance, they have made use of the excavation method of stratigraphy which is not strictly based on the soil layers but is more scalable according to the excavators' views, and scholars, locals and tourists from different backgrounds can give explanations about the sites. For that matter, the public can easily obtain information about the excavation data from a website. The resources of archaeology are widely shared with the public at Çatalhöyük (Renfrew and Bahn 2012: 46-47 and website of Çatalhöyük¹). It shows that the discipline of archaeology does not only involve surveys, excavation and academic research but also includes archaeological propaganda, public participation, education, and multi-explanations, as well as criticisms of archaeology from the point of view of the current social and political system—whether for nationalistic, native or other reasons (MATSUDA and OKAMURA 2011: 1-18 and 2012: 26-28).

Along with changes in archaeology, the conservation of archaeological sites is not only confined to maintaining the archaeological sites but also involves the promotion of the entire area from the point of view of the environment, the economy and culture. Archaeological site conservation is therefore a dynamic process in step with the development of society. Conservation of archaeological sites goes through a number of different stages of development in each country. In these stages, the approaches and issues are different as well. To understand the various situations in the major countries for site conservation, especially the position of Chinese archaeological site conservation, one must look at the sources and development of the representative cases of Japan and other countries, such as the United States. With comparative research, the situation in China can then be understood accurately (Table 2.1).

¹ <http://www.catalhoyuk.com/index.html>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Table 2.1 Development of Archaeological Site Conservation



China: 1930 *Law on the Protection of Antiquity* (『古物保存法』); 1950 *Interim Measures on the Investigation and Excavation of Ancient Sites and Tombs* (『古文化遺址及古墓葬之調查發掘暫行辦法』); 1953 *Instructions on the Protection of Historical and Revolutionary Cultural Relics during the Infrastructure Construction* (「關於在基本建設工程中保護歷史及革命文物的指示」); 1956 *Notification on the Protection of Cultural Relics during the Agricultural Production* (「關於在農業生產建設中保護文物的通知」); 1956 *The First National Cultural Relics Survey*; 1961 *Temporary Regulations on the Conservation and Management of Cultural Relics* (『文物保護管理暫行條例』); 1981-1985 *The Second National Cultural Relics Survey*; 1982 *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (『中華人民共和國文物保護法』); 2005 *Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation* (「大遺址保護」); 2007-2011 *The Third National Cultural Relics Survey*; 2011 *Law of the People's Republic of China on Intangible Cultural Heritage* (『中華人民共和國非物質文化遺產法』).

From the development of cultural resource management in the 1960s and especially from the start of the 21st century, many countries have addressed the issue of the conservation and management of archaeological sites. In China, by the turn of the 21st century, the process of preserving archaeological sites can be divided into two phases.

The first phase focused on conservation work through enacting laws and regulations. Meanwhile, most archaeological sites were backfilled after excavation without further effect on local residents, while only a few site museums and site parks were established on a limited scale. The *Law on the Protection of Antiquity* of 1930 mentioned the conservation of archaeological sites and antiquities. The extensive conservation of archaeological sites started with the establishment of the People's Republic of China. During this period, a series of measures and notifications were enacted and the site museums of Zhoukoudian

(周口店遺址博物館) and Xi'an Banpo (西安半坡博物館) were established in the 1950s. After the Great Cultural Revolution, the systematic conservation of archaeological sites can be dated from 1982, the year that the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* was enacted. Some site parks were gradually established at famous archaeological sites, such as Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum (秦始皇陵博物館), Hemudu Site Museum (河姆渡遺址博物館博物館), and Yin Xu Park (殷墟博物苑) (Jun GU and Li YUAN 2005: 129-145).

In the second period, there was a focus on the active conservation of archaeological sites on a large scale and thus local residents were fully involved in the project. Since the turn of the 21st century, the CLASC project has been implemented. Massive large-scale funds have been invested; specific protection plans and regulations have been compiled gradually; and three batches of more than 200 sites are nominated on the Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site List. Meanwhile, a massive relocation and establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park has been carried out continuously. Influenced by that, educational activities, festivals, and tourism have arisen based on archaeological sites. However, public participation is still insufficient and under-explored.

Japan: 1897 Law for Preserving Old Shines and Temples (『古社寺保存法』); 1919 Law for Preserving Historical Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments (『史跡名勝天然記念物保存法』); 1929 Preservation of National Treasures (『国宝保護法』); 1950 Act on Protection of Cultural Properties (『文化財保護法』); 1960s Conservation Movements, Conservation Projects of Fudoki-no-oka (『風土記の丘』), Historic Route (『歴史の道』), etc; 1990s Continuous conservation projects.

In Japan, the process for preserving archaeological sites can be divided into two phases with the turning point being the 1960s, during which time the conservation movement became popular. Before the 1960s, there was a focus on maintenance work through enacting laws and regulations and thus the effects on local residents were limited again. A

series of legislation related to the preservation of cultural heritage has been enacted since the turn of the 20th century. In particular, the *Law for Preserving Historical Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments* of 1919 required that defining the range over which sites were protected and conserving the surrounding environment went together. The national and comprehensive law for the conservation of cultural properties is the *Act on Protection of Cultural Properties* of 1950, which brought together the previous regulations and legislation. This act efficiently protected cultural resources and created the population's awareness of conservation (Jun GU and Li YUAN 2005: 90-93).

Since the 1960s, public enthusiasm for protecting archaeological sites has increased, and the participation of local residents in site conservation and utilization is now prevalent. During the 1960s, two important conservation movements developed at the Nara Palace site in the Kansai region (関西地方) and the Kasori shell mounds (加曾利貝塚) in the Kanto region (関東地方). After that, many important archaeological sites have been conserved and made use of in order to share these resources with the public. The national government has implemented some projects, such as the Fudoki-no-oka in 1966 and the Historic Route in 1978. Gradually, the conservation of archaeological sites under the background of economic development and the participation of local residents in site conservation and utilization has built up in Japan. Since the 1990s, conservation projects have gone smoothly, and archaeological sites have been widely conserved and developed. Local organizations and companies are familiar with participating in various aspects of the site.

USA: 1906 Antiquities Act; 1916 National Park Service Organic Act, National Park Service; 1935 Historic Site Act; 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA); 1969 National Environmental Policy Act; 1974 Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act; 1976 Folklore Protection Act; 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA); 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).

Besides looking at the process of site conservation in China and Japan, the situation in other countries, such as the United States, can also be compared. In the United States, the conservation process can be divided into two phases from around 1935. Before that time, conservation work was ensured through enacting regulations and carrying out national projects and thus, the impact on local residents was limited. The provisions of the *Antiquities Act* of 1906 marked national recognition of the importance of archaeological resources, as it prohibited the removal and destruction of any object of antiquity on public lands. The establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 strengthened the protection of the national natural and cultural gems, which also promoted the new construction model as National Parks.

After that time, the benefits to and the participation of local residents in archaeological site conservation have been emphasized. In 1935, the enactment of the *Historic Sites Act* authorized the preservation of properties of national historic or archaeological significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people and thus the public increasingly developed a love of the physical remains of their history. Some local communities started to take the initiative in historic and archaeological protection. The *National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings* of 1947 (renamed the *National Trust for Historic Preservation* in 1949) played a major role in the growth of subsequent cultural heritage conservation movements. Since the 1990s, the conservation of archaeological sites has been facing new challenges from ethnicity issues, specifically those relating to the Native American and African-American peoples. The enactment of *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA) has assisted in promoting heritage values and increased ethnographic interest and awareness for Native Americans (Jameson 2004: 21-58).

To sum up, there are three main points. (1) Each country experiences the stages in the process of archaeological site conservation differently. For example, conservation and utilization with public participation started early in the United States and Japan and are

therefore more embedded in those two countries. However, the second phase has only just started in China. Protection therefore still needs more effort. Although utilization and public participation are developing fast, they are still not sufficient. (2) In these three countries, the establishment of an Archaeological or Historical Park is a similar and efficient approach to developing an archaeological site. This approach appears in different periods which are usually tied in with the development of the economy in each country. (3) The rise in public awareness of the need to conserve archaeological sites is at different stages. The public movements on protecting archaeological sites frequently happened in the United States from the 1950s and in Japan from the 1960s. However, in China, these types of activities began only in the 21st century and are now becoming popular.

2.2. Local Residents and Native Land

Archaeological sites are not only international and national treasures but also a part of the local culture and so have a close relationship with local residents. The conservation of archaeological sites therefore needs both governmental policies and projects from top to bottom and requires the participation and recognition of local residents from bottom to top.

Discussions from the perspective of government are rich and basically accepted. Three main properties of an archaeological site require serious attention. The first is that an archaeological site gives us the history of thousands of years in real objects and thus contains a variety of information about ancient culture as a part of Chinese civilization. The second is that an archaeological site is fragile and non-renewable. With the development of urban and rural construction, as well as destruction from natural disasters in the archaeological site area, its conservation is both urgent and necessary. The third is that archaeological site conservation embodies various research, educational, economic, and political values from the perspective of the beneficiaries. As far as research values are concerned, archaeological sites are the targets for archaeologists searching through ancient

history. In terms of educational values, the visible ruins and artifacts, as well as their various contents, are precious archaeological, historical, and cultural materials for use in education. From an economic point of view, tourism is the primary approach to making use of the site, and it is often attached to the establishment of archaeological parks. Finally, as far as political values are concerned, an important archaeological site may promote a national and/or area identity and strengthen the unity of the nation and/or the area. Because of these properties, the conservation of archaeological sites should be an important priority for governments and therefore merits their serious attention.

However, from the perspective of local residents, especially the villagers of China, there have been insufficient discussions. What are their opinions of archaeological sites? What are their feelings about the site as a part of their local culture? And do these emotions contribute to its conservation or not?

First of all, traditional Chinese people worship their ancestors, cherish their culture, and respect their history. The archaeological sites inherited from human ancestors carry the memory of history, ancient culture, ethnological knowledge, religious beliefs, etc. The desire to protect the inheritance of archaeological sites therefore comes from the deepest human instincts, which is the basis of public participation in the conservation of the archaeological site. Only some special activities persist, such as grave robbing motivated by financial gain, which destroy the cultural heritage of a religion/dynasty/country. However, awareness of the need to protect the inheritance of the current population has become weaker in recent years, especially after the Great Cultural Revolution. Even if there is an awareness of protection, indicators related to do it do not clearly demonstrate whether the archaeological site contains ancient civilization or the current village culture. A simple link between site conservation and tourism or economic development is gradually growing. Those situations can be seen from the field research addressed in Chapter 3.

Second, Chinese people traditionally have a great attachment to their native land and are nostalgic as well as satisfied with the current situation and hate to move. In the book *Topophilia* by Yifu Tuan, the author notes that topophilia is the affective bond between people and a place or setting. Topophilia takes many forms and varies greatly in emotional range and intensity. It is a start to describe what they are: fleeting visual pleasure; the sensual delight of physical contact; the fondness for place because it is familiar, because it is home and incarnates the past, because it evokes pride of ownership or of creation; and joy in things because of animal health and vitality (Yifu TUAN 1990: 4, 247). Therefore, emotions like nostalgia or topophilia link local residents to their native land/hometown on survival, spiritual, and cognitive levels. However, people nowadays yearn for a modern life which is represented as convenient and comfortable, and that encourages people to pursue change. This shift in mentality is one of the main reasons why many local residents want to improve their lives through relocation, finding a job in the conservation and utilization of an archaeological site as one core of a cultural industry based on field research and other scholars' research as outlined in Chapter 3. Finally, their lives cannot be absolutely improved only by reliance on relocation and setting up new businesses, which is something that confuses them in terms of their original goal of archaeological site conservation.

Third, Chinese people have a very long history of being patriotic, and this has been emphasized by the People's Republic of China. Many Patriotism Education Bases (愛國主義教育基地) such as battlefields, the residences of celebrities, museums and some archaeological sites are registered for this reason. However, the emotion of patriotism is fuzzy compared to religion with its strict tenets or to nostalgia with its visible, tangible, and specific features. Because of this poorer awareness of the country and the emphasis on land socialization, land acquisition with house and factory relocation can usually be carried out in a short period and with the support of most local residents, something which has not

only happened in archaeological site conservation but also in other construction projects. The conservation of archaeological sites in China therefore seems to have made a good start. However, because of the high demand for private benefits or the awareness for maintaining current local culture or local relationships, to some extent, conservation projects also face revolts and complaints from local residents during the process.

In all the motivations mentioned above, protecting and inheriting a heritage related to ancestors, religions, ancient history, and nationality is the human instinct which most strongly motivates local residents as far as archaeological site conservation is concerned. However, in this fast-changing society, some ambivalence on the part of locals, especially Chinese villagers, shapes archaeological site conservation in four important ways. (1) Generally speaking, Chinese people support the protection of cultural heritage, but they are unclear about why because of the poor recognition of modern and contemporary rural culture or folk culture, much less an ancient archaeological site with no direct connection to modern life. (2) Most people consider that direct economic values (leaving aside illegal construction or reasonable compensation) are much more important than maintaining an ancient archaeological site as well as the current regional culture. Therefore, once site conservation conflicts with local residents' economic benefit, destruction often occurs. (3) Besides disputes over financial aspects, the breakdown of rural culture and the loss of the rural landscape are rarely mentioned by local residents. (4) Along with land acquisition and house relocation happening in a short period during site conservation, the areas surrounding some archaeological sites have been changed completely. For example, the new residential buildings constructed around the Daming Palace site (大明宮遺址) or the villas built around the Liangzhu site. Currently, Chinese society is undergoing a huge change. Because of this, thinking about how to keep and protect the essential spirit of what it means to be human in the form of our cultural heritage will effectively guide conservation work.

2.3. Archaeological Site Conservation and Local Residents in Society

With the increasing speed of development, the conservation of archaeological sites faces many threats from construction. Meanwhile, people's living environments are rapidly changing along with their ways of thinking. These situations imply that research into the position of local residents during archaeological site conservation should be considered against the background of current society, especially in relation to the three aspects of urbanization, modernization, and globalization.

Urbanization mainly means a gradual increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas and the main focus of occupations changing from agriculture to industry and services. The main characteristics of urbanization are the transformation of occupation, industrial structure, and the use of land and local space. One core issue for local residents in archaeological site conservation is land. Because of land acquisition and house relocation, ownership of the land is changing from Collective Land (集体所有土地: 宅基地、自留地、自留山) to National Land (国有土地), and from farmland to parkland. As a direct result, local residents have moved away from their hometowns, and some of them have lost their original jobs on the farmland or in the village factories. With changing lifestyles, residents' tight relationship with the land may become fickle, and their thoughts of neighborhood and hometown may diminish. Besides, without relocation and land acquisition, the living and production of residents who live in the protective area of the archaeological site will be strictly limited. Some grievances from residents, even some illegal construction works, happen because of the limitation on land usage. These issues are typical problems in urbanization as well.

If the trend of urbanization is irreversible, archaeological site conservation in rural areas should be considered against the background of urbanization. For instance, how should local residents be trained in new skills and guided to find a stable job in the new environment? How should their relationship with the original land be maintained or new

connections be made? How can the archaeological site be developed as a park which can involve local residents? How should local residents be brought to see things from a cultural perspective? Archaeological site conservation should consider all of these issues against the background of urbanization.

Mizoguchi summed up the concept of modernity in terms of Malcolm Waters's opinion, which describes modernity as a "socio-cultural configuration"; and which can be characterized in terms of eight elements: (a) industrialization, (b) rationalization, (c) commodification, (d) bureaucratization, (e) citizenship, (f) deconstruction of kinship/local ties, (g) secularization, (h) institutional segmentation and specialization. Modernity is a different name for functionally differentiated social formation (MIZOGUCHI 2006: 19, 165). The pursuit of knowledge and the spread of culture are two characteristics of modernization.

Archaeology is gradually opening up to the public in a way that is closely related to modernization. For instance, individuals try to obtain information about archaeology through various approaches; abundant media means are using to disseminate information about archaeology; and archaeology is used in more commercial ways as well. Archaeological site conservation should therefore also cater to the requirements of modernization. Like the case of the Çatalhöyük site in Turkey, the information about the archaeological excavation should be available to the public as much as possible. The participation of the public in site excavation and utilization should be carefully considered in a way that includes protective and research functions as well as educational and tourist services. Archaeological-site conservation needs the involvement of the public to sustain it.

Globalization is a process of interaction and integration driven by the development of information technology, which affects the environment, culture, and economy worldwide. On the one hand, globalization promotes international cooperation. For example, UNESCO has played a major role in encouraging a global perspective on cultural heritage

(Colin Long and Sophia Labadi 2010:2). An example is the registration of the Silk Road as a World Heritage Site which not only conserves the ancient sites in several countries but also communicates their culture, society, and even economy to the world. On the other hand, globalization eliminates differences and promotes similarities globally. In this situation, however, heritage is seen as an essential element which not only attracts tourists for economic benefits but also helps in the re-creation of local identities as cities and regions to seek new, post-industrial futures and compete for foreign investment and the location of newbusiness enterprises, or even government or supra-government agencies (Colin Long and Sophia Labadi 2010:7).

At the background of globalization, the conservation of archaeological sites as a part of heritage is therefore sufficient to share diverse cultures and to create a particular image of a place or region, which will be helpful for regional cultural, social, and environmental development.

To sum up, the relationship of archaeological site conservation and local residents is deeply influenced by society in terms of three aspects: urbanization, which mainly impacts land usage; modernization, which mainly affects the requirements of culture and knowledge; and globalization, which mainly influences the inheritance of regional culture. Thus, societal changes should be taken into account in this research.

To encapsulate the main points of Chapter 2, all the discussions mentioned above can be summarized in the following three points. First, the experience of archaeological site conservation is divided into two main stages of conservation and utilization with public participation. Each country has different experiences of these stages and the extent to which stages are developed in archaeological site conservation differs. China is in the early stage, and many aspects are still not well developed. Second, protecting and preserving the inherited heritage related to ancestors, religions, ancient history and nationality is a basic

human drive. However, in this fast-changing society, ambivalence on the part of local residents, especially Chinese villagers, creates challenges for archaeological site conservation. Third, in terms of archaeological site conservation, consideration of these issues for local residents should take into account current societal trends, especially urbanization, modernization, and globalization.

In Chapter 3, we describe research into CLASC which was conducted based on the stages of the archaeological site conservation process in China, the characteristics of the Chinese people, and the background of current Chinese society from the macro- and micro-perspectives. This research was conducted through a literature review of the general situation and field research on specific cases.

Chapter 3. Local Residents and Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation

To comprehensively study the situation of local residents living in, and nearby CLASs, general information was collected on five aspects, and some universal issues were found. Then three representative sites from the 150 CLASs published on the 2013 national list were chosen as case studies in order to examine particular situations and to identify sources of problems. The sites selected were the Yin Xu site where residents have been relocated many times, the Han Yangling site where large amounts of land have been acquired, and the Liangzhu site where new developments are creating challenges for local residents. By reviewing the process of archaeological site conservation and surveying the attitudes and living conditions of local residents, this study identified three main disparities between conservation policy and the implementation of plans as well as the wishes and feelings of locals.

3.1. General Situation

CLASC is a new theory, approach to, and project for site conservation which faces many challenges in its implementation process. To know the general situation of local residents in relation to CLASC, five aspects of this project should be analyzed; the definition and purpose, the process, the relevant laws, management organization, and mechanisms.

3.1.1. Definition and Purpose

The description of the CLAS was first explicitly mentioned in the *Regulations on Special Funds for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (2005)* (『大遺址保護專項經費管理辦法』) by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (国家文物局) and the State

Ministry of Finance (国家财政部)²:

Chinese large-scale archaeological site mainly includes ruins, ruin groups and cultural landscape³, such as large, important and influentially far-reaching settlements, city ruins, palaces, mausoleums, tombs, etc, all of which reflect the development of each period of Chinese ancient history in politics, religion, military, science, technology, industry, agriculture, architecture, transportation, water conservancy, etc.

Translated by the author

The purposes of CLASC have been gradually promoted along with its development. Generally speaking, this project aims to do the following: develop the comprehensive benefits of special funds; promote the conservation, management, and display of sites; improve urban construction and the level of people's living standards and quality of life; and achieve harmonious and sustainable development which includes ecological, social, and economic benefits. In total, it could promote regional development and share the achievement with the general public.

CLASC is entirely different from the previous system of site conservation which emphasized preservation. Based on this primary purpose, some displays are used in order for visitors to understand the ruins and their background. In 1958, the first prehistory archaeological site museum, Xi'an Banpo Museum, was established in Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province (陕西省). In this museum, audiences can visit an exhibition hall full of cultural relics as in other museums. They can also see ruins in situ as they were after excavation, including houses, cellars and tombs, as well as the relics of production and living tools.

² Chinese titles and contents are given in English translation throughout (translations by author when official translations are unavailable).

³ The term of "cultural landscape" was deleted in the following documents since its core part is different from archaeological site. A cultural landscape, as defined by the World Heritage Committee, embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.

Thus, people can experience the matriarchal clan's life as it was over 6,000 years ago.

However, CLAS cannot be protected in this enclosed approach because of its property and characteristics, such as its large scale, general lack of visibility, being closely related to the local residents' livelihood, and being under pressure from economic development. CLASC therefore faces more difficulties in the initial stages and needs much exploration. Gradually, its core concepts have been formed and established in practice. We can clearly see this from several forums held by the State Administration for Cultural Heritage, which are held for staff in related areas so that they could exchange experiences, share achievements, and promote the work of CLASC. Four examples of this work are described below.

(1) In 2008, a Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation Summit Forum (中国大遗址保护高峰论坛) was held at Xi'an. In this forum, participants reached the Xi'an Consensus on Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (「關於大遗址保护西安共識」): this advocated that sharing its achievements with society at large was the starting point as well as the primary aim of CLASC (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009: 1-2).

(2) In 2009, a Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation Forum (中国大遗址保护论坛) was held at Hangzhou (杭州). Participants reached the Liangzhu Consensus on the Establishment of an Archaeological Site Park (「關於建設考古遗址公園的良渚共識」): this advocated that the establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park (国家考古遗址公園) was an excellent approach for CLASC (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009: 1-2).

(3) In the same year, a Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation Summit Forum was held at Luoyang. Participants reached the Luoyang Consensus on Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (「大遗址保护洛陽宣言」): this advocated for exploring ways of harmonizing CLASC and urban development (State Administration of Cultural

Heritage 2010: 1-2).

(4) In 2011, a Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation Summit Forum was held at Jingzhou (荊州). Participants reached the Jingzhou Consensus on Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (「大遺址保護荊州宣言」): CLASC was included in the national strategy for the construction of a cultural country and public culture-services system. It was felt that CLAS would be helpful for exploration of regional cultural resources and further promotion of cultural tourism (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2013: 1-2).

Considering the above, CLASC has required more as it develops. Besides the fundamental requirement of conservation, it also requires sharing the achievements of archaeology with society as a whole, improving people's living standards and quality of life, promoting urban construction, promoting cultural tourism, achieving the harmonious and sustainable development of regional, social, and ecological benefits, and constructing a cultural country and a public culture-services system. CLASC can therefore be considered a process of continuously enriching, replenishing, and improving social development.

3.1.2. Process

CLASs urgently need protection for two main reasons. On the one hand, there are threats from the current fast-developing society. CLAS represents Chinese history within a particular period and area through real materials so proper conservation has great significance. With the development of urban and rural construction, the advancement of globalization and destruction from natural disasters, archaeological site conservation is urgent. This is especially true for vast, important, and influentially far-reaching archaeological sites. On the other hand, compared with previous archaeological site conservation, CLASC emphasizes conservation as well as utilization in order to share its

achievements of archaeology with the public. Facing such severe requirements, the establishment of National Archaeological Site Park is one form of this which usually means adopting a protective display to show the lasting value of the remains. Moreover, the fundamental aim of CLASC is inseparable from the funds for a cultural relic's protection which is increasing with national economic development.

CLASC began at the turn of the century with an increase in national governmental efforts. In 1999, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage submitted *Thoughts on Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2001-2005)* (『「十五」期間大遺址保護專項規劃的基本思路』) to the State Development Plan Commission. In 2002, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage wrote the *Plan for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National Tenth Five-Year Plan (2001-2005)* (『大遺址保護「十五」計劃』), which listed CLASC as its key target. During that period, the successful site conservation and environmental improvement of the Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom (高句麗王城、王陵及貴族墓葬), which was registered on the World Heritage List in 2003 provides an excellent example of CLASC. It also created a healthy social environment for the ongoing CLASC.

Thus, in 2005, the State Ministry of Finance established special funds for the conservation of CLASs and other valuable cultural relics; and devoted two billion yuan (元) as special funds to CLASC during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2006-2010) (『「十一五」期間大遺址保護總體規劃』). In 2006, the State Administration for Cultural Heritage and the State Ministry of Finance promulgated the *Master Plan for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2006-2010)*. It pointed out the preliminary requirements of establishing management systems, compiling conservation regulations and accompanying plans, including guidelines for building archaeological parks, and other items. In the following document, it gave the first batch-list of 100 CLASs and 12 National Archaeological Site Parks (Fig. 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Scattergram of National Archaeological Site Parks in China
(Source: Made by the author)

First Batch (12 in total, blue color): 1. 円明園国家考古遺址公園, 2. 周口店国家考古遺址公園, 3. 集安高句麗国家考古遺址公園, 4. 鴻山国家考古遺址公園, 5. 良渚国家考古遺址公園, 6. 殷墟国家考古遺址公園, 7. 隋唐洛陽城国家考古遺址公園, 8. 三星堆国家考古遺址公園, 9. 金沙国家考古遺址公園, 10. 漢陽陵国家考古遺址公園, 11. 秦始皇陵国家考古遺址公園, 12. 大明宮国家考古遺址公園.

Second Batch (12 in total, pink color): 1. 牛河梁国家考古遺址公園, 2. 渤海中京国家考古遺址公園, 3. 渤海上京国家考古遺址公園, 4. 御窯廠国家考古遺址公園, 5. 曲阜魯国故城国家考古遺址公園, 6. 大運河南旺樞紐国家考古遺址公園, 7. 漢魏洛陽故城国家考古遺址公園, 8. 熊家冢国家考古遺址公園, 9. 長沙銅官窯国家考古遺址公園, 10. 甌皮岩国家考古遺址公園, 11. 釣魚城国家考古遺址公園, 12. 北庭故城国家考古遺址公園.

In 2013, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and the State Ministry of Finance promulgated the *Special Plan for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011-2015)* (『大遺址保護「十二五」專項规划』), which

failed to mention an exact amount of funds, but continued to implement projects at a considerable pace. A further 50 archaeological sites were nominated to be added to the list of CLAS; and another 12 National Archaeological Site Parks were being built. In addition, a mid-term evaluation was carried out in 2013. It was obvious that central government was continuously strengthening CLASC (Fig. 3.1).

At the end of 2016, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage promulgated the *Special Plan for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National Thirteenth Five-Year Plan (2016-2020)* (『大遺址保護「十三五」專項規劃』), which continued to promote CLASC as a way to develop the local economy and satisfy cultural needs. There were clear requirements for improving the display and service levels of CLASs. Furthermore, it was stated that CLASC should coordinate with regional cultural heritage, which could create polymerization effects. Thus, CLAS could undertake the particular responsibility for improving the cultural service functions of a city. The number of CLASs and National Archaeological Site Parks is increasing.

Considering the above, CLASC has spanned three Five-Year Plans, all with different characteristics. The content of the programs has become more nuanced with a precise number, site name, focus area and lines. Thus, the requirements of this project are a progressive elaboration, which starts from abstract ideas and moves towards a specific target. Meanwhile, the number of CLASs and National Archaeological Site Parks is increasing, as well as coverage being enlarged. However, detailed information related to solving problems associated with the participation and enjoyment of locals in CLASC is still insufficient.

3.1.3. Relevant Laws and Regulations

The applicable laws and regulations restrict but also offer guarantees to local residents regarding CLASC. International conventions have already addressed the rights of residents

in the conservation of archaeological sites since the 1960s. Chinese national laws and regulations set some limitations and make requirements of citizens/locals in archaeological site conservation. Based on national ones, local regulations and policies focus on the particular circumstances of different sites. Moreover, in recent years, some special regulations have been enacted which are concentrated on CLASC.

3.1.3.1. International Conventions

UNESCO, ICOMOS and other international organizations enacted various international conventions to protect archaeological sites. Among them, some articles were related to local residents in the entire conservation of the archaeological site. They are as follows.

(1) *The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964)* expressed a cautious attitude towards restoring and protecting historic sites and the surrounding areas.

Article 6. The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and color must be allowed.

(2) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)* emphasized the function of education in addition to site conservation.

Article 27 1. The States Parties to this Convention shall endeavor by all appropriate means, and in particular by educational and information programmes, to strengthen appreciation and respect by their peoples of the cultural and natural heritage defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention.

2. They shall undertake to keep the public broadly informed of the dangers threatening this heritage and of the activities carried on in pursuance of this Convention.

(3) *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990)* emphasized the participation of local residents and the importance of restoration in displays.

Article 2. *Active participation by the general public must form part of policies for the protection of the archaeological heritage. This is essential where the heritage of indigenous peoples is involved. Participation must be based upon access to the knowledge necessary for decision making. The provision of information to the general public is therefore an important element in integrated protection.*

Article 6. *Local commitment and participation should be actively sought and encouraged as a means of promoting the maintenance of the archaeological heritage. This principle is especially important when dealing with the heritage of indigenous peoples or local cultural groups. In some cases it may be appropriate to entrust responsibility for the protection and management of sites and monuments to indigenous peoples.*

Article 7. *The presentation of the archaeological heritage to the general public is an essential method of promoting an understanding of the origins and development of modern societies. At the same time, it is the most important means of promoting an understanding of the need for its protection.*

(4) *International Cultural Tourism Charter—Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999)* emphasized the participation of host communities and indigenous people.

Principle 4 *Host communities and indigenous peoples should be involved in planning for conservation and tourism.*

4.1 *The rights and interests of the host community, at regional and local levels, property owners and relevant indigenous peoples who may exercise traditional rights or responsibilities over their own land and its significant sites, should be respected. They should be involved in establishing goals, strategies, policies and protocols for the identification, conservation, management, presentation and interpretation of their heritage resources, cultural practices and contemporary cultural expressions, in the tourism context.*

4.2 While the heritage of any specific place or region may have a universal dimension, the needs and wishes of some communities or indigenous peoples to restrict or manage physical, spiritual or intellectual access to certain cultural practices, knowledge, beliefs, activities, artefacts or sites should be respected.

Principle 5 Tourism and conservation activities should benefit the host community.

5.1 Policy makers should promote measures for the equitable distribution of the benefits of tourism to be shared across countries or regions, improving the levels of socio-economic development and contributing where necessary to poverty alleviation.

5.2 Conservation management and tourism activities should provide equitable economic, social and cultural benefits to the men and women of the host or local community, at all levels, through education, training and the creation of full-time employment opportunities.

5.4 Tourism programmes should encourage the training and employment of guides and site interpreters from the host community to enhance the skills of local people in the presentation and interpretation of their cultural values.

5.5 Heritage interpretation and education programmes among the people of the host community should encourage the involvement of local site interpreters. The programmes should promote a knowledge and respect for their heritage, encouraging the local people to take a direct interest in its care and conservation.

3.1.3.2. National Laws and Regulations

The most important national law for archaeological site conservation in China is the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (2002), and its enforcement regulations (『中華人民共和國文物保護法實施條例』). It sets out strict punishments for destroying sites and obligations to preserve sites that were linked to locals but lacked the protection of their rights.

In addition, there are some regulations regarding CLASC, enacted in recent years, such as *Regulations on Special Funds for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation* (2005), *Regulations on the National Archaeological Site Park (Trial)* (2009) (『國家考古遺址公園管理辦法（試行）』) and *Specification for Conservation Plan of Large-scale*

Archaeological Site (2016) (『大遺址保護規劃規範』). These regulations mentioned more about the requirements of CLASC from the administrators' perspective while overlooking local residents' requirements.

3.1.3.3. Local Regulations and Policies

According to the importance and number of CLASC in each province, some provinces have already enacted general regulations for CLASC, such as *Temporary Regulations on the Ancient Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation and Management in Henan Province (1995)* (『河南省古代大型遺址保護管理暫行規定』), which is the first set of regulations for the protection of large-scale archaeological sites at the provincial level.

Several CLASs have or are going to have their own regulations and policies. Site regulations, such as *Regulations on the Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang City (1982)* (『安陽市殷墟保護管理辦法』), and *Regulations on the Xi'an Feng and Hao in Zhou Dynasty, Epang Palace in Qin Dynasty, Chang'an City in Han Dynasty, Daming Palace in Tang Dynasty Conservation and Management (1995)* (『西安市周豐鎬、秦阿房宮、漢長安城和唐大明宮遺址保護管理條例』) were enacted a long time before CLASC. Along with the requirements of plans for large-scale archaeological site conservation during the National Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteen Five-Year Plan, ever increasing regulations have been and will be enacted for CLASC. For example, *Regulations on the Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang City, Henan Province (2001)* (『河南省安陽殷墟保護管理條例』), *Regulations on Liangzhu Site Protection and Management in Hangzhou City (2002, revised in 2013)* (『杭州市良渚遺址保護管理條例』), *Regulations on the Luoyang Ancient City in Han and Wei Dynasties Conservation (2006)* (『洛陽市漢魏故城保護條例』), and *Regulations on the Luoyang Yanshi Elitou Site and Shixianggou Shang City Site Conservation (2009)* (『洛陽市偃師二里頭遺址和尸鄉溝商城遺址保護

条例』) have all been enacted. *Regulations on the Han and Tang Dynasties Mausoleum Protection and Management in Shaanxi Province* (『陕西省汉唐帝王陵保护管理条例』) are due to be enacted. Besides the strict requirements for site conservation, these regulations mention useful aspects for local residents, such as compensation for relocation and encouragement for participation.

To sum up, abundant laws and regulations, with well thought-out and efficient articles regarding local residents on the international, national, and local level, ensure the implementation of CLASC. However, the enactment of legislation and regulations is the first step. Following that is the question of how to effectively implement such articles. Until now, there have been at least three issues with enacting and enforcing such laws and regulations. First, there is the lack of regulations with some CLASs lacking specific conservation laws and regulations. Second, there is the non-enforcement of laws and regulations. For example, many factories and inhabitants surrounding the sites do not obey the rules for two main reasons: one is to maintain basic requirements for living since most of the laws forbid productive activities, and the other is to gain more private benefits through illegal construction. Third, there is lax enforcement of legislation and regulations. The cultural relics department that focuses on conservation and management does not have enforcement powers, while local government that does has this power has to balance many regional conditions like economic development and rural construction to reach its final decisions. Thus, illegal events such as urban construction and private construction are difficult to prevent. Moreover, awareness-raising as far as conservation laws and regulations still needs to be improved.

3.1.4. Organizations

Similar to the classification of cultural relics organization, there are three types and four sub-types of direct organizations under CLASC. The three types are government

administration, the public institution (事業單位) including the site administration and the site museum two sub-types, and enterprise. The largest part of the organization is the public institution. Beyond the direct organizations, an elaborate system for CLASC exists.

Within this elaborate system, the basic framework of the current CLASC organizations can be seen as consisting of lengthwise and crosswise components. Lengthwise ones include different levels of government, the subordinate Cultural Relics Bureau, the subordinate Public Institutions (Site Museum and Site Administration), and a few enterprises and social organizations. Archaeological Research Institutes and Museums are also involved in the excavation and display of CLAS (Table 3.1).

The three government levels that are brought to bear on this issue include national, provincial, and municipal/county levels. Each level sets up management organizations in principle. The municipal/county level is often the primary manager of sites, and is directed by provincial and national management. However, when sites are managed at the municipal/county level, they have less capacity for site conservation. For instance, challenges may include understaffing, lack of funds, and mismanagement. Site management can also vary between regions given the number and relative importance of archaeological sites. For instance, there are six administrative ranks in the Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau. The administrative ranks in some provinces where cultural relics are abundant are still lower, and it makes the management of CLAS more difficult. However some cities and counties do not even have government departments for this. The lack or low function of local government departments limits the development of CLASC.

Crosswise ones include the Cultural Relics Bureau and other departments, such as the Tourist Bureau (旅游局), the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Land and Resources (国土資源部), the Ministry of Construction (建設部), the Ministry of Public Security (公安部), etc (Table 3.2).

Table 3-1 Management Organizations of Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site-Lengthwise

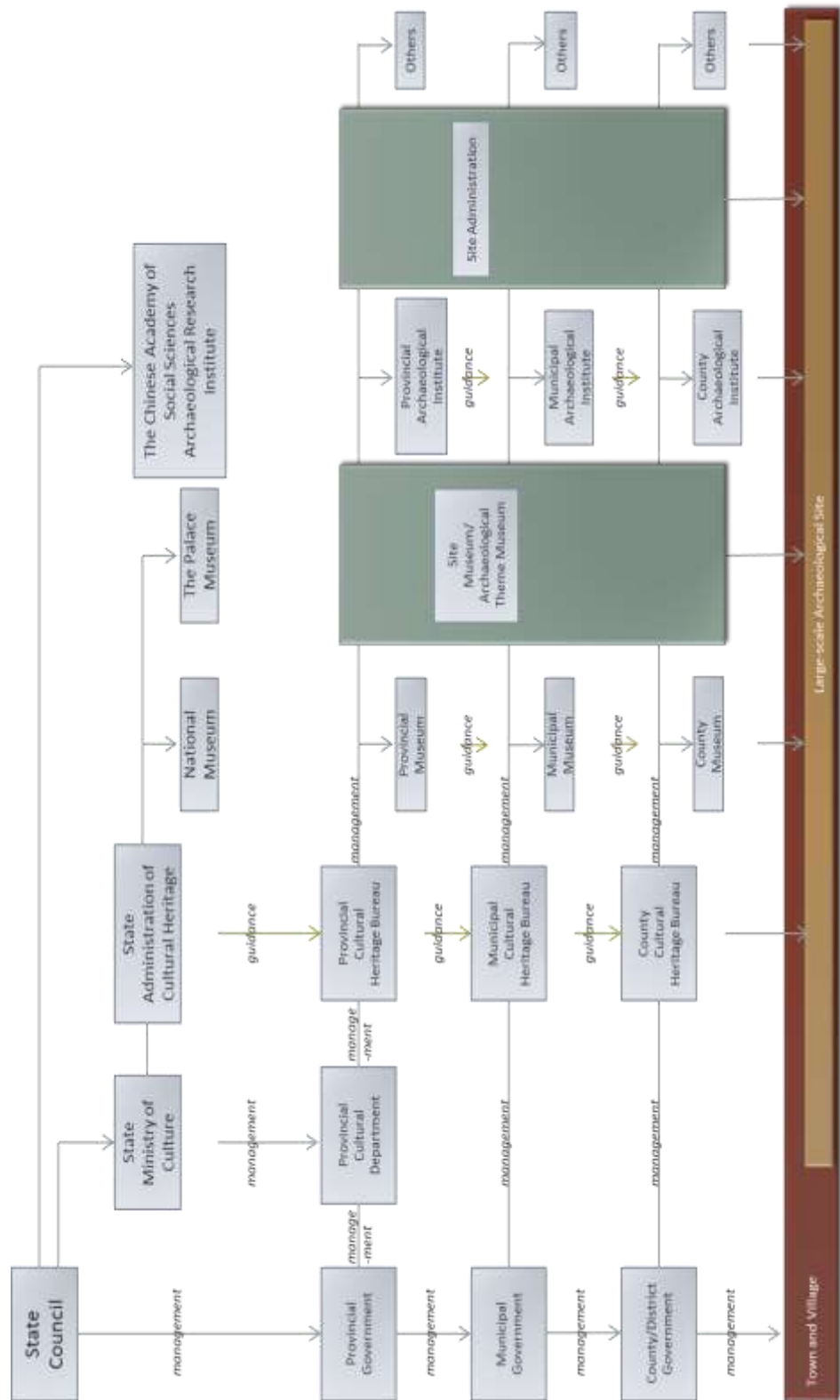
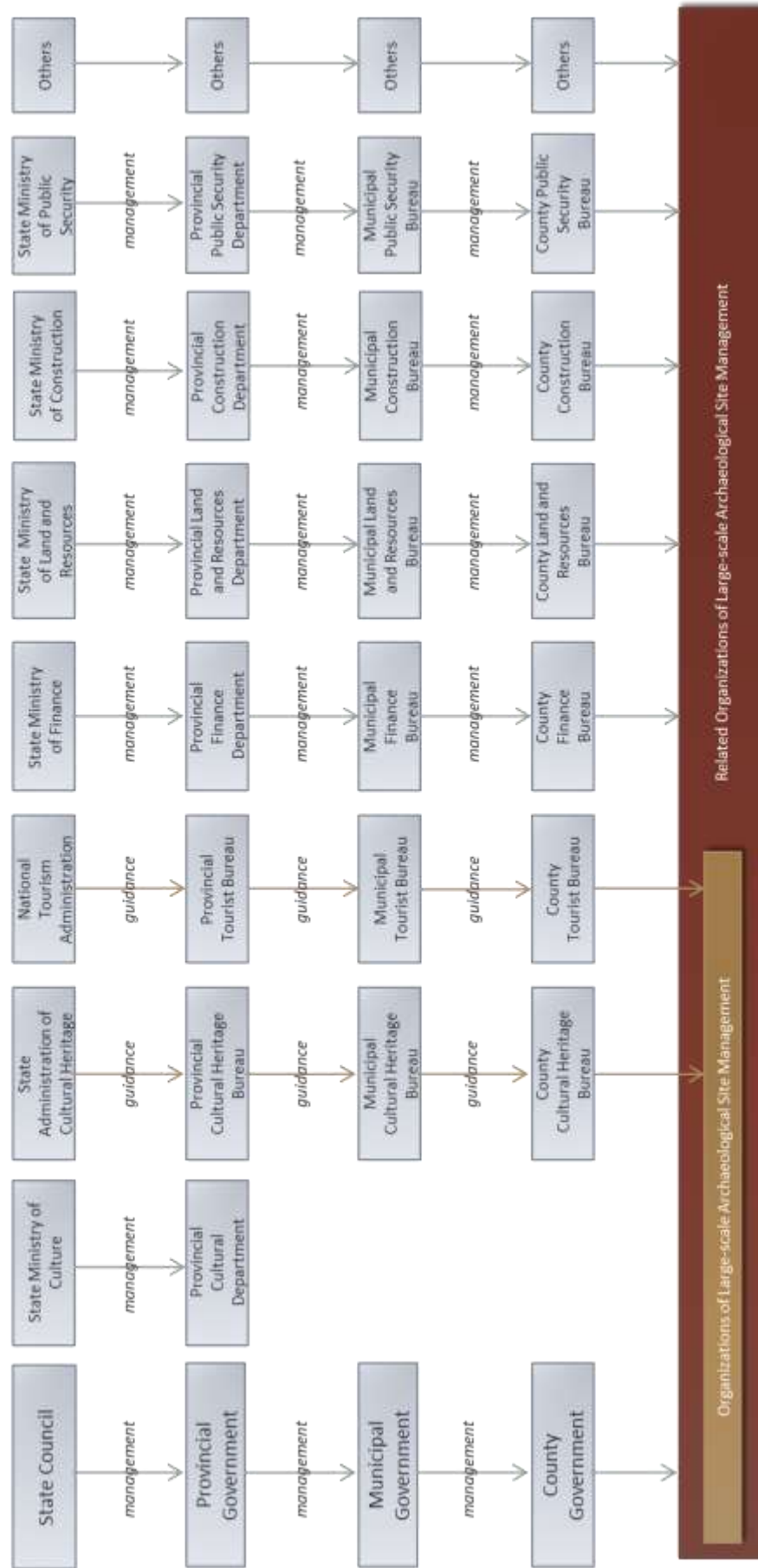


Table 3-2 Management Organizations of Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site-Crosswise



It is a typical situation in China to find that the status of cultural relics is a lower priority, compared with other government administrations at the same level. The coordination among various organizations to protect and manage CLAS is quite difficult. Land ownership, construction permission, and law enforcement power all belong to different departments. Thus, although other departments do also have an obligation to assist with CLASC, neglect and “buck-passing” nevertheless occur regularly.

Based on the aforementioned challenges, the characteristics and issues around the organization of CLASC can be summarized as follows: the main problem is a lack of local organization for CLASC and the low level or function of these organizations; second is coordination and cooperation with other organizations by the cultural relics department which is responsible for CLASC. Sometimes its difficulties are ascribed to its lower level and lesser importance. All of these issues cause complications and difficulties with CLASC.

3.1.5. Mechanism

The mechanism within CLASC has four primary components: management, operation, funding, and supervision.

3.1.5.1. Management Mechanism

As noted previously, the management organizations of CLASC can be divided into three types and four sub-types. Each type of management organization represents a different mechanism: government administration management mechanism, public institution management mechanism, and enterprise management mechanism (Shijin LIU 2012: 209-210).

Sites under the authority of government administrations could implement policies and coordinate with other departments. They have some autonomy to transfer the ownership of

cultural relics, decide on the use of funds, and the mode of operation. Conservation of sites is an important goal and outcome for these projects as they primarily provide education and public benefits. This management type is assigned for sites considered to be high calibre of significant national importance due to their complexity in their surrounding environments (Shijin LIU 2012: 211). Examples include Liangzhu Site District Management Committee (良渚遺址管理区管理委員會) and Liye Site District Management Committee (里耶管理区管理委員會).

Public Institutions, such as site administrations and museums, are government organizations and do not have direct administrative powers. Their site management follows and implements policies rather than shaping them. Coordinating with other departments is difficult due to their low rank. They do have some autonomy on how funds are used and on their site management practices, but they do not own cultural relics and cannot transfer ownership. This management type works best for cultural relics of high quality and is relatively easy to implement (Shijin LIU 2012: 213-214). Examples include the Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum and the Han Yangling Museum (漢陽陵博物館), as well as the Yin Xu Site Administration (殷墟遺址管理处) and Sanxingdui Site Administration (三星堆遺址管理处).

Sites running by enterprises have no administrative power and must follow and implement government policies and regulations. Coordination with other departments is challenging although they have some autonomy on how funds are allocated. Their primary purpose is to generate and maximize revenue based on the cultural, environmental, and economic value of the sites. Site conservation and public benefits are not necessarily in their mandates. This management type fits for a site and cultural relics of medium quality and importance which are easy to conserve (Shijin LIU 2012: 216), such as Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace National Archaeological Site Park Management Co., Ltd (西安曲江大明

宮国家遺址公園管理有限公司).

All three types have their own advantages and disadvantages. Sites administrated by the government are highly ranked and have the advantage of focusing on site conservation while also balancing economic development. However, the establishment of new administrations at this level are impossible. Of the three main types of management mechanisms, the public institution management mechanism, which includes site museum and site administration as two sub-types, is the major part of CLASC. However, the public institution management mechanism is limited by rank and function, so it has difficulties balancing conservation and development, coordinating with other departments, as well as advertising and utilizing artifacts. The enterprise management mechanism can make full use of economic value, but it also risks in pushing conservation down as a priority and in over-utilization of the artifacts.

3.1.5.2. Operation Mechanism

The *Chinese Cultural Heritage Career Development Report* mentions: “based on the property and value of the cultural relics, we have to divide the operation into two parts, one is undertaking operation, the other one is enterprise operation.” The operation mechanism of CLAS can be divided into these two types as well (Shijin LIU 2012: 70).

Cultural relics with high quality could be better employed in undertaking operations. Particularly, the public services (like conservation, display, research, and security), which are closely related to cultural heritage, should be employed undertaking operations without an enterprise operation. For instance, the public service of one high quality site, Liangzhu, would be better employed by undertaking operations for educational functions and public benefit, without an enterprise operation.

Cultural relics of medium quality could use the enterprise operation but should obey laws and regulations. The non-basic services (like dining, accommodation, transportation,

and cultural activities around the site) could use the enterprise operation but should base that on standards. For instance, the non-basic services of the Daming Palace site could use an enterprise operation for a bigger profit. However, parts of the non-basic services at the Han Yangling site could use an enterprise operation for some economic value.

To sum up, each CLAS has different operation mechanisms in different areas. The most vital thing is to use the operation mechanism appropriately. Regardless of which one, conservation should be the basic premise. Nowadays, the conflicts between conservation and development are severe, and so the operation of CLAS still has many areas where improvements can be made.

3.1.5.3. Funding Mechanism

Funding is the basis for the preservation of cultural relics. In 1995, the State Council (國務院) held a national conference on cultural relics. The Five Incorporation Policy (五納入) had been enacted, which means that each level of government should incorporate the funds for the protection of cultural relics into five parts: regional economic and social development, urban and rural construction plan, budgets, structural reform, and lead responsibility in each level. And in *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics (2002)*, the article 10⁴ wrote:

The State develops the undertaking of the protection of cultural relics. Peoples governments at or above the county level shall incorporate the undertaking of the protection of cultural relics into their own plans for national economic and social development and the expenses entailed shall be listed in their own budgets.

Budgetary appropriations made by the State for the protection of cultural relics shall increase along with the increase of revenues.

Incomes earned by the undertakings of the State-owned museums, memorial halls, sites protected for their historical and cultural values, etc. shall exclusively

⁴ Webpage of State Administration of Cultural Heritage.
http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2007/10/29/art_1034_6941.html. Accessed August 19, 2017.

be used for the protection of cultural relics, and no units or individuals may take them into their own possession or misappropriate them.

The State encourages, through such forms as donations, the establishment of social funds for the protection of cultural relics, which shall exclusively be used for the protection of cultural relics. No units or individuals may take such funds into their own possession or misappropriate them.

Therefore, the source of funds for the protection of cultural relics, which include CLASs, are mainly from national and local government budgetary appropriations, incomes earned by work undertaken, and donations. We can divide these funds into three main channels: financial, market, and social channels.

In the funds for CLASC, financial channel occupied a significant part. On the one hand, the special national funds have been increasing in recent years. In the National Eleventh Five-Year Plan, special conservation funds were raised by the national and local governments. The central government planned to devote two billion yuan in those five years. In addition, to strengthen and regulate the administration of funds and improve the efficiency of the way in which funds are used, *Regulations on Special Funds for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (2005)* was enacted. Therefore, the funds are managed by State Administration of Cultural Heritage and State Ministry of Finance, Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau and Provincial Finance Department, and Project Unit (項目單位) three parts. But on the other hand, the finance levels and the attentions to cultural relics are different in each area. Thus, the local government budgetary appropriations may be entirely different. CLASC is sometimes faced with a severe capital gap at the local level since the proportion of funds is not mentioned in law.

Market channel means the income from the operation of CLASC and the charge fees from stakeholders (Shijin LIU 2012: 224). For instance, Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace National Archaeological Site Park Management Co., Ltd cooperated with banks and large corporate firms to get the funds for relocation and establishment of a National

Archaeological Site Park, which cost 11 million yuan. However, since the Daming Palace National Archaeological Site Park (大明宮国家考古遺址公園) has opened, the ticket proceeds of 60 yuan per person occupy parts of the income. Most importantly, it benefits more from the construction of residential real estate around the site park.

Social channel includes donations and lottery income (Shijin LIU 2012: 212). For instance, leaving aside funds from government and the operating income, UNESCO and Japanese government also provided financial assistance to the conservation of Daming Palace Site. Moreover, enterprise and individuals also donated 26 million for conservation.

Considering different channels, funds come mainly from financial channel, while the market and social channels are fewer. Some issues exist regarding the funding mechanism, such as insufficient funds, less efficiency of the funds, funds purposes unknown, etc. Typically, one-time investment is general, but continued investments are few, especially in the processes of applying to become a World Heritage Site and establishing a National Archaeological Site Park.

3.1.5.4. Supervision Mechanism

There are three main parts to the supervision mechanism of CLASC. The central part is the cultural relics department; the next is the related departments and organizations; and the last is the public.

The supervising department was established in State Administration of Cultural Heritage in 2009, which is in charge of the security of cultural relics. A system of inspection tours was established for National Archaeological Site Park as well. The State Administration of Cultural Heritage organizes an expert group from different backgrounds to strictly check the situation of the National Archaeological Site Park, which is done once every three years. The finalized supervision mechanism, however, has not been set up.

The related governmental departments and organizations have a duty to supervise

CLASC. However, they usually lack the power to carry out this supervision. Moreover, whether the cultural relics could be well-supervised by these organizations is still an issue.

The public has the duty to supervise CLASC as well. If they find any problems, they can tell the cultural relics department. But generally speaking, the public's degree of participation in supervising CLASC is still small because the public does not pay much attention to and lacks awareness of CLASC.

Considering the above, the supervision mechanism of Chinese cultural relics, especially CLASC is still a weakness. Supervision is not only needed to complete the system on the part of the national government but there should be active supervision from the local government and public as well.

In summary, the four mechanisms of management, operation, funding, and supervision for three main types of CLASC are summarized in Table 3.3.

3.1.6. Summary

As CLASC has grown in the last decades, five aspects have improved. First, both national and local governments have enacted various laws and regulations to normalize conservation and management, such as the *Regulations on Special Funds for Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation (2005)*, the *Regulations on the National Archaeological Site Park (Trial) (2009)*, and the *Specification for Conservation Plan of Large-scale Archaeological Site (2016)*. Second, more organizations related to research, planning, and management of significant sites are actively participating in conservation planning to ensure its implementation. These have resulted in the *Master Plan for Anyang Yin Xu Site Conservation (2002)* (『安陽殷墟保護總體規劃』) and the *Master Plan for Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Conservation (2013)* (『杭州良渚遺址保護總體規劃』). Third, management organizations and mechanisms are continually adjusted and improved upon. One of such examples includes the establishment of comprehensive and enterprise-oriented institutions

Table 3.3 Mechanisms of Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation

	Government Administration	Public Institution	Enterprise
Management Mechanism	-Administrative power; -Can transfer the ownership of the cultural relics; -Fully decide the fund use; -Conservation is the basic work, and education and public benefit are the main purposes	-No administrative power; -Cannot transfer the ownership of the cultural relics; -Partly decide the fund use; -Conservation is the basic work, and education and public benefit are the main purposes	-No administrative power; -Cannot transfer the ownership of the cultural relics; -Partly decide the fund use; -The main purpose is to maximize revenue
Operation Mechanism	-Undertaking operation, and without enterprise operation	-Main part is undertaking operation, and other parts are enterprise operation	-Enterprise operation
Funding Mechanism	-Financial channel in major, and social channel	-Financial channel in major, and market and social channels	-Market channel in major, and financial and social channels
Supervision Mechanism	-Cultural Relics Department, related departments and organizations, and public	-Cultural Relics Department, related departments and organizations, and public	-Cultural Relics Department, related departments and organizations, and public

as seen with the formation of the the Liangzhu Site District Management Committee and Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace National Archaeological Site Park Management Co., Ltd. Fourth, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage has already held many forums for related staff to exchange their experiences, share achievements, and promote CLASC. Forums held at Xi'an, Hangzhou, Jingzhou, and Luoyang highlighted many new concepts. Fifth, citizen's awareness of archaeological site conservation is increasing. For example, in the 2013 case of "Fuzhou Subway Construction Meets Archaeological Sites" (福州地铁施

工遭遇考古遺址), increasing local demands for the protection of the 2200-year-old Minyue City Ruins (閩越古城) resulted in their preservation. In that specific case, site protection won out over the construction project. All of the changes and developments aforementioned promote CLASC.

However, due to large amount of conservation work occurring in such a limited time, serious issues have emerged in the process of the CLASC implementation and many challenges remain. For instance, only a small number of sites are regulated and most conservation plans are not implemented. Some sites lack management organization and dedicated staff and the rank of management organizations is too low to be effective. Funding (shared equally from the national and local governments) is limited and further dependent on local economic conditions which are quite inequality in east and west parts of China. Conflicts with local residents are frequent. For example, at the Yin Xu site, several rows of houses were constructed in the site buffer zone without permission in 2014. The participation of local residents in site conservation is still low, such as the limited activities held at the Han Yangling site. In short, the aims and demands of CLASC have not yet been achieved.

Thus, Yin Xu, Han Yangling, and Liangzhu, three sites with different relationships with local residents, were chosen as the basis of the research in Sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 in order to analyze more clearly the particular situation within CLASC. Each case has two main parts: the conservation process of archaeological site is reviewed, mainly consisting of key conservation events, policies, plans, and approaches related to local residents, and their attitudes and living conditions in relation to archaeological site conservation are analyzed by sorting data from questionnaire surveys, interviews, and media. Finally, in Section 3.5, disparities between conservation policy and plan implementation by management organizations and the attitudes and living conditions of local residents are identified. Furthermore, the causes of such disparities are also considered.

3.2. Lots of Contradictions at the Yin Xu Site (殷墟)

Yin Xu was the capital of the middle and late Shang dynasty (中晚商, circa the fourteenth to eleventh centuries BC). The great discoveries of palaces, royal tombs, several copper workshops, bone workshops, sacrificial pits, and dwellings, as well as abundant oracle bones, bronzes, and pottery, revealed the society of this ancient city. In particular, the inscriptions on the oracles, which record wide-ranging aspects of social life during the Shang dynasty, are among the great archives of ancient China.

The Yin Xu site is located in the northwestern part of Anyang (安陽市), Henan Province (河南省). The palaces and royal tombs are located in the villages of Xiaotun (小屯村), Houjiazhuang (侯家庄村), and Wuguan (武官村). The whole site is 36 km², while the protective area of the National Archaeological Site Park is 22.7 km² and the World Heritage Site is 1,134 ha (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3).

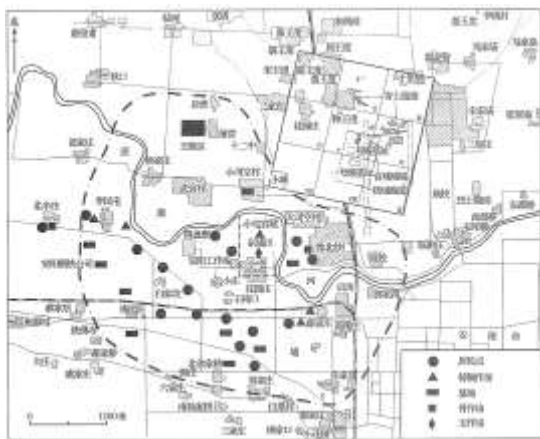


Figure 3.2 Area of the Yin Xu Site
(Source: Jigen TANG 2011, Fig. 2)



Figure 3.3 The Protective Core and Buffer Zones of the Yin Xu Site
(Source: Website of UNESCO)⁵

3.2.1. The Conservation Process at the Yin Xu Site

The history of discovery, excavation, research, and conservation at the Yin Xu site spans

⁵ http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1114/multiple=1&unique_number=1293. Accessed August 19, 2017.

more than a century. It reflects the beginning and the development of Chinese archaeology, and also reveals the conservation and management processes for Chinese archaeological sites.

The discovery by Yirong WANG (王懿荣) and Zhenyu LUO (羅振玉) of the oracle and its source, the Yin Xu site dates to the late 19th century. Formal excavation of the Yin Xu site was conducted by the Office of Archaeology at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (中国历史语言研究所), between 1928 and 1937. Meanwhile, the government pursued conservation of the Yin Xu site, but its main focus was on relics, as demonstrated by the 1932 establishment of the Anyang Antique Conservation Committee (安陽古物保存委员会) to collect and conserve relics unearthed from the Yin Xu site. Excavation stagnated between 1938 and 1949 because of the wars, and conservation efforts were paralyzed as well. Illegal excavation and theft were rampant during that time, and many relics were looted abroad.

Since the implementation of national conservation projects, the site's conservation process can be divided into three main phases which are described below.

3.2.1.1. Re-excavation and the Park Establishment Period

Beginning in 1950, the Yin Xu site was reexcavated by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute (中国社会科学院考古研究所). Even during the Cultural Revolution period, excavation and research continued, yielding major discoveries such as the Xiaotunnandi oracle bones (小屯南地甲骨) in 1973 and the Fu Hao tomb (婦好墓) in 1976. Then, Yin Xu Park was established in 1987 to show these discoveries to the public. To establish this park, the Anyang government expropriated the palace area of Yin Xu from Xiaotun village, which was farming areas, and reconstructed several thatched buildings in situ to display discoveries from the Yin Xu site.

During this period, the government formally assumed responsibility for the conservation

and management of the Yin Xu site. Following the founding of the Anyang Cultural Relics Management and Examination Committee (安陽文物管理檢查委員會), various special management entities for the palaces and royal tombs were established. Protection laws and regulations were gradually implemented, such as *Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang*. Because of such laws and management, theft and illegal excavation were curbed and conservation work was effectively developed. Meanwhile, limitations were placed on the productive and living activities of some local residents.

3.2.1.2. World Heritage Nomination

Beginning in 2001, Yin Xu was making preparations to be nominated for the World Heritage List. Just before that time, there had been a great discovery—Huanbei Shang City (洹北商城), the capital of the middle Shang dynasty, was found at the Yin Xu site. To support the World Heritage nomination, *Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang, Henan Province (2001)* and *Master Plan for Anyang Yin Xu Site Conservation (2002)* were implemented. Based on these plans and regulations, 688 local residences and factories in six villages were moved out of the protective area. Moreover, significant improvements were made to the surrounding roads and natural environment, in particular, the Huan River (洹河). Then the Yin Xu Site Museum (殷墟博物館) was opened in 2005 (Figs. 3.4 and 3.5). One year later, Yin Xu was registered as a World Heritage Site.

To utilize the Yin Xu site as a World Heritage Site, the agritainment businesses (農家樂, Fig. 3.6) were established and souvenir shops were opened. Most importantly, the Performance of Shang (大秀殷商, Fig. 3.7) was carried out by Xiaotun Troupe (小屯藝術團) and organized by local residents. As one of the projects in the Capital of Shang Media Company (大邑商傳播公司), the performance was arranged with comprehensive help

from the staff in the Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute (安陽殷都文化研究院). Unfortunately, as a result of unfavorable relationships and insufficient funds, the project was eventually discontinued. Although many opportunities were offered to local residents during World Heritage Nomination, many tough obstacles were encountered during their participation as well.



Figure 3.4 Ruins of Yin Xu Palace and Ancestral Shrines



Figure 3.5 Ruins of Yin Xu Royal Tombs



Figure 3.6 Agritainment



Figure 3.7 Performance of Shang

(Source: Photos 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 by the author, Photo 3.7 by Zhiwei LIU)

3.2.1.3. Establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park

The Yin Xu site was selected for the first batch of National Archaeological Site Parks in

2010. Archaeologists have surveyed almost the entire Yin Xu site area to determine the function of each part and how the different parts were connected (e.g., road and water networks), which has been a major conservation project at the Yin Xu site since 2010. The survey results will provide the basic information for the establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park

To strengthen conservation efforts of the Yin Xu site, the related management organizations were combined in 2008. Meanwhile, although the Anyang Cultural Heritage Bureau Guarantee (安陽市文物局執法大隊) guaranteed the power of law enforcement assist to protect the site, still cannot curb site destruction. Moreover, every village in the site area has mass protective organizations, which worked well in the beginning but become weaker over time due to disorganization. Therefore, with increases in the population at the Yin Xu site, illegal construction in the buffer zones was still severe.

Since the project calls for more areas to be conserved, more local residents have had to relocate. Specifically, all Huayuanzhuang (花園庄村) villagers and some Xiaotun villagers were relocated. The relocation work began 2009 and was supposed to be completed within two years. For various reasons, however, not all relocated residents had been moved into new houses as of 2014. The survey results in the present study indicated that this was one reason locals were dissatisfied with the relocation or even with the site conservation.

To promote the utilization of the Yin Xu site, Huayuanzhuang Antique Market (花園庄古玩市場) has been opened in front of the park since 2015. Although some calligraphers, craftsmen, and businessmen were attracted by this opportunity, the overall economic benefit was poor, with local residents having almost no involvement and receiving no benefit. However, there was a new attempt when the Anyang workstation (安陽工作站) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute and the government of Yindu District (殷都区) used nongovernmental capital to establish a rose garden. The basic premise was that because the roots of roses are light, they would not

damage the underground ruins. Moreover, roses are beautiful and have high value for making perfume, tea, and medicine, which can produce economic benefits. Direct economic benefits can also be achieved by renting out the grounds and hiring local residents to operate the garden. While the rose garden project is just getting started, it has the potential to expand and become a popular solution that would be both acceptable and expandable.

Summarizing Section 3.2.1, the Yin Xu site has a long history of excavation, and there have been ongoing adjustments in the implementation of site conservation and management. Moreover, the Yin Xu site has been opened to the public over the last thirty years. Throughout this process, almost all local residents have been passively involved in the conservation effort from the following four aspects. (1) Land acquisition and home relocation have occurred many times at the Yin Xu site, but locals have complex attitudes and unexpected effects have occurred from these events. Most people try to improve their living standard directly from the land acquisition and home relocation in the process of site conservation which have achieved an unsatisfactory result. (2) Many policies and plans have been enacted gradually over the last fifty years to protect the site, and limitations have been placed on the activities of local residents and factories. (3) Archaeological site conservation—in particular, World Heritage Site designation and the establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park—brings many economic opportunities for local residents. However, most projects were abandoned or shut down. (4) Conservation of the Yin Xu site has changed the surrounding environment and improved certain infrastructures, while those improvements are not the most urgent parts of local residents' lives. To fully understand the relationship between Yin Xu site conservation and local residents, there is a need for more basic data about local residents.

3.2.2. Survey and Analysis of Local Residents at the Yin Xu Site

To gather the actual opinions of local residents regarding the conservation of archaeological sites, I conducted surveys at the Yin Xu site for one week in August, 2014.

3.2.2.1. Approaches and Respondents

Two main approaches were used in conducting field research in the Yin Xu site.

First, I used an accidental-sampling approach which entailed spending a certain amount of time in the village and sending a prepared questionnaire to all local residents. I went around the villages of Xiaotun and Xiaosikong for one day each and distributed questionnaires to the local residents through accidental sampling. I also sent questionnaires to the locals working in the Archaeological Institute of the Yin Xu site. In total, I obtained 34 valid questionnaires.

Second, I interviewed some key persons as well. I interviewed several villagers when I sent out questionnaires. I also made an appointment and interviewed one administrator, five managers, two archaeologists and one related person in order to verify opinions gathered from my limited field research. Each of them spent around two hours per interview. To ensure anonymity, all interviewees used pseudonyms. Moreover, I referenced some news and reports that were related to residents' attitudes about the sites.

3.2.2.2. Statistics from Questionnaire and Analysis of Interview

The questions for local residents were divided into eight main topics and presented through statistical analysis.

(1) Understanding of the Yin Xu Site

Four questions in my prepared questionnaire for the Yin Xu site were related to this topic (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Understanding of the Yin Xu Site

	A. No	%	B. Yes	%	Num.
Have you visited Yin Xu Site Park before?	9	27.3	24	72.7	33
Do you know the period that the main part of Yin Xu site dates from?	16	48.5	17	51.5	33
Do you know the main ruins at the Yin Xu site?	8	25	24	75	32
Do you know some representative remains from the Yin Xu site?	8	25	24	75	32

Twenty-seven percent of local residents had not been to the Yin Xu site park, which includes two separate parks and one museum. Nearly half did not know the exact dynasty of the site, and 25% did not know the representative ruins and remains. This field research showed that some local residents lack a basic understanding of the site.

Fortunately, since 2006 the popularization of educational activities starts from Chinese Cultural Heritage Day.⁶ Introducing archaeology to the campus (考古進校園) by giving lectures, displaying boards, making replicas of the artifacts, and doing some interactive games are several of the activities that occur. For instance, relevant staffs in the Yin Xu Museum irregularly introduce archaeological site to surrounding primary and junior high school, and even university students. However, the persistence and frequency cannot be fixed and the scope of audiences is limited.

(2) Knowledge of Yin Xu Site Conservation

Two questions were related to knowledge of Yin Xu site conservation (Table 3.5).

Twenty-nine respondents out of thirty did not know about the protection regulations, and none had heard of the protection laws and regulations. Few local residents knew about the conservation situation of the site in their hometown.

⁶ The State Council made an announcement to enhance the works for cultural heritage conservation in December 22, 2005. One article in the announcement is that every second Saturday of June is Chinese Cultural Heritage Day since 2006.

Table 3.5 Knowledge of Yin Xu Site Conservation

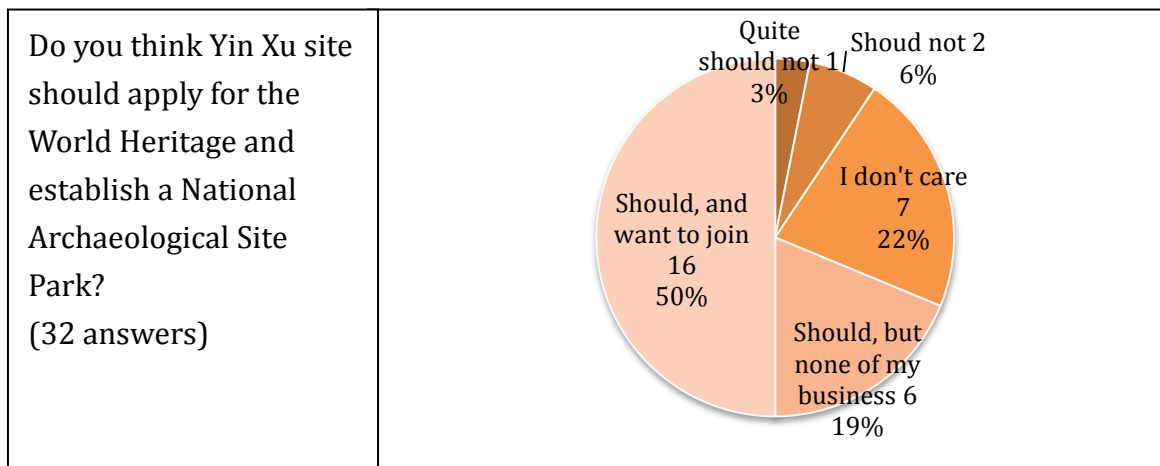
Have you heard about <i>Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang, Henan Province?</i>	A. Never	B. Only the title	C. A little bit	D. Some parts	E. Very clear	Num. %
	19	10	1	0	0	30
	63.3	33.3	3.3	0	0	99.9
Have the Cultural Relics Department or Archaeological Research Institute explained the regulation, plan, or the situation of Yin Xu site to you?	A. Never	B. Only a little	C. I don't remember	D. Some parts	E. Very much	Num. %
	17	7	8	0	0	32
	53.1	21.9	25	0	0	100

However, from the interviews of the managers, I learned that local residents should have received lots of information from the government's propaganda. For instance, when developing the conservation plan, local residents' opinions were taken into consideration.

(3) Attitudes about World Heritage Designation and National Archaeological Site Park Establishment at the Yin Xu Site

World Heritage nomination and the development of the National Archaeological Site Park are major events for the government. Meanwhile, the opinions of local residents were gathered through the question shown below in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Approval for World Heritage Declaration and National Archaeological Site Park Establishment at the Yin Xu Site



Nearly 70% of locals supported these two events, but one-third had no reasons for their agreement. Twenty percent did not care about the events, and nearly 10% had negative attitudes. Generally speaking, about half of the local residents felt distanced from the events surrounding the Yin Xu site in their hometown.

(4) Attitudes about Relocation at the Yin Xu Site

Relocation occurred often during the World Heritage nomination process and the development of the National Archaeological Site Park. At the Yin Xu site, eleven respondents out of thirty-four had relocated. Two questions were used to determine the attitudes of local residents toward relocation (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 Attitude of Local Residents Before and After Relocation at the Yin Xu Site

What was your attitude to land expropriation or relocation?	A. Very reluctant	B. A little reluctant	C. I don't care	D. A little expect	E. Very expect	Num. %
	2	3	2	0	3	10
	20	30	20	0	30	100
Are you satisfied with the conditions for relocation or land expropriation now?	A. Not satisfied	B. A little dissatisfied	C. I'm not sure	D. A little satisfied	E. Very satisfied	Num. %
	3	4	1	2	0	10
	30	40	10	20	0	100

At the Yin Xu site, some local residents had expected to relocate while others were reluctant. After relocation, local residents were generally dissatisfied with the results.

Similar research had done by Li WANG (2012, Tables 2 and 3). Li WANG found that 72.2% of local residents wanted to relocate for the construction of the park. Without considering the policy, 60% still wanted to relocate (Table 3.8 and 3.9). Furthermore, four options were offered with the benefit of relocation. Among these, participation in creating the plan, the right to employment, and a priority business certificate were viewed most

positively, while direct compensation was perceived less positively than the other three. In reality, however, most of the benefits were denied the local residents after relocation which made the locals dissatisfied with it.

Table 3-8. What is Your Attitude about the Upcoming Relocation?

Classification	Number	Proportion
Very Expected	31	13.5%
Expected	135	58.7%
I don't care	40	17.4%
Reluctant	18	7.8%
Very Reluctant	6	2.6%
Total	230	100%

Table 3-9. If You Had a Choice, Would You Choose Relocation?

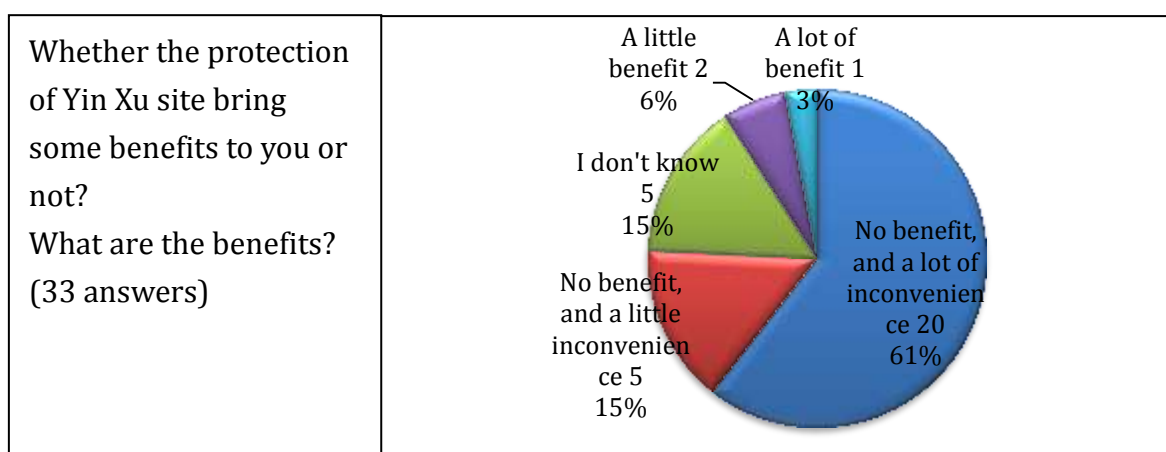
Classification	Number	Proportion
Would	137	59.6%
Would Not	93	40.4%
Total	230	100%

(5) Benefits Accompanying Yin Xu Site Conservation

In this context, “benefits” refer to economic and social benefits, which include not only income and employment but also the environment, transportation, and other aspects relevant to locals. The two questions shown below in Table 3.10 aimed to determine whether site conservation brought benefits to local residents.

Seventy-six percent of local residents thought archaeological site conservation brought no benefits, and only 9% believed it did bring benefits, because they got jobs by the Yin Xu site. A minority of people obtained actual benefits from site conservation directly. Although the restaurant, souvenir shop and market have been in operation, few of the local residents either get much benefit or are fully involved. The economic benefits did not satisfy their requirements before relocation. Furthermore, although traffic and the environment had completely changed in the area since the project started, people might not have paid attention to those aspects.

Table 3.10 Benefits Accompanying Yin Xu Site Conservation

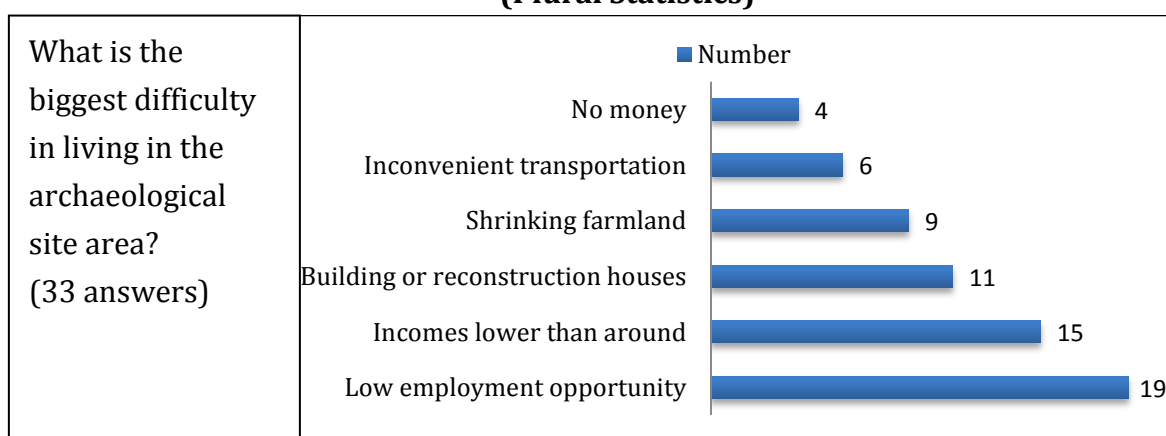


The administrators and managers expressed their difficulties in solving this issue. Some basic conditions are essential: support from the leaders at all levels on cultural heritage conservation, enthusiasm of the staff for formulating and implementing the specific plans, special financial assistance to improve the local resident's lives and a favorable tourism environment where the site located.

(6) Main Difficulties in Residents' Livelihoods at the Yin Xu Site Conservation

Prior to conducting the field research, it appeared that illegal construction might have been the biggest issue in archaeological site conservation based on news and reports. However, the responses to the question shown in Table 3.11 show a different situation.

Table 3.11 Main Difficulties in Local Residents' Livelihood at the Yin Xu Site (Plural Statistics)



At the Yin Xu site, the biggest issue was employment, which was chosen by more than half of the respondents. More than 2,000 people were relocated from the Yin Xu site for the World Heritage and the National Archaeological Site Park. Conversely, Yin Xu Museum could only offer about 50 jobs. The gap between those two numbers is enormous.

The other issue was that the income of the villages in and nearby the site became lower than that of the surrounding villages. This means local residents had to give up their current economic benefits to protect the archaeological site. This is also one reason they were not proud of the site.

(7) Interest in Yin Xu Site Utilization

The situation regarding interest in site utilization was quite different from the knowledge of site conservation, according to data gathered from two questions (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12 Interest in Yin Xu Site Utilization

Do you want to participate in the formulation of the conservation plan?	A. Not at all	B. No, I don't want to	C. None of my business	D. Yes, but I don't know how to do that	E. Yes, very much	Num. %
	4	10	4	14	1	33
	12.1	30.3	12.1	42.4	3.0	99.9
Would you want to join the utilization of Yin Xu site?	A. Not at all	B. No, I don't want to	C. None of my business	D. Yes, but I don't know how to do that	E. Yes, very much	Num. %
	0	7	6	13	6	32
	0	21.9	18.8	40.6	18.8	100.1

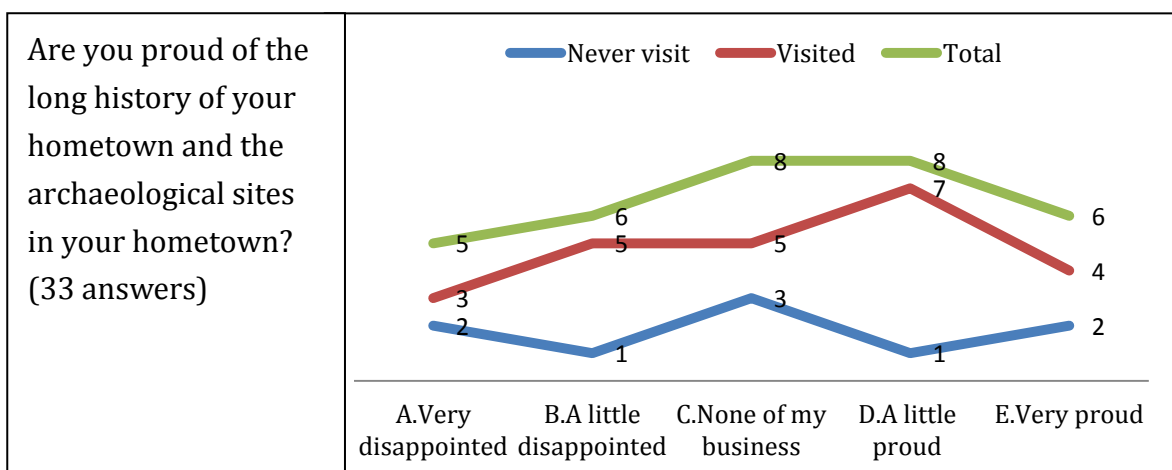
Fifteen respondents out of thirty-three wanted to participate in creating protection regulations or plans, and nineteen out of thirty-two wanted to participate in site utilization. Nearly half of local residents wanted to join in the protection and utilization of the site. Perhaps there are some issues regarding low knowledge protection regulations and plans

and high desire to participate in site protection and utilization. It is clear, however, that the involvement of the local residents in the conservation and utilization of the site has been far from satisfactory.

(8) Sence of Belonging to the Yin Xu Site

A basic purpose of archaeological site conservation is to protect the local culture and inherit the local history. Therefore, generally speaking, local residents should know and be proud of their hometown. The real attitudes were gathered through the question shown below in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13 The Comparison between Visit the Site or Not and How Proud of the Site by Local Residents at the Yin Xu Site



For the “visited” group, the figure shows that the answers “a little proud” and “very proud” made up about half of the total, while fewer answered “a little disappointed” or “very disappointed.” In the “never visited” group, the answers did not show any clear tendencies.

It shows two points. The first is that the familiarity with and understanding of the site would contribute to the sense of pride. The second is that the local residents in and surrounding the Yin Xu site are not very proud of the site.

Summarizing Section 3.2.2, the small-scale field research at the Yin Xu site showed

several basic scenarios in relation to local residents in terms of the site conservation project. First, the basic understanding of the site and site conservation was insufficient, which was caused by the lack of site advertisement and the locals' interests. Second, some residents had expected to relocate and improve their standard of living through site conservation. However, most of them were dissatisfied with the results, which showed a huge disparity between expectation and reality. Third, because of these two reasons, local residents still felt remote from the archaeological site in their hometown; and their recognition of local culture had not become established.

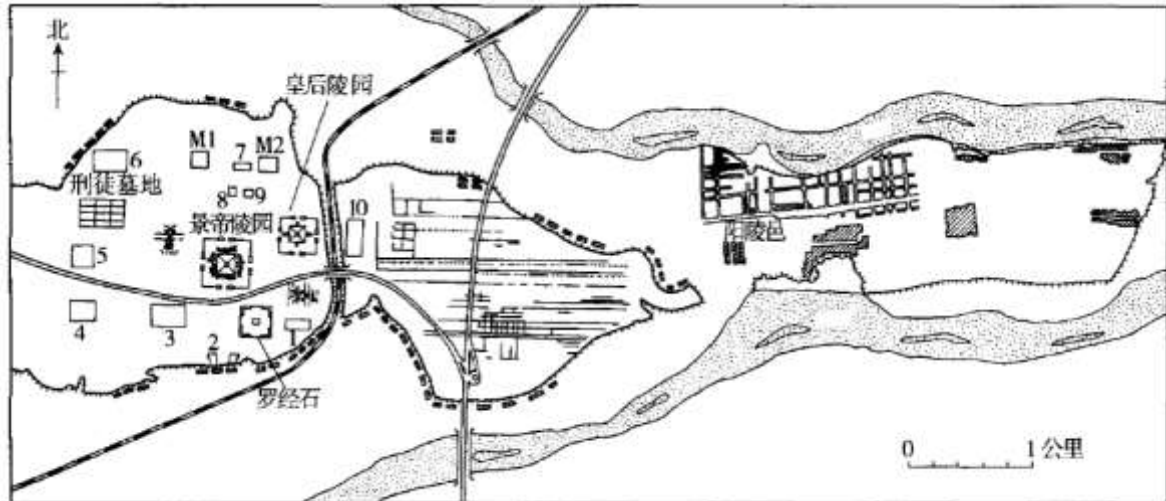
In summary of Section 3.2, although the implementation of the national archaeological site conservation project at the Yin Xu site is closely related to local residents, the content and purpose of the project had not been clearly or specifically conveyed to locals. The specific requirements of locals had been overlooked in the process. The conflicts regarding relocation and land acquisition, as well as in local residents' daily lives, were therefore hard to solve. Finally, achieving comprehensive site conservation that was reconciled with local residents' needs seems a far-off aim.

3.3. Lack of Participation at the Han Yangling Site (漢陽陵)

Han Yangling is the graveyard of the sixth king and queen of the Western Han dynasty (西漢). It was constructed between 153 BC and 126 BC. The main ruins at the site are the mausoleum of the king and queen, ritual architectures, subordinate tombs, and mausoleum fiefdom. Many construction components, pottery figurines, potteries, bronzes, and iron tools were unearthed. Studies of the Han Yangling site have revealed royal funeral rituals and other aspects of life during the Western Han period.

The Han Yangling site is located in Weicheng District (渭城区) and Jingyang County (涇陽縣) in Xianyang (咸陽市), as well as Gaoling County (高陵縣) in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province. The mausoleum, which is considered the core of the site, is located on a small

hill north of the villages of Zhangjiawan (張家灣村) and Hougou (後溝村) in Zhengyang Town (正陽鎮), Weicheng District. The area of the Han Yangling site is 12 km², and the protective area of the National Park is 2 km² (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9).



↑ **Figure 3.8 Area of the Han Yangling Site**
(Source: Nanfeng JIAO, 2006, Fig. 1)

← **Figure 3.9 The Protective Area of the Han Yangling Museum**
(Source: Photo by the author)

3.3.1. The Conservation Process at the Han Yangling Site

Compared to the Yin Xu site, the discovery, excavation, study, and conservation of the Han Yangling site occurred over a relatively short period.

Bi Yuan (畢沅), the grand coordinator of Shaanxi during the Qing dynasty, started the conservation of historical monuments, including the Han Yangling site. He also made plans to protect monuments in the long term that included determining the protective scope and finding villagers to maintain these monuments by farming around them. Han Yangling

was registered as a Shaanxi provincial archaeological site in 1963. The Shaanxi Provincial Museum (陝西省博物館) worked on small excavations of twenty-nine prisoners' tombs until 1972 when the work was interrupted. The Han Yangling site was managed by the Cultural Relics Management Office in Weicheng District (渭城区文物城区管理辦公室) until 1993. Although locals had found some pottery figures while farming, they believed the figures had negative meanings, so no one paid much attention at first to the relics or the owners of the tombs. Meanwhile, there was also some looting of the site.

Since the implementation of national conservation projects, its conservation process can be divided into two main phases which are described below.

3.3.1.1. Continuous Excavation and Museum Establishment Period

In 1990, as a result of expressway construction at Xianyang Airport, the southern part of the subordinate tombs area was discovered by the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology (陝西省考古研究院). Since then, excavation has been ongoing. The South Gate Tower (南闕門) was found and excavated in 1997, and the Burial Pits (外葬坑) were discovered in 1999. The archaeological exhibition hall was opened in 1999 to display remains excavated by the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology. It eventually became the Han Yangling Museum and grew to include several exhibition areas (Figs. 3.10 and 3.11).

The management and conservation of the Han Yangling site had alternated between different ranks of government (e.g., Weicheng District, Xianyang, and Shaanxi Province) and different departments (e.g., Cultural Relics, Tourism Sector). The Shaanxi Tourism Group Company (陝西旅游集團公司) was established in 1998 and began making plans for displays at the Han Yangling site. Meanwhile, conservation projects started, such as land expropriations in the main area of Han Yangling. In 1999, the Shaanxi Provincial

Bureau of Cultural Heritage (陝西省文物局) expropriated lands and indemnified local residents with one-time compensation. Since the area had previously been a plantation and relatively few people lived there, there were no major conflicts between locals and the ruins conservation project. All powers were eventually consolidated into the Han Yangling Construction Headquarters (漢陽陵博物苑工程指揮部) in 2003, which is subordinate to the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage.



**Figure 3.10 Inner Display
at the Han Yangling Museum**



**Figure 3.11 Restoration of South Gate at the
Han Yangling Museum**

(Source: Photos by the author)

3.3.1.2. Establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park

The Han Yangling site was selected for the first batch of National Archaeological Site Parks in 2010. The Han Yangling Museum started managing the site in 2009, and conservation became more systematic, with many protection regulations and plans already implemented or being planned. The *Master Plan for Han Yangling National Archaeological Site Park Conservation* (『漢陽陵国家考古遺址公園總体規劃』) was finalized in 2011, and *Regulations on the Han and Tang Dynasties Mausoleum Protection and Management in Shaanxi Province* would be enacted later. Since the establishment of

National Archaeological Site Park calls for more areas, the land expropriations of Sima Road (司馬道) faced a price dispute with local residents.

Meanwhile, excavation of the Han Yangling site became more transparent, which means it was opened to the public. For example, in 2010 the Han Yangling Museum and the Han Yangling team at the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage cooperatively excavated the East Gate Tower (東闕門). The idea of involving public participation in the excavation had already been considered prior to obtaining permission to excavate. As reported in the *Xi'an Evening News* (西安晚報), this project was called “Using one trowel, go back to Western Han dynasty (一把手鏟，夢回西漢).” This news was especially prominent from May 16-18, 2011 (Fig. 3.12).



Figure 3.12 Public Participational Excavation at the Han Yangling Site
(Source: Xi'an Evening News, March 18, 2011)

Furthermore, some activities have been conducted to promote the utilization of the Han Yangling site. Visitors could excavate in the experience zone, or make replica figurines in the experience room (Figs. 3.13 and 3.14). The activities of “Wear Han clothes, and learn Han ceremony” are held at the south gate. Deer was raised in the park for sightseeing and sale but didn’t exist anymore. A restaurant was opened as well, but then closed due to a lack of customers.



Figure 3.13 Experience Zone



Figure 3.14 Experience Room

(Source: Photos by the author)

Summarizing Section 3.3.1, the excavation of the Han Yangling site occurred almost simultaneously with its conservation, display, and utilization. During this short period, some local residents were passively involved in the conservation effort. On the one hand, the central area of the Han Yangling site was conserved through a massive land acquisition project. Once the local residents received their one-time compensation, there was no longer any connection between residents and site conservation. On the other hand, the non-central areas of the Han Yangling site were backfilled and high-rises were established to the east of the railway, so the local residents who used to live there also have no connection to site conservation. However, as a National Archaeological Site Park, the achievement of regional social benefits and ecological benefits are as important as

improving people's living standards and quality of life, which are quite inadequate. To fully understand the relationship between Han Yangling site conservation and local residents, there is a need for more basic data about local residents.

3.3.2. Survey and Analysis of Local Residents at the Han Yangling Site

To gather the actual opinions of local residents regarding the conservation of archaeological sites, I conducted surveys at the Han Yangling site for two weeks in August, 2014.

3.3.2.1. Approaches and Respondents

Two main approaches were used in conducting field research in the Han Yangling site.

First, I used an accidental-sampling approach. I went around Zhangjiawan village for two days and distributed questionnaires to the local residents through accidental sampling. I also sent questionnaires to the local residents working in Han Yangling Museum, where the workers were also from Hougou village. In total, 20 valid questionnaires were obtained.

Second, I interviewed some key persons as well. I interviewed several villagers when I sent out questionnaires, especially one previous and one current members of Zhangjiawan Village Committee (張家灣村委會). I also made an appointment and interviewed three administrators, four managers and one archaeologist in order to verify the opinions gathered from my limited field research. Each of them spent around two hours per interview. To ensure anonymity, all interviewees used pseudonyms. Moreover, I referenced some news and reports that were related to residents' attitudes about the sites.

3.3.2.2. Statistics from Questionnaire and Analysis of Interview

The questions for local residents were divided into eight main topics and presented through

statistical analysis.

(1) Understanding of the Han Yangling Site

Four questions in my prepared questionnaire for the Han Yangling site were related to this topic (Table 3.14).

Table 3.14 Understanding of the Han Yangling Site

	A. No	%	B. Yes	%	Num.
Have you visited Han Yangling Museum before?	0	0	18	100	18
Do you know the occupant of Han Yangling?	2	11.1	16	88.9	18
Do you know the main ruins at the Han Yangling site?	1	5.6	17	94.4	18
Do you know some representative remains from the Han Yangling site?	3	16.7	15	83.3	18

The situation at the Han Yangling site was better than at the Yin Xu site in that most local residents had visited the site and knew the basic information. In addition, introducing archaeology to the campus by Han Yangling Museum is conducting but this has been uncommon and irregular, which is a general situation in Chinese archaeological sites currently.

(2) Knowledge of Han Yangling Site Conservation

Two questions were related to the knowledge of conservation at the Han Yangling site (Table 3.15).

Fourteen respondents out of eighteen did not know about protection regulations, and fifteen out of nineteen had not heard of protection laws and regulations. Only a few local residents knew about the protection regulations and plans for the site in their hometown.

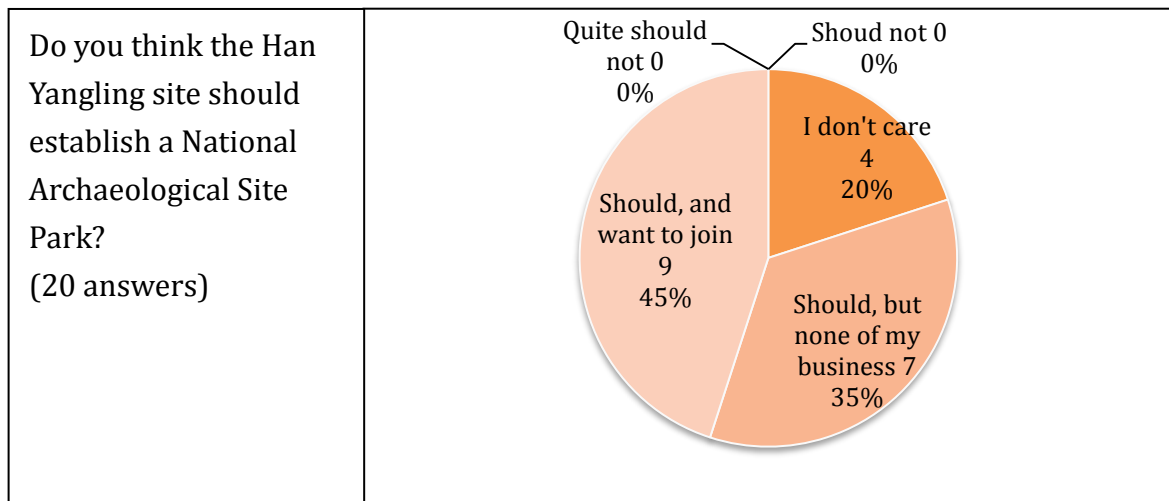
Table 3.15 Knowledge of Han Yangling Site Conservation

Have you heard about <i>Han Yangling Site Conservation Master Plan</i> ?	A. Never	B. Only the title	C. A little bit	D. Some parts	E. Very clear	Num. %
	6	8	3	0	1	18
	33.3	44.4	16.7	0	5.6	100
Have the Cultural Relics Department or Archaeological Research Institute explained the regulation, plan, or the situation of Han Yangling site to you?	A. Never	B. Only a little	C. I don't remember	D. Some parts	E. Very much	Num. %
	8	4	3	3	1	19
	42.1	21.1	15.8	15.8	5.3	100.1

(3) The Attitude of National Archaeological Site Park Establishment at the Han Yangling Site

The question shown in Table 3.16 below aimed to gather locals' opinions about the establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park.

Table 3.16. Approval for National Archaeological Site Park Establishment at the Han Yangling Site



(4) Attitudes about Expropriation at the Han Yangling Site

Expropriation often occurred during the development of the National Archaeological Site Park. At the Han Yangling site, fifteen respondents out of twenty had their lands

expropriated. Residents' attitudes were gathered through the two questions below (Table 3.17).

Table 3.17 Attitude of Local Residents Before and After Land Expropriation at the Han Yangling Site

What was your attitude to land expropriation or relocation?	A. Very reluctant	B.A little reluctant	C.I don't care	D.A little expect	E. Very expect	Num. %
	0	1	9	3	2	15
	0	6.7	60	20	13.3	100
Are you satisfied with the conditions for relocation or land expropriation now?	A. Very dissatisfied	B. A little dissatisfied	C. I'm not sure	D. A little satisfied	E. Very satisfied	Num. %
	5	3	5	1	1	15
	33.3	20	33.3	6.7	6.7	100

At the Han Yangling site, most local residents did not initially care about land expropriation, but some of them are expect. After the expropriation, however, more people were dissatisfied with the outcome. In this way, the situations at the Yin Xu and Han Yangling sites were similar. Before relocation and land expropriation, the different sites had different situations. After relocation and expropriation, however, locals were dissatisfied with the results.

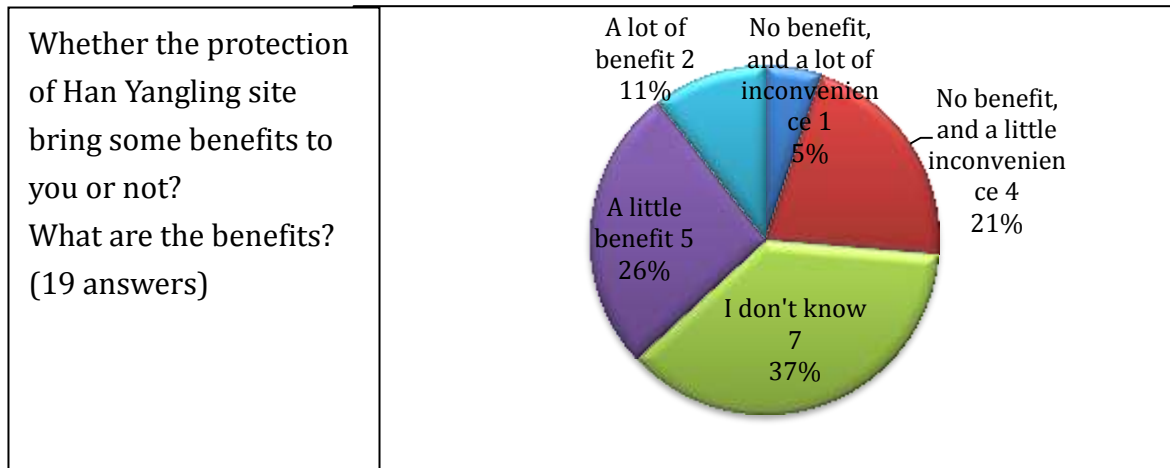
The reasons for these differences could be that the process of relocation did not go perfectly, or the requirements of local residents were much higher than what the government offered. Based on the interview of the managers, I learned that after land expropriation of the graveyard area, local residents still keep enough farming land, and most of them rebuilt their houses with the land compensation.

(5) Benefits Accompanying Han Yangling Site Conservation

The meaning of “benefits” here is same as for the Yin Xu site (i.e., economic and social

benefits). The two questions below in Table 3.18 aimed to determine whether site conservation brought benefits to local residents.

Table 3.18 Benefits Accompanying Han Yangling Site Conservation



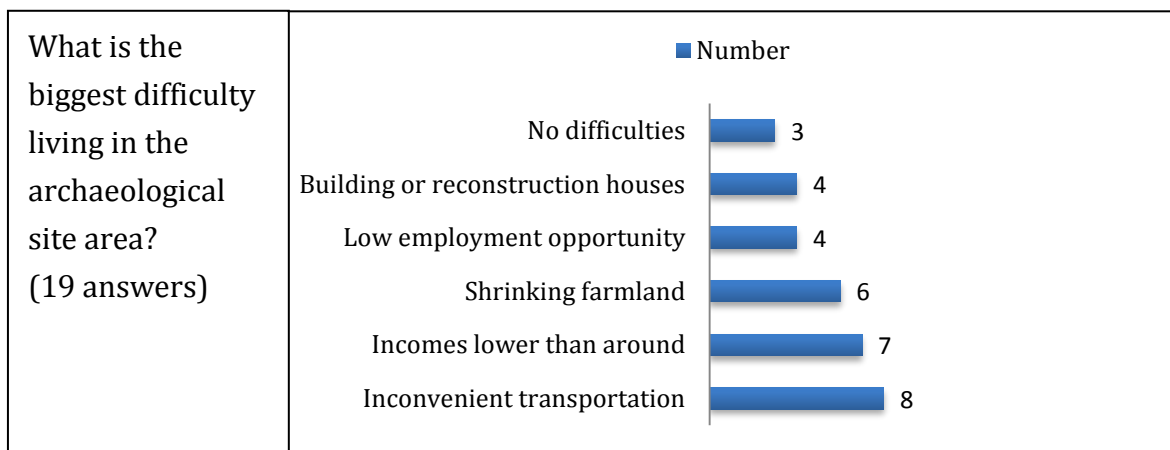
Twenty-six percent of local residents thought archaeological site conservation brought no benefits, 37% did not know, and 37% thought it brought benefits. The situation at the Han Yangling site was better than at the Yin Xu site in that more people recognized the benefits of site conservation. Some of them appreciated the employment opportunities, and some were satisfied with the compensation of land acquisition. Taking the example of one villager in Zhangjiawan Village, his family has six members. Each has 7 cents (分, 1 cent $\approx 66.7\text{m}^2$) of plateau land and 9 cents of plain land, in totally, 4.2 mu (亩, 1 mu=10 分 $\approx 667\text{m}^2$) of plateau land were expropriated. Because the price of 1 mu is around 20 thousand yuan, around 80 thousand yuan were paid to his family in total, which was equivalent to the construction fee for one house in this village in 1999. However, they did not mention about the benefits from the environmental, cultural, and educational aspects.

(6) Main Difficulties in Residents' Livelihoods at the Han Yangling Site Conservation

The question shown in Table 3.19 below aimed to determine the single biggest issue for local resident at the Han Yangling site.

About half of the respondents chose transportation as the biggest issue at the Han Yangling site. Although a new road was built for the Han Yangling Museum, it does not pass through the villages around the site. The development of the Han Yangling Museum involved no business for the village or the local residents.

Table 3.19 Main Difficulties in Local Residents' Livelihood at the Han Yangling Site (Plural Statistics)



Additionally, like the Yin Xu site, the income of the villages in and nearby the site was lower than that of the surrounding villages. It also shows the current limitation of the site conservation to the economic development. However, for both sites the reconstruction of the houses was not the issue of primary urgency.

(7) Interest in Han Yangling Site Utilization

Regarding interest in site utilization, the situation was quite different from the knowledge of site conservation based on the two relevant questions in the questionnaire (Table 3.20).

Table 3.20 Interest in Han Yangling Site Utilization

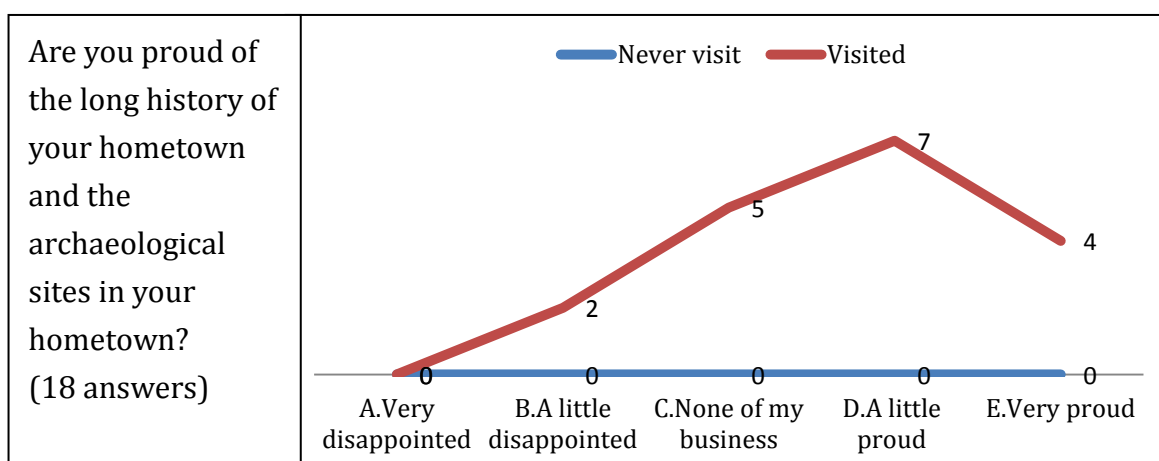
Do you want to participate in the formulation of the conservation plan?	A. Not at all	B. No, I don't want to	C. None of my business	D. Yes, but I don't know how to do that	E. Yes, very much	Num. %
	1	3	6	8	0	18
	5.6	16.7	33.3	44.4	0	100
Would you want to join the utilization of Han Yangling site?	A. Not at all	B. No, I don't want to	C. None of my business	D. Yes, but I don't know how to do that	E. Yes, very much	Num. %
	1	3	6	8	2	20
	5	15	30	40	10	100

Eight respondents out of eighteen wanted to participate in creating protection regulations or plans, and ten out of twenty wanted to participate in site utilization. Many local residents wanted to participate in the protection and utilization of the site. However, the situation at the Han Yangling site is similar to the Yin Xu site in that local residents still are not familiar with conservation and are not fully involved in utilization.

(8) Sence of Belonging to the Han Yangling Site

The situation regarding the sense of belonging was ascertained through the following question in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21 The Comparison between Visit the Site or Not and How Proud of the Site by Local Residents at the Han Yangling Site



All the residents had visited the Han Yangling Museum before. Among them, the answers “a little proud” and “very proud” made up about half of the total, while the answers “a little disappointed” and “very disappointed” were lower.

The most important issue is not whether locals are disappointed or proud of the site. Rather, they should first know the site well, and then they can give proper answers reflecting their own thoughts. Like the Yin Xu site, knowledge of the site can also help them to be proud of it.

Summarizing Section 3.3.2, the small-scale field research at the Han Yangling site showed several key issues for local residents in terms of the site conservation project. In addition to the similar issues of lack understanding that were found at the Yin Xu site, one big problem was that the site conservation brought limited social, cultural, and economic benefits to local residents. Meanwhile, local residents’ participation in the site conservation and utilization was limited. The in-depth connections between site conservation and local residents had not been established.

In summary of Section 3.3, while the implementation of the national archaeological site conservation project in Han Yangling site was closely related to locals, the participation of locals was not comprehensively considered. Educational activities have been insufficient and experiential activities have been irregular. Moreover, no local organizations participate in site conservation and utilization. Finally, the diverse participation of local residents in site conservation seems unachievable at present.

3.4. Some Attempts at the Liangzhu Site (良渚)

The Liangzhu site is an important site downstream from the Yangtze River dating from the Neolithic period. The main discoveries of city walls, graveyards, altars, water projects and dwellings, as well as jades, stone tools, potteries and carbonized rice brought to life an

ancient city. Liangzhu Culture (良渚文化), which was named from Liangzhu site, is an important archaeological culture near the Taihu Lake Basin (太湖流域), downstream from the Yangtze River, which is dated to 3300-2000 BC. Studies of the Liangzhu site include the origins of paddy agriculture, jade-making techniques, etc.

The Liangzhu site is located in Yuhang District (余杭区), Hangzhou City (杭州市) and Deqing County (德清县), Huzhou City (湖州市) in Zhejiang Province (浙江省). The main part of the site is located at Liangzhu Street (良渚街道, 原良渚镇) and Pingyao Town (瓶窑镇) in Yuhang District. The ancient Liangzhu city (良渚古城), which is considered the core of the site, is located at Daguanshan (大观山村) and Changming (长命村) villages in the town of Pingyao. The size of the conservation area is 42 km² (Fig. 3.15).



**Figure 3.15 Map of Liangzhu National Archaeological Park Route
(Source: Photo by the author)**

3.4.1. The Conservation Process at the Liangzhu Site

The Liangzhu site also has a long history of discovery, excavation, research, and conservation. In recent years, there have been attempts to have the site nominated to be on the World Heritage List. The constant challenges in the conservation process make the Liangzhu site very representative.

The Liangzhu site was found by Xingeng SHI (施昕庚) in 1936. Excavation was then carried out three times in 1936 and 1937; and some black potteries, stone tools and jades were found. Since then, archaeology in the area of the Yangtze River was started. After the creation of the People's Republic of China, the conservation of the archaeological site recommenced. The Liangzhu site was registered as a Zhejiang provincial archaeological site in 1961.

Since the implementation of national conservation projects, its conservation process can be divided into two main phases which are described below.

3.4.1.1. Re-excavation and the Museum Establishment Period

In the 1980s, a full-scale excavation of the Liangzhu site was begun by the Zhejiang Provincial Archaeological Research Institute (浙江省文物考古研究所) which was established in 1979. Many tombs with jade such as Fanshan (反山) and Yaoshan (瑶山) were discovered, which promoted research at Liangzhu. In the 1990s, the remains of a palace of more than 300 thousand square meters, named Mojiaoshan (莫角山), and the remains of a dam of more than five thousand meters, called Tangshan (塘山), were found. With these abundant discoveries, a theme museum, Liangzhu Culture Museum (良渚文化博物館), was established in 1994.

Since 1987, conservation and management of the Liangzhu site has been carried out by Liangzhu Site Administration (良渚遺址管理所). The principal works were daily patrol, and monitoring, as well as protection law enforcement and publicity. With law

enforcement, most conservation work runs smoothly.

3.4.1.2. World Heritage Nomination and Establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park

The World Heritage Nomination was synchronized with the establishment of National Archaeological Site Park at the Liangzhu site. The Liangzhu site had been nominated on the World Heritage Tentative List three times: in 1994, 2006 and 2012. It was selected for the first batch of National Archaeological Site Parks in 2010.

In this period, there have been many significant discoveries. In 2006-2007, the ancient Liangzhu city, 1700 meters long, 1900 meters wide and 3 square kilometers in total, was found, which encouraged people to get to know the society of Liangzhu and since that time the Liangzhu workstation (良渚工作站) which is run by Zhejiang Provincial Archaeological Research Institute was set up on a long-term basis. In 2009-2011, the main archaeological work was a survey of the outlying part of the ancient city of Liangzhu, as well as an analysis carried out of its structure. For the recent World Heritage Declaration, archaeologists transferred their research from the outside to the inner part of Liangzhu's ancient city where they will apply for World Heritage status, trying to realize the waterway system, which demonstrates the construction technology of Liangzhu society. Currently, the survey and excavation continue to provide support to the aforementioned two events.

To support the World Heritage Nomination, the management of Liangzhu site transferred to the Liangzhu Site District Management Committee in 2001. Liangzhu and Pingyao towns with a 242 km² proportion are under its jurisdiction. The Liangzhu Committee (良管委) serves the essential functions of local government which are outside the regular organization system of Chinese cultural relics conservation and management. Its primary functions are cultural relic management, planning, and construction, academic research, and industrial development. Compared with public organizations, Liangzhu

Committee has more functions and greater power. Thus, the conservation work is more efficient, which is mainly apparent in the implementation of laws and cooperation with other departments. Furthermore, the conservation of the Liangzhu site has an assistant from Liangzhu Site Cultural Relics Administrative Law Enforcement (良渚遺址執法大隊), in Hangzhou City Garden and Cultural Heritage Bureau Guarantee (杭州市園林文物局). In addition, each village in the site area has mass protective organizations for the purposes of protecting the site. Those amateur protectors assist the cultural relics department. The whole society therefore works together and protection goes smoothly at the Liangzhu site.

Meanwhile, many conservation regulations and plans have been finished, such as *Regulations on Liangzhu Site Protection and Management in Hangzhou City (2013)* and *Master Plan for Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Conservation (2013)*. Based on these plans, conservation projects have already started, including the relocation of the villages and factories inside ancient Liangzhu city. The Liangzhu Committee authorizes this project, but Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd (美麗洲公司)⁷ operates it in practice. About 600 local residents in 3.5 square kilometers and 76 companies in 5.9 square kilometers were moved to two areas called “residential (農居点)”. In addition, all the farming lands were also rented by Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd for 50 years. Each year, a relocated person receives a price for 400 kilograms rice/mu.

Moreover, displays at the Liangzhu site are gradually improving. The northern, southern, and western city walls are all visible to the public (Figs. 3.16 and 3.17). A new project called “The Synthesis of Creative Liangzhu (創意良渚綜合体)” will showcase the

⁷ The establishment of Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd is to promote Liangzhu Culture and jade culture. It has three subsidiary corporations for three projects: Hangzhou Liangzhu Jade Culture Creative Industry (杭州良渚玉文化創意產業公司) is for the design, research, and subject of jade; Hangzhou Meilizhou Management Company (杭州美麗洲實業物業管理公司) is for the management of Meilizhou Garden and the National Archaeological Site Park after it is finished; and Hangzhou Creative Liangzhu Art Company (杭州創意良渚藝術品公司) is responsible for the display of Liangzhu site.

Liangzhu site with photos, videos, and other modern facilities. The Liangzhu Museum (良渚博物苑) was upgraded from the previous one and opened in 2005. It publicizes Liangzhu Culture and Liangzhu site with promotions such as a free tickets policy which encourage people to visit and holds lectures and exhibitions for the public (Figs. 3.18 and 3.19). Around the museum, a Meilizhou Garden (美麗洲公園) was established, which became a leisure area for citizens. Most of these activities are organized and run by Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd



Figure 3.16 Display of Northern Wall at the Liangzhu Site



Figure 3.17 Panel of Northern Wall at the Liangzhu Site



Figure 3.18 Sandy Panoramic Model and Imaginative Painting of the Liangzhu Site



Figure 2.19 Courtyard of the Liangzhu Museum

(Source: Photos by the author)

Summarizing Section 3.4.1, the continuous excavations of the Liangzhu site encourage its conservation, display and utilization, especially the World Heritage Nomination and the National Archaeological Site Park Establishment. Throughout this process, all the local

residents and surrounding citizens have been involved in the conservation effort in four ways. First, land acquisition and home relocation have been conducted widely and rapidly in ancient Liangzhu city; but there are uncertainties about the attitudes of locals and how they are affected by these events. Second, many policies and plans have been enacted gradually over the last 30 years to protect the site, and limitations have been placed on the activities of local residents and factories although there have been some recent attempts to turn this situation around. Third, while archaeological site conservation, in particular, designation as a World Heritage Site and the establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park, brings many economic opportunities, these mainly benefit companies, and do not directly benefit local residents. Lastly, conservation of the Liangzhu site has changed the surrounding environment and improved cultural infrastructures, which offers lots of chances for local residents and citizens to enjoy the achievement of the site's conservation. To fully understand the relationship between Liangzhu site conservation and local residents, there is a need for more basic data about local residents.

3.4.2. Survey and Analysis at the Liangzhu Site

To gather the actual opinions of local residents regarding the conservation of archaeological sites, I conducted surveys at the Liangzhu site for two weeks in September, 2014.

3.4.2.1. Approaches and Respondents

Due to lack of permission from the Liangzhu Committee, the questionnaire survey could not be used in Daguanshan and Changming villages. However, I interviewed some key people connected with Liangzhu site conservation. I interviewed two administrators, five managers, and one archaeologist, to gain an understanding of the position of local residents. Each of them spent around two hours in the interview. To ensure anonymity, all

interviewees use pseudonyms. Moreover, I referenced some news and reports that were related to residents' attitudes about the sites.

3.4.2.2. Analysis of Interview

The interview for administrators, managers and archaeologists regarding issues related to local residents were divided into four main topics.

(1) Understanding of the Liangzhu Site

Besides introducing archaeology to the campus held at the Yin Xu and Han Yangling sites to advertise the archaeological sites, a new approach of publishing textbooks has begun at the Liangzhu site in recent years. In 2014, the Liangzhu Committee started compiling and publishing Liangzhu Culture textbooks for elementary and middle school students in Yuhang District. Now *Liangzhu Culture* for fourth-year students (『良渚文化四年級』) and *Liangzhu Culture* for seventh-year students (『良渚文化七年級』) are being used by students in Yuhang District as textbooks (Fig. 3.20).



Figure 3.20 Textbooks for Primary and Junior High School Students: Liangzhu Culture Fourth and Seventh Grades (Source: Photos by the author)

The textbooks are also coursebooks for the final examination. To teach the textbooks to the students properly, the Liangzhu Committee also has a plan to train history teachers, and this training project has been ongoing since 2014. Publishing the textbook is one effective way to help young people learn more about their hometown. It is also useful as a way of letting their parents and other family members know the site. However, publishing textbooks is still not widespread throughout the country.

In addition, an open lecture is accessible at the Liangzhu site. The lectures held by Liangzhu Museum on World Heritage Day in 2014 attracted 240 participants which was three times the projected numbers. Most participants are wage earners between 30-40 years old who live in Hangzhou.

(2) Relocation and Expropriation

When interviewing the managers at the Liangzhu site, they referred to the experience of relocation and expropriation from other sites in describing their own site. They take multiple steps to ensure that these processes go smoothly. First, they ensure the process of resettlement goes smoothly. The area which will receive the relocation is prepared for resettlement. The construction of necessary infrastructure and the convenience of the relocated area have already been considered. Second, they take care of the majority of local residents' emotions at the prospect of relocation and expropriation. Until 2014, only around ten houses in the protective area refused to relocate, which required more negotiation. Apart from that, there are rare voices of dissatisfaction from locals. Third, all the farming lands have been rented for 50 years. Each year, a relocated person receives the price for 400 kilograms rice/mu, and the price may increase as economic development increases.

(3) Benefits Accompanying Liangzhu Site Conservation

For the direct benefits of local residents, Zhejiang Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau (浙

江省文物局) suggested adding “Cultural Relic Protection Compensation (文物保護補償金)” in the third revision of *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics (2002)*. Unfortunately, many difficulties stand in the way of realizing this compensation, primarily because of the standards for selecting the sites and sourcing funds. Only the Liangzhu site has been implemented. Yuhang District allocates five million yuan per year to local residents for losses caused by the protection of the site. The budget comes from the county-level government instead of the provincial or national government.

The government guides employment as well. Some factories had to be constructed on the periphery of the protective area to provide jobs for unemployed people during site conservation. Business models which are more appropriate for the protective area are recommended, such as planting rice, vegetables, tea, bamboo shoots and flowers, as well as breeding shrimp and turtles.

(4) Participation in Liangzhu Utilization

From the evidence of the interview with the managers, local residents are given priority in the utilization of the Liangzhu site. However, whether the number of jobs and the working conditions will meet the requirements of local residents is still unknown.

Summarizing Section 3.4.2, field research with several managers at the Liangzhu site indirectly showed several key ideas of the local residents in relation to the site conservation project. Understanding of the site is promoted. The emotions of locals in the face of relocation and their economic benefits in site protection are fully considered. However, these efforts are still not enough for sustainable and normative site conservation.

In summary of Section 3.4, during the implementation of the national archaeological site conservation project at the Liangzhu site which is closely connected to local residents, it is still insufficient even though some new attempts have already been conducted to improve issues in local residents’ daily lives and enhance the participation of local residents in site conservation and utilization. There is still much to do to build recognition of local culture.

3.5. Issues of Local Residents in Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation

Many disparities in archaeological site conservation relating to local residents are noted in the three cases presented above, such as disparity between high expectations of economic benefits from archaeological site conservation and the reality of an unprosperous situation; disparity between requests for high resident participation and the reality of low participation; and the utilization of site conservation and utilization mainly serving the needs of the general public while overlooking local residents. The origins of these disparities can be summarized into three levels of issue: survival, diverse participation, and recognition of local culture. All of these will be discussed and analyzed below.

3.5.1. Survival Issues

It is a common understanding of administrators and local residents that through major events such as World Heritage designation and National Archaeological Site Park establishment, archaeological sites can be conserved with added benefit of improving the surrounding environment and basic infrastructure. In addition, it is believed that economic development can be achieved through tourism and real estate. The reality is that archaeological site conservation brings mainly social and ecological benefits to the region, such as educational resources, cultural influence, and environmental improvement. Such assets are rather far removed from the desires of local residents and administrators for economic gain. Many issues related to local residents at the survival levels are therefore severe and intractable.

(1) Conflicts in Relocation and Land Acquisition

Relocation and land acquisition along with the archaeological site conservation significant influence local residents' lifestyles and occupations. The process is fast but sometimes not smooth. The lack of in-depth discussion with each individual and neglect of

the local residents' emotions are the main causes of issues between locals and archaeological site conservation. For instance, the delay in relocating all Huayuanzhuang villagers and some Xiaotun villagers caused dissatisfaction among the residents.

(2) Conflicts in Daily Lives

Archaeological site conservation imposes many limitations on residents' lives and their productive capabilities, including house reconstruction, land cultivation, individual operations such as livestock breeding, and factory establishment. Simultaneously, no rules have been proposed to compensate them properly for their damages. For instance, house reconstruction is strictly limited in the Yin Xu site even though the population is increasing, while the effect of this regulation is unsatisfactory and illegal construction cannot be stopped. All of the local factories are closed at Yin Xu and Liangzhu sites, which force the local residents to find new jobs outside. The living conditions of residents in the protective area are very tough.

(3) Limited Job Positions

Although some events can provide jobs for local residents, the number of positions is quite limited. For example, at the Yin Xu site, more than 2,000 people were relocated for the World Heritage designation and the National Archaeological Site Park establishment. However, the Yin Xu Museum could only offer about fifty jobs, presenting a huge gap.

Such events may give locals some opportunities for new business as well. However, the number of visitors to Yin Xu fell from a height of 2,400,400 between July 16 and August 15, 2006—when the site was nominated to the World Heritage List and opened to the public for free—to about 200,000 per year. Many restaurants that opened near the Yin Xu site park have closed down. Even worse, at the Han Yangling site, the route to the museum does not stop at the surrounding villages, so no business comes to them.

(4) Difficulty Offering Direct Compensation

The conservation of archaeological sites is the duty of all human beings. Many

administrators and archaeologists have proposed giving Cultural Relic Protection Compensation directly to local residents. At the Liangzhu site, the Yuhang District allocates five million yuan per year to local residents for losses caused by protection of the site. The budget comes from the county-level government instead of the provincial or national government. However, in the middle and western parts of China, the finances of local governments are limited. Therefore, such allocations cannot be realized in those areas, as is the case of the Yin Xu site. Those sites would need national-level regulations to achieve such a goal. It is difficult, however, to pay compensation for all sites in the country at the national level. As a result, achieving this goal remains difficult for most sites.

3.5.2. Diverse Participation Issues

Archaeological site conservation and utilization requires the support and involvement of local residents. Meanwhile, locals have responsibilities for their own land and its significant sites, as well as memories of their local history and customs. Therefore, local residents and local organizations should be encouraged to participate as a means of promoting the archaeological site. With this active participation by locals, archaeological site conservation can be stable and sustained. However, actual participation of locals in site conservation and utilization remains low.

(1) Lack of Local Conservation Organizations

The government mainly conserves and utilizes of the archaeological site and the involvement of local organizations is low in number, limited in content, and non-persistent. The only group in Xiaotun Troupe was eventually discontinued as a result of unfavorable relationships and insufficient funds. The disintegration of the local organization is related to two aspects, interior and exterior aspects. The interior one is the purpose of setting-up, including the content of activities and the sustaining capabilities of the organization while the exterior one is the support of government, especially the local government.

(2) Difficult to Understand Displays and Irregular Experiential Activities

Generally, archaeological site conservation aims to conserve and pass down cultural heritage. Specifically, it aims to share the achievement of the archaeological site with the surrounding residents who have lived there for generations. Although there is still much discussion about display methods in archaeological sites (such as whether or not to restore and the choice of reinforcement material), the displays are still insufficient and difficult to understand.

Moreover, archaeological sites offer few events that are related or attractive to local residents, generally providing only some irregular activities for tourists. For example, at the Han Yangling site, experiential activities such as doing excavations in the experience zone and making replica figurines in the experience room are mainly planned for tourist groups and require reservations. The Yin Xu site, meanwhile, offers no experiential activities. Neither site has displays or other elements that would connect local residents with the site.

(3) Insufficient Educational Activities

Recently, educational activities in school or the archaeological site park have been emphasized in China, such as International Museum Day, World Heritage Day, Introducing Archaeology to the Campus and Archaeological Summer Camp. However, publicity and education programs related to archaeological sites and their history for primary and junior high students are intermittent and uncommon. Live presentations conducted by archaeologists are still not accessible and regular. Many media campaigns covered the period when Yin Xu registered on the World Heritage List, but this did not continue. Publishing textbooks for elementary and middle school students in Yuhang District has started in 2014 at the Liangzhu site, which helps young people to learn more about their hometown, however it is still not popular throughout the country. The reasons for this may be summarized in four points: first, there is a lack of awareness among managers that site

dissemination and education are as important as site conservation; second, there are a lack of special funds and requirements for site dissemination and education; third, there are a lack of professionals or staff in charge of site dissemination and education; and fourth, there are a lack of incentive mechanisms and enthusiasm for the staff to conduct site dissemination and education.

(4) High Ticket Prices Blocks Access

Yin Xu and Han Yangling are both National Archaeological Site Parks. Tickets for the two sites are rather expensive; in 2014 ticket cost was 90 yuan for the Yin Xu site and 80 yuan for the Han Yangling site. However, reduced rates are not available for local residents. The management staff L of the Yin Xu site noted that the site used to open to local residents for free three days each year, but this policy was discontinued in recent years. It is only on International Museum Day and Chinese World Heritage Day that local residents can get half-price tickets. The same applies to the Han Yangling Museum; it used to be open to locals for free during certain times, but this is no longer the case. Staff H in Han Yangling Museum said that with written permission from the village leader, local residents could visit the museum for free. However, local resident Y said this does not always work.

3.5.3. Recognition of Local Cultural Issues

The increasing contradictions around survival issues for local residents in site conservation and the limited participation of local residents in site utilization cause the low conservation awareness and a lack of recognition of the local culture.

Without improvement of the environment and improvement of living standards, what happiness is there for local residents? The content and approach of the exhibitions in the archaeological site is beyond local residents' understanding, so how can the site be accepted? The shortage and irregularity of educational and participant activities do not allow local residents to share in the achievements of the site. Thus, to enhance their

protective consciousness and recognition of local culture, one should begin with solving the basic survival issues, such as compensation for relocation and land acquisition, reconstruction of houses, vocational guidance, etc. Then, enriching activities involving local residents can be incorporated, such as enjoying leisure, learning history and archaeology, and participating in local festivals. Finally, the recognition of local culture by local residents can be established through time.

In summary, Chapter 3 addresses how CLAS is closely related to local residents and how its conservation not only requires the conservation and display of the ruins and remains but also a steady demand for the comprehensive harnessing of the environment, as well as harmonious regional development of related cultural, social, and economic aspects. During the course of its implementation, issues such as how to protect the environment, how to promote local residents' living standard and quality, how to enrich the participation of local residents, and how to increase local residents' sense of pride and achieve the recognition of local culture in practice still needs discussion in practice. In short, the core issue is how to achieve sustainable development in the conservation of large-scale archaeological sites.

In the following three chapters - Chapters 4, 5, and 6 - a number of successful cases in relation to JASC will be examined. There is a wealth of experience here in solving the aforementioned issues.

Chapter 4. Solutions of Survival Issues: Taking the Nara Palace Site (平城宮跡) as a Case

Through the introduction and analysis of successful cases in implementing JASC projects, the next three chapters will present solutions to issues related to local residents in Chinese archaeological site conservation mentioned in Section 3.5. Chapter 4 provides solutions to survival issues on the site conservation project through examining the case of the Nara Palace site, which aims to promote local residents' living standards and quality of life through site conservation and utilization. Chapter 5 introduces the diverse participation of local residents in the site conservation and utilization process through the cases of Sannai-maruyama and Goshono, which show respectively what external propaganda and internal sharing can accomplish. Chapter 6 introduces the example of the national project of Fudoki-no-oka to demonstrate ways of improving local residents' recognition while enhancing local cultural construction with an aim to achieve regional, social, and ecological benefits.

In the process of CLASC, the conflicts between site conservation and local residents gradually stood out. These conflicts focus on the following issues: (1) land acquisition, (2) house reconstruction, (3) public facility construction, and (4) employment. All of them are closely related to local residents' survival issues. To solve these matters, it is necessary to refer to similar cases that have a long history of conservation and complicated conflicts with locals. Many archaeological sites in Japan can be used as reference, such as Toro site in Shizuoka City (静岡市), Kasori shell mounds in Chiba City (千葉市), and Asuka area in Asuka Village (明日香村). For the purposes of this paper, the Nara Palace site in Nara City will be used as a representative case.

Nara Palace is an important location in the history of JASC because conservation work here started early, the project is large scale, and a number of participants are involved. The

history of conservation at this site went passed through a number of complex stages over more than a century, including initial discovery, calls for protection, damage, initiation of a conservation movement, designation as a historic site, acquisition of land by the Japanese government, implementation of a plan for protection, and the construction of a national historical park. There have also been frequent conflicts with the livelihoods of local residents during the conservation process, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. In this period, the Japanese economy was developing rapidly and the infrastructure construction such as extending roads and erecting new buildings was booming. This also meant that conservation of sites and the natural environment was vulnerable. Nara City, the old capital of Japan, was affected by this situation. However, the conservation movement around the Nara Palace site during the construction of a tram garage in 1961 and National Route 24 in 1964, as well as the national land acquisition of the entire Nara Palace site, led to discussions about ways to protect archaeological sites during construction and improve the livelihoods of locals while conservation work was under way. For these reasons, the conservation of Nara Palace will serve as a case study in this history of JASC.

This chapter provides a detailed record of the conservation process of Nara Palace site in 1960-70s. Through the review of the data from reports, newspapers, manuscripts and field surveys, this chapter aims to summarize and discuss a number of examples of these conflicts, including the prices for land acquisition, the scope of designations, reconstructing residences, constructing public facility, establishing of connections as well as other situations that have influenced local residents. The experience discussed in this chapter reveal a number of possible solutions to the issues faced by local residents that can be applied to further harmonious coexistence at the Nara Palace site, and also provide a valuable experience base for other archaeological sites in similar situations.

4.1. Conservation Process of the Nara Palace Site

The Nara Palace site is located in the northwest area of Nara City, on the north of the main thoroughfare—Hanna Road (阪奈道路), which crosses the city from west to east and is 3.5 kilometers from the JR-West Nara Station. The central part of Nara Palace is located between First and Second avenues (一条通りと二条通り), covering Saki Town (佐紀町) and many other towns.

Nara was the capital of Japan from 710 A.D. to 784 A.D. The structure of the Heijo-kyo (平城京) was carefully designed in accordance with Chinese geomantic principles. A grand city plan was laid out on an orthogonal grid with palaces, Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, public buildings, houses, and roads. During this period, the framework of the national government was consolidated. Nara enjoyed great prosperity, emerging as the fountainhead of Japanese culture (Fig. 4.1). The Nara Palace, located at the northern end of the central avenue of Heijo-kyo, occupied 120 ha. It was comprised of official buildings where political and religious ceremonies took place (Website of UNESCO⁸) (Fig. 4.2). The wooden tablets unearthed there recorded tax, tribute, and other information, which has great significance to researching the ancient culture and society of the Nara Period.

The conservation of the Nara Palace site was initiated by local celebrities starting at the end of the Edo Period (江戸時代). For instance, Sadamasa KITAURA (北浦定政 1817-1871), who was born in Furuichi Town (古市町) of Nara City, drew maps of Nara Palace and Heijo-kyo (平城宮大内裏跡坪割の図, 平城大内敷地図). This work had great significance for further discoveries of and research into Nara Palace. Half a century later Kajuro TANADA (棚田嘉十郎 1860-1921) gathered many local celebrities to join the conservation of Nara Palace site. They formed the Nara Palace Preservation Society (奈良大極殿址保存会) to purchase the land, conserve the ruins, set up landmarks, and erect monuments. In 1923, they donated the purchased area to the Ministry of Education,

⁸ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/870>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Science, and Culture (文部省).



Figure 4.1 Plan of the Heijo-kyo



Figure 4.2 Plan of the Nara Palace

(Source: The Pamphlets of Nara Palace Site, made by Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2010)

During the 1960s and 1970s, the situation of Nara Palace site conservation was complicated. On the one hand, the governmental conservation project was promoted by locals. On the other hand, it faced revolts from locals during the designation and acquisition process. The successful conservation of the Nara Palace site nowadays can be considered as a successful outcome of the process of negotiation between government and local residents during that decade that finally achieved collaboration. The conservation process in 1960s and 1970s can be divided into two main phases which will be explored in the following sections.

4.1.1. Conservation Movements Led by Scholars and the Media

During Japan's fast construction period in the 1960s, the destruction of archaeological sites and surrounding environments prompted many citizens to form conservation movements, which sometimes also included local residents. Two conservation movements had a great influence on the Nara Palace site. The first was the construction of a tram garage in the

southwest area of the Nara Palace site in 1961, which prompted public and private efforts to try to conserve it. Three years later, it was announced that National Route 24 would be built across the Nara Palace site. This news received an outpouring of objections from the public. As a result, the route was redrawn around the site.

(1) Construction of the Tram Garage (近鉄検車区建設)

In December, 1961 it was decided that a tram garage for the Kintetsu Railway Co. (近鉄) would be built in the southwest of Nara Palace. At that time, this area had not yet been designated as a Special Historic Site (特別史跡). The National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties (文化財保護委員会) approved the construction project in February, 1962 for two reasons; they believed that private land should not be interfered with and the acquisition of this area by the government was impossible.

When the media realized that the construction project would mean the destruction of the site, it aroused public attention. The *Asahi Shimbun* (『朝日新聞』) editorialized that if such an important archaeological site like Nara Palace site could not be conserved, other sites also might be under threat in the future. Soon, archaeologists and historians started to discuss its conservation. Later, a signature collecting campaign was conducted by the Musashi Regional History Research Institute (武蔵地方史研究会) in Tokyo. Then, Ryozo OKUDA (奥田良三), the Nara prefectural governor, who held a concurrent post as the chairman of the Preservation Society of Asuka Area and Heijo-kyo (飛鳥平城京跡保存会), submitted a demanding paper (Preservation Society of Asuka Area and Heijo-kyo, 1962) calling for conservation. However, the first appeals from media, scholars, and the governor did not receive a response from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture.

The papers demanding the palace's conservation were submitted by the Architectural Institute of Japan (日本建築学会) and the Osaka Historical Association (大阪歴史学会) in March of 1962, by the Society of Archaeological Studies (考古学研究会) and the

Japanese Archaeological Association (日本考古学協会) in April, and by the Historical Science Society of Japan (歴史学研究総会) that May. Meanwhile, the local residents Katsuichirou KAMEI (亀井勝一郎) and Naoya SHIGA (志賀直哉) who liked Nara's culture but worried about its conservation formed an alliance named Heijo-kyo Preservation Society (平城京を守る会). This preservation society combined the protectors from both the Kanto and Kansei areas which submitted papers for conservation as well. By August of that year, more than 26,000 signatures were collected.

The residents of Nara Prefecture, especially those living in Saki Town, influenced by the national conservation movement, started to advocate for the preservation of the site. However, those living in and nearby Nara Palace did not initially respond to the conservation efforts. When the extended area of the Nara Palace site was found, they were more worried about its influence of their daily lives than the new discoveries. To reassure them, the Nara Prefectural Rural Issues Research Association (奈良県農村問題研究会) took responsibility for organizing meetings with residents in Saki Town and discussing how to conserve the Nara Palace site in a way that would also allow locals' livelihoods to continue. Through various rounds of discussions, residents' opinions changed from opposing the designation and land acquisition to agreeing to sell their land to the government for conservation, provided that certain conditions were met (Fig. 4.3).

After receiving appeals from the media, scholars, members of the public, and most importantly residents, the Ministry of Finance (大蔵省) finally approved the acquisition of the entire Nara Palace site and changed the construction plan in December, 1962 (ISHIBE, SUGITA and HAMADA 2000: 77-79).

(2) Construction of National Route 24 (国道 24 号線バイパス建設)

The construction plan for National Route 24, which was set forth in 1964, located the highway to the east of Nara Palace in an area that had not yet been recognized as part of the historically significant site. However, during pre-excavation in November of the same

year, the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (奈良文化財研究所) unearthed relics like roads and wells in the Office of Rising Wines and Vinegars (造酒司井戸). Meanwhile, the recognition of the layout of Nara Palace also made progressed, suggesting that the Nara Palace might extend on the east part and take up a side of one kilometer square.

To preserve the integrity of Nara Palace, archaeologists and historians called for its conservation, and the Opposition Committee of National Route 24 (奈良バイパスの平城宮跡通過に反対する協議会) was established. This committee collaborated with seven academic communities and called on local residents' to participate, building on the successful campaign used to block the tram garage project. Through holding conventions and sending a pamphlet entitled “Protecting Nara Palace Site from Destruction (平城宮跡を守るために一再度の破壊に抗議する)”, they actively called for the conservation of Nara Palace and openly questioned the Ministry of Construction (建設省). However, since this route was constructed to support the Japan’s World Exposition in Osaka (日本万国博覧会, 大阪), which would be held in 1970, it could not be changed easily.

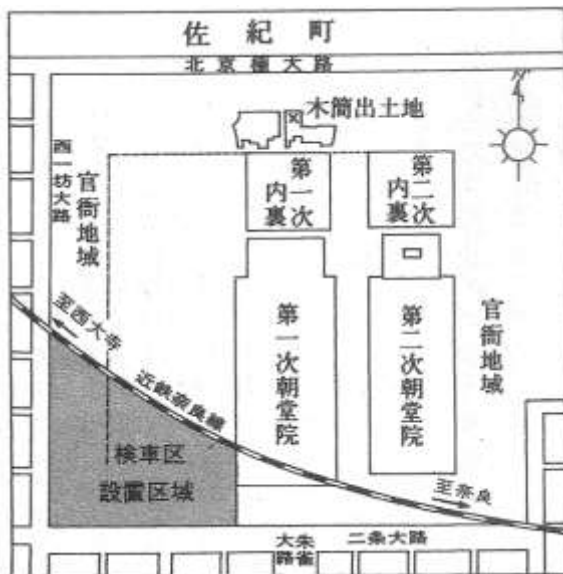


Figure 4.3 Location of Tram Garage Figure 4.4 Location of National Route 24
(Source: ISHIBE, SUGITA and HAMADA 2000: 77 and 81)

However, the opposition committee remained enthusiastic despite facing such difficulties. It concentrated on calling for the support from the central and Nara prefectural governments. Additionally, the National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties announced the excavation of the southern part of the site in February, 1968, which uncovered significant garden ruins, as well as other architectural ruins (Fig. 4.4).

In the face of all of these efforts, the Ministry of Construction issued a statement in April 1968 that the route would be rearranged on the east to be clear of the Nara Palace site. The conservationists achieved success again (ISHIBE, SUGITA and HAMADA 2000: 80-86).

To sum up, during these two conservation movements in the 1960s, the appeals and desires of citizens, especially local residents led by the media and scholars played a vital role in changing the final decision on the preservation of Nara Palace. However, it is not insignificant that the attitudes and behaviors of locals against the protections were quite general since maintaining their living conditions were much more important than conserving the site on some sense. This phenomenon is unavoidable in the preliminary stage of archaeological site conservation during a time of economic development.

4.1.2. Influence of Local Residents by Conservation Projects

After 1961, thanks to constant appeals from citizens and the academic community for the preservation of Nara Palace, the national government decided to purchase the entire area and conduct conservation and utilization projects there. The main concern of this national project was preserving the ancient archaeological site during this period of fast-growing city development. There were two core issues at the heart of this project: making a comprehensive conservation and utilization plan and the process of land acquisition and house relocation for locals.

The first issue is making the conservation and utilization plan. In 1965, Uzou

NISHIYAMA (西山卯三) and other members of the Review Conferences of Nara International Cultural Tourism City Construction (奈良国際文化観光都市建設審議会) submitted the Nara Plan (奈良計画) named as New Heijo-kyo (新平城京). This plan provided a comprehensive consideration of site conservation and citizen's livelihood in the further development of the city. In particular, it showed the layout of Heijo-kyo in modern Nara City, which was a proactive protection. Thus, the document unified conservation, utilization, and restoration together in framework wherein academic archaeological research was indispensable (*The Asahi Shimbun* 1965.5.22, INOUE and AWANO 2010: 117-124). Additionally, more conservation and utilization plans were submitted including the fundamental concept of creating a site museum.

Based on these plans, *Basic Concept of Nara Palace Site Museum* (『平城遺跡博物館基本構想資料』) was released in 1978, and it summarized and guided the conservation and utilization activities in the Nara Palace site. The basic way of display is in site museum display. The Nara Palace Site Museum (平城宮跡資料館) was opened in 1970 and renewed in 2010, and it displays the unearthed artifacts and research results of the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties. Another way of display is by indication the remains in situ. The foundations of the Latter Imperial Audience Hall and Imperial Domicile (第二次大極殿と内裏) were indicated by pillars from 1980 to 1984 (Agency for Cultural Affairs: 1978). The third way of display is by restoration in situ, such as Suzaku Gate (朱雀門) restored in 1993-1998, East Palace Garden (東院庭園) restored in 1993-2000, and Former Imperial Audience Hall (第一次大極殿) restored in 2001-2010 (Agency for Cultural Affairs: 2013). The fourth way of display is showing the ruin in situ, such as the Excavation Site Exhibition Hall (遺構展示館) in 1965.

The second issue that needed to be resolved during this conversation project was land acquisition and house relocation, which required a great deal of support from direct stakeholders. The decision to nationalize land at the Nara Palace site for conservation was

made in 1962, was started the following year, and basically completed in 1973. Although discussions about price and the schedule of land acquisition and house relocation brought many difficulties, the project was gradually promoted with the understanding and support of local organizations and local residents. Ultimately, almost the entire site was conserved. Detailed information about the issues and solutions are introduced in the next sections of Chapter 4 (Fig. 4.5).

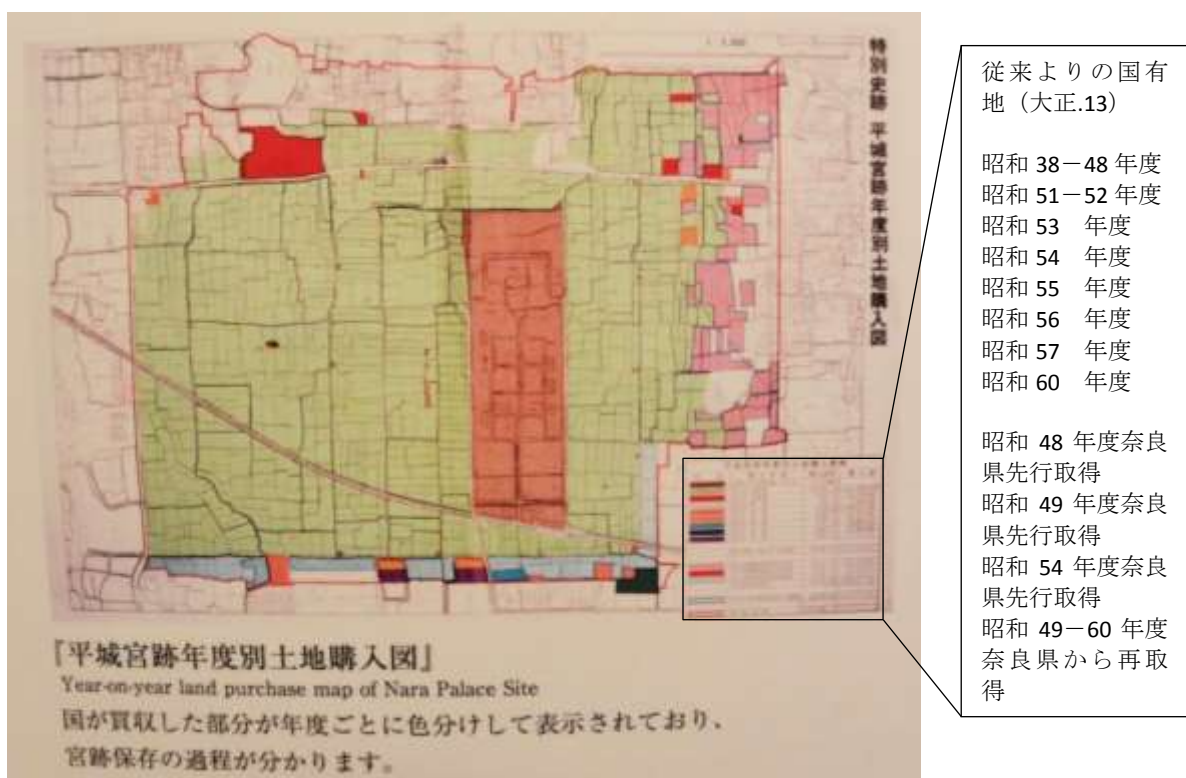


Figure 4.5 Year-on-year Land Purchase Map of Nara Palace Site
(Source: The Exhibition Board at the Nara Palace Site Museum)

The government played a vital role in the conservation of Nara Palace. It created a method for balancing site preservation and modern city development during the process of making a conservation plan and implementing it. The government also tried to reduce the impact on residents' livelihoods and emotions by offering maximal compensation on the foundation of maximizing protection of the site.

In summary of Section 4.1, the conservation of Nara Palace site has been well executed and continuous with the support and participation of local celebrities, scholars, citizens, residents, managers and media in academic organizations, conservation organizations, and the government. Five elements were essential to this success. (1) Understanding and support from locals is at the heart of the plan to conserve Nara Palace. (2) When the significance and value of the site were not well-known by the public, celebrities, scholars, and the media tried their best to advertise its value, drum up participation in the conservation movement, and question the governmental agencies in charge of cultural heritage and construction. (3) When direct conflicts happened between the site conservation and residents, local communities made an effort to solve these practical issues. They not only promoted the conservation work but also protected residents' rights to farm while also helping them gain benefits. (4) The media contributed by reporting on governmental actions and speaking for residents, playing vital roles in solving the conflicts. (5) No matter the process of making the decision to conserve the entire Nara Palace site or drawing and completing the conservation plan, the national and prefectural governments had decisive roles.

4.2. Collection of Materials and Survey

This chapter analyzes the issues related to residents during the conservation process of the Nara Palace site, mainly in the 1960s and 1970s. The sources utilized are newspapers, related organizations' publications, principal protectors' biographies and manuscripts, and interviews with locals who witnessed the conservation events.

The newspaper was one of the popular forms of media in the 1960s and 1970s. It conveyed the governmental policy of site protection while also expressing the concerns

and requirements of locals. *Naranichinichi Shimbun* (『奈良日日新聞』)⁹ and *Yamato Times* (『大和タイム』)¹⁰ were the two primary local newspapers in Nara at the time, and *The Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* (『読売新聞』) were well-known national newspapers.

The publications of related organizations focus on different aspects of the conservation effort. For example, the *Annual Bulletin* of Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (『奈良文化財研究所年報』) (1958 to present) records the professional research associated with the Nara Palace site, but it is rarely concerned with residents' involvement, *Bunzenkyo News* (『文全協ニュース』) (1964 to present) concentrates on archaeological site conservation in Japan, and mentions Nara Palace only occasionally.

The principal protectors' biographies and manuscripts record their high enthusiasm and responsibility, as well as the intense actions take to protecting the site that also encouraged the general public.

The principal protectors' biographies and manuscripts record the protectors' high enthusiasm and responsibility, as well as the intense actions of protecting the site that encouraged the general public.

The locals who were interviewed were all over 70 and experienced first-hand the conservation process of the Nara Palace site. The changes to their lives and their attitudes about the site conservation provided factual data for this research dissertation.

A comprehensive analysis of this data will be helpful to study the preservation of the Nara Palace site and the condition of locals in the 1960s and 1970s. The issues at hand can be summarized as: (1) the change in ownership and usage of the land during the national

⁹ *Naranichinichi Shimbun* was published from 1941 to 1954, 1962 to 2005, and 2006 to 2010, with several periods of suspended publication. The origin of this newspaper is *Nara Shimbun* (『奈良新聞』), which published from 1898 to 1940. Then it combined with other two newspapers (『大和日報』, 『大和毎日』), and became *Naranichinichi Shimbun*. After 2010, the title of this newspaper was changed to *Weekly Naranichi*.

¹⁰ *Yamato Times* was published between 1947 and 1975, before changing its name to *Nara Shimbun* (『奈良新聞』) in 1974. It continues to publish today.

land acquisition and historic site designation process and (2) the inconvenience caused to residents living in the protective area in the course of their daily lives, including the construction and reconstruction of houses, construction of public facilities, and farming without authorization. Notably, some clues can be found from the detailed information in following sections to solve the general issues concerning site conservation and local quality of life.

4.3. National Land Acquisition

Along with the conservation movement of the tram garage construction in the non-designated area of Nara Palace site, the conservation of archaeological sites became famous. To protect the Nara Palace site entirely, the national government authorized the Nara prefectural government to conduct a land acquisition project, starting in 1961. However, at that time, there was no detailed information about the schedule, scope, price, and method of the project. Locals highly doubted the range and price of land acquisition that directly related to their lives. Most importantly, they were worried about how they would live without farming as a future source of income. This explains why many people clamored against the site designation (*Naranichinichi 1962.7.12(1), 1962.8.6(1)*).

There are five main issues related to the national land acquisition: the schedule and scope, the price and method, the profit distribution between the land users and owners, the treatment of non-designated area of the Nara Palace site, and the emotions of residents surrounding national land acquisition.

Aa1. Schedule and Scope

Due to limitations on national fiscal expenditure, the national land procurement of the entire Nara Palace site was implemented year by year. This means that plans for the acquisition of sections of the site were made one year and then carried out in the next. The land acquisition policy of Nara Palace was decided in 1962, and then implemented in 1963.

It was almost completed by 1966 (*Naranichinichi* 1962.7.12(1)). In 1965, the western part of Nara Palace site was designated as a historic site, which sped up the land acquisition process.

In 1963, the schedule and the scope of the land acquisition were not released until May. At that time, local farmers were in a rush to plant crops, and merchants hesitated to open their shops (*Naranichinichi* 1963.5.18(1)). Finally, through communication with the director of the department in charge of the plan, 420 million yen was used to purchase 23 ha that August.

During the process, residents and the government of Nara Prefecture discussed the scope of the land acquisition many times. In the first step, the scope of the plan was determined by the government, based on the suggestions of Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, which intended to preserve the ruins of the city wall and gate. However, the locals disagreed with this plan for three reasons. They argued that the plan only included the surrounding area, it would be unpredictable the following year, and the survey and excavation might take a long time. They offered their own alternative plan (*Naranichinichi* 1963.5.22(1), 1963.5.24(2)). Furthermore, a section chief from the National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties came to Nara and argued that the government should protect the residents' interests. He also promised to finish the survey and excavation work as soon as possible to address that concern (*Naranichinichi* 1963.6.6(1)). Finally, the tensions between local residents and Nara Prefecture eased, and they reached a consensus through discussion (Fig. 4.6).

After 1964, although acquired a large swath of land was suggested, the government's fiscal situation made it difficult to achieve this objective. Consequently, a plan similar to the one proposed during the previous year was made, and the implementation proceeded smoothly (Fig. 4.7).

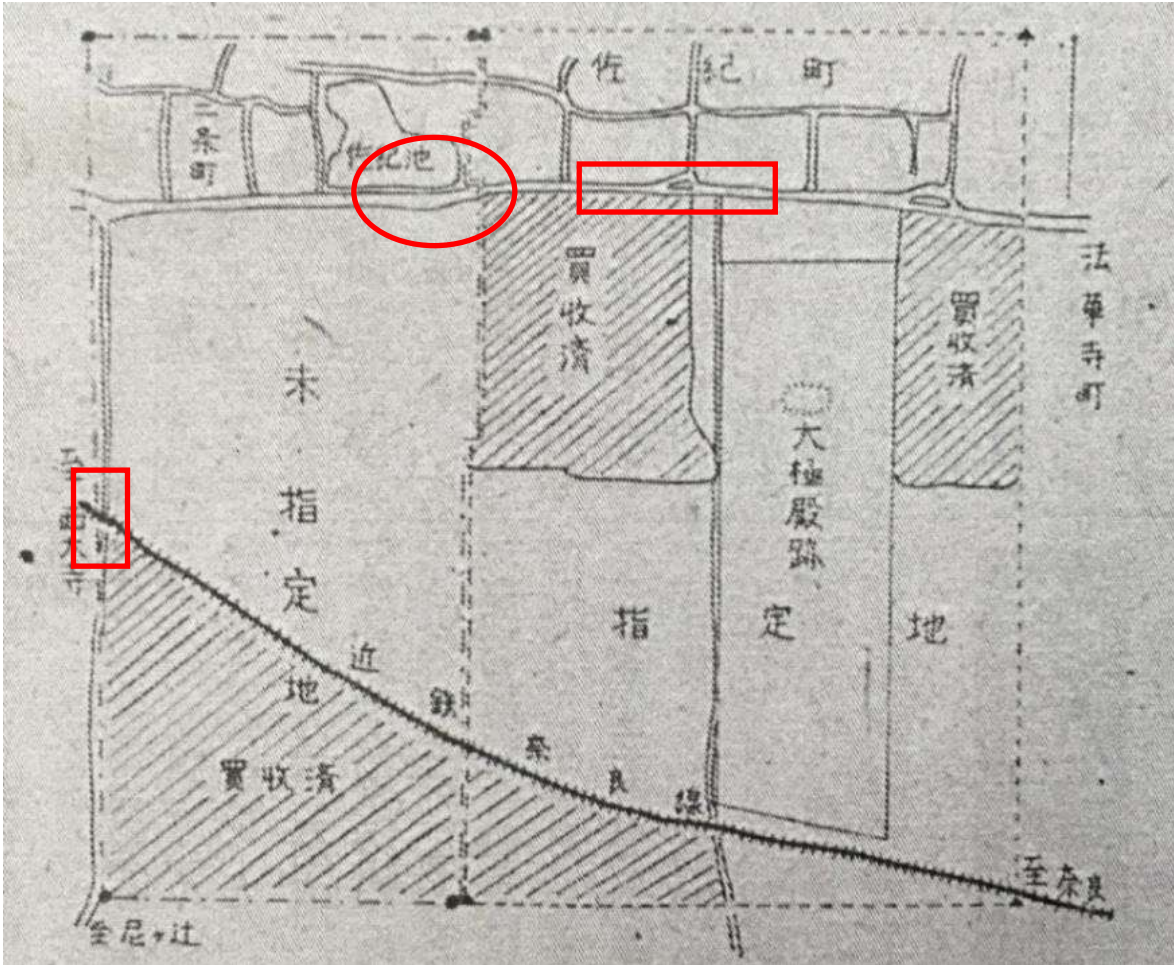


Figure 4.6 National Land Acquisition at the Nara Palace Site in 1963 and the Doubt Area from Locals (Source: *Naranichinichi* 1963.5.28(1), 1964.3.9(1))

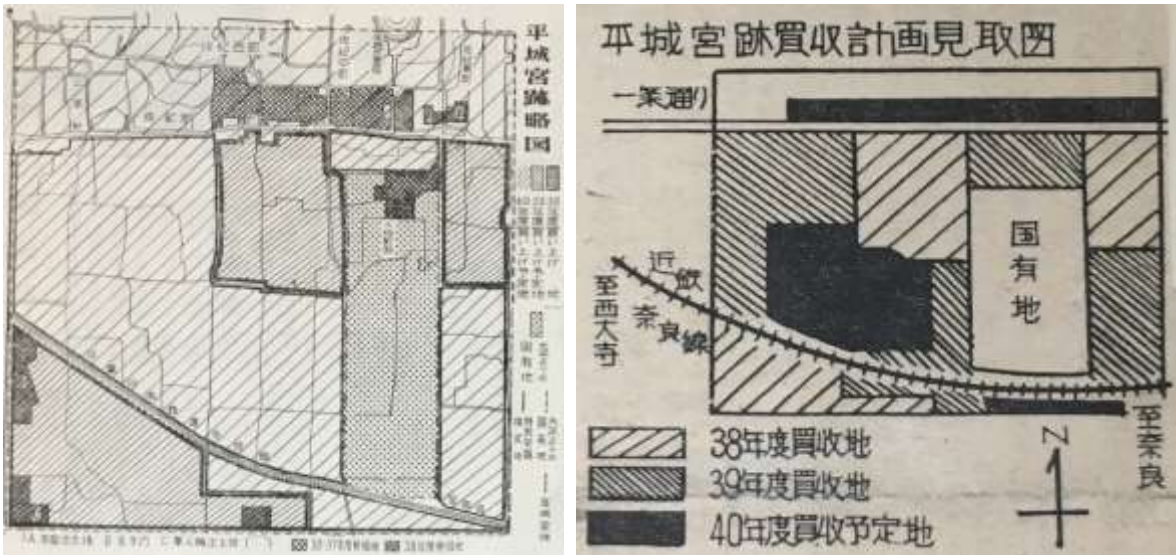


Figure 4.7 The Process of National Land Acquisition at the Nara Palace Site (Source: *Naraken Kankou* 1964.7. 10(3) and *Yamato Times* 1964.12.10)

In the third year (1965), the support from government was reduced; the funds for land acquisition were cut to half the amount of the previous two years. Furthermore, local residents' high demand for farmland compensation and the relocation of 25 families (29 generations) slowed the process. In 1966, the relocation project was still difficult to implement. Consequently, the land acquisition plan could not be fully completed during these two years. A discussion of the scope is summarized in Table 4.1.

To sum up, locals had some rights to express their requirements for the land acquisition plan and its implementation, especially regarding relocation when they had the final decision whether move or not. Local organization was one channel by which they expressed their opinions while media coverage was another one.

Aa2. Price and Method

The purpose of the national land acquisition of Nara Palace was not to earn profits, but to conserve the archaeological site utilized by the public. Therefore, the price and method of this land acquisition cannot be compared with those related to commercial purposes. The lack of site conservation consciousness and the demands to meet the interests of locals kindled conflicts with regard to the price and methods of land acquisition. From 1963 to 1966, the rate of acquisition was increasing annually, and the method was adjusted once.

In 1963, through preliminary consultations with local residents, the price for land was set at 6,000 yen per tsubo (坪, 1 tsubo \approx 3.3m²), which included the land compensation and land transfer tax. Therefore, 70,000 tsubo (23 ha) would have cost 420 million yen. Beyond the basic fee for land acquisition, other compensations such as cultivation fees were not mentioned, which aroused the local discontent (*Naranichinichi* 1963.5.16(1), 1963.5.18(1)).

At the same time, residents were not satisfied with the proposal to purchase all of the land at a same price. They wanted different rates according to the convenience associated

Table 4.1 Scope of National Land Acquisition at the Nara Palace Site

Schedule	Land Acquisition Plan	Complete Status
<p>Before 1963, the central area of the Nara Palace site had been national land that covered approximately 23.57 ha. The entire Nara Palace site is 99 ha, which extends to 120 ha.</p>		
1963	<p>Area: 23 ha Location: Area to the south of First Avenue Projected Cost: 420 million yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.5.18(1)</i>)</p>	<p>In the first period, 14.8 ha was purchased (around 65% of the purchase plan for this year), which affected 120 residents. In the second period, 6 ha was purchased. In the third period, 1.7 ha of disputed area was under discussion with residents. (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.10.14(1)</i>) Finally, 22 ha was purchased in 1963. (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.3.28(1)</i>)</p>
1964 Previous Plan	<p>Area: 46 ha Location: Remaining area to the south of First Avenue Projected Cost: Around 1 billion yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.7.26(1), 1963.12.14(1)</i>)</p>	
1964 Final Plan	<p>Area: 23 ha Location: Remaining area to the south of First Avenue Projected Cost: 440 million yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.1.17(1)</i>)</p> <p>Area: 23.5 ha Location: Remaining area to the south of First Avenue (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.3.28(1)</i>)</p>	<p>16 ha was purchased before the end of April, and affected 150 residents. Another 7 ha was planned to be finished before May 11. (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.5.1(1)</i>)</p> <p>6.6 ha of the remaining 7 ha was purchased until May 12, which affected 60 residents. (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.5.12(2)</i>)</p> <p>Finally, 22.97 ha was purchased in 1964. (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.12.10(1)</i>)</p>

1965 Previous Plan	Area I: 16.638 ha Location I: Remaining area to the south of First Avenue Area II: 14.7 ha Location II: Area to the north of First Avenue Projected Cost: 900 million yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.12.10(1)</i>)	
	Area: 34.4051 ha Location: Remaining area in the Nara Palace site Projected Cost: 280 million yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.12.22(1)</i>)	
1965 Final Plan	Area: 18.5 ha Location: Remaining area to the south of First Avenue Projected Cost: 450 million yen (<i>Naranichinichi 1965.7.23(2), 1965.1.6(1)</i>)	In the first period, 11.57 ha was purchased, cost 300 million yen, and affected 125 residents. (<i>Naranichinichi 1965.11.1(1)</i>) The final situation was not clear.
1966 Previous Plan	Area: 4.9 ha Location: Area to the north of First Avenue. (<i>Naranichinichi 1965.9.1(1)</i>)	
1966 Final Plan	In fact, 7.5 ha area to the north of First Avenue had measured the proportion of each household, and at least 5 ha should be acquired. (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.5.19(2)</i>)	Finally, due to the increasing price of land, 3.96 ha to the north of First Avenue was purchased. (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1)</i>)
	Area: 4.2 ha Location: rea to the north of the First Avenue. (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1)</i>)	

Notes: All of the units of proportion are measured in hectare.

with different areas. The land acquisition office conveyed this demand to the National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Naranichinichi 1963.6.29(1)*).

Finally, a method for assigning different prices to different areas was accepted, and 6,000 yen per tsubo became the lowest price offered (*Naranichinichi 1963.7.26(1)*). According to the report, the different prices were based on the distance from the arterial traffic. There were two levels, A and B. Areas less than 30 meters from the arterial traffic were designated level A and the price was set at 7,200 yen per tsubo. Land in the Level B received the price of 6,000 yen as previously mentioned. Some additional limitations were announced. For example, local residents could not continue farming, tax cuts and other compensation would not be offered, and the letters for land acquisitions had to be submitted before August 15 of that year (*Naranichinichi 1963.7.24*).

Due to these in-depth negotiations, the land acquisition project went smoothly in 1964. New prices based on the distance from the arterial traffic, with the price of level A land increasing to 8000 yen (*Naranichinichi 1964.1.28(1)*).

However, the discussion of land price in 1965 became complicated again because locals wanted an increase in the land price because prices in general were rising (*Naranichinichi 1965.3.7(1), 1965.6.28(1)*). They asked for as much as 1,000 yen more per tsubo (*Naranichinichi 1965.7.23(2)*). On principle, the national government did not agree to this proposal because it viewed it as unfair to the residents who had already pass the ownership of their land to the government, and the scope and budget of the land acquisition plan for 1965 was already fixed (*Naranichinichi 1965.9.1(1)*). However, to promote the national land acquisition project, the Nara Prefecture Government did what they could do to raise prices by 200 yen, which was the same as the rate of bank interest. Unfortunately, this did not satisfy the locals (*Naranichinichi 1965.7.23(2)*). Thereafter, Ryoza OKUDA, the Nara prefectural governor, used his special rights to raise prices another 100 yen as compensation for farming, bringing the total raise in price for 1965 to 300 per tsubo and allowing the national land acquisition to continue (*Naranichinichi 1965.9.1(1), 1965.9.5(1)*).

In 1966, the land acquisition plan faced enormous challenges from residents. According to the report, the government decided to raise the land prices by 400 yen per tsubo over the previous year. However, the residents wanted an increase of 700 yen. After discussions, 700 yen was accepted by the government, but the land acquisition scope was reduced from 4.2 ha to 3.96 ha. And the previous level A was divided into two current levels A and B based on either the Prefectural or the Municipal arterial traffic (*Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1)*). The discussion of prices is summarized in Table 4.2.

Local residents had a great deal of power with regard to the land acquisition price and method. They tried to get the most significant benefit through the land acquisition that was possible. Therefore, the national government and the Nara prefectural government tried their best to provide higher financial compensation. During this process, the local organizations and media played a major role in continuing the project and protecting locals' interests.

Ab. Profit Distribution: The Land Users and Owners

One particular issue surrounding the national land acquisition of the Nara Palace site was the profit distribution of the compensation between land users and owners.

In 1963, the fee for land acquisition, which was 6,000 yen per tsubo, was supposed to include land compensation and land transfer tax. Ostensibly, the landowners should share the compensation with the users if they leased the land, but the owners proved very reluctant to accept this rule (*Naranichinichi 1963.5.16(1)*). Nine landowners and 13 land users faced this issue in 1963 concerning a 1.7 ha area. Finally, this land acquisition was suspended (*Naranichinichi 1963.10.14(1)*¹¹).

The same conflict happened in 1964 with an area of 2 ha large that involved 30 landowners and many land users (*Naranichinichi 1964.6.11(2)*¹²). The land users wanted

¹¹ It's a mistake on the report that 5,000 tsubo is equal to 1.7 ha, not 0.17 ha.

¹² 36 landowners and 40 land users were reported in *Naranichinichi 1965.1.6(1)*.

Table 4.2 Price of National Land Acquisition at the Nara Palace site

Schedule	Government' Price and Method	Local Residents' Opinion
The compensation from Kintetsu Railway Company (近鉄) was around 5000 yen per tsubo.		
1963 Previous Plan	Same price, 6000 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.5.16(1), 1963.5.18(1)</i>)	Oppose (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.6.29(1)</i>)
1963 Final Plan	Different prices Level A: 7200 yen per tsubo Level B: 6000 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1963.7.26(1)</i>)	Agree
1964	Different prices Level A: 8000 yen per tsubo Level B: 6000 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1964.3.28</i>)	Agree
1965 Final Plan after many discussio ns	Different prices Level A: 8300 yen per tsubo Level B: 6300 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1965.9.1(1), 1965.9.5(1)</i>)	Local residents required raising 1000 yen per tsubo, while the government tried their best to raise 300 yen. (<i>Naranichinichi 1965.7.23(2), 1965.9.1(1), 1965.9.5(1)</i>)
1966 Previous Plan	Different prices Level A: 8700 yen per tsubo Level B: 6700 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1)</i>)	The government suggested raising 400 yen per tsubo, while the local residents opposed. (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1)</i>)
1966 Final Plan	Different prices Level A: 9000 yen per tsubo Level B: 8000 yen per tsubo Level C: 7000 yen per tsubo (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1), 1966.11.6(1)</i>)	Local residents required raising 700 yen per tsubo, which finally was accepted by the government. (<i>Naranichinichi 1966.10.7(1), 1966.11.6(1)</i>)

Note: All of the units of proportion are measured in tsubo.

50% of the money from land compensation at the beginning and then reduced their demands to 40% (*Naranichinichi 1965.1.6(1)*). However, landowners only wanted to offer 10%. The land acquisition office could only facilitate discussion on both sides.

As a result of these talks, the landowners agreed to increase compensation to 30% until 1965. However, there was still a 10% gap between their offer and the demands of land users. Finally, through the mediation by the old and respectable persons in town, the two sides reached an agreement. The discussion of profits is summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Profit Distribution between the Land Users and Owners during National Land Acquisition at the Nara Palace Site

Schedule	Disputed Area	Related Person	Their Opinion
1963 October	1.7 ha	9 landowners; 13 land users	The landowners did not want to share the compensation with the land users. The project was suspended. <i>(Naranichinichi 1963.10.14(1))</i>
1964 November	2 ha	30 landowners; Many land users	The land users required 50%, while The landowners only offer 10%. The issue cannot be solved. <i>(Naranichinichi 1964.6.11(2))</i>
1965 January	2 ha	36 landowners; More than 40 land users	The land users required 40%, while the landowners only offer 10%. The land acquisition office tried to mediate the dispute, but no agreement was reached. <i>(Naranichinichi 1965.1.6(1))</i>
1965 September	5.3 ha	25 landowners; 50 land users	The land users required 40%, while the landowners only offer 30%. The old and respectable person in town kept on mediating. <i>(Naranichinichi 1965.9.22(2))</i>
1965 November	Finally, the landowners and land users reached an agreement, and they submitted the letters for land acquisitions. <i>(Naranichinichi 1965.11.1(1))</i>		

During the land acquisition, issues arose not only between the government and locals

but also between landowners and users. The government made some concessions on price to acquire and protect the entire archaeological site. Several prominent and respectable persons in the town also played an important role in facilitating compromise between locals and ensuring the project could move forward. Due to efforts of all sides, the issue of national land acquisition was solved.

Ac. Designation of Non-Designated Area of the Nara Palace Site

During the construction of the tram garage, the scope of the Nara Palace site extended several times, and the conservation project started immediately. Instead of taking an interest in the archeological discoveries and the national conservation project, locals who were living or farming on the site area were concerned about its influence on their lives. For example, would the land acquisition include the non-designated and residential areas? Would the non-designated area become a historic site that had strict restrictions?

According to the report, until the survey and excavation in 1964, the entire Nara Palace site took up 99 ha, which included 55 ha designated as a special historic site and 44 ha which was non-designated. Furthermore, 80 residents had connections to the non-designated area. Starting at the end of 1962, they were widely opposed to the designation of this area as a historic site, especially in the residential area, because it would create several limitations for the land including usage changes, transactions, and ownership transfers (*Naranichinichi 1964.3.9(1)*).

However, designating the entire Nara Palace site was an important step to conserving the site under the protection standards for historic sites. Limited by the budget and time, the newly designated area could not be larger than the land acquisition area or it would bring about a series of troubles. In other words, if the densely populated area could not be acquired, the designation of this area would be delayed (*Naranichinichi 1964.3.10(1)*).

To achieve the overall protection of Nara Palace, the entire area to the south of First Avenue which was home to 25 families (27 generations) was designated as a historical area

and plans were made to acquire it. However, several houses in the northwest of this area could not be acquired based on their personal decisions, even though it was in the designated area (*Naranichinichi 1965.4.28(2)*). Additionally, to the north of First Avenue, more houses in the designated area could not be acquired from the local residents out of respects for the residents' wishes.

The designation of the non-designated area could provide benefits to residents. During the national land acquisition, the designated area would enjoy preferential policies on the land transfer tax, which was much lower than the non-designated area. According to the report, the land transfer tax on the designated area was 1/4 of the price, while that of the non-designated area was 1/2 (*Naranichinichi 1964.4.16(1)*).

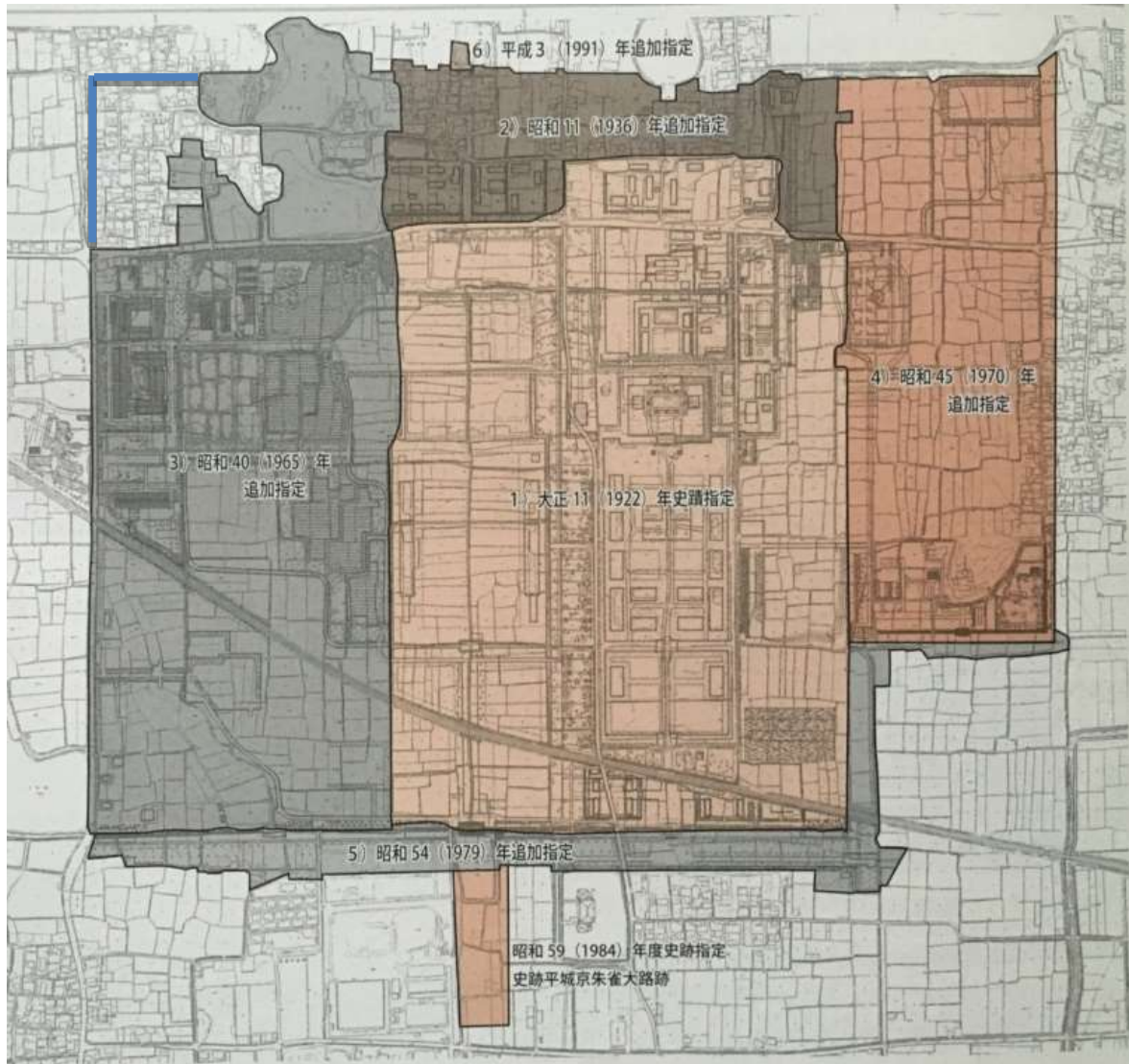
Finally, as the result of many discussions with locals in the entire 312,000 tsubo area, 33,400 tsubo of residential area to the north of First Avenue was not designated as a historic site while the other 278,600 tsubo area was. This included 166,700 tsubo in the central area, which had been previously designated and 11,000 tsubo in the surrounding area, which was a new portion (*Naranichinichi 1965.6.26(1)*¹³). The process of historic site designation is shown in Fig. 4.8.

Government and locals tried their best to maximize their purpose and profit regarding issues of whether an archaeological site should be designated and whether land acquisition needed to occur. Therefore, to balance the site conservation and with the concerns of locals, the government had to both conserve a larger amount of the site and respect individuals' opinions as much as possible.

Ad. Emotions of Local Residents Regarding the National Land Acquisition

The land acquisition and relocation that happened at Nara Palace has happened at many other sites as well. Projects like these influenced the quality of life and production of locals, and even their emotions that could entirely change the social structure of the village.

¹³ It might be a mistake on the report that 43,400 tsubo should be 33,400 tsubo.



**Figure 4.8 The Process of Historic Site Designation at the Nara Palace Site
(Source: Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties 2016, Fig. 9)**

During the national land acquisition of the Nara Palace site, local residents were concerned about two main issues: scope and price. Regarding scope, people who lived in the densely populated area worried that their lives would be totally changed. Regarding price, they wanted more profit from the government upon giving up their land. As a result of consideration of the requirements of residents and the conservation of Nara Palace site, the entire area to the south of First Avenue was designated as a historic site area, but the designation of residential area to the north was suspended. The final decision of land

acquisition and even designation was up to local residents since they owned the land. Thus, it is clear that a series of activities in the process of Nara Palace site conservation had a great influence on the residents, but they were empowered to make their own decision in certain cases.

After land acquisition and relocation, residents' lives were completely changed. They no longer had farmland and had to find new jobs. If they moved, they had to make new relationships with neighbors. They did profit from the relocation, and many of them found they could rebuilt their houses, buy new furniture, or make investments. For example, 1.25 billion yen was paid to 250 local residents from 1963 to 1965. On average, each person received 5 billion yen, and a family of two received at least 10 billion yen. Many residents chose to purchase new farmland or land in the mountains. Even though many sold the farmland handed down from their ancestors, they still kept connections with the area through their own organizations. They were able to join in the survey, excavation, and cleaning of the Nara Palace site. Therefore, the connection between land and locals was, therefore, not cut off, but rather changed into another form (*Naranichinichi 1966.1.6(2)*).

Although the discoveries and conservation of Nara Palace brought great changes to local residents, the relationships between them and the archaeological sites remained, demonstrating one way in which conflicts between land acquisition and local residents can be solved step-by-step. Notably, the process happened smoothly and gently, and the emotions of local residents were considered during the acquisition. As time passed by, many old people passed away and young people moved out of the protective area.

In summary, Section 4.3 addressed solutions to the aforementioned five issues concerning the land acquisition. Its success relied on supports from three different sets of actors. First, local residents could express their desires and concerns about the scope or price of the land acquisition easily through local organizations and media. Understanding of each side's demands is the foundation for solving issues. Second, the national and Nara

prefectural governments maximized local residents' profits for their loss of land and respected individuals' opinions and emotions regarding their land while balancing the enormous responsibility of conserving the entire area of Nara Palace site on time. Finally, respected persons in the prefecture or town played an important role in facilitating compromise between the different sides.

4.4. Construction and Reconstruction of Houses

One of the biggest issues with the process of site conservation is house construction. The manner of treating this problem affects both conservation efforts and resident's lives. Three representative cases were reported in the newspapers with regards to the Nara Palace site.

The first case is the reconstruction of resident M's house. The report published in *Naranichinichi Shimbun* helped the resident get a reply to the question of whether the construction was permitted. Moreover, the report helped another man named F to claim a loss of 400 thousand yen after excavation in front of his house (*Naranichinichi* 1962.8.4(1)). No detailed information about the results of these reports could be found, however, it is possible to determine that any requirements of locals might reach to the managers directly through the media.

The second case was the construction of resident I's house. A report described the process of how the illegal construction happened and finally was permitted. The resident I was planning to build a house on his own land. Over the course of one and a half years, he submitted the required paperwork twice but was refused permission despite increasingly demands from the authority. Finally, he started the construction without official permission because he could no longer tolerate the delay. After the illegal construction happened, the National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties discussed the violation and gave oral permission (*Naranichinichi* 1965.7.14(2)). From this event it is clear that, although construction in the protective area of Nara Palace was strictly controlled, locals

were given a certain degree of rights to reconstruct private houses, as long as underground ruins were kept intact.

The third case is the construction of houses intended to be rental by residents IW and N. A series reports in the *Naranichinichi Shimbun*, *Yamato Times*, *Asahi News*, and *Yomiuri Shimbun* described how the process of illegal construction was started and then was stopped. Two locals submitted the required paperwork to build new houses next to their existing houses. After receiving no reply in six months, they started the construction illegally. While the work was going on, the Agency of Cultural Affairs tried to stop the construction through issuing a warning and organizing a meeting, but these approaches did not work. Then, the Agency of Cultural Affairs tried to acquire the land under construction, but they could not agree on a price. Finally, the construction on the houses was finished, but the homeowners were fined 20 thousand yen and the government decreed that the illegal buildings would be demolished in 60 days. However, eight families (22 renters) had already moved into the houses during this period. Even though the decrees regarding illegal construction in the protective area were strict, it was difficult to implement punishments because so many people were involved. This event was not resolved.

This case differs from the second one discussed because illegal construction for commercial profit was forcefully opposed. The government tried many approaches to solve this issue but failed due to a limited budget, low executive ability, and inefficiency. However, there were some benefits from this event. The process of handling conflicts warned against other similar activities, thus illegal construction for commercial profit did not spread or become out of control.

House reconstruction in a protective area is a difficult problem to solve even when regulations and punishments are in place. However, these cases provide some clues to preventing these issues. First, residents should be required to reach out to the managers to seek solutions rather than hide or ignore issues. Second, the method of dealing with private

and commercial usage may differ. In the case of the Nara Palace site, locals were given the right to reconstructing on a certain degree, although they were subjected to a difficult application process. However, illegal construction for commercial profit was forcefully opposed on principle despite facing real difficulties. Both the application process for proper construction and the prevention for illegal construction approaches need to be continually improved and completed.

4.5. Construction of Public Facilities

Public facilities include roads, parks, and service facilities. Sometimes, the construction concedes to the site conservation. As was previously discussed, the construction of a tram garage was stopped and moved out of the Nara Palace site, and the construction of National Route 24 was reconsidered and the plan adjusted. Unfortunately, site conservation sometimes must make a concession to construction.

According to a series of reports in *Naranichinichi Shimbun*, the relocation of the police station in Saki Town aroused many discussions. The policemen were required to move the existing shabby police station to another location. However, the National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties opposed it. The discoveries in that area were important according to a previous small-scale excavation. Additionally, there were concerns that construction in the protective area may lead to private construction in the surrounding area. Therefore, it was determined that reconstruction in the original area would be a better choice (*Naranichinichi 1962.10.28(2)*). This answer stirred up feelings of dissatisfaction among the policemen and some residents. All of them hoped to move the police station to a convenient place, and locals even took a strike action during the excavation to support its relocation. Finally, giving in to pressure, the cultural property protection board gave permission for the relocation (*Naranichinichi 1962.11.8(2)*).

Construction of the cement road to the west of the Nara Palace site led to many

discussions as well. This road was intended to provide access to the new branch of the Nara Prefectural Hospital, while also serving as the core road for the residential area. However, the survey found gate ruins were found on the western part of the site so initially the construction could not get permission. Local residents expressed dissatisfaction with the sacrifice of their benefits (*Naranichinichi* 1964.3.26(2)). Gradually, the road harden was completed based on carefully survey and excavation. To this day, the road system surrounding Nara Palace site has not changed much. The narrow road and inconvenient traffic are normal aspects of life in the area according to interviews with locals.

The construction of public facilities is meant to make people's lives more convenient and efficient. When construction faces off against site conservation efforts, it is necessary to take into account the attitudes and choices of residents. During the construction of tram garage and National Route 24, the project organizers ultimately chose conservation after much advocacy from scholars and local organizations, while in the case of the police station construction and the cement road, they opted for the immediate benefits of letting the projects go forward unimpeded. Without discussion of right or wrong of locals choices currently, propaganda and education of the public regarding cultural heritage conservation are central to leading local residents to make reasonable choices.

4.6. Establishment of Connections

Local residents have kept close connections with the Nara Palace site through their own organizations since the beginning of the national conservation project.

The Nara Palace Site Countermeasure Committee (平城宮跡対策委員会/平城宮跡対策運営協議会) was established during the process of national land acquisition. The members were made up of local in surrounding towns (佐紀町西町、中町、東町及び二条町) including 180 residents, 60 of whom were core members. The first chief was

Suekichi SHIROMOTO (城本末吉) (*Naranichinichi* 1964.3.7(1), 1964.3.12(1)). The primary purpose of this committee was to solve the issues arising from land acquisition, such as price rises, contradictions between landowners and users, and the reconstruction of houses. In the early stages, this council played a major role in solving issues. However, it faced many practical difficulties afterwards and failed to continue. It was reorganized several times thereafter (*Naranichinichi* 1965.3.31(1), 1965.5.15(1)).

When the land acquisition was almost finished, the Nara Palace Site Conservation Association (社団法人平城宮跡保存協力会), which was formed out of the previous committee, was established in 1966. It included 250 local residents, mainly from Saki Town, who used to farm on the Nara Palace site. This association had two purposes: one was to conserve and advertise the site and the other one was to offer chances for local residents to learn their history (*Naranichinichi* 1965.12.5(2)). During its establishment, 175 members paid 6,000 yen each which went toward basic operation capital. After the second year, each person started to pay 600 yen per year as member dues. Members were entitled to participate in the excavation as well as eligibility for other jobs at the site. Such members were also responsible for cleaning and weeding. In addition, they published some pamphlets to raise awareness about the site (*Naranichinichi* 1966.4.26(1)). Later, they operated two stores at the site.

Locals participated in the utilization of site through their own organizations. They were given priority for jobs at the Nara Palace site, although those posts were limited. If the archaeological site had not become a popular tourist attraction, most of the residents would not have been able to rely on it for survival.

4.7. Other Survival Issues

There are some other survival issues include farming without authorization and the scheduling of weeding at the Nara Palace site.

Farming without permission had been an issue for a long time. According to the report, farming on national land in the northwest of the Nara Palace site started after the World War II. This was allowed because the output of grain was quite low in 1945. The situation was then moderated in 1948 and the special permission was canceled. Over 16 years, eight people continued to farm that area. The government gave an oral warning to the illegal farmers in 1954, but farmers wanted 100,000 yen in compensation. Ultimately, an agreement could not be reached. After the national land acquisition started, farming without authorization became a major issue again. Although farmers required compensation, the government cracked down on activities during this time, by posting warning notices in the illegal farming area. Later, two agreements were reached: after that year's autumn harvest, planting was forbidden, and the farmland consolidation fee would be paid by the government (*Naranichinichi 1964.10.2(2)*).

According to the reports in *Naranichinichi Shimbun*, weeding at the Nara Palace site was conducted four times a year between June-October. The project needed 300 people and cost 240,000 yen each time. Three weeding machines were brought in July, 1962, to reduce costs, and weeding started later than usual. At that point, the pest and disease damage from the Nara Palace site had already affected the surrounding farming area, which stirred up residents' dissatisfaction. Finally, the administration promised to do weeding on time (*Naranichinichi 1962.7.3(1)*).

Whether small or large, conflicts related to local residents were from the cases above discussed openly. Most issues were resolved by balancing site conservation with the requirements of residents. During this process, different platforms that played key roles were used by both sides to express their demands.

4.8. Summary

This chapter provides detailed information regarding the conservation process of the Nara

Palace site in the 1960s and 1970s, which includes the implementation of national projects and the impact on residents' daily lives. The case study of Nara Palace can help illuminate three areas of success in resolving issues related to conservation efforts which can be summarized as follows.

First is the sensible attitudes of administrators which utilized to solve the conflicts. Although the impact of site conservation on residents' lives is inevitable, the national and Nara prefectural governments gave full consideration to both the economic impact of the loss of land and locals' emotional links to their homeland. The price of the land acquisition increased annually in keeping with demands, and several houses in the northwest could not be acquired. In addition, local organizations could have a sustainable existence with the support of the authorities. Even the construction of police station was permitted after locals insisted on it.

Second is that the various participants of all stakeholders were involved in solving conflicts. Site conservation requires the cooperation of not only the government but also others. The conservation of the Nara Palace site could not be achieved without the support and participation of celebrities, scholars, citizens, local residents, government officers, and the media. Notably, the media played a vital role in the conservation movement and the resolution of conflicts with residents. The local communities also contributed a great deal to solving practical issues both for conserving the archaeological site and protecting residents' interests. The prefectural governor, archaeologists, and respected townspeople all played key roles in solving issues and promoting the site's preservation.

Third is the approaches used to solve the conflicts. The platform for dialogue between local residents and managers was offered for each issue and dialogue is the foundation for solving issues. Locals could express their demands for all kinds of things, such as opposing the historic site designation, the scope or price of land acquisition, house reconstruction and other conflicts in their daily lives. Thus, the channels of communication

were diversified with locals expressing their opinions through the media, local organizations/conservation groups, joint signing, etc. Therefore, this shows that most issues can be solved by balancing site conservation with the requirements of local residents.

Based on these three methods, the survival issues concerning locals around the Nara Palace site conservation could be solved gradually. After solving these problems, the next important issues to address are the utilization of archaeological sites for education and leisure such as activities and festivals.

Chapter 5. Solutions of Diverse Participation among Residents in the Conservation and Utilization of Sannai-maruyama (三内丸山) and Goshono (御所野) Sites

In China, the government is primarily responsible for the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites, whereas local organizations and companies take a subordinate position in those tasks. In fact, the participation of local residents at archaeological sites in China has always suffered from certain drawbacks, including a general lack of organizations, approaches and participants, and more particularly from the scarcity and unsustainability of conservation organizations, the irregularity of educational activities, the impermanence of experiential activities, and operational difficulties. To overcome those setbacks, Chinese society may learn lessons from the diverse forms of participation of local residents in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites elsewhere, including in Japan, such as Ikegami · Sone sites (池上 · 曾根遺跡) in Izumi City (和泉市), Yoshinogari site in Kanzaki District (神埼郡), Sannai-maruyama site in Aomori City (青森市) and Goshono site in Ichinohe Town (一戸町). Most notably, the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites, both large-scale settlements from the Jomon Period, have benefited from outstanding contributions toward their improved conservation and utilization by local residents with different approaches.

Compared with the long-term protection of the Nara Palace site, the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites have experienced a rather quick transformation from archaeological sites to parks. The formation of the sophisticated conservation patterns of the sites emerged in the 1990s, when archaeologists began to understand the research value of the sites, administrators more fully realized the significance of site protection for local development, and citizens had improved quality of life and increased awareness of heritage conservation.

Neither the Sannai-maruyama nor Goshono sites have experienced prominent threats to

the survival issues of locals. At the Sannai-maruyama site, no disputes over the land had arisen since the Japanese government purchased the area of and around the site to construct athletic facilities, including a baseball stadium. The situation at the Goshono site has been similar; although a construction company had bought the land to build residential properties yet, after mediation with the prefectural government, it decided to designate the site for conservation instead. Even before their conservation, residential zones at both sites had been located on the periphery of the sites themselves. Consequently, neither site has affected the daily lives of local residents. However, when publicity about the sites spurred movements for their conservation, large numbers of local residents have participated as volunteers, assistants, or members of conservation organizations in various conservation events, including site tours, educational activities, experiential activities, and festivals. Interestingly, the major motivations for their participation at each site have differed. Whereas administrators of the Sannai-maruyama site have broadcast the legacy of Jomon culture across Japan and to the world, those at the Goshono site have prioritized the internal communication of members to organize and promote the study of the site, as well as the entertainment events and leisure activities that it hosts.

In this chapter, I provide a detailed record of the conservation process of the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites. Having reviewed data from reports, journal articles, pamphlets, and websites, as well as data gathered by conducting field surveys, I summarize the diverse forms of participation by local residents at both sites in terms of local organizations, educational activities, experiential activities, the manufacture of site-related products, and commercial exploitation. After describing other sites as references for enriching the research on diverse forms of participation in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites, I discuss the similarities and differences of such participation and how it is impacted by an emphasis on either the use of either external awareness or internal communication. Analyzing both types of participation is important to

understanding the diversification and sustainability of local residents' participation in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites.

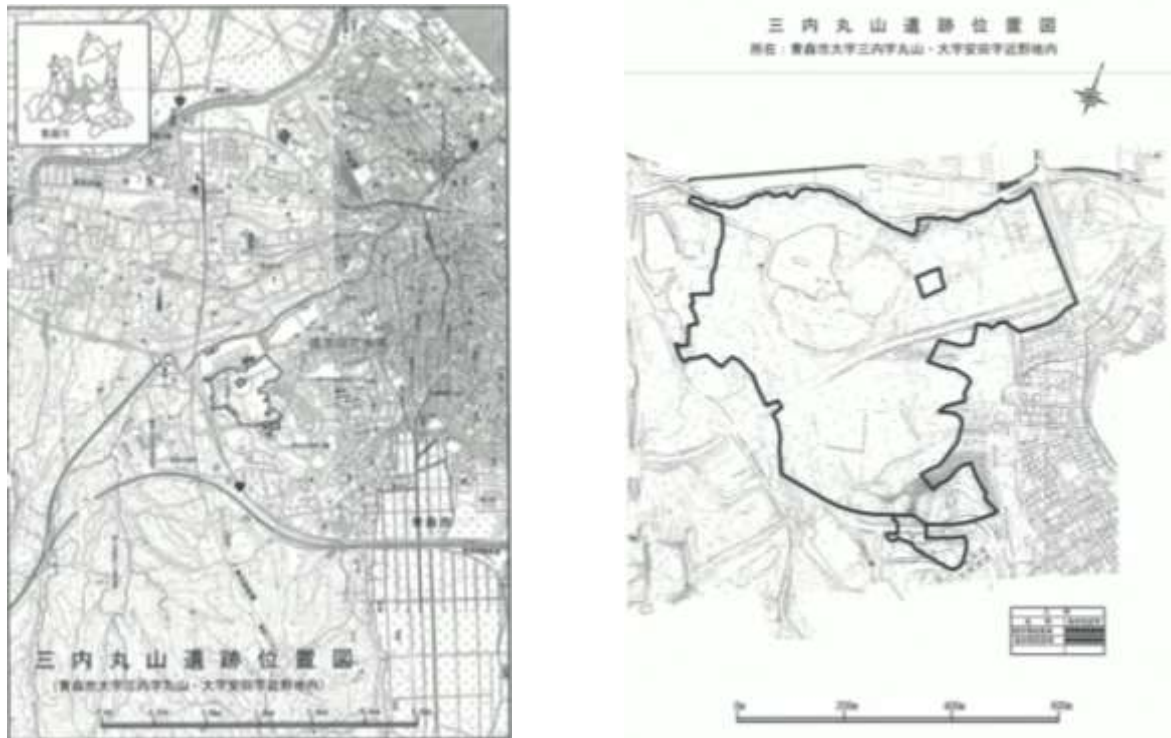
5.1. Conservation Process at the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono Sites

The Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites are representative large-scale settlements from the Jomon Period located in the northeast of Japan's main island. The extensive excavation, conservation, display, and utilization of both sites began in the late 1980s and, in time, informed typical models of archaeological site conservation and utilization in Japan. However, the sites have experienced divergent forms of participation among local residents toward their conservation and utilization, as introduced in the following description of their maintenance processes.

5.1.1. Conservation Process of the Sannai-maruyama Site

The Sannai-maruyama site is located in Aomori City, Aomori Prefecture (青森県), not far from the downtown area and roughly 6 km from Japan Railway's Aomori Station. The primary part of the site is located at Oaza Sannai Aza Maruyama (大字三内字丸山) and Oaza Yasuta Aza Konno (大字安田字近野) and has a conservation area of 42 ha. As a representative large, long-term settlement in Japan active from the early to the middle Jomon Period (approximately 3,500-2,000 BC), the site has produced ruins of large pit-dwellings, pillar-supported buildings, graveyards, storage pits, clay mining pits, and roads. Remains of potteries, stone artifacts, clay figures, woodenware, and lacquerware were also found (Fig. 5.1).

Concerning forms of local residents' participation in conserving and utilizing the Sannai-maruyama site, the maintenance process of the site can be divided into two stages since the construction of a baseball stadium in 1992.



**Figure 5.1 Location of the Sannai-maruyama Site
(Source: The Documents from Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and
Utilization Promotion Office)**

5.1.1.1. Conservation Movements at the Sannai-maruyama Site

Initially led by scholars and media outlets, conservation movements at the Sannai-maruyama site had been actively supported by citizens and organizations when the Aomori prefectural government decided to conserve the site. The decision has had significant influence across Japan, and its result has represented a conservation process marked by mutual coordination and multilateral cooperation.

Although small-scale excavation at the Sannai-maruyama site had been performed by universities and authorities before the 1990s, the site's cultural meaning and scope remained unrealized until the early to mid-1990s. In 1992–1994, amid the construction of the baseball stadium and other athletic facilities, large-scale Jomon ruins were found during a full-scale excavation. As a result, the scope of the land survey was extended to the areas predetermined for use for a soccer field and tennis court. In 1994, more new ruins

and remains were discovered in the central area of the site, including a large, pillar-supported building with a column one meter in diameter that achieved considerable publicity in Japan.

When the Jomon Film Production Committee (縄文映画製作実行委員会) began to film the discoveries, after media outlets such as *To-o Nippo* (『東奥日報』) reported the finds, the site attracted numerous visitors. Given that rigid requirements regarding conservation were backed by the general public, scholars, and media, the construction of the athletic facilities was canceled with a few objections by some segments of Japanese society. In August, 1994, the Sannai-maruyama Site Investigation Committee (三内丸山遺跡問題検討委員会) was established to manage regular conservation work at the site. A month later, administrators began to hold live presentations to introduce the site to the public, which attracted roughly 6,000 people per day. In only three years, the conservation of the Sannai-maruyama site had already met with considerable success.

Altogether, the large-scale excavation of the Sannai-maruyama site prompted increasingly profound conservation efforts from all stakeholders. Scholars legitimated the site's importance, media reported the significance of its discovery and legacy, and citizens expressed great enthusiasm for its conservation. This proved to be crucial to the site's conservation movement. Ultimately, the Aomori prefectural government made the bold decision to halt the construction of the athletic facilities in favor of the conservation of the Sannai-maruyama site.

5.1.1.2. Participation of Local Organizations, NPOs, and Companies in the Conservation and Utilization of the Sannai-maruyama Site

The conservation of the Sannai-maruyama site has been a long, continuous process. During 1995–1997, a survey of the site was conducted to inform the scope of the site's protection plan. When the entire area of the site was confirmed for conservation and

utilization, the Site Scope Investigative Committee (青森県総合運動公園遺跡範囲基本計画検討委員会) organized by archaeologists, architects, and botanists generated a general conservation plan, based upon which conservation projects were conducted by the Cultural Properties Protection Department (文化財保護課) and the Department of Commerce, Industry and Labor (商工労働部). In 1997, the Sannai-maruyama site was designated as a national historic site and, in 2000, as a special historic site.

During that process, many local organizations, companies, and NPOs participated in directing the site's conservation and utilization, including a local organization called the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade (三内丸山応援隊), an NPO called the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association (三内丸山縄文発信の会), and the World Heritage Inscription Association (世界遺産をめざす会).

(1) The Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade was established in 1994 during the large-scale excavation of the site. It is a volunteer team with core members in the Aomori Young Entrepreneurs Group (YEG, 青森商工会議所青年部) that publicizes aspects of local culture across Japan. The Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade has grown from 17 members to nearly 100, most of whom are citizens of Aomori City and whose work focuses on assisting various activities on the site, including giving free tours, hosting workshops (体験工房), and running the museum shop.

(2) In 1995, a year after the formation of the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade, the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association was established and remains the sole NPO for the conservation of the Sannai-maruyama site based on a local cultural company to date. The Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association is primarily responsible for publishing the *Jomon File* (『縄文ファイル』) and organizing conferences and festivals that promote the popularity of the site. As of 2015, the association had more than 300 members across Japan and two branch offices in Tokyo and Osaka that promote the Sannai-maruyama site and Jomon culture in Japan's metropolises.

(3) More than a decade later, in 2006, the World Heritage Inscription Association was established to support the listing on the World Heritage List of Jomon Archaeological Sites in Hokkaido and Northern Tohoku (北海道・北東北の縄文遺跡群). Today, the association has 85 regular members and more than 6,000 supporting members, whose chief work includes removing mold from remains and studying the site with reference to publications and surveys.

Among other organizations that have participated in the conservation and utilization the Sannai-maruyama site, private companies, identified by bidding open to the public, help to operate the onsite restaurant and gift shop.

To sum up, with the permission and support of authorities, local residents have participated in the conservation and utilization of the Sannai-maruyama site as volunteers and members of local organizations, NPOs, and other groups. Without considering the economic benefits, they have publicized the Jomon cultural site across Japan and to the world out of love for their hometown and interest in Jomon culture. During that rewarding process, they have had great fun while learning and communicating with coworkers and guests.

5.1.2. The Conservation Process of the Goshono Site

Located in a rural area in the town of Ichinohe, Iwate Prefecture (岩手県), the Goshono site is around 2.5 km from the Galaxy Express (銀河鉄道) Ichinohe Railway Station. The chief part of the site is located at Iwadate Aza Goshono (岩館字御所野) and has a conservation area of 7.69 ha. The Goshono site marks a significant settlement dating back to the middle Jomon Period (approximately 2500-2000 B.C) and has produced the ruins of burned pit dwellings, pillar-supported buildings, and graveyards. Remains that were found included potteries, stone and jade artifacts, lacquerwares, and plenty of clay figures,

among which one named the Goggle-Eyed Figurine (遮光器土偶) is speculated to be in the image of an ancestor (Fig. 5.2).

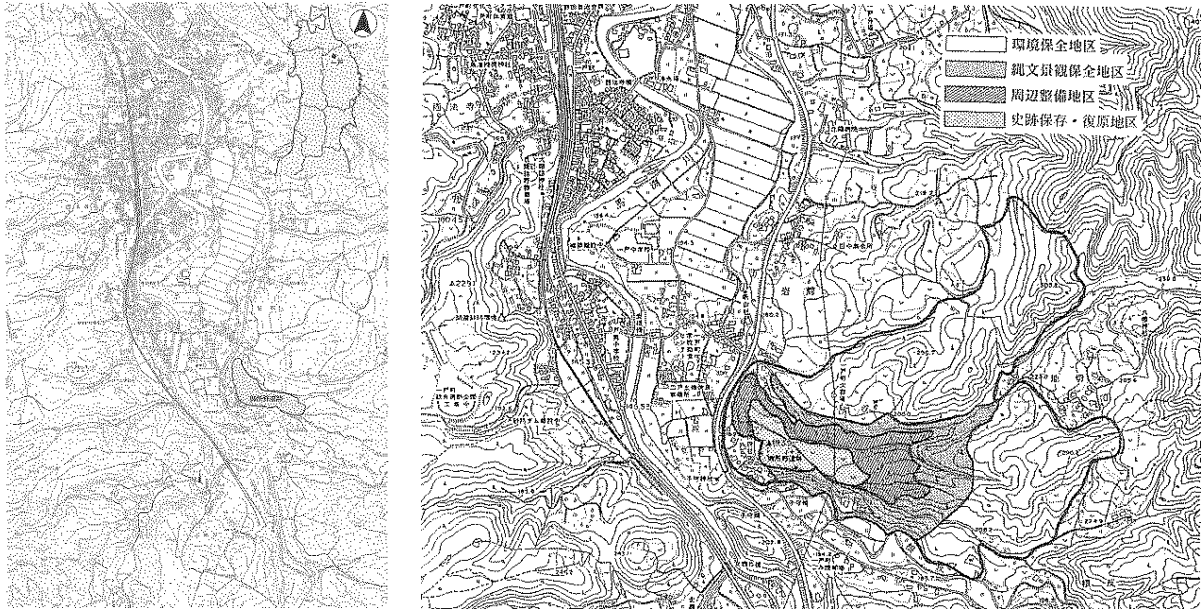


Figure 5.2 Location of the Goshono Site
(Source: Ichinohe Town Board of Education 2013: Fig 3 and 7)

Forms of local residents' participation in the conservation process of the Goshono site can be divided into two stages since the construction of an Industrial Estate (農工団地) in Ichinohe in 1989.

5.1.2.1. Conservation Activities at the Goshono Site

As with the Sannai-maruyama site, the conservation of the Goshono site was initiated by citizens and later approved by the government. In the implementation of site's preservation process, local residents played a major role.

Although the Goshono site was discovered and validated during a small-scale excavation in 1977, its cultural meaning remained unclear. In 1989, pre-excavation undertaken primarily to ready the area for the construction of an Industrial Estate revealed abundant tombs and pit dwellings as part of a large-scale Jomon settlement. Following

appeals from the public for the site's conservation, the Ichinohe Town Board of Education (一戸町教育委員会) submitted an investigation report that called for the conservation and utilization of the site via the establishment of a park. Facing disputes regarding whether to preserve or develop the land, the Agency for Cultural Affairs (文化庁) ultimately decided to fund the site's conservation as a government subsidy project (国庫補助事業). Shortly after, a survey of the site to inform a conservation plan was conducted with the support of local residents, especially landowners and the village chairman. In a decisive event on November 5, 1990, the chairman of the village attended a conference of landowners concerning the construction of the Industrial Estate and announced the change of its zoning from construction to conservation (Ichinohe Town Board of Education 2004: 10-11).

To sum up, as with the Sannai-maruyama site, the conservation of the Goshono site received support from all stakeholders, although local government played a particularly prominent role in the case of the Goshono site. The chairman of the village and staff of local authorities secured financial and political support from the prefectural and national governments and actively coordinated with local residents, especially landowners, for the site's conservation.

5.1.2.2. Participation of Local Organizations in the Conservation and Utilization of the Goshono Site

In 1997, the Environmental Conservation Project (「御所野遺跡環境整備事業」) to protect the Goshono site commenced, and in 2002, the Goshono Jomon Park (御所野縄文公園) and Goshono Jomon Museum (御所野縄文博物館) opened to the public. The conservation of the Goshono site has been notable in four notables. First, it has made comprehensive use of historical, natural, and regional cultural elements, including the archaeological sites, the mountain forest, and bamboo craftsmanship. Second, it has highlighted educational and experiential functions, allowing visitors to gain a firsthand

appreciation of Jomon culture from displays of remains, the re-creation of ancient environments, live presentations, and restoration activities. Among notable events is the archaeological practice of burning restored buildings, which has continued in the Goshono Jomon Park since its early days. Third, it has prioritized both the collaborative use of regional resources and the creation of regional culture, particularly by promoting the integrated use of the surrounding national and prefectural cultural properties of the Goshono site. Fourth, it has stressed tourism for visitors and leisure for locals, especially during special events like the Jomon Festival (Ichinohe Town Board of Education 2013: 21-22). Such diverse approaches to the conservation and utilization of an archaeological site have made Goshono a cultural center of Iwate Prefecture.

Since the beginning of its conservation, many local organizations have participated in the site's protection and utilization, particularly the Goshono Site Supporting Society (御所野遺跡を支える会), the Goshono Site Excavation Society (御所野遺跡発掘友の会), the Nature and History Society (自然と歴史の会), and the Goshono Site Conservation Cadet Corps (御所野愛護少年団) as well as civic organizations (Saihoji Cosmos Society (西法寺コスモス会), Iwadate Citizen Center (岩館地区公民館), Iwadate Women Society (岩館婦人会), International Association (国際交流協会)) that maintain the site and support other activities.

(1) Established in 2001 with the purpose to showcase the ancient site and its natural vegetation to the public, the Goshono Site Supporting Society¹⁴ had 33 members as of early April, 2012. In particular, the organization arranges volunteer guides to introduce the site and its vegetation to visitors and to assist with experiential activities such as primitive fire making and site cleanup. Among other activities, the society also publishes a newsletter, produces site photography, and investigates aspects of Jomon culture such as food mainly for the members.

¹⁴ <http://goshono-iseki.com/organization/292>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

(2) Three years later, in 2004, the Goshono Site Excavation Society¹⁵ was established. As of early April, 2012, the society counts 37 members, most of whom helped to excavate the Goshono site. Guided by the chief purpose of maintaining the Goshono Jomon Park, the organization manages the park's maintenance and assists at festivals, mostly with the sale of local foods. Internally, the society focuses on communication among members by hosting seminars, organizing trips, and publishing a newsletter (『いしょくべら』).

(3) Established in 1996 and with 36 members as of early April, 2012, the Nature and History Society¹⁶ primarily seeks to exchange knowledge of nature and history, particularly during sightseeing activities, lectures, tours, and site surveys in town, as well as in its newsletter of Nature and History Society (『自然と歴史の会』). Although not its express purpose, the organization supports activities such as charity drives held in Goshono Jomon Park.

(4) More toward the purpose of educating the public about the site, the Goshono Site Conservation Cadet Corps¹⁷, established in 1999, had 51 members in 2015, most of whom are in third–sixth grade at Ichinohe South Elementary School (一戸南小学校). With the mission to “cherish the site, conduct activities, and be proud of our hometown¹⁸”, the group's primary purposes are to encourage youth to understand and cherish the site, as well as to love their hometown. The main activities of this group are in Table 5.1.

Altogether, local residents have participated in the conservation and utilization of the Goshono site in various ways. Although their organizations have far fewer members than those at the Sannai-maruyama site, they exhibit similar approaches of publicity and internal communication at their core. This feature is the foundation of these organizations' development.

¹⁵ <http://goshono-iseki.com/organization/294>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

¹⁶ <http://goshono-iseki.com/organization/296>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

¹⁷ <http://goshono-iseki.com/organization/298>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

¹⁸ わたしたち御所野愛護少年団一同は御所野遺跡を愛護し、自分の郷土に誇りを持ち行動することを誓います。

Table 5.1 Major Annual Activities of the Goshono Site Conservation Cadet Corps

Time	Activity
April	Inaugural meeting; Springtime social service activities
May-October	Third–fifth grades: Field trips and other experiential activities; Sixth grade: Public relations activities and school excursion
September	Autumnal social service activities
November	Presentation (「まほろばの風」)
November-February	Commemoration of all activities
March	Handover ceremony

In summary of Section 5.1, the conservation and utilization of Japanese archaeological sites show remarkable diversity. Except for governmental agencies which take primary responsibilities for those tasks, local organizations, NPOs, and local companies assist with site conservation, management, and utilization. The base of their activity is either of publicity or internal communication, and the participation of locals in the civil groups reflects their initiative in site conservation and utilization promoted by the development of conservation and utilization of cultural sites in Japan.

5.2. Diversity of Social Organizations

Like government agencies, research institutions, and companies, local organizations involved in JASCU have numerous members and long histories, which together have nurtured collaborative networks dedicated to achieving diverse goals. Such organizations can assist the government in site conservation, utilization, and publicity or conduct sustainable activities that promote internal communication and collaboration. These organizations consist of six types: local resident groups, conservation groups, volunteer groups, publicity groups, student groups, and groups with other uniting features. The members, purposes, and strategies of the six types of groups overlap and differ, as is detailed in the following descriptions of three of them.

5.2.1. Local Resident Groups

Clearly, the core members of local resident groups are local residents. A representative local resident group is the Nara Palace Site Conservation Association (平城宮跡保存協会), which has the following characteristics.

(1) It has existed since 1966 and boasts a more than 50-year history.

(2) It demonstrates waning membership as its chief setback—for example, from 175 in 1966 to 146 in 2016—largely due to the aging and outflow of population. Currently, the biggest issue for this association is the membership.

(3) It has stable, but insufficient funding. Funds initially came from its 175 members who each paid a one-time fee of 6,000 yen as necessary operating capital and 600 yen annually in dues, but eventually also came from revenue from museum shops and stalls at festivals.

(4) It serves to solve local residents' issues, maintains close relations with the site, employs residents, and aids in conserving and publicizing the site. All of these activities partly follow the precedent of its predecessor, the Nara Palace Site Countermeasure Committee (平城宮跡対策委員会), which sought to address problems caused by land acquisition.

(5) It receives various forms of assistance from many organizations, especially the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties and the Nara prefectural government, although the 2008 creation of a national historical park with a tourist center and experience center by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (国土交通省) has negatively affected its development.

(6) It communicates with authorities via informal meetings and press releases. Two local newspapers of *Naranichinichi Shimbun* and *Yamato Times* are representative cases to ensure the communication.

5.2.2. Volunteer Groups

Prevalent in Japan, where their members are called volunteer guides or *oendan* (応援団), volunteer groups with more than 100 members include the Kasori Shell Mounds Museum Society (加曾利貝塚博物館友の会), the Nara Palace Site Support Network (平城宮跡サポートネットワーク), and the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade, whereas small groups with 30–40 members include the Fukikami and Kamabuta Sites Oendan (吹上・釜蓋遺跡応援団), the Goshono Site Supporting Society, and the Goshono Site Excavation Society. A representative example of a volunteer group is the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade, which has the following five characteristics.

(1) It was established under the supervision of the Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office (三内丸山遺跡保存活用推進室) in close connection to the site's conservation, utilization, and publicity following its excavation, when the sudden influx of visitors necessitated organization of guides because archaeologist guides became limited.

(2) It has stable membership, which has increased from 56 to 100 since its founding, since each year shows a similar number of newcomers and retired members (i.e., 5–10); until 2015, the total number is 97 while two are in a break (Table 5.2).

(3) It enjoys funding from a range of sources, albeit primarily from subsidies (助成金) and trusts (委託金) from the Aomori Prefectural Board of Education (青森県教育委員会) and Aomori City's municipal government (500,000 yen per year), donations from local companies (*To-o Nippo*: 200,000 yen per year; Michinoku Bank (みちのく銀行): 200,000 yen per year), in addition to operating revenues from workshops and the museum shop, and donations from the public for site conservation.

(4) It promotes the Sannai-maruyama site, Jomon culture, and local Aomori culture via free guided tours 8–16 times per day that profit by attracting visitors and propagating Jomon culture.

(5) It has received various forms of assistance from many organizations, including support in its establishment and funding from the Cultural Properties Protection Department, particularly the Promotions Office, as well as promotional and capital supports from local companies.

Table 5.2 Personnel Structure of the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade

Division	Situation	Specific Data	
Age Structure	The average age is 65.	Female, 50-60.	Male, 60-70.
Gender Distribution	Female is lightly more than male.	Female, 55.	Male, 42.
Occupation	Most of them are housewives and retirees.	Housewives and retirees, 80%.	In-service staff and student, 20%. There is only one student volunteer since students usually cannot work sustainably.
Enrollment Time	Most of them have rich experience.	14-15 members have 20 years' experience.	More than half have 10 years' experience.
Current Residence	Most of them are living in Aomori City.	88 are living in Aomori City. 7-8 are living in Sannai Town.	9 are living in other cities, such as Towada City (十和田市), Mutsu City (陸奥市) and Hirosaki City (弘前市).

5.3.3. Membership Organizations

In Japan, membership organizations enjoy broad coverage, often with hundreds of members, as found with the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association and the World Heritage Inscription Association. A representative example is the Jomon Information Association, which includes the following four characteristics.

(1) It was planned and established in 1995 by Planning Group PRISM (企画集団ぷり)

すむ), a local planning group dedicated to propagating regional culture since 1979 and is closely connected to publicizing the Sannai-Murayama site, conserving it, and nominating it as a world heritage site.

(2) It has more than 300 members across Japan, enjoys five PRISM-based teams responsible for the organization's work, and even welcomes foreign participants in its activities.

(3) It has extensive but unstable funding sources which are the group's greatest setback at present. These consist primarily of membership fees (10,000 yen per year) and subsidies from the Cultural Properties Protection Department for creating posters and flyers for festivals and preparing for conferences.

(4) It promotes the Sannai-maruyama site and Jomon culture by publishing the *Jomon File* in Japanese and English, organizing conferences, and hosting festivals.

In summary of Section 5.2, the primary purpose of the various types of organizations dedicated to the conservation and utilize of Japan's archaeological sites is to either promote regional culture or solve members' problems. To those ends, the organizations assist the government with resolving complex matters involving local residents and with performing an abundance of work task, while simultaneously organizing learning, visiting, and operating activities that serve the desires of their members (Table 5.3). Although some organizations face poor budgets and membership, internal adjustments and external support help them to develop sustainably. Owing to such modifications and efforts, the Nara Palace Site Conservation Association has been active for more than five decades, and the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade and Goshono Site Supporting Society may be able to continue for more than two decades.

Table 5.3 Diversity of Social Organizations

Classification		Nara Palace	Sannai-maruyama	Goshono	Participant	Activity	Effect
Governmental Agency		>Nara Prefectural Board of Education	>Aomori Prefectural Board of Education -Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office	>Ichinohe Town Board of Education	Administrators	>Conserve the site >Publish Conservation Plans >Organize festivals >Offer policies and fund supports	>Manage, conserve, utilize and advertise the site >Provide the conditions for the development of social organizations
Research Institute		>Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	>Aomori Prefectural Board of Education	>Ichinohe Town Board of Education	Archaeologists	>Organize the conferences >Organize Live presentations >Publish research reports and journals >Assist the activities of social organizations	>Research, advertise the site >Provide the academic knowledge for authorities and social organizations
Social Organization	Local Residents Group	>Nara Palace Site Conservation Association			Mainly local residents at the site area	>Solve the issues of local residents >Offer the chances for jobs >Conserve the site	>Contribute to the site conservation project >Keep continuous relationship between locals and site
	Citizen Conservation Group	>Nara Palace Preservation Society >Preservation Society of Asuka Area and Heijo-kyo			Mainly prefectural and municipal citizens	>Appeal the conservation of site	>Advertise the importance of site >Arouse the public's consciousness for site conservation
	Citizen Volunteer Group (# Some participants are excavators)	>Nara Palace Site Support Network	>Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade	>Goshono Site Supporting Society >Goshono Site Excavation Society	Mainly municipal citizens, and some prefectural citizens	>Offer guide service >Operate workshops >Operate museum shops >Publish journals >Assist the organization of conferences and festivals	>Advertise the site >Gain a certain income >Satisfy the requirements of members
	Advertisement Organization (# Some groups are for World Heritage Nomination)		>Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association >World Heritage Inscription Association		Members throughout Japan, even from abroad	>Assist the organization of conferences >Hold lectures regularly >Organize festivals	>Advertise the site, archaeological culture, and history >Raise the reputation of the site >Satisfy the requirements of members
	Academic Council	>National Council for Cultural Properties Conservation (文化財保存全国協議会) >Japanese Society for Cultural Heritage (日本遺跡学会) >National Historic Site Maintenance Municipal Council (全国史跡整備市町村協議会)			Scholars	>Organize the conferences >Publish journals	>Exchange the ideas for better conservation and utilization of site
	Other Social Organization	>Nara Prefectural Rural Issues Research Association		>Nature and History Society >Saihoji Cosmos Society >Iwadate Citizen Center >Iwadate Women Society >International Association		>Hold social activities in the site museum and park >Assist the cleaning activities	>Utilize the site for more people in various forms >Involve more people in the conservation of site
	Local Primary and Middle High School			>Goshono Site Conservation Cadet Corps	Local students	>Field trips or school excursion >Investigate and experiential activities >PR activities	>Promote the youth's understanding and cherishment of the site >Encourage them to love their hometown
Company			>Gosennen no Hoshi Restaurant >Gift shop of Hokusaikan		Mainly municipal citizens, and some local villagers	>Offer well customer service >Offer the jobs	>Enrich the functions of site museum and park >Advertise the site

5.3. Regular and Permanent Educational Activities

Activities at Japan's archaeological sites are either educational or experiential. While educational activities that take the forms of lectures, seminars, publications, live presentations, study meetings, special exhibitions and subject tests first take shape with site conservation, experiential activities are developed only after conservation commences. Educational activities are described below.

5.3.1. Lectures and Seminars

Archaeological sites often organize lectures and seminars by research institutes and local organizations for scholars to exchange ideas and for the public to learn. At times, new ideas for conservation projects also arise from the activities. Examples of such activities are several, some representative are described below.

(1) Open lectures at the Nara Palace site, held by the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties since 1954.

(2) The Jomon Forum (縄文フォーラム), organized annually by the Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office in collaboration with the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association, at which scholars speak to members of the public who attend for free.

(3) Jomon Juku (縄文塾), a lecture varying in frequency and scope due to budget limitations that is held sporadically throughout the year by the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association in venues that do not impose rental fees, usually in Aomori City or Tokyo, although at times in Sendai or Hiroshima. It has been held for a total of 109 times from its inauguration in 1995 until 2015, with each one attended by at least 50 individuals.

5.3.2. Publications

Publishing pamphlets, newsletters, newspapers, magazines, and books, among other

texts, are common ways for Japan's archaeological sites to share their achievements with the public. Among several examples, two representative ones are described below.

(1) *Sannai-maruyama Tsushin* (『三内丸山通信』), a periodical compiled by the Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office since 2002 that targets elementary- and high-school readers and is regularly sent to museums, libraries, and schools in Aomori City and Aomori Prefecture.

(2) The *Jomon File*, a magazine which the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association has compiled since 1995 in both Japanese and English, which aims to record and publicize Jomon culture. For example, it publishes lectures delivered at Jomon Juku to target readers in the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association, related organizations, and visitors at the Sannai-maruyama site. Its staff seeks to expand its circulation online and in academic activities overseen by the Aomori prefectural government. Currently, this magazine is particularly popular in Aomori (Fig. 5.3).

5.3.3. Live Presentations

Excavation institutes often host live presentations onsite in order to publicize discoveries and at once share their cultural values, allowing them to improve public recognition of regional culture and thereby reinforce or sway opinion towards supporting site conservation. The processes that guide live presentations have two general guidelines: to publicize the site at local organizations and schools with way of flyers or websites and to clearly explain excavation in situ with reader-friendly handouts. Live presentations have significantly promoted the conservation of the Sannai-maruyama site, Goshono site, Nara Palace site, and Yoshinogari site, among other archaeological sites. The first and most frequent live presentations have been held once or twice annually at the Nara Palace site since 1955.

5.3.4. Study Meetings

In addition to brief question-and-answer sessions during live presentations, some organizations host study meetings for members and the public, usually supervised by scholars, in order to answer questions about the site and its relationship with local culture and local development. Study meetings also promote activities of site conservation and utilization.

5.3.5. Special Exhibitions

Special exhibitions or itinerant exhibitions support site museums and parks by publicizing discoveries during excavation and presenting recent results of research. The special exhibitions in Nara Palace Site Museum change semi-annually. The themes of the exhibitions include the wooden tablets, ancient lifestyle, etc.

5.3.6. Subject Tests

Jomon culture subject tests exist for elementary, intermediate, and advanced learners and are based on their knowledge base. They can be prepared for by studying a textbook (『The じょうもん検定』) edited by Jomon scholars. Upon completing each test level, test takers receive a certificate of achievement (認定証) that can be considered as an honor for understanding Jomon culture. During 2011–2015, the tests were administered three times, typically in Aomori Prefecture. Although initially subsidized by the Japanese government, the third test was sponsored by the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association after the subsidy was not renewed. Each test attracted approximately 100 test takers who are interested in Jomon Culture or test Mania (検定マニア). As of 2015, 100 individuals had received the intermediate certificate of achievement, and five had received the advanced certificate. At present, the tests have been suspended due to lack of budget (Fig. 5.4).



Figure 5.3 Page from the Sannai-maruyama *Jomon File*

(Source: Website of Sannai-maruyama Site¹⁹)

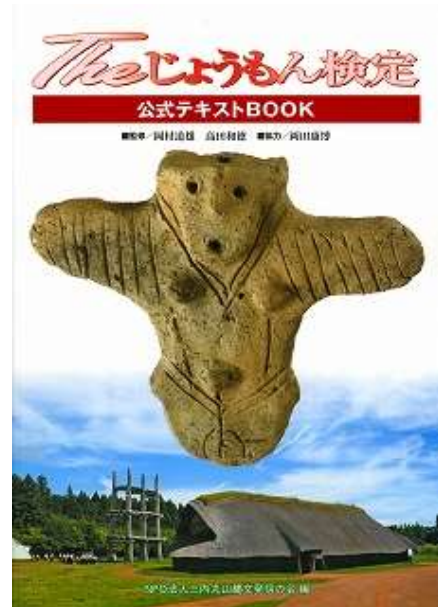


Figure 5.4 Textbook for a Jomon Culture Subject Test

(Source: Photo by the author)

In summary, Section 5.3 has described how regular and continuous educational activities help the Japanese public to recognize and remain aware of the value, merit, and charm of cultural properties. On the one hand, government authorities assume responsibility for educational activities, while researchers and administrators hold or supervise lectures, live presentations, study meetings, and special exhibitions, all of which enjoy specific funds, regularized processes, and staff. These activities have been integrated into the work of research institutes and management organizations. On the other hand, local organizations actively organize and participate in educational activities and exchange knowledge of archaeological sites to enrich their lives. In either case, such activities at Japan's archaeological sites contribute to the sustainable conservation and utilization of the sites.

5.4. Various Experiential Activities

Widespread since the 1990s and especially since 2000, experiential activities held at

¹⁹ <http://jomon-net.xsrv.jp/j10-back-n/jb-jf2017.html#j230>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Japanese archaeological focus on three themes: experiencing ancient life, festivals about ancient life, and the re-enactment of ancient culture and nature. Experiential activities tend to emerge at a mature stage of site conservation and utilization, when the public interest demands interactivity at the sites. These themes are explored in greater detail below.

5.4.1. Experiencing Ancient Life

Typical experiential activities organized at Japanese archaeological sites include pottery crafts, jade crafts (e.g., making magatama necklaces), stone tool manufacture, musical instrument manufacture, figurine manufacture, rope braiding, primitive fire making, rice cultivation, house restoration, and overburning. Some archaeological sites offer independent experiential activities, whereas others offer comprehensive experiential activities.

Most archaeological sites host several experiential activities. For instance, house overburning is a typical activity at the Goshono site, during which experts practice archaeology with the assistance of visitors. At the Sannai-maruyama site, experiential activities, including magatama manufacture, figurine manufacture, and rope braiding, have been common in workshops held since 1996 and at which members of the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade assist in activities. During workshops, visitors can purchase materials in the museum shop and make artifacts in one to two hours under the supervision of volunteers. To date, roughly 11,000 visitors, most of them students, have participated in such activities (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).

Some archaeological sites host single-day experiential events focused on Jomon or Yayoi culture during which visitors wear ancient dress and accessories, and use ancient tools, as a means to experience ancient life. For instance, during the experiential event focused on Jomon culture at the Sannai-maruyama site, visitors wear linen clothes and make artifacts, while during the experiential event focused on Yayoi culture at the Hyogo

Prefectural Museum of Archaeology (兵庫県立考古博物館), visitors restore houses, collect acorns, cultivate and harvest rice, and manufacture canoes, stone tools, and pottery to experience ancient lifestyles and techniques (Hyogo Prefectural Board of Education 1992).



Figure 5.5 Workshops at the Sannai-maruyama Site



Figure 5.6 Figurine Manufacture at the Sannai-maruyama Site

(Source: Photos by the author)

5.4.2. Festivals about Ancient Life

Many festivals held at Japanese archaeological sites are rooted in regional culture. Some festivals have long been held in castles and historic districts, including the Kanazawa Hyakumangoku Festival (金沢百万石まつり) held in Kanazawa Castle for the past 66 years. Festivals have also been held at archaeological sites during the past 20 years, such as Okadaira Jomon Village Festival (陸平縄文ムラまつり) in the Okadaira shell mounds (陸平貝塚), Heijo-kyo Tenpyo Festival (平城京天平祭) in Nara Palace site, Jomon Great Festival and Seasonal Jomon Festivals in the Sannai-maruyama site. Examples of such festivals are quite a lot, some representative ones are described below.

(1) Jomon Great Festival (縄文大祭典): Originating from the Jomon Festival (縄文フェスタ) held by the Aomori prefectural government since 1994, combined with a Moon Viewing (お月見) held by the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association in 1999,

and finally known as the Sannai-maruyama Moon Viewing and Jomon Great Festival (三内丸山お月見・縄文大祭典), the event has been held by the aforementioned organizations with assistance from other groups. As an example, the Jomon Great Festival held on August 29-30, 2015, included various activities such as live presentations by Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office, Jomon Workshops (縄文ワークショップ), Yoimachi Forum (縄文宵待フォーラム), Jomon reading・Moon Viewing Concert (縄文朗読会・お月見コンサート), Jomon Panoramic View (縄文パノラマビュー) and the most important Moon Viewing by Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association, Jomon Goods Making (縄文グッズ作り体験) and Jomon Experiential Corner (縄文体験コーナー) by Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade, as well as the Local Special Trade Fair (物産品販売会) in Aomori Prefecture by local residents (Fig. 5.7).

(2) Seasonal Jomon Festivals (縄文春、夏、秋、冬祭り): Seasonal Jomon festivals have been hosted by the Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization Promotion Office with assistance from the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade since 2007. Although initially held in autumn and winter only, the festival began to occur during all four seasons: in May, August, November, and February. As an example, at the Jomon Summer Festival held on August 15-16, 2015, visitors made artifacts and experienced a day in the life of people who lived during the Jomon Period (Fig. 5.8).

5.4.3. Ancient Life Re-appearance

Along with experiencing ancient life directly and participating in festivals about ancient life, the focus on the re-enactment of ancient culture and nature during experiential activities at Japan's archaeological sites mobilizes all knowledge and resources available to fully re-create ancient lifestyles. A typical case is the re-creation of Jomon Satoyama (縄文



Figure 5.7 Poster for the Jomon Great Festival Figure 5.8 Poster for the Jomon Summer Festival

(Source: Flyers of Sannai-maruyama Site)

里山づくり) at the Goshono site, which involves planning and conducting activities with the collaboration of local residents and organizations to promote the use of the site. Given the abundance of sites in Iwate Prefecture, the full, open, and multipurpose use of sites has become a primary approach to improve the sites. Drawing upon various experiential activities and abundant natural resources, the *Plan for Re-creating Jomon Satoyama* (『縄文里山づくり実施計画書』) was formulated with the goal of re-enacting ancient Jomon life in light of data from archaeology, environmental studies, and folklore. Activities include cultivating ancient vegetation, constructing houses according to ancient models and with materials used during ancient times (e.g., wood, bark, vines, bamboo, stones, clay, and nuts), and preparing food and alcohol according to ancient recipes and using ancient methods.

Table 5.4 Educational and Experiential Activities in the Archaeological Sites (遺跡の活用)

遺跡	地域	整備年代	活動						
			講座	説明会	学習会	企画展	体験	イベント	ほかの
登呂遺跡	静岡	昭和 25-27・43-47・46-47・47-53 年	・講演会	・現地説明会	・夏休み登呂遺跡学習室	・企画展	・登呂で米づくり—復元水田は小区域に分割し、田植え、草刈り、収穫を体験してもらい、古代の稲作を考えるきっかけとする。また、事業を実施することにより、復元水田地区の景観が維持できる ・登呂ムラの住居を復元	・第 55 回登呂まつり (平成 29 年) ・登呂で体験! 弥生人グルメ (平成 18 年) ・弥生の火祭り 弥生人のタベ (平成 18 年)	・弥生人スタンブラー
平城宮跡	奈良	昭和 39・40・45・55-59・平成 5-10・5-12・13-22・22 年から	・講演会 (昭和 29 年から)	・現地説明会 (昭和 30 年から)		・企画展		・平城遷都祭 (平成 18-22 年) ・平城京天平祭 (平成 23 年から)	・なら平城京歴史ぶらり
西都原古墳	宮崎	昭和 40-43・平成 7-14・13-15・15-19・20-25・26 年から	・講演会	・現地説明会		・企画展	・土器づくり ・石器づくり ・竹笛づくり ・火おこし	・第 31 回西都古墳祭り (平成 29 年)	・天体観測会 ・夏休み虫とり教室
加曾利貝塚	千葉	昭和 41・平成 元年-5 年	・講演会	・現地説明会	・遺跡めぐり & 学習室	・企画展	・縄文土器づくり (大人春秋 2 回・小学生夏休み 2 回・親子秋 1 回)	・縄文フェスティバル—技術の実演、土器・器石づくり、貫頭衣の試着、縄文食の復元など (11 月第二、三日曜日) ・ナイトミュージアム	
一乗谷朝倉氏遺跡	福井	昭和 42・43-48・49・57-58・平成 3-6 年	・講演会	・現地説明会	・学習会	・企画展		・第 47 回越前朝倉戦国まつり—越前朝倉万灯夜 (平成 29 年)	・越前朝倉曲水の宴
信濃国分寺跡	長野	昭和 42-46 年	・市民講座 (6-10 月、5 回)	・現地説明会		・企画展			
一須賀古墳群	大阪	昭和 47-50・60・平成 5 年	・一須賀古墳群講座	・現地説明会		・企画展	・古代衣裳着用体験 ・古墳探検ツアー ・博物館バックヤードツアー	・古墳の森バードウォッチング ・風土記の丘自然観察	・れきしウォーク ・古墳の森コンサート
赤穂城跡	兵庫	昭和 49 年から	・講演会	・現地説明会 ・特別公開		・企画展		・歓月会 ・赤穂義士祭	・ウォークラリー ・大規模ハイキング
座喜味城跡	沖縄	昭和 49-60 年	・シンポジウム	・現地説明会		・陶器展 ・彫刻展		・城 (ぐすく) フェスティバル in 座喜味—伝統芸能鑑賞及び交流会、子ども芸能祭 (舞踊と空手)、おべら、演劇、コンサート、舞踊	・野外映画会
吉野ケ里遺跡	佐賀	平成 4-13・14 年から	・講演会	・現地説明会	・学習会	・企画展	・勾玉づくり ・土笛づくり ・火おこし ・組ひも ・布づくり ・舞の稽古 ・鏡製作 ・「親魏倭王」印製作 ・銅鐸製作 ・貨泉製作	・吉野ケ里ふるさと炎祭り ・ライトアップイベント吉野ケ里—光の響	・無料入園日 ・吉野ケ里ウィンターバルーンフェスタ
御所野遺跡	岩手	平成 6-7・9-13 年	・講演会	・現地説明会	・学習会	・企画展	・住居を復元するの材料 (樹皮、ラミーなど) ・縄文人になりきって、火をおこし、石器で食材を切り、土器を使って煮炊きをします ・植物・動物観察	・御所野縄文祭り ・民俗芸能	・バードウォッチング ・コンサート
三内丸山遺跡	青森	平成 7 年から	・講演会	・現地説明会	・学習会	・企画展	・縄文時代の住居を復元 ・出土品のレプリカづくり ・釣針の製作と魚釣り体験 ・植物観察	・お月見・縄文大祭典 (平成 6 年から) ・縄文春、夏、秋、冬祭り (平成 19 年から)	・三内丸山遺跡 IT ガイドシステム
池上・曾根遺跡	大阪	平成 7-13 年	・講演会	・現地説明会	・学習会	・企画展	・勾玉づくり ・土笛づくり ・米作り		・やよいミュージアムコンサート
金沢城跡	石川	平成 7-16・18-26 年	・金沢城大学 (平成 17 年から)	・現地説明会		・企画展		・金沢百万石祭り (昭和 27 年から)	・金沢城・兼六園四季物語 ・金沢城 AR アプリ
真脇遺跡	石川	平成 19-23 年	・講演会	・現地説明会		・企画展	・土器づくり ・ストラップづくり ・仮面の色塗り ・石のレリーフづくり ・おはぎづくり ・パンケーキづくり		
釜蓋遺跡	新潟	平成 22-27 年	・講演会	・現地説明会			・勾玉づくり ・土笛づくり ・発掘体験 ・土器体験・野焼き ・貫頭衣の試着 ・火おこし体験	・釜蓋遺跡春まつり・秋まつり	・花を植えたり、バケツ稲の育成などの活動

(Source: Committee of the 23rd National Ruins and Environmental Conservation Conference 1998, modified by the author)

Altogether, Section 5.4 has shown the various activities in the archaeological sites (Table 5.4). Due to the limited energy and budget of conservation departments and research institutes, experiential activities are primarily organized by local organizations that cooperate with or receive permission from authorities. Such organizations prepare and assist in the implementation of the activities and sometimes initiate new activities, all with academic support from research institutes and economic support from the government.

5.5. Design of Mascots and Products

Archaeological products that have design formats and operational patterns can be seen everywhere in Japan, such as mascots and other relevant products. Through the introduction of three typical mascots in Japanese archaeological sites from the Jomon and Yayoi periods, this section summarizes their sources of design and forms of utilization, and further examining their roles in site utilization (Table 5.5).

(1) Sanmaru (さんまる), the mascot of the Sannai-maruyama site²⁰, wearing both a long, red gown and a braided hemp headband, resembles a typical figurine manufactured onsite. The decoration on the red gown, a pattern of ripples, circles, and lines, commonly appears on pottery made onsite. Simple and impressive, Sanmaru's image appears on websites, introduction boards, site publications and advertisements, and souvenirs.

(2) Himika²¹ and Yayoi (ひみか, やよい) are the mascots of the Yoshinogari site²². During 1998–1999, the mascot of the brother, Himika, was designed with reference to a national collection, as was the sister, Yayoi, in 2006. Both mascots are cartoon characters with white clothes and jade necklaces. Himika wears a necklace with beads and a

²⁰ <http://sannaimaruyama.pref.aomori.jp/kids/sanmaru/index.html>,
http://sannaimaruyama.pref.aomori.jp/photo/doki_32.html,
http://sannaimaruyama.pref.aomori.jp/photo/doki_29.html. Accessed August 19, 2017.

²¹ 「ひみか」とは吉野ヶ里遺跡が3町村にまたがっているということで、東脊振村、三田川町、神埼町の頭文字をとって命名。また、邪馬台国の卑弥呼もイメージしているそうです。

²² <http://www.yoshinogari.jp/contents3/?categoryId=45>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

pipe-shaped pattern while Yayoi wear one with a magatama-shaped pattern, whose images stem directly from discoveries made onsite. Their images also widely appear on websites, introduction boards, site publications and advertisements, and souvenirs.

(3) Kasori Dog (かそり一ぬ), the mascot of the Kasori Shell Mounds²³, whose design was determined through a public contest in 2013, was appointed as the site's public relations ambassador from July 3, 2014, to March 31, 2017. The mascot promotes the Kasori Shell Mounds as well as Chiba City. Its appearance derives from the remains of a dog found on the site, since dogs and human–animal relations are important topics in archaeology. Kasori Dog's crown originates from Kasori pottery's common E shape (加曾利E式), whereas the dog's necklace is made with a kind of shell commonly found onsite. Simple, bright, and popular, the image of the mascot appears widely on websites, introduction boards, and site publications and advertisements, as well as in comics, but not yet on souvenirs.











In summary, Section 5.5 has described the design of mascots of Japanese archaeological sites that embody the representative characteristics of each respective site to pique current public interest. Mascots not only publicize sites in an easily acceptable way, but also reap a certain economic benefit by branding products, which can have far-reaching effects for both cultural propagation and revenue. In short, mascots convey the cultural meaning of archaeological sites during their economic development.

5.6. Commercial Exploitation

Beyond its cultural and social value, the conservation of archaeological sites affords certain economic benefits, particularly for local residents. In Japan, many local residents,

²³ <http://www.city.chiba.jp/kyoiku/shogaigakushu/bunkazai/kasorikaizuka/kasori-nuprofile.html>, <http://www.city.chiba.jp/kyoiku/shogaigakushu/bunkazai/kasorikaizuka/kasorigallely.html>, <http://www.city.chiba.jp/kyoiku/shogaigakushu/bunkazai/kasorikaizuka/happyo.html>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Table 5.5 Mascots in Some Archaeological Sites

Site Name	Introduction of Mascots	Shape	Origin of Shape			Characteristic	Main Utilization	
The Sannai-maruyama site	Name: Sanmaru Gender: Unknown Date of Birth: 4500BD, January 1, Place of Birth: The Sannai-maruyama site Favorable food: Chestnut, nut and fish (main discoveries in the site)		Body: Figure 	Clothes: Jomon decoration 	Hemp rope	Color: Red color clothes	1.Human shape 2.Rich elements from site 3.Simple 4.Vivid color 5.Impressive	1.Website 2.Introduction board 3.Introduction video 4.Propaganda ambassador 5.Publicity materials 6.Souvenir design: Toy, pendant, folder, tag, etc.
The Yoshinogari site	Name: Himika and Yayoi Gender: One male and the other one female Place of Birth: The Yoshinogari site		Brother's necklace: Beads and a pipe-shaped pattern 	Sister's necklace: A magatama-shaped pattern 	Clothes: White color	Color: Colorful Long Hair	1.Human shape 2.Rich elements from site 3.Simple 4.Vivid color 5.Impressive	1.Website 2.Introduction board 3.Introduction video 4.Propaganda ambassador 5.Souvenir design: Toy, pendant, etc.
The Kasori shell mounds	Name: Kasori Dog Gender: Unknown Date of Birth: Jomon Period, March 22 Place of Birth: Around the Kasori Shell Mounds Personality: Timid; prefer beauty; like human, especially old people.		Body: Dog 	Hat: Pottery (加曾利 E 式) 	Necklace: Shell (イボキサゴ) 	Color: White color body	1.Animal shape 2.Rich elements from site 3.Simple 4.Vivid color 5.Impressive	1.Website 2.Introduction board 3.Propaganda ambassador 4.Comic

organizations, and companies participate in businesses related to archaeological sites, including souvenir production and sales, shop and restaurant operation, and market stalls during festivals. These are explored in greater detail below.

5.6.1. Souvenir Production and Sales

Souvenir and gift shops of museums and parks at Japanese archaeological sites typically sell novel, often site-specific food products, as well as school supplies, everyday items, decorations, books, and replicas of artifacts. Visitors can also make souvenirs with assistance from local organizations. Examples of souvenir products are abundant, some representative ones are described below.

(1) Projectile Point-Shaped Shortbread (石器サブレ) at the Iwajuku Site (岩宿遺跡): A representative example of food products sold at Japan's archaeological sites is the shortbread shaped to resemble obsidian Paleolithic projectile points (黒曜石の尖頭器) discovered at the Iwajuku site and sold onsite. Basing the shortbread's design on the artifacts, a local traditional dessert shop, Fumiyaotsuka (文屋大塚), began creating and selling the shortbread in 1990, in packages with details about the artifacts. At 100 yen per piece, the shortbread sells well (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10).



Figure 5.9 Obsidian Projectile Point Found at the Iwajuku Site (Source: Image of Yahoo²⁴)



Figure 5.10 Projectile Point-Shaped Shortbread Sold at the Iwajuku Site (Source: Image of Yahoo ²⁵)

²⁴ <https://search.yahoo.co.jp/image/search?ei=UTF-8&p=%E5%B2%A9%E5%AE%BF%E9%81%BA>
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(2) Heijo-kyo Karuta (平城京かるた) at the Nara Palace site: The souvenir shops at the Nara Palace site sell a representative everyday item called Heijo-Kyo Karuta, a card game created by the Nara Palace Site Support Network. The cards bear sentences and patterns collected from citizens and illustrations by a local artist group. Each game set sells for 2,500 yen, 100 of which goes to the Nara Palace Site Support Network while the rest goes to the Nara Palace Site Conservation Association, which operates the shop (Fig. 5.11).



**Figure 5.11 Heijo-Kyo Karuta Sold at the Nara Palace Site
(Source: Photos by the author)**

5.6.2. Souvenir Canteen/Shop Operation

Souvenir shops at Japan's archaeological sites are primarily operated by local organizations, including local businesses. For example, two souvenir shops at the Nara Palace site are run by the Nara Palace Site Conservation Association, a local resident group described in Section 5.2, although residents who sold their land to the government are part of the sale of the site reserve the right to operate the shop. Most products sold in the shop are created by businesses external to the site.

[%E8%B7%A1#mode%3Ddetail%26index%3D15%26st%3D400](#). Accessed August 19, 2017.

²⁵ <https://search.yahoo.co.jp/image/search?ei=UTF-8&p=%E5%B2%A9%E5%AE%BF%E9%81%BA%E8%B7%A1#mode%3Ddetail%26index%3D42%26st%3D1400>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

At the Sannai-maruyama site, a museum shop similar to that at the Nara Palace site is operated by the Affairs of Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade (三内丸山応援隊事務局) and sells products created by other groups. Also included at the site is a gift shop, Hokusaikan (北彩館), which has been run by a local company since 2002 following public bidding and where eight Aomori City residents currently work. All of its goods are products from Aomori Prefecture, and one sixth of them refer to the site in some way. In Tokyo, a satellite shop (アンテナショップ) sells the same specialties, which promotes the site and brings regional food to the metropolis.

5.6.3. Restaurant Operation

Gosennen no Hoshi Restaurant (れすとらん 五千年の星) represents a successful case of restaurant operation at one of Japan's archaeological sites—specifically, the Sannai-maruyama site. Following public bidding, Gosennen no Hoshi opened in 2002 as a branch of a chain enterprises in Aomori City, Jogakurakanko (城ヶ倉観光), which include several restaurants and hot spring hotels. The company also operates a coffee shop (カフェ 4匹の猫) in the Aomori Museum of Art (青森県立美術館). The number of restaurant staff at Gosennen no Hoshi fluctuates from ten during the peak season to two during the off season, when the other eight employees work in another Jogakurakanko establishment. Most staff members live in Aomori City, and a few are villagers from Sannai Town (三内町). Although the specials on the menu changed frequently to represent the Jomon culture during the restaurant's early years, following an earthquake in 2001 the list of specials was reduced to basic dishes. The restaurant's signature chestnut-flavored ice cream that has existed since the restaurant's founding was inspired by the establishment of the archaeological site.

5.6.4. Festival Stalls

Festivals at Japan's archaeological sites abound with market stalls operated by local citizens and companies. At the Great Jomon Festival and seasonal Jomon festivals at the Sannai-maruyama site, stalls often sell agricultural products, while local food and drinks are sold at the Heijo-kyo Tenpyo Festival at the Nara Palace site.

Altogether, Section 5.6 has described how local organizations and companies at Japan's archaeological sites create economic value. Whereas some generate economic benefits, others primarily generate memorable experiences for visitors. In any case, such businesses both enrich the use of archaeological sites and benefit local residents.

5.7. Summary

A list of local residents' diverse forms of participation at the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono archaeological sites appears in Table 5.6.

Both sites show similarities in their conservation and utilization despite the variety of organizations and activities involved. Various organizations including governments at every level, research institutes, local organizations, local companies, and media outlets, all participate in diversified activities, including site conservation (e.g., cleaning), use (e.g., experiential activities, structural restorations, festivals, product manufacture, and shop operation), and publicity (e.g., lectures, live presentations, tours, and publications).

However, both sites also differ significantly in their histories of conservation and utilization. Whereas sensational discoveries at the Sannai-maruyama site prompted external forms of publicity among media outlets, academics, and conservation movements organized by local residents that supported the site's conservation and utilization, the discovery and conservation of the Goshono site have been relatively stable, supported by local and national government efforts, and therefore far more attributable to internal communication.

Table 5.6 Main Approaches of Local Residents' Participation in Archaeological Sites

Participative Form	Sannai-maruyama Site	Goshono Site
General Situation		
Participation in Conservation	Yes, a large scale across Japan	Yes, universal scale in regional area
Participation in Utilization	Yes, most participants from Aomori City and a certain from other prefecture	Yes, most participants from Ichinohe Town
External propaganda		
Volunteer Guides	Yes, as a volunteer, since 1994; Everyday	Yes, as a volunteer, since 2001; Weekdays with reservation, holiday
Regular Experiential Activities	Yes, as an assistant	Yes, as an assistant
House Restoration	Yes, some people participate in several activities	Yes, citizens as central with supervision from experts by using local materials
Festival	Yes, provide assistance	Yes, provide assistance
Lecture	Yes, provide assistance	
Cleaning	Yes	Yes, twice in spring and autumn
Museum Shop	Yes, a small scale	
Products Making	Yes, a small scale	
Publication	Yes, in many languages	Yes
Gift Shop Operation	Yes	
Restaurant Operation	Yes	
Internal Communication		
Internal Study Meeting	Yes	Yes, such as ancient food
Internal Research Trip		Yes, field surveys of sites in the town
Internal Interest Activities		Yes, such as photography
Participation of Local Students	Yes, frequent	Yes, frequent, even establish a conservation group
Participation of Local Groups (No only for Site Conservation)	Yes	Yes, various groups

Although external publicity can indeed promote the popularity of archaeological sites, enhance their conservation and utilization, and engender pride of place among local residents due to recognition from outsiders, several points in the particular case of the Sannai-maruyama site warrant sustained attention.

First, extensive publicity and educational activities have been the site's basis of conservation, and all organizations involved have put forth effort to spread knowledge of the Sannai-maruyama site via lectures, live presentations, and publications, among other forms of publicity.

Second, various participatory activities have drawn public attention to the site, including frequent festivals and regular experiential activities that have attracted recognition of Japan's ancient culture or local culture in an enjoyable environment.

Third, the site's internationalization has improved. In fact, most of the websites, pamphlets, and display boards are in four languages (Japanese, English, Chinese, and Korean), videos in the museum have at times been in four languages (Japanese, English, Chinese, and Russian), and electronic and volunteer guides are available in both Japan and English. As a member of the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association said, introductions to the site are well beyond national borders.

As noted, the situation of the Sannai-maruyama site is well-known by citizens in Aomori Prefecture. People interested in the site have a strong sense of identity that they actively seek to express, and local residents take great pride in their ancient civilization that contributed significantly to Japan's history. Moreover, they emphasize that Jomon culture is part of not only Japanese civilization, but also the world's civilization, as expressed in the motto of the Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association expresses: "We are the future citizens of Sannai-maruyama²⁶." Sharing Jomon culture at the Sannai-maruyama site cannot be limited to Sannai, Aomori City, or even Aomori

²⁶ わたしたちは、未来の三内丸山市民です。

Prefecture, but should extend across Japan and the world.

Although external activities at Japan's archaeological sites have significantly promoted site conservation and utilization, the organizations responsible cannot survive by simply appealing to visitors and outsiders. Internal communication is also vital to ensure that keeping the organizations running smoothly, as can be concluded from the case of the Goshono site.

On the one hand, the site's various internal activities are hosted in response to members' demands. For instance, the Goshono Site Supporting Society and Goshono Site Excavation Society organize activities of publishing a newsletter, studying Jomon food, conducting study meetings and field surveys, and producing photography. On the other hand, the activities have a close relationship with regional culture. The Nature and History Society, for example, conducts a field survey in the town, whereas the Goshono Site Conservation Cadet Corps aims to promote the public's understanding of and pride in the site. Furthermore, the re-creation of Jomon Satoyama at the Goshono site means to deepen interconnections between ancient culture and modern society.

The Goshono site has prioritized the internal communication of the people involved, which has allowed organizations to develop sustainably, even if the site's popularity is far less than that of Sannai-maruyama. It also takes full advantage of local resources for regional development. Chapter 6 discusses the construction of regional culture in greater detail.

Chapter 6. Construction of Regional Culture: The Fudoki-no-oka Project

(風土記の丘) Case Study

The main aim of CLASC is to protect each site as well as achieve regional, social, and ecological benefits during sustainable development. However, the local cultural construction has not formed an integrated pattern due to a lack of in-depth understanding of sites and low recognition of the regional culture in China. Therefore, authorities should conduct specific measures to improve the local residents' understanding of the importance of their cultural heritage beyond solving their survival issues in daily life and providing diverse participation. Japan has taken the lead in solving this issue through a series of projects. Among JASCU projects, the formulation and implementation of the Fudoki-no-oka project can be referred to.

The term Fudoki (風土記) refers to documents recording the history and culture of ancient countries in Japan, the contents of which include geography, history, products, myth, folklore, etc. However, the countries recorded in Fudoki are limited to the Nara Period in a narrow sense. The project of Fudoki-no-oka, with added Oka (丘) in the title, provides the image of the ancient burial mounds and other ruins. Thus, Fudoki-no-oka consists of an archaeological site as the main feature, and includes various aspects of regional cultures. The Fudoki-no-oka project has several characteristics: (1) it aims to conserve the large-scale archaeological site and its surrounding environment; (2) it emphasizes the coexistence of the site, environment, and people; (3) it focuses on the sustainability and localization of site conservation. This project, which started in the 1960s and completed in the 1990s, has continually upgraded its resources and has collaborated with local development. It has also wielded some degree of social influence until now. For example, it has attracted public participation and has utilized many archaeological sites

and their natural environments. Thirteen Fudoki-no-oka²⁷ have been completed in Japan, which represent the core of regional culture and have aided the active promotion of local culture.

This chapter begins by providing a detailed record of the development process of Fudoki-no-oka through a literature review. Then, four representative cases are discussed to demonstrate the advantages of this project as a contribution to the local cultural construction and the difficulties encountered during its implementation. These include: the continuous conservation of Saitobaru-fudoki-no-oka, various elements in Kii-fudoki-no-oka, local cultural resource integration in Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka (changed to Higo-kodai-no-mori 菊池川流域風土記の丘は肥後古代の森と改称された), and the predicament of the Kibiji Museum. Finally, this chapter ends with a summary of how the Fudoki-no-oka project achieved sustainable development and local cultural construction. The review will significantly inform potential methods for the successful implementation of CLASC and other conservation projects.

6.1. The Emergence and Development of the Fudoki-no-oka Project

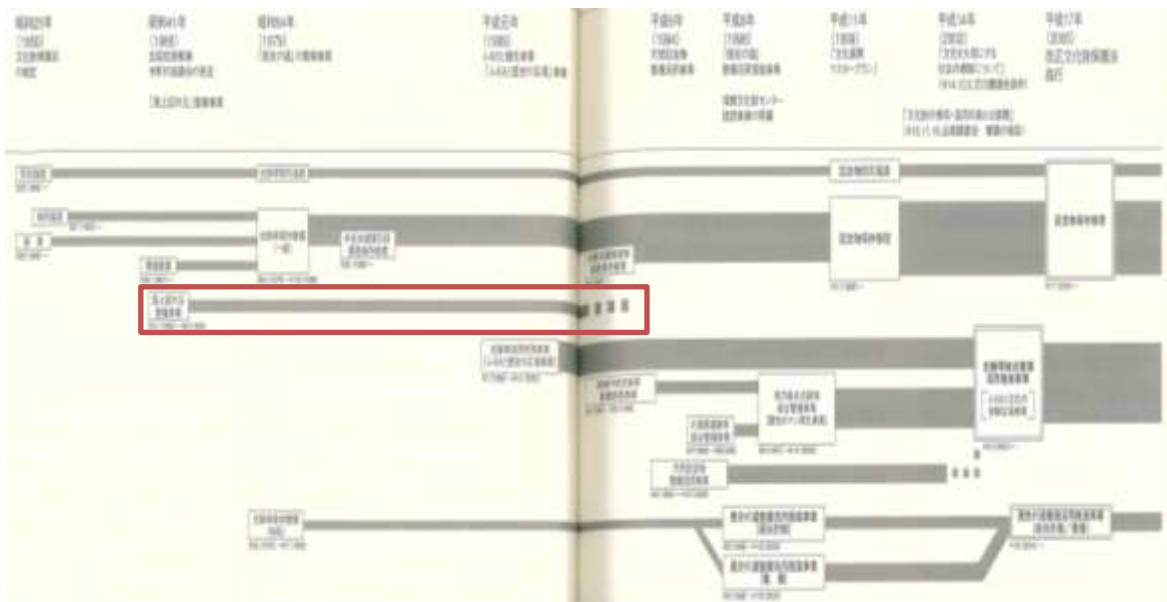
Since the 1960s, the preservation of the natural environment and archaeological sites in Japan has faced enormous pressures from rapid economic development and urbanization. Therefore, a national conservation project named the Fudoki-no-oka project²⁸ has been conducted since 1966. It is specifically aimed at conserving and utilizing archaeological sites and the surrounding environment (Table 6.1). The project conserves ancient, large-scale burial mounds and city ruins, it constructs museums for storing and displaying

²⁷ The number of Fudoki-no-oka is not fixed. Some documents show sixteen.

²⁸ 「風土記の丘」:各地方における伝統ある歴史的・風土的特性をあらわす古墳、城跡などの遺跡等が多く存在する地域の広域保存と環境整備を図り、あわせてこの地域に地方文化の所産としての歴史資料、考古資料、民俗資料を収蔵、展示するための資料館の設置等を行い、もって、これらの遺跡および資料等の一体的な保存および普及活用を図ることを目的とする。(山本哲也 2006: 137)

historical, archaeological and folklore materials, and emphasizes integrated conservation and utilization of regional resources. One important component of the project was to ensure that the public land available for the archaeological site and the environment was protected. The national treasury donated half of their budget of 50 million yen for environmental conservation and museum construction to the project, which was almost finished in 1995 (YAMAMOTO 2006: 137-138).

Table 6.1 Conservation Projects by Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs



(Source: Monuments and Sites Division, Cultural Properties Department, Agency for Cultural Affairs 2004: 45)

Through 1994, thirteen Fudoki-no-oka had been constructed. The implementation of this project offered protection pattern for the archaeological sites that includes three typical approaches; museum construction, site park construction, and folk house relocation. Table 6.2 outlines the contents and development progress of all projects. It achieved the result of site conservation, environment maintenance, and public participation. Nevertheless, there are other cases based on the concept of Fudoki-no-oka, such as Shimotsuke-fudoki-no-oka

Table 6.2 List of the Main Fudoki-no-oka Projects

	Project Name	Location	Conservation Date	Proportion (ha)	Main Site	Type /Period	Environment	Museum Name	Open Date	House Relocation
1	西都原風土記の丘	宮崎県西都市	1966 ↓ 1995 ↓ 1999 ↓ 2003 ↓ 2008 ↓ 2014	53	(特史)西都原古墳群(309基)	墓 葬 /古墳	一ツ瀬川の右岸、「西都原台地」	宮崎県立博物館分館 西都原資料館 ↓ 宮崎県立総合博物館分館 西都原資料館 ↓ 宮崎県立総合博物館分館 西都原古代生活体験館 ↓ 宮崎県立西都原考古博物館	1968 ↓ 1971 ↓ 1997 ↓ 2004	
2	さきたま風土記の丘	埼玉県行田市	1967	30	(史)埼玉古墳群(9基)	墓 葬 /古墳	忍川	埼玉県立埼玉資料館 ↓ 埼玉県立埼玉史跡博物館	1969 ↓ 2006	
3	近江風土記の丘	滋賀県安土町	1970	27	(特史)安土城跡及び(史)観音寺城跡等	城跡及び墓 葬 /安土桃山	安土山	滋賀県立近江風土記の丘資料館 ↓ 滋賀県立安土城考古博物館	1970 ↓ 1992	あり
4	紀伊風土記の丘	和歌山県和歌山市	1971	50.9	(特史)岩橋千塚古墳群	墓 葬 /古墳	大日山	和歌山県立紀伊風土記の丘資料館	1971	あり
5	立山風土記の丘	富山県立山町	1972	25	立山信仰遺跡		立山	立山風土記の丘資料館 ↓ 富山県立立山博物館	1972 ↓ 1991	
6	八雲立つ風土記の丘	島根県松江市	1972	39	(史)出雲国府及び寺寺建築遺跡, (史)岡田山古墳及び安倍谷古墳	城跡及墓 葬 /古墳 - 近世	朝日山 大船山 仏経山 茶臼山	島根県立八雲立つ風土記の丘資料館	1972	
7	房総風土記の丘	千葉県栄町	1975	31.5	(史)岩屋古墳, 龍角寺古墳群(113基)など	墓 葬 /古墳	山和湖	千葉県立房総風土記の丘資料館 ↓ と千葉県立房総の村(1986年オープン)と併合する	1976 ↓ 2004	あり
8	吉備路風土記の丘	岡山県総社市・岡山市	1976	22.3	(史)造山・作山古墳, (史)備中国建築遺跡	墓 葬及建築遺跡 /古墳 - 近世	田園風景	岡山県立吉備路郷土館 ↓ 閉館	1976 ↓ 2010	
9	みよし風土記の丘	広島県三次市	1976	32.9	(史)七ツ塚古墳群(60基), (史)浄楽寺古墳群(116基)	墓 葬 /古墳	美波羅川	広島県立歴史民俗資料館	1979	あり
10	宇佐風土記の丘	大分県宇佐市	1981	19.2	(史)川部・高森古墳群	墓 葬 /古墳	駅館川東岸	大分県立宇佐風土記の丘歴史民俗資料館 ↓ 大分県立歴史博物館	1981 ↓ 1998	
11	甲斐風土記の丘	山梨県甲府市	1986	40.4	(史)銚子塚古墳, (史)丸子塚古墳	墓 葬 /弥生 - 古墳	曾根丘陵	山梨県立考古博物館	1982	
12	近つ飛鳥風土記の丘	大阪府河南町・太子町	1986	29	(史)一須賀古墳群(102基)	墓 葬 /古墳	竹内街道的沿線	大阪府立近つ飛鳥博物館	1994	
13	菊池川流域風土記の丘 ↓ 肥後古代の森	熊本県山鹿市	1995	73	(史)岩原古墳群, (史)チブサン古墳, (史)江田船山古墳, (史)鞠智城跡	墓 葬及び城跡 /古墳 - 平安	菊池川	熊本県立装飾古墳館(山鹿市立博物館) (菊水町歴史民俗資料館) (歴史公園鞠智城・温故創生館)	1992 (1978) (1978) (2002)	

(Source: YAMAMOTO 2006: Table 1, modified by the author)

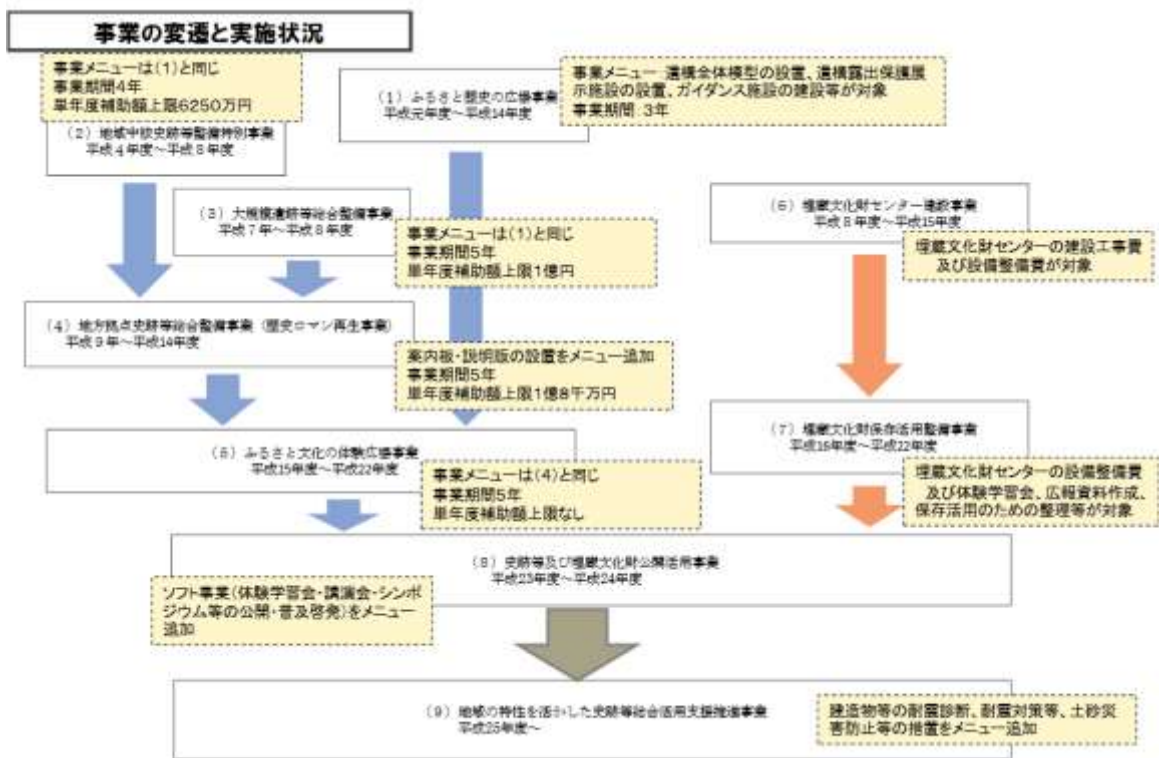
(しもつけ風土記の丘), Nasu-fudoki-no-oka (なす風土記の丘), Ukitamu-fudoki-no-oka (うきたむ風土記の丘) and the Historical Museum of Jomon Village Okumatsushima (奥松島縄文村歴史資料館).

Although there are no agreed terms for choosing areas for the project, there are several unwritten rules which include: (1) the archaeological sites should contain abundant cultural connotations and research significance, which are all National Historic Sites; (2) the archaeological sites are mainly located in rural areas with an abundant natural environment though facing a crisis of destruction; (3) each prefecture constructs no more than one project, which is created as the regional core area of history, archaeology, and folk culture.

When the project of Fudoki-no-oka was almost finished, a series of short conservation projects gradually began (Table 6.3). (1) The Special Utilization of the Historic Site Project (「史跡等活用特別事業(ふるさと歴史の広場)」) was conducted in 1989. It included the restoration of monuments, the display of site models and the construction of guidance facilities. Until 1991, 24 sites have been constructed in Japan based on their unique features. (2) The Special Conservation of Regional Core Archaeological Sites Project (「地域中核史跡等整備特別事業」) was conducted mainly from 1992 to 1996. The objectives of this project were to popularize ancient temples and governmental offices which could represent local politics and culture. Through land acquisition and site conservation, this project tried to create space for residents to study their local culture and history as well as enjoy leisurely activities. Since 1995, three complete, comprehensive conservation projects have been conducted in succession. They are (3) the Comprehensive Conservation of Large-scale Archaeological Sites Project (「大規模遺跡等総合整備事業」(古代ロマン再生事業)), (4) the Comprehensive Conservation of Regional Core Archaeological Sites Project (「地方拠点史跡等総合整備事業(歴史ロマン再生事業)」), and (5) the Comprehensive Conservation of Historic Sites Project (「史跡等総合整備活

用推進事業（ふるさと文化の体験広場事業）」). Their main contents are composed of the restoration of monuments and the construction of study facilities which will provide space for the public to educate themselves on the history. The most recent conservation project is (9) the Comprehensive Utilization and Promotion Project of Historic Sites for Regional Construction Project (「地域の特性を活かした史跡等総合活用支援推進事業」)²⁹, which started in 2013. Since then, the conservation of archaeological sites becomes more sophisticated. For example, protective objects are extended from ancient capital ruins to local ruins and the contents of local features and functions of education are more heavily emphasized.

Table 6.3 Main Conservation Projects after the Fudoki-no-oka Project³⁰



²⁹ http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/other/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/06/23/1348649_3.pdf, P1. Accessed August 19 2017.

³⁰ http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/other/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/06/23/1348649_3.pdf, P12. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Besides the projects mentioned above, Japan also conducts conservation projects named “Historic Routes (「歴史の道」)” which aims at land routes and water routes (canals) as well as the surrounding sites and environments. From 1978 to 1991, four land routes have been conserved, and three other land routes are still in the conservation process. Beyond this, in 1993 conservation projects have been extended into “Walk, See and Touch Historic Route (「歩き・み・ふれる歴史の道事業」)” aiming to select 100 representative routes in Japan. Until 2009, 78 routes had been designated on the list of “One Hundred Historic Routes (「歴史の道百選」)”. The conservation of sites and the environments near the routes ensure that conservation projects are extended deep into the remote regions. This brings the cultural and environmental benefits of site protection to many more locals and provides more employment and/or volunteering opportunities for locals as well.

In summary of Section 6.1, Japanese site conservation projects have lasted more than 50 years. In the previous 20 years, the conservation projects have focused on large-scale sites to achieve comprehensive conservation and display. In the following 30 years, the conservation projects have focused on local sites to promote native features and cultures, whilst emphasizing the functions of historical study and leisure for the public and particularly for local residents. Japanese site conservation meets the requirements of society and delves deeper into the lives of the local residents.

6.2. Characteristics of the Fudoki-no-oka Project

The Fudoki-no-oka project emphasizes the coexistence of the sites, environment, and people. It includes six objectives: to ensure the public land for conservation; to conserve the site; to maintain the surrounding environment; to construct site museum; to display regional history and folklore; and to relocate local residential housing if necessary. The details of each of these are described below.

- (1) At least 16.5 ha (=50, 000 tsubo) of public land must be ensured for the conservation

of the site and the surrounding environment which is the basis of Fudoki-no-oka project (OGASAWARA 2006: 105-106). The smallest site is Usa-fudoki-no-oka (宇佐風土記の丘) with 19.2 ha, and the biggest site is Higo-kodai-no-mori with 73 ha. The average proportion is 30-40 ha.

(2) All the archaeological sites conserved in the Fudoki-no-oka project are burial mounds and city ruins, which have great significance in Japanese history. They are all registered as National Historic Sites, or even Special Historic Sites.

(3) Most of the archaeological sites are located on mountains or near rivers, so the surrounding natural environment should be considered. Meanwhile, the flora in the site park should be arranged according to the ancient environment as ascertained through environmental research. Archaeologists explored ecological changes, as well as fluctuations in temperature, climate, and invasive plant species. Therefore, visitors could enjoy the cultural and natural resources for leisure, sports, and photography.

(4) The scale and shape of the museums constructed in the Fudoki-no-oka project consider both the cultural connotation of the site and natural scenery. In addition, displays in the museums include archaeological discoveries, regional historical materials, and folk art handicrafts. Usually, the museums have various functions for storage, display, research, and management. Before 1981, most of the site museums were called Shiryokan (資料館), Minzokushiryokan (民俗資料館), and Kyodokan (郷土館) which Japanese are words with the primary functions of storage and display, whilst after 1986, all new constructions or upgraded constructions were called Hakubutsukan (博物館), suggesting rich functions in education and experience. Therefore, the functions of site museums have changed significantly from simple functions to provision of a variety of services.

(5) The displays of regional history and folklore are popular in site museums of Fudoki-no-oka. The concept of Folk Cultural Property in paragraph (3), Article 2 of *Law for the Protection of Cultural Property* mentions: “(i) manners and customs related to food,

clothing and housing, to occupations, to religious faiths, and to annual festivals, etc.; (ii) folk performing arts; (iii) folk skills; (iv) clothes, utensils, houses and other objects used therefor, which are indispensable to the understanding of changes in the life mode of Japan (hereinafter referred to as Folk Cultural Property)". (Japan Center for International Cooperation in Conservation 2009:3) For instance, Hiroshima Prefectural Museum of History and Folklore (広島県立歴史民俗資料館) in Miyoshi-fudoki-no-oka (みよし風土記の丘) displays the history and folklore of Hiroshima Prefecture; the Oita Prefectural Museum of History (大分県立歴史博物館) in Usa-fudoki-no-oka shows the history and folk of Oita Prefecture (大分県).

(6) The relocation of residential and school buildings is a universal measure in Fudoki-no-oka. For example, the folk houses in the Edo Period which were relocated in Kii-fudoki-no-oka, and the folk houses in the Edo Period and the main school building in Meiji Period which were relocated in Boso-fudoki-no-oka (房総風土記の丘). The contents of the Fudoki-no-oka project are increasing which in turn shortens the distance between the sites for general visitors, especially local residents.

Four representative cases of the Fudoki-no-oka project for regional cultural construction are introduced in the sections that follow.

6.3. Continuous Conservation of Saitobaru-fudoki-no-oka (西都原風土記の丘)

The Saitobaru burial mounds are located in the southeast of Saito City, Miyazaki Prefecture, which is on the Saitobaru Plateau (西都原台地), south of the Hitotsuse River (一ツ瀬川). The main part of the site is in Oaza Miyake (大字三宅). The designated area occupies 58 ha, with more than 319 burial mounds including the possible royal tombs of Osahozuka (男狭穂塚) and Mesahozuka (女狭穂塚). The site dates from the 3rd century to the 7th century A.D. (Fig. 6.1). Because the biggest burial mounds have been found in

Kyushu Area, the research of the Underground Tomb (地下式横穴墓), as well as the chronology and layout of Saitobaru burial mounds, is vitally important (HONGOU 2005: 11-16).



**Figure 6.1 Location of the Saitobaru-fudoki-no-oka
(Source: Website of Saitobaru Archaeological Museum³¹)**

The research of Saitobaru burial mounds started from the Taisho Period (大正時代). Kyoto Imperial University (京都帝国大学) and Tokyo Imperial University (東京帝国大学) have both conducted excavation and measurements at the site. However, due to the robbery of the Mochida burial mounds (持田古墳群) which occurred in 1929-1930, the research of all burial mounds in the Miyazaki Prefecture remained frozen until the implementation of the Fudoki-no-oka project.

³¹ <http://saito-muse.pref.miyazaki.jp/web/guidance.html>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

The conservation of Saitobaru burial mounds stemmed from the Fudoki-no-oka project, and has been conducted several times with a national subsidy. In particular, there is one conservation project carried out by the prefectural government. Specific projects are described in greater detail below.

(1) First Attempt at Conservation

The conservation of burial mounds is regarded as highly important in Japan. The Saitobaru burial mounds were chosen as the first Fudoki-no-oka project because of their research values, and their relationship with the surrounding environment (HONGOU 2005: 23-24).

The conservation of Saitobaru burial mounds started in 1965 and was completed in 1968. The project focused on the overall landscape of burial mounds rather than individual ones. The overall scene was divided into three different themes: forest, grassland, and trail. The first site museum, named Saitobaru Museum (西都原資料館), was constructed for storing and displaying archaeological and historical materials. In addition, some restorations were conducted in the site park as well as 219 burial mounds, and the surrounding environment and nearby blocks were all conserved as Fudoki-no-oka, Prefectural Natural Park (県立自然公園) or Prefectural Park (県立都市公園). The target of the first conservation project was to maintain the site and environment.

(2) Second Attempt at Conservation

Thirty years after the completion of the Fudoki-no-oka project, the Saitobaru burial mounds kept their original status while some parts have fallen into disuse. At that time, due to the influence of many restoration projects in Yoshinogari site during 1986-1989, the requirements of re-conserving and utilizing the Saitobaru burial mounds was high (HONGOU 2005: 24-32).

The primary target for the second attempt was to improve the site's educational and

experiential functions. The *Master Plan for Saitobaru Burial Mounds Conservation* (「西都原古墳群保存整備活用に関する基本計画」) was enacted in 1995 to achieve this target. In the same year, the Saitobaru burial mounds and Ikegami・Sone sites were selected as the first batch of projects funded by the Comprehensive Conservation of Large-scale Archaeological Sites Project and the Comprehensive Conservation of Regional Core Archaeological Sites Project. These projects were implemented in 1995-2002.

In addition to the survey, research and conservation of burial mounds, the Experience Museum of Ancient Life (古代生活体験館) was constructed, which was a comprehensive educational and experiential facility for archaeology in the Miyazaki Prefecture. In the Experience Museum, visitors could experience making fire, magatama, instrument bows, etc.

※ **Special Attempt at Conservation**

To further promote the utilization of the Saitobaru burial mounds the Miyazaki Prefectural Planning Department (企画調整部), Public Works Section (土木部) and Board of Education (教育委員会), as well as the Saito Municipal Government, decided together to implement the *Conservation Project of Saitobaru Burial Mounds and Surrounding Area* (「西都原古墳群及び周辺地域整備プロジェクト事業」) in 1999-2003 during the implementation of the second conservation project. The primary target of this project was to construct the Saitobaru Archaeological Museum (宮崎県立西都原考古博物館) of Miyazaki Prefecture. The exhibits in this museum were not limited in relics of the Kofun Period, but also included ones from the Neolithic Period through the contemporary period in the Kyushu Area. The main objective was to ensure the museum continuously introduced new discoveries to replace permanent exhibitions. Meanwhile, this project planned to construct a Tourist Information Center. The primary functions were to offer the tourists additional information in Saito City, to sell local products and ancient foods, and to provide a place for visitors to rest. Local celebrity exhibitions and small meetings could

also be held here. The volunteer service center was stationed in the center too. In general, this center was a local cultural activities center. Moreover, the project considered the construction of extra parking facilities and improvements to the surrounding road conditions which in turn had a significant impact on regional development.

(3) Third to Fifth Attempt at Conservation

Based on the Master Plan enacted with the second conservation attempt, small-scale conservation projects have been conducted in the Saitobaru burial mounds every four to five years since 1995. The funds for them are mainly collected from the Agency for Cultural Affairs. The contents include small range excavation, research, and conservation (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Conservation Projects in the Saitobaru Burial Mounds

Conservation Project	Construction of Museum	Conservation of Burial Mounds	Other
First Attempt: 「風土記の丘」 (1965-1968)	Saitobaru Museum (西都原資料館)	-Found No 5.	-Public ownership of land; -Infrastructure construction
Second Attempt: 「西都原古墳群保存整備活用に関する基本計画」(1995-2002) Source: <i>Conservation Report of Special Historic Site Saitobaru Burial Mounds</i> . 2006.	Saitobaru Experience Museum of Ancient Life (西都原古代生活体験館)	-Excavated and conserved No.100, No.169 and No.171; -Conserved No.13 with plant mark, model and interior exhibition; -Dome exhibition of Sakamoto-no-ue Oketsubo Tunnel Tombs (酒元ノ上横穴墓群); -Interior exhibition of No.206 Oni-no-iwaya Tomb (鬼の窟古墳)	-Public ownership of land; -Environment conservation (Figs. 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5)
※ Special Attempt 「西都原古墳群及び周辺地域整備プロジェクト事業」(1999-2003)	-Saitobaru Archaeological Museum (西都原考古博物館)		-Parking lots construction; -Surrounding road

	-Tourist Information Center (このはな館)		improvement (Figs. 6.6 and 6.7)
Third Attempt: 「西都原古墳群歴史ロマン再生空間形成事業」(2003-2007) Source: <i>Excavation and Conservation Reports of Special Historic Site Saitobaru Burial Mounds</i>		-Excavated No.46; -Conserved No.111.	-Setting up explanation board.
Fourth Attempt: 「西都原古墳群活用促進ゾーン整備事業」(2008-2013) Source: <i>Conservation Report of the Promotion Zone of Special Historic Site Saitobaru Burial Mounds. 2014.</i>		-Excavated No.201, No.208, No.284, No.4, No.5, No.6, No.10, No.12, and No.16; -Conserved No.170; -Excavated and conserved No.46, No.47, and No.202.	-Setting up explanation board
Fifth Attempt: 「西都原古墳群保存整備基本計画」に基づいて、新規事業(2014ー) Source: <i>Excavation and Conservation Reports of Special Historic Site Saitobaru Burial Mounds</i>		-Excavated No.265; -Re-conserved No. 100.	-Setting up explanation board

In summary of Section 6.3, through many conservation projects, the contents of the Saitobaru burial mounds were gradually enriched into local development. The continuous excavation, preservation, and restoration of burial mounds offered more information about the site and the Experience Museum offered the chance for visitors to enjoy ancient lives. In particularly, the prefectural government played a vital role in the following parts; The creation of a local characteristic as the core of Kofun Culture in the Kyushu Area and the core of archaeology in the Miyazaki Prefecture, and the integration of site conservation with local development through the construction of public facilities and the promotion of tourism.



Figure 6.2 Dome of the Sakamoto-no-ue Oketsubo Tunnel Tombs



Figure 6.3 Interior Exhibition of the Sakamoto-no-ue Tombs



Figure 6.4 Burial Mound No.171



Figure 6.5 Burial Mound No.206 (Oni-no-iwaya-kofun)

(Source: Website of Saitobaru Archaeological Museum)



Figure 6.6 Saitobaru Archaeological Museum



Figure 6.7 Tourist Information Center

(Source: Photos by the author)

6.4. Various Elements in Kii-fudoki-no-oka (紀伊風土記の丘)

The Iwasesenzuka burial mounds (岩橋千塚古墳群) are the cores of Kii-fudoki-no-oka,

which are located in the east of Wakayama City, Wakayama Prefecture, on the south of the downstream of Kinogawa (紀の川). More than 850 tombs in several districts (花山地区, 大谷山地区, 大日山地区, 岩橋前山地区, 井辺前山地区, 井辺地区, 寺内地区) constitute this site groups. The most important discovery is the Haniwa with Two Faces (両面人物埴輪), found in the Dainichiyama burial mound (大日山古墳). This site dates back to the 5th-the beginning of 7th century AD. The Iwasesenzuka burial mounds are important due to their significant number and unique construction of mastaba (Fig. 6.8) (Website of Kii-fudoki-no-oka³²).



Figure 6.8 Plan of the Iwasesenzuka Burial Mounds



Figure 6.9 Ruins near Iwasesenzuka Burial Mounds

(Source: Iwasesenzuka 1967, Fig. 16 and 15)

A survey of the Iwasesenzuka burial mounds was conducted during the Taisho Period. Because of their values, they were registered as a historic site by the Ministry of Home Affairs (内務省) in 1931. However, these sites suffered unprecedented destruction many times: some tombs were used as bomb shelters during the second world war; many plants had been filled because of the lack of fuel after the war; and a wide range of land in the

³² <http://www.kiifudoki.wakayama-c.ed.jp/>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

burial mounds and around the temples were cultivated due to grain shortages, which also at that time occurred at the special cultivation in the Nara Palace Site. However, the cultivation in the Iwasesenzuka burial mounds was opposed by the residents of Yoshitada TANAKA (田中敬忠) and Keiji MIYADA (宮田啓二). They appealed to conserve the site by conducting a signature-collecting campaign, which can be considered as a significant movement to protect the burial mounds. The Iwasesenzuka burial mounds achieved sufficient protection since the output of grain improved, the Act on Protection of Cultural Properties was imposed in 1950, and the site was registered as a Special Historic Site.

However, the Hanayama Area (花山地区) which had not registered as a Historic Site suffered destruction from digging in 1961. At that time, the landowners and the construction company expressed an incurious attitude regarding the destruction of the tombs. To fully realize the situation of sites and to protect the unregistered area, the Wakayama Municipal Board of Education (和歌山市教育委員会) and Kansai University (関西大学) jointly carried out a survey and an exploration. The research institutes opened the excavation site to the public to advertise the importance of burial mounds as the cultural heritage of humanity. The continuous excavations and research offered the necessary data to make a conservation and utilization plan. Then the Kii-fudoki-no-oka started in 1971 (Fig. 6.9) (Iwasesenzuka 1967: 1-18).

Kii-fudoki-no-oka is a typical case of a Fudoki-no-oka project, which contains three main factors: site conservation (Iwasesenzuka burial mounds), environment maintenance (mountain landscape and Manyo Garden), and museum construction (archaeological, regional historical and folklore museum), and sometimes the relocation of folk houses. It reached the primary goals of conserving sites, environmental governance and harmonious coexistence with humankind (Fig. 6.10).



**Figure 6.10 Map of the Kii-fudoki-no-oka
(Source: Website of Kii-fudoki-no-oka)**

(1) Site Conservation

Kii-fudoki-no-oka covers 65 ha in which 430 tombs are located. Within that, Maeyama (前山) A13, A46, A67, and B53 (将軍塚古墳) opened the mastaba, and the Dainichiyama burial mound No.35 was restored with Haniwa (埴輪). Around twelve tombs were reinforced and marked by plants in situ, and four tombs were restored based on the research of the original shape. Moreover, a pit-dwellings house was restored at the front of the museum and there is a nearby paddy field which can be used for experiential activities.

(2) Environment Maintenance

The mountain area was conserved and forests were grown around the tombs. In addition, a Manyo garden (based on the *Manyoshu* (万葉集)) was grown in the park which was already full of plants.

(3) Museum Construction

The Kii-fudoki-no-oka Museum of Archaeology and Folklore (紀伊風土記の丘資料館) collected and displayed the archaeological and folklore materials of the Wakayama Prefecture. With archaeological materials, it showed the discoveries of Iwasesenzuka burial mounds. Interestingly, a mastaba had been relocated to the middle of the exhibition room. Besides that, the archaeological finds from the Paleolithic Period to Muromachi Period (室町時代) in Wakayama Prefecture were also displayed in the museum. It was an important exhibition of Wakayama history from the perspective of archaeology (Fig. 6.11). With folklore materials, it displayed various local items which were not commonly used in recent times, such as traditional toys, daily furniture, lamps, and utensils used for regional and festival activities. It is an important exhibition which realizes the life of modern times (Fig. 6.12).



Figure 6.11 Archaeological Resource in the Kii-fudoki-no-oka Museum



Figure 6.12 Folk Resource in the Kii-fudoki-no-oka Museum

(Source: Photos by the author)

(4) Relocation of Folk Houses

Four folk houses showing interior decoration of the Edo Period and one ship were moved from the surrounding area to Kii-fudoki-no-oka to show the residents' daily lives in modern times. The Ancient House of TANIMURA (旧谷村家住宅) is used as an example; it originates from Shimizu Town (清水町), Arida County (有田郡) and is over 250 years old. It has been situated in the park since 1970 and displays traditional furniture, kitchenware, and farm tools accompanied by detailed descriptions and old photographs to show the history of the house (Fig. 6.13).



**Figure 6.13 Ancient House of TANIMURA in the Kii-fudoki-no-oka
(Source: Photos by the author)**

In summary of Section 6.4, Kii-fudoki-no-oka includes multiple elements and various functions, which satisfy the requirements of visitors and locals. Visitors can enjoy both cultural and natural resources together in this park. The display of folklore and regional history shows the importance of recent history and makes connections between

contemporary lives and ancient history. Meanwhile, the display of houses, furniture, and tools of individuals is an important way to show local history and to help understand the lives of those from the past. Local residents, especially teenagers, can understand their ancestors' lives through these exhibitions. Kii-fudoki-no-oka makes significant efforts to connect people with history and regional culture through the approaches mentioned above.

6.5. Local Cultural Resource Integration in Kikuchigawa Area (菊池川流域)

Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka is centered on the decorative burial mound (装飾古墳) in the Kumamoto Prefecture. It comprehensively utilizes the cultural resources in the Kikuchigawa Basin. This project took the lead in establishing the Kumamoto Prefectural Ancient Burial Mound Museum (熊本県立装飾古墳館) at Kao Town (鹿央町), Yamaga City (山鹿市) in 1992. The museum has an immersive display of the interior of the burial mound, multiple experiential activities, and an engaging learning place. The primary functions of this museum are to conserve, utilize, and research decorative burial mounds which are nobles' tombs of the Kofun Period, containing anaglyphs and colors on each sarcophagus or burial chamber (Figs. 6.14 and 6.15).



Figure 6.14 Kumamoto Prefectural Ancient Burial Mound Museum
(Source: Website of Burial Mound Museum³³)



Figure 6.15 Decorative Burial Mound
(Source: Photos by the author)

³³ <http://www.kofunkan.pref.kumamoto.jp/area/forest.html>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

Then in 1995, Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka consisting of three core areas; Yamaga, Kao and Nagomi (山鹿市・鹿央町・菊水町³⁴), was constructed. Its name was then changed to Higo-kodai-no-mori. In addition to the new construction of the burial mound museum, other museums and surrounding burial mounds in the river basin were brought to the project. These include the Yamaga City Museum (山鹿市立博物館, 1978) and the Nagomi Town Museum of History and Folklore (和水町歴史民俗資料館³⁵, 1978). This project integrated various cultural resources in the Kikuchigawa Basin (Figs. 6.16 and 6.17).



Figure 6.16 Yamaga City Museum



Figure 6.17 Nagomi Town Museum of History and Folklore

(Source: Photos by the author)

Kikuchi Castle (鞠智城) opened to the public in 2002. This mountain castle covering 55 ha was built in the 7th century to strengthen defenses in the Kyushu Area by the Yamato Imperial Court. Seventy-two building ruins were found, and four of them (八角形鼓楼, 米倉, 兵舎, 板倉) were restored in 1994. Meanwhile, the tour center Onkosouseikan (温故創生館) was opened together with Kikuchi Castle, which displayed the construction and history of the castle (Fig. 6.18). These two additional elements enriched the contents

³⁴ Now, Kao Town had been part of Yamaga City.

³⁵ Nagomi Town (菊水町) had changed to Nagomi Town (和水町), and the original name of Nagomi Town Museum of History and Folklore was Nagomi Town Museum of History and Folklore (菊水町歴史民俗資料館).

of Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka again, which further promoted the utilization of cultural resources in Yamaga City and Kikuchi City (菊池市) (Fig. 6.19).



Figure 6.18 The Restoration at the Kikuchi Castle
(Source: Photos by the author)



Figure 6.19 Map of the Higo-kodai-no-mori
(Source: Website of Burial Mound Museum³⁶)

In summary of Section 6.5, Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka had several

³⁶ <http://www.kofunkan.pref.kumamoto.jp/kikuchijo/kikuchijo/index.html>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

breakthroughs. The objectives of conservation and utilization extended from site groups to the district. The contents extended from single-themed museums to a collaboration of historical museums, folklore museums, tourist centers and castle ruins. Furthermore, the development of local business like hot springs and home-stays were driven by the project. Visitors can now enjoy abundant but selected cultural resources in the Kikuchi River Basin which is thought to be the most successful aspect of this project.

6.6. Predicament of Kibiji Museum (吉備路郷土館)

The construction of the Kibiji-fudoki-no-oka started in 1976. The main aim of the project was to conserve burial mounds in the Ancient Kibi Area. The Kibiji Museum opened in the same year and exhibited artifacts accompanied by clear explanations. Most notably, it contained a famous replica of a stone gate from the Senzoku Burial Mound (千足古墳の石障).

However, the museum was closed down in March, 2010 after operating for 34 years. Two years later, the operation of this area was transferred to Soja City (総社市) in Okayama Prefecture (岡山県). It was reopened as the Soji Kibiji Cultural Center (総社吉備路文化館). This cultural center has three primary functions: the first is to display paintings and calligraphies, such as the calligraphy works from a local calligrapher named Seikaku TAKAGI (高木聖鶴); the second is to collect the Japanese paintings, western paintings, and art wares; and the third is to set up a simple guide center with description boards for Kibiji-fudoki-no-oka.

The lack of continuity for further projects and the creation of new functions, as well as collaboration with regional development, may cause a predicament for the Kibiji Museum. Fortunately, it has been fully utilized by the municipal government for advertising contemporary local culture, while keeping a space for Kibiji-fudoki-no-oka. This transformation is a result of the Fudoki-no-oka project's development.

6.7. Summary

The Fudoki-no-oka project has significantly influenced Japan since its implementation 50 years ago, and has covered one-third of Japanese prefectures. In the past 20-30 years, each Fudoki-no-oka has been updated and expanded to compensate for new requirements. Consequently, it has gradually integrated into regional and local development strategies which promote the construction of regional culture. The two major approaches to accomplish this are summarized below.

The first approach outlined the construction and renovation of the museums. In the Fudoki-no-oka project, museums have comprehensive functions in displaying site artifacts, introducing history and folklore, and providing places for experience and leisure. They are comprehensive archaeological museums for the public to enjoy. Besides the Saitobaru Archaeological Museum of Miyazaki Prefecture mentioned in Section 6.3, there are other museums in the Fudoki-no-oka project, such as: Yamanashi Prefectural Archaeological Museum (山梨県立考古博物館) built in 1982, Shiga Prefectural Azuchi Castle Archaeological Museum (滋賀県立安土城考古博物館) built in 1992, Oita Prefectural Museum of History built in 1998, Saitama Prefectural Museum of the Sakitama Ancient Burial Mounds (埼玉県立さきたま史跡の博物館) built in 2006, etc. Then the construction of the prefectural and municipal archaeological museum has become prevalent in Japan, , such as Osaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture (大阪府立弥生文化博物館) constructed on Ikegami・Sone sites in 1991, Shimonoseki City Archaeological Museum (下関市立考古博物館) constructed on Ayaragi-gou site (綾羅木郷遺跡) in 1995, Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Archaeology constructed on Onaka site (大中遺跡) in 2007. The archaeological museum represents the core of regional culture.

The second approach is the integration of regional cultural resources. At the beginning, most Fudoki-no-oka projects are concentrated on resources of a single period or single archaeological culture, and are then gradually absorbed by other cultural resources,

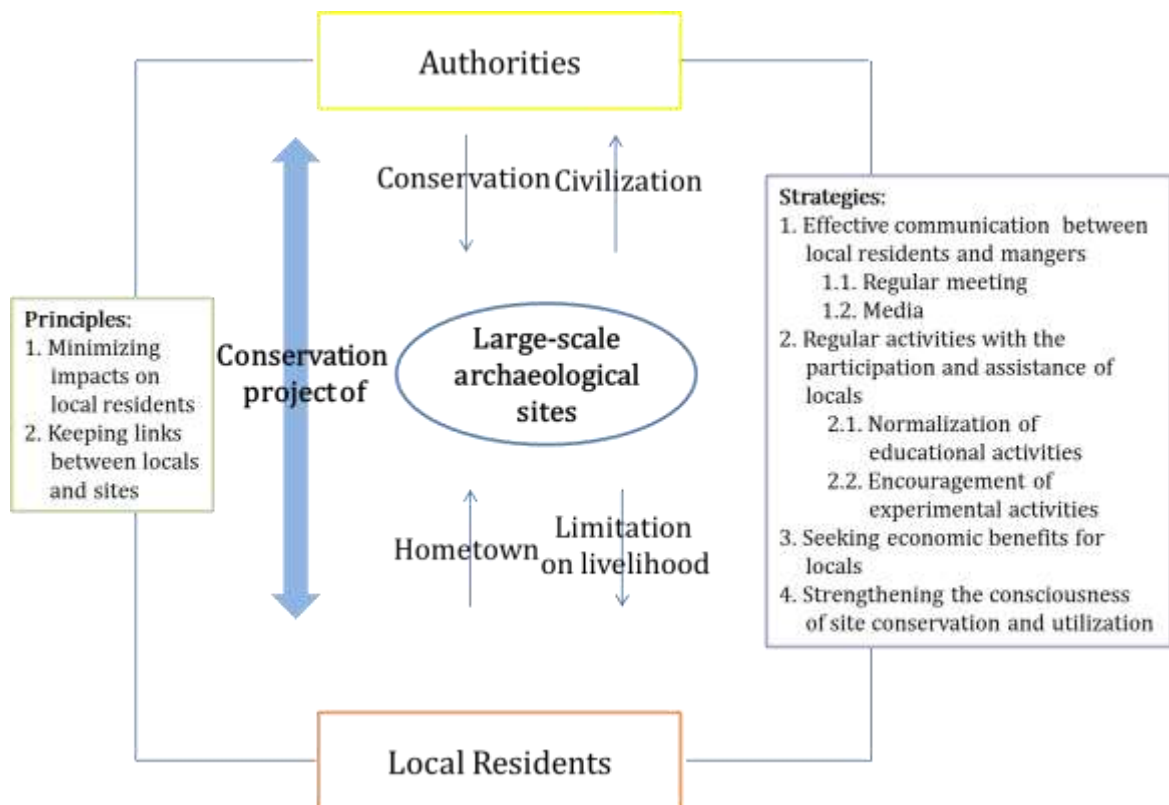
regardless of historical periods and types of cultural heritage. This transformation enables the Fudoki-no-oka project to develop from a site group to a district. The typical case is Kikuchigawa-ryuiki-fudoki-no-oka (Higo-kodai-no-mori) mentioned in Section 6.5. The national government initially supported the formulation and implementation of Fudoki-no-oka for conserving archaeological sites and the surrounding environment. However, over time, the project has gradually highlighted local features, promoted a passion for regional culture, and indirectly boosted the development of local tourism.

The Fudoki-no-oka project has been well-known among local people for its easy-to-remember title, various contents and continuous influences, and acting as a core for regional culture.

Chapter 7. Japanese Experience of Local Residents in Archaeological Site Conservation and Utilization and its Application to China

In consideration of the survival, participation, and recognition issues of CLASC identified in Chapter 3, some possible solutions to similar problems from JASCU were offered through several case studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. This chapter summarizes these Japanese experience into two principles and four strategies for CLASC to achieve sustainable development (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 The Relationship between Authorities and Local Residents



Two principles of minimizing impacts and keeping links should always be kept in mind by all stakeholders during archaeological site conservation. They are described in detail below.

Principle 1: Minimizing impacts on local residents

Maintaining CLASC with massive residents living in and nearby the site requires a balancing of two cultures: ancient representative civilizations and current discursive village culture. Although most people consider that the ancient civilization is greater than the current normal culture, even the later one might be hard to be considered as a culture by local residents themselves who prefer to get away from it. How the drastic changes to the entire regional society influence site conservation should seriously be considered. With the site conservation, people's living environment, economic structure, and community relationship are all changing along with their thoughts, habits, and customs. Thus, the influence on locals during archaeological site conservation might be enormous and risky, which is why it is necessary to minimize impacts these impacts.

Three aspects of site conservation should minimally impact on local residents. The first is the changing nature of the landscape. Planting grass, for example, is preferable in order to keep previous crops, provided they are not harming to the ruins. A second aspect is the changing nature of residences. It is better not to relocate residents if it is only for the purposes of an exhibit or temporary use of those places. If it is unavoidable due to conservation needs, it should be ensured that the process goes smoothly and the results are satisfactory. There are generally two reasons for locals to be disappointed with being relocated according to the results of field research: either the process of moving does not go smoothly or the resettlement is worse than where they lived before. At the Yin Xu site, for example, before all of Huayuanzhuang village and parts of Xiaotun village were relocated in 2009, local residents were assured that they would move into new houses within two years. As of 2014, however, they had not yet moved into the new houses. Third, the speed at which things change has an impact. Archaeological site conservation should be considered as part of the process of social change, which should be accomplished step by step but not in a fixed period only based on the authorities' decisions. For instance of

Nara Palace site, the land acquisition and historic site designation are still not finished after 50 years, as a result of the opinions and emotions of some individuals. In due course, with the approach of an aging society and mobile population, the conflicts between land acquisition and local residents can be solved step-by-step.

Principle 2: Keeping links between locals and sites

The close connection between local residents and archaeological sites in CLASC remains inadequate. On the one hand, the limited activities that occur in archaeological site are inconsiderate for local residents. For instance, the local companies at the Yin Xu site could not continue and the experiential activities at the Han Yangling site are mainly for tourists without the participation or assistance by locals. On the other hand, the spiritual connections between site and locals have not established. It is hard for the public or even locals to understand the meanings, relevance, and interest regarding historical ruins and remains. Many tourists indicated that the exhibition at the Yin Xu site was hard to comprehend. Some local villagers considered the discoveries at the Han Yangling site to be annoying and useless.

The question arises, then, of how to strengthen connections between ancient sites and contemporary people. Generally speaking, there are three approaches. The first approach is to create some exhibitions related to local residents or contemporary society, like the regional historical exhibitions, folklore exhibitions, and environmental enjoyment in the site. For instance, the displays in Kii-fudoki-no-oka include archaeological, regional historical, and folklore exhibitions, as well as abundant environment resources. Second, an alternative approach is to involve local organizations, volunteer groups, and local companies in the conservation and utilization of the sites. For instance, the relationships between local residents and the Nara Palace site have remained intact for more than 50 years, due to the involvement of local organizations. A free guide service conducted by

local citizens has become quite popular all over Japan, with participation at many sites including Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites. Many local companies also actively participate in the operation of archaeological sites. Finally, and most importantly, a critical further approach is essential to increase local residents' sense of belonging and identification with the site. Human beings have deep feelings for their hometown, known as topophilia. Regardless of where people go or how society changes, the natural and cultural environments of their hometowns significantly influence their thoughts and actions. Such significance to local residents should be emphasized in archaeological site conservation. A typical case is the tenet of Sannai-maruyama Jomon Information Association, which states that "We are the Sannai-maruyama citizens in the future". This statement closely connects the ancient site to the modern individual. The regular and frequent implementation of exhibitions and other activities could gradually arouse residents' feelings for their hometown and enhance their identification with the local culture.

Four strategies related to communication, normalization, non-commercialization, and consciousness can be directly conducted in archaeological site conservation and are described below.

Attempt 1: Effective communication between local residents and managers

Stable long-term communication between administrators and local residents in CLASC remains inadequate. Examples of such a failing include the insufficient survey of local residents' voices in making conservation plans, the delay in relocating Huayuanzhuang and Xiaotun villagers and the price dispute over Sima Road. Therefore, establishing a platform for effective communication between local residents and managers is necessary.

The experience of JASCU, demonstrates that there are generally two channels for communication. First, there is a need for conducting regular meetings in which participants

(administrators, managers, archaeologists, local residents, and journalists) could express their opinions freely and equally. It is especially important that the authorities respect the locals' requirements and emotions. Alternatively, local residents could freely participate in the meetings held by site administrations, research institutes, and other groups. Meanwhile, those people could take part in the meetings specifically for the locals. For example, the staffs and locals participated in each other's meetings frequently during the land acquisition at the Nara Palace site. Second, media should act as an intermediary between the two sides. For example, the local newspapers of Nara both reported the governmental actions and spoke out for the local residents on issues such as the scope, schedule, price, and method of land acquisition. In particular, media should represent the opinions of local residents, which may otherwise not be heard.

Attempt 2: Regular activities with the participation and assistance of locals

The educational and experiential activities held in CLAS are irregular and lack continuity. For instance, public participation in the excavation of the Han Yangling Site only happened once without succession and the Anyang Yin-Shang Cultural Festival (安陽殷商文化節) was only organized for several years and then replaced by another theme. Meanwhile, the implementation of activities lacks the participation and assistance of locals. A lack of knowledge regarding the significance of archaeological sites is a key factor that causes them to participate less.

Besides good communication resulting from measures highlighted in Attempt 1, the next important step is to normalize the educational activities and encourage the experiential activities as found in the use of Japanese archaeological sites. Authorities should first ensure that educational activities are prioritized. To normalize such activities, the specific content, staff, fund support, and even frequency should be fixed for each site by the authorities. One example of this strategy would be the regular live presentations

given by archaeologists, which is a necessary part of the site excavation process in Japan. Archaeologists should be made responsible for conducting a live presentation, including details regarding the completed schedule, staff, budget, and advertising. Another example is the use of regular publications by authorities, local organizations and conservation groups. The publications are not limited to printed options like textbooks, handbooks, and mangas, but also include websites that people can quickly access due to advances in technology. A further example is the use of lectures and symposiums regularly held by research institutes and local organizations. These activities help to share information both about the site and about archaeology to the general public, and can also attract local residents.

Additionally, due to the limited energy and budget of authorities, experiential activities should encourage the participation of local organizations that cooperated with or were authorized by authorities. There are two basic conditions for the continuous development of experiential activities. One is promotion of the initiatives of local organizations with their members and budget. These individuals could assist with the regular activities or explore new activities. The other is to offer maximum support in providing academic knowledge, new ideas, and funding to ensure these activities can be maintained into the future.

Attempt 3: Seeking economic benefits for locals under the premise of site conservation

The purpose of CLASC is for archaeological site conservation to focus on cultural, regional, social, and ecological benefits. However, under the premise of site conservation, some approaches can be considered to help local residents who are impacted economically as a result of the site conservation process. Since employment in Chinese National Archaeological Site Parks and other related organizations is limited, and because direct

compensation is not currently feasible, other approaches should be considered.

From the experience of Japanese archaeological site operations, two methods can be employed. The first is to explore how local residents and organizations could benefit from the design and sale of souvenirs, the operation of workshops and museum shops, and having stalls at local festivals. Such forms of income are not huge, generating only enough to cover operational costs. Therefore, most locals could not rely on the operation of the archaeological site for their survival. Furthermore, regional economic development cannot be easily achieved in most archaeological sites, in both Japan and China. Indeed, the operations on Japanese archaeological sites are less for economic benefit and more for spiritual satisfaction. Participants of the Sannai-maruyama site expressed attitudes of acquiring knowledge, communicating with others, realizing their value, promoting history relating to the archaeological site or region, or just enjoying the operational process.

The second method is to look at the operation of local businesses who can take advantage of the archaeological site and associated potential cultural propaganda by offering promotional products and maximizing on the increased customers for restaurants, all of which could mitigate against any risks and challenges posed by the operation at the sites. Indeed, local companies could improve both the range and degree of services around the archaeological site and in doing so enhance the diversity and popularity of local businesses. The collaboration between local enterprises and local residents can be considered as a feasible approach in the operation of the archaeological site.

Attempt 4: Strengthening the consciousness of site conservation and utilization

The awareness of leaders, staff and the public regarding site conservation and utilization is absolutely necessary if effective communication, implementation of regular activities, and recognition of local culture are to be achieved. Managers at the Yin Xu site said that, “the top priority is site conservation which is already hard to achieve. Thus others work

could not be conducted with limited budget and staff.” Meanwhile, local residents have little understanding of the significance of the Yin Xu site, such as the presence of oracle-bone inscriptions, the earliest capital recording of characters, and one of the seven ancient capitals. Therefore, the need to strengthen the consciousness of both the managers and the public is urgent.

From the experience of Japanese archaeological sites, the consciousness of administrators and managers is directly related to the occupational qualifications that should be required in their jobs, as well as to policies and regulations which encourage them to work hard for site conservation and utilization. For example, at the Sannai-maruyama site, managers take firm responsibility for the conservation and utilization of the archaeological site. They even use their rest time to assist with educational and experiential activities because of laws and regulations, as well as their vocational responsibility. Therefore, management systems should be adjusted to encourage the development of managers’ consciousness about site conservation and utilization in China. When it comes to the general public, their consciousness is largely related to their school education and lifelong learning, which is a long process that takes time. Local culture can be emphasized through primary and junior high school education, as well as through open lectures and media advertising. In Japan, it has taken more than half a century of such education to produce notable and sustainable results. For example, in the conservation of the Nara Palace site, few people paid attention to the conservation in the Taisho period, with archaeological education only starting in the 1950s and many difficulties facing the conservationist movement in the 1960s. Yet, by the 1990s, conservation and utilization projects were conducted frequently.

In summary of Chapter 7, two principles and four basic strategies should be well considered and implemented in any conservation project (Table 7.2). In doing so, the

concerns of local residents in CLASC could be solved, the participation of local residents could become customary, and recognition of the archaeological site and local culture could be awakened. To illustrate how these identified suggestions can be effective, the practice conducted at the Yin Xu site and Xiaotun Village will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Table 7.2 References of the Involvement of Local Residents in Japanese Archaeological Site Conservation and Utilization to China

Classification	Specific Issues	Case Descriptions in China	Solutions	Case Descriptions in Japan
1. Survival issues of local residents in Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation	1.1. Conflicts in relocation and land acquisition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tortuous process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The delay relocation of all Huayuanzhuang and some Xiaotun villagers. >Example: The price dispute about Sima Road. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Effective communication between local residents and managers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The local newspapers both reported the governmental actions and spoke out for the local residents regarding the scope, schedule, price and method of land acquisition. • Local organization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The staff in authorities and the locals in civil organizations participated in each other's meetings. >Example: The local organizations could represent the benefits of locals and communicate with authorities equally.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglect of the individuals' emotions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The land acquisition was done too fast and comprehensively; thus individuals' opinions and emotions were overlooked. >Example: Besides direct compensation, other types of links were easily neglected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Individual's opinions could be expressed freely and should be well considered. ➢ Establishment of further links between locals and sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locals could express their opinions easily through media and local organizations. • If necessary, the site conservation should make a certain concession to locals. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The price of land acquisition was increasing annually and several houses cannot be acquired in the protective area of Nara Palace site. • Offering the opportunities to link with the locals.
	1.2. Conflicts in daily lives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illegal house reconstruction (For private or commercial use) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Example: Building or rebuilding a new house for getting married and starting a family were necessary for some locals at the Yin Xu site. > Example: Commercial construction of private house for renting, or commercial construction of mansion were emerged at the Yin Xu site. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Strictly control, actively coordinate, and solve the issues based on the specific situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For private use, it should be actively coordinated with locals. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The construction of INAGAKI's house got permission. • For commercial use, it should be strictly controlled and demolished based on the regulations. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The construction of IWAKI and NISHIDA's houses was stopped.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure construction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The construction of Huayuanzhuang Antique Market was opposed by department of cultural relics. However, the construction finally got permission since the strong requirement of local government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Strictly audit and respect the locals' requirement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall control <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: In the conservation movement of opposing the construction of tram garage and National Route 24 at the Nara Palace site, the locals played a key role. • Individual construction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: In the construction of policeman station at the Nara Palace site, the requirements of locals were respected.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >In general, the production activities are limited in protective area while without compensation. >After land acquisition and relocation, some people may lose jobs. >Example: All the private factories and local companies in the protective area of Yin Xu site were demolished, which caused unemployment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Offering maximum chances of employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering employment positions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Excavation, cleaning and other work at the archaeological site or site park. >Example: Priority in site park operation, like museum shop at the Sannai-maruyama site and souvenir shops at the Nara Palace site. • Collaboration with local companies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Restaurant operation at the Sannai-maruyama site >Example: Souvenir production 	
2. Diverse participation of local residents in Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation	2.1. Less and unsustainable local organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General public pays low attentions to archaeological site and site conservation. 		
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports from local government and management organization are low for local organizations, such as: insufficient fund support, lack of regulations and staffs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Offering government supports by regulations, funds, staff and others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulation support, fund support and staff support from authorities, especially local government are essential for the establishment of local organizations, conservation organizations, NGOs, and NPOs, as well as promotion of local companies. • Members: middle-old age, educated, with basic living security. • Economic benefit usually is not the primary purpose. • Contents are various, not only for site conservation, utilization, and advertisement but also for interior communication. • Besides the fund support from authorities, there are some other channels: the donations from local companies and the public, the operational income, and the member dues.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of the local organizations have high pressure for living. • Main purpose of many organizations is for economic benefit but not for cultural, social benefits. • Contents of the organizations are simple. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Example: The establishment and development of Xiaotun Troupe faced many difficulties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Completing the interior construction 	
	2.2. Insufficient educational activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional education for students is insufficient. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Besides the textbooks published at the Liangzhu site, the regular education about regional history in many archaeological sites is uncommon. • Lifelong learning by general public is insufficient. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The lack of advertisements devised for the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Collaboration with other sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen the collaboration with educational sector <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: School field research • Strengthen the collaboration with further education sectors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Open lectures, media advertisement, etc.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No specific funds for educational activities • No specific staff or specific schedule 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Routinization of educational activities through offering specific contents, funds, and staff for educational activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Content <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting basic educational activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Live presentations have carried out at the Nara Palace site for more than 60 years. >Example: Conducting school field trips is common in Japan. >Example: Publication of regional textbook and manga are popular in Japan. • Issuing the publicity materials of archaeological site <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The publicity materials of Sannai-maruyama site are sent to all the schools, libraries and other related organizations in Aomori City for free. Funding <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring the educational funds <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The excavation fee including the adverting fee in Japan.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managers are lack of motivation due to promoting educational activities has not connection with promotion and salary. • Managers are lack of consciousness for sharing the achievement with the public. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Managers at the Yin Xu site said that "the top priority is site conservation which is already hard to achieve. Thus other work could not be conducted with limited budget and staff." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Strengthening the staff's consciousness of site conservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing the managers' responsibilities and promoting their consciousness for site conservation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Managers take strong responsibilities for the conservation and utilization of archaeological site since the articles of laws and regulations, as well as their vocational responsibilities.
2.3. Irregular experiential activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorities lack the energy for conducting educational activities, let alone experiential activities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Experiential activities held at the Han Yangling site were various but did not continue. • The lack of local organizations' participation causes the irregular experiential activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Encouraging the participation of local organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging the initiative of local organizations for experiential activities with their members and budget • Offering maximal support on academic knowledge, ideas, and funds. 	
2.4. Economic benefits are generally considered as the core of site conservation and utilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, archaeological sites are conserved for tourism and economic benefits. • The governors' respects of sites often decide whether and how to conserve. • The local productions have not participated in the site conservation and utilization. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: The cultural industry is unprosperous. Many restaurants, souvenir shops were closed fast. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Making sure the position of site conservation and utilization in regional development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, archaeological sites are conserved for educational and social values. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: All sites in Fudoki-no-oka project are utilized by local residents as regional cultural center. • Regional industrial structure should be adjusting. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Local famous companies participate in the operation related to archaeological site. >Example: All the producing activities at Asuka Area should comply with Asuka laws and plans which based on the balancing between site conservation and local residents' livelihood. 	
3. Construction of the recognition of local culture		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The benefits of site conservation for local residents in social, economic, and even cultural aspects are limited. Therefore, it is hard to create recognition. • The understanding of local culture is not deep, and the participation by local residents is insufficient. Therefore, it is hard to strengthen recognition. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Local residents have little understanding of the signification of Yin Xu, such as oracle-bone inscriptions, the earliest capital recording by characters, one of the seven ancient capitals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Local government should take responsibilities for creating regional recognition. ➢ Emphasizing on advertisement and education ➢ Globalization or localization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting the conservation projects and plans collaborating cultural resource (including sites) and local residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: Fudoki-no-oka project with site conservation, environment and people >Example: Asuka Conservation Plan with each level of government and various sectors • Continuously conducting advertisement and educational activities which may improve the understanding of site. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: In the conservation of Nara Palace site, few people paid attention to the conservation in Taisho period; in 1950s-1960s, the conservation movements faced many difficulties while succeed; in 1990s, the conservation and utilization projects conducted frequently. • Sharing the achievement with outside or inside. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> >Example: the cases of Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites

Chapter 8. Practice in Xiaotun Village (小屯村) Concerning Yin Xu Site Conservation

Chapter 7 summarized several aspects of the experience of JASCU and how it could be utilized in China, including reducing the impacts of sites on residents' daily lives, strengthening the participation of locals, and constructing the recognition of regional culture. To explore the possibilities of these applications, this chapter focuses on the Yin Xu site and Xiaotun Village as objects of field research where conflicts were both poignant and representative. The changes to Xiaotun Village before and after World Heritage Nomination have been detailed through two field surveys, with a specific focus on the entire history of the local company, Xiaotun Troupe, from formation to closing. This research revealed the real experiences of the Xiaotun villagers beneath the excellent reputations of the World Heritage Site and National Archaeological Site Park. Most importantly, it analyzed the underlying causes of these conflicts concerning CLASC as they related to local residents and offered some suggestions for change, based on the Japanese experience. With exploring the responses from the former members of Xiaotun Troupe and other related persons, this chapter finally evaluates the suggestions to contribute to solving these issues in reality.

8.1. Field Research Plan

The field research plan has been structured into five components: reasons, purposes, objects, schedule and approaches, and potential funds. Each of these is further detailed below.

(1) Reasons: Xiaotun Village is located in the core area of Yin Xu palace and royal ancestral shrine ruins. There are three reasons why Xiaotun and Yin Xu have been chosen.

First is the significance of the Yin Xu site. The discoveries and excavations at the Yin Xu site represent the larger history and development of Chinese archaeology. Meanwhile, as a World Heritage Site, its conservation processes and approaches are often regarded by other sites as an ideal model. Second is the importance of Xiaotun Village. Since the current Xiaotun Village originated from the middle of the Ming Dynasty, it has 500 years of history. The discovery of oracle bones was especially significant in prompting the reputation of Xiaotun. After that, the Yin Xu site and Xiaotun Village were closely connected. Third are the various conflicts related to local residents in the conservation process of the Yin Xu site, such as land acquisition, relocation, employment, and participation of locals. Of particular importance was the establishment and failure of a local company, Xiaotun Troupe in Capital of Shang Media Company, in less than two years. It was mainly organized by Xiaotun villagers reflecting the arduous process of local residents' participation in archaeological site conservation and utilization. The research on the Yin Xu site conservation and Xiaotun Village, which occupy important positions in archaeological site conservation history, could be useful for analyzing the essence of various issues and uncovering the solutions.

(2) Purposes: The purpose of this research was to discover how World Heritage Nomination influences local residents' lives. Primarily, this research investigated and compared the situations before and after this event. Then, it focused on analyzing the Xiaotun villagers' motivations in the establishment, operation, and failure of Xiaotun Troupe, with a particular focus on the difficulties in the process. Following this, it discussed the possibilities of application of the Japanese experience at the Yin Xu site through hearing the responses from the former members of the Xiaotun Troupe and other related persons. Finally, it offered some practical suggestions for the participation of Xiaotun villagers in the utilization of the Yin Xu site. These proposals might contribute to the sustainable development of CLASC.

(3) Objects: The objects for solving local residents' issues concerning the conservation and utilization of the Yin Xu site, include administrators in local governments, managers in management organization, archaeologists at the research institute, members of local company/organization, local residents in Xiaotun Village, journalists in media, teachers and students in elementary school and universities, members of conservation organizations, cultural relics conservation foundations, and social organizations. In the field research, interviewees from nine groups were interviewed (Table 8.1).

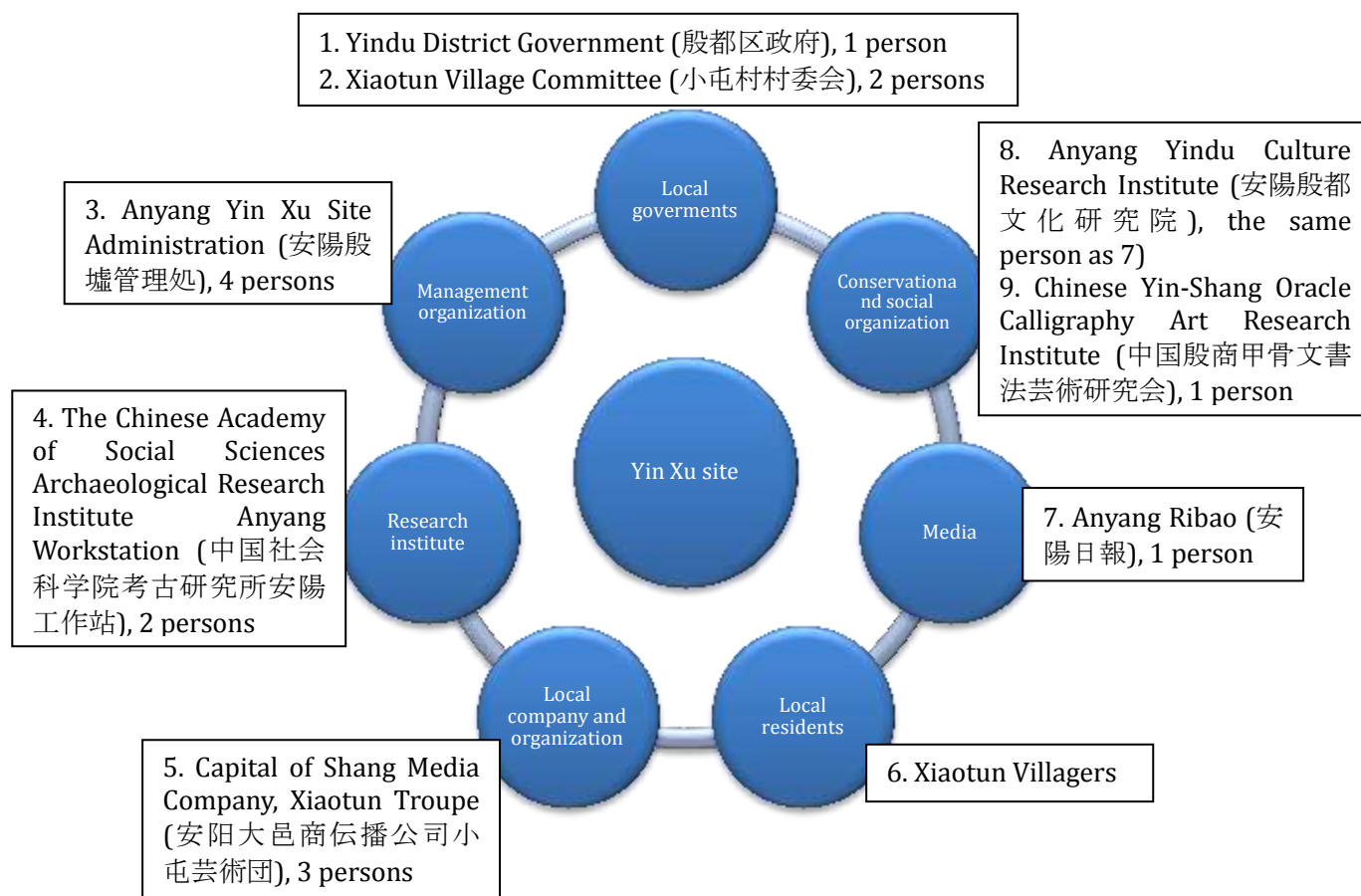
(4) Schedule and Approaches: The field surveys at the Yin Xu site were conducted twice. The first time was occurred over a two week period in August-September, 2014 through questionnaire and interview. The focus of this field survey was the general changes of Xiaotun Village after World Heritage Nomination. The second time was also over two weeks in February-March, 2017 by interview. It focused on realizing the situation, especially the difficulties of Xiaotun Troupe, as well as introducing the Japanese experience for responses.

(5) Potential funds for practical projects: The government could potentially provide funds for supporting cultural industry, or foundations could fund the conservation of cultural relics.

8.2. Difficulties of Xiaotun Villagers during the Conservation of Yin Xu Site

Xiaotun Village is located in the plain on the east of Taihang Mountain (太行山). Huan River flows through the north of the village. Xiaotun Village is currently subordinated to Xijiao Town (西郊鄉), Yindu District, Anyang City, Henan Province on administration. The important point of this village in China and even in the world is the discovery of the Shang Capital and oracle bones.

Table 8.1 Stakeholders of Yin Xu Site³⁷



³⁷ Other groups: (1) Other local companies: (安鋼集團, 豫北棉紡織廠, and 安陽市殷商青銅工藝研究所); (2) Local elementary school: Yindu Elementary School (安陽市殷都小學 or 小屯小學); (3) Local universities: Anyang University (安陽大學) and Anyang Normal University (安陽師範學院) Research Office of Yin-Shang Cultures was established in 1984 in Anyang Normal University; Research Institute was established in 1992; Several offices of specific research was established in 1999; in 2003, the research center of oracle-bones and Yin-Shang Cultures (甲骨學與殷商文化研究中心) was established); (4) National and international cultural relics conservation foundations: China Foundation For Cultural Heritage Conservation (中國文物保護基金會), Global Heritage Fund (全球遺產基金會); (5) National and local social organizations: China Society of Yin-Shang Civilization (中國殷商文化學會), China Society of Ancient Capitals (中國古都學會), Anyang Local History Compilation Committee (安陽市地方史志協會), Anyang Society of Ancient Capitals (安陽古都學會), Anyang Society of oracle bone inscriptions (安陽甲骨學會), Anyang Research Institute of Yin-Shang Civilization (安陽殷商文化研究會), Chinese Yin-Shang Oracle Calligraphy Art Research Institute). These social organizations mainly focus on academic communication. A few conduct the activities for the general public to advertise the site. For example, China Society of Yin-Shang Civilization assisted Anyang City Government for conducting Anyang Yin-Shang Cultural Festival (安陽殷商文化節) since 1990, which included culture, tourism, and economy business. However, this festival was replaced other theme. Anyang Society of Ancient Capitals was established in 1986. It aims to promote Ancient Capital of Anyang, Yin and Ye Culture. It published a journal (『安陽古都研究』). Anyang Society of oracle bone inscription also was established in 1986. It aims to collect the data and research Oracle-bones. It set up classes for the public to learn Oracle Calligraphy in 1986. It held the conference (殷商文化國際討論會) in 1987. It also publishes a journal (『甲骨學研究』).

The history of Xiaotun Village was recorded by Zuobin DONG (董作賓) in 1930 in History of Yin Xu (「殷墟沿革」)³⁸. It noted that Anyang citizens were massacred by Dahai HU (胡大海) in the early Ming Dynasty. Then residents were moved from Hongdong in Shanxi (山西洪洞) to Anyang in Hongwu Period (洪武年間). Finally the Xiaotun Village was formed in middle Ming Dynasty based on record on the bond (墓磚契券) in 1576.³⁹ The leading families in Xiaotun Village are ZHANG (張)⁴⁰, HAN (韓), HE (何) and HUO (霍).

Due to population migration, cultivation in the area became extensive. Thus the oracle bones were unearthed and discovered by these transmigrators. Between 1928 and 1937, the Office of Archaeology at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (中国歷史語言研究所) conducted the formal excavation of the Yin Xu site for 15 times. The palace ruins (甲、乙、丙組) were mainly found in the farmland area of Xiaotun village, and the oracle bones were wildly found in and surrounded Xiaotun Village. In 1958, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute started continuous excavation. The stable Anyang Workstation was set up in the west of Xiaotun Village, where it remains today. Various significant discoveries have been made at Xiaotun Village; for example, the Xiaotunnandi oracle bones in 1973 and the Fu Hao tomb in 1976. During nearly a century of archaeological excavation, many residents have been hired as a long-term artisans or temporary excavators. During open discussions with Xiaotun

³⁸ This article verified the history of the Yin Xu site through records in books and unearthed artifacts, such as the bamboo slips, bronze inscriptions and epitaphs. The history of Xiaotun Village was also mentioned.

³⁹ The same article mentioned that the term “Xiaotun” had not been registered on the tablet of ZHU Family in Wangyukou (王裕口) in the early Ming Dynasty, while it had been registered on the bond of a tomb in 1576 (万歷四年). Therefore, the appearance of Xiaotun Village was around middle Ming Dynasty. The name of the village changed many times in the history (高楼庄, 蔡家楼, 崔家小屯, 後小屯), the reason of which was related to the prosperity of big families.

⁴⁰ The chief of Xiaotun Village was Xuexian ZHANG (張学猷) when Zuobin DONG wrote this article. The ZHANG Family had lived in Xiaotun village for eight generations since the beginning of the period of Emperor Kangxi (康熙初年). In 2017, the current secretary of Xiaotun village is Yongxian HE (何永憲).

villagers, many residents in their 70s and 80s spoke about their working experience with famous archaeologists (鄭振香, 劉一曼) and the discoveries of bronzes, potteries, and oracle-bones. They only considered the excavation as a job, and hardly connected it with the exploration of Chinese civilization or the history of their hometown.

Since the Yin Xu site was nominated to the World Heritage List in 2006, the excellent Yin-Shang Culture has been known all over the world. However, the Xiaotun villagers have faced substantial obstacles to economic and social developments. The issues can be summarized as follows.⁴¹

(1) The proportion of farmland was decreasing. The original proportion of residence in Xiaotun Village was 150 mu, while the farmland was around 500 mu. To establish Yin Xu Park in 1987, the government purchased around 100 mu of farmland with a one-time compensation. The price for one mu was 10 thousand yuan. Thus, the total revenue was one million yuan. To conduct large-scale exhibition and restoration projects to apply for the World Heritage since 2001, the government rented around 200 mu. The compensation is increasing from 1,200 yuan/mu in 2006 to 2,000 yuan in 2016. Simultaneously, the compensation of Anyang Iron and Steel Group Co., LTD (安陽鋼鐵集團公司) was double the price. As a result, only around 200 mu remained for farming and each resident had 3.5 fen. On average, each person in Xiaotun Village could get 800 yuan for farming and 600-700 yuan of rental fee equalized with the farming fee in 2016.

(2) The villagers were separated into three areas. Originally, around 1200 inhabitants in 430 houses lived in Xiaotun Village. After two massive relocations, approximately 200 inhabitants in 70 houses were affected, leaving around 1000 inhabitants in 360 houses. One relocation work was for the World Heritage Nomination. Some houses were relocated to New Xiaotun Village (小屯新村). The other one was for the national archaeological

⁴¹ http://www.ccdy.cn/cehua/2014ch/yichan/jianyan/201403/t20140324_896832.htm, <http://cul.qq.com/a/20140227/010487.htm>. Accessed August 19, 2017.

park. All the Huayuanzhuang village and part of the Xiaotun villages were relocated to New Huayuanzhuang Village (花園庄新村). The two new villages were mansions with completed living facilities, which were all located to the south of Angang Road. However, sometimes relocated villagers had to return for administrative procedures. At the same time in the original Xiaotun Village, the transportation and living facilities were not completed, which many locals complained about often.

(3) Housing shortages and family conflicts were increasing. In Xiaotun Village, there are around 200 houses. The layouts of houses are similar, with two floors on the ground and some space underground. By the introduction of village party secretary, often three generations would live together in this village. Since the new construction work, some married brothers now live together, causing disapproval.⁴² These situations increase the occurrences of family conflicts and disputes. This situation also influences the marriage of men, because more than 20 young men are still single.

(4) The losing or changing of jobs created hardships. Before the World Heritage Nomination, the Xiaotun villagers mainly worked in farming, as well as additional individual operations and part-time work in local factories in Xiaotun and the surrounding villages. There were several pig, chicken, and duck farms, two chemical factories, and one big tricycle plant. For instance, the tricycle plant provided around 200 jobs that were opened to locals at any time, and the rental fee for the grounds was part of the village's consolidated revenue. However, after World Heritage Nomination, all of the factories were closed. Thus, the locals lost their jobs and the village committee no longer received the rental fee. Although the conservation and utilization of the Yin Xu site could indeed offer some opportunities for locals, there is a big gap between supply and demand of positions. First, it led to the start of some individual businesses, including one garden for sightseeing

⁴² Generally speaking, when a family in the village was separated, a new area for building a new house was permitted. However, the custom had to be stopped.

and picking and around three shops and two restaurants (Fig. 8.1) opened by local residents. Second, a few residents who lived near the entrance of the Yin Xu Site Museum rented out their first floors to the outsiders for business. Third, some businessmen from Anyang City or Henan Province opened antique shops. Fourth, the Yin Xu Site Management offered around 20 jobs with 1600 yuan/month salary for Xiaotun villagers. However, since the Xiaotun Village Committee decided the selection of staff, it withdrew half of the wages from the village's consolidated revenue. Fifth, the parking fee for Yin Xu Site Museum was owned by Xiaotun Village Committee. Sixth, the locals were hired in Anyang workstation primarily. Due to the limited opportunities for local residents, young people mostly had to find a job in the downtown area of Anyang City or other cities, but older people could only stay at home and be out of work, since it is harder for those over 50 to find a job in the city.



**Figure 8.1 Local Restaurants of Xiaotun Family (小屯人家)
and Laogui Garden (老貴莊園)
(Source: Photos by the author)**

(5) Incomes of the village committee and individuals were decreasing comparatively. According to the interview with the village party secretary, the village's consolidated revenue declined from 400 thousand yuan to 200 thousand yuan/year. The average income

of a Xiaotun villager was 3000 yuan/year before 2006, while the surrounding villager was 5000 yuan/year; in 2016, the average income of Xiaotun villager was 8000 yuan/year, while the base wage in Anyang City was 19200 yuan/year.

(6) The attempts for cultural industry were neither useful nor successful. After the World Heritage Nomination, Xiaotun Village, Yindu District, and Anyang City tried to start Yin-Shang Tourism. In 2006, the Xiaotun Troupe was established by local residents, but this was disbanded after two years. In 2013-2014, the Xiaotun Village Committee invested one million yuan and the Yindu District invested a few hundred thousand yuan for the establishment of the Xiaotun Folklore Village (小屯民俗文化村). However, this project had no effect. In 2015, the Huayuanzhuang Antique Market (Fig. 8.2) was established with the support of Anyang City. However, the rental rate was not high and only a few tourists came.

(7) Resident participation at the Yin Xu site was low. In addition to working in the site park, there were few other continuous approaches to encourage site participation. A guide volunteer group had been established at the Yin Xu site for several years, but no Xiaotun villagers participated in the group. Students from Xiaotun Elementary School (小屯小学) regularly visited the site, and several students applied for the position of guide at the Yin Xu Museum. However, the educational activities were still insufficient.

(8) The recognition of Yin Xu site by Xiaotun villagers was not high. When interviewing residents on the benefits accompanying conservation of the Yin Xu site, they mainly focused on economic benefits, while overlooking the social, environmental and cultural benefits. In other words, local residents failed to come up with any other positives besides financial benefits. Residents expressed little understanding of the significance of Yin Xu, such as the oracle-bone inscriptions, Chinese earliest capital recording by characters, or it being one of the seven ancient capitals. Even for discoveries related to

their local history, such as the temple of Horse King (馬王廟), some of them could not explain the general history (Fig. 8.3).



Figure 8.2 Huayuanzhuang Antique Market Figure 8.3 Temple of the Horse King
(Source: Photos by the author)

(9) Other difficulties: Xiaotun Village's aging population is apparent. Around 30% of residents are over 50 years old. In addition, the educational level is not high. People under 40 years old have attained a basic, nine-year compulsory education, while a few individuals over 40 years have finished high school.

In summary of Section 8.2, the conservation of the Yin Xu site did indeed improve Xiaotun Village's surrounding environment as well as the basic infrastructure of road, water, gas systems, etc. It also offered some employment opportunities for Xiaotun villagers. However, the Yin Xu site conservation negatively impacted the survival of local residents, affecting both employment opportunities and house construction. Moreover, the Yin Xu site had not played a role in regional cultural construction or in advertisement of oracle-bone inscriptions and the ancient capital of Yin-Shang Culture in the world. The negative influence on residents' livelihood and the insufficient advertisement of the cultural values for Yin Xu site conservation created difficulties for residents in the preservation process of the Yin Xu site.

Amid these challenges, the establishment of the Xiaotun Troupe was an attempt to solve

certain issues of local residents. It could have changed the local business from agriculture, industry, and avocation to cultural industries, which fit well for the development of the protective area. In particular, it could have solved the issues of insufficient proportion of farmland, limited employment opportunities, and low income. In addition, it could have advertised the Yin Xu site and Yin-Shang Culture to the outside world, and assisted in constructing the regional culture of Xiaotun Village. Furthermore, the sense of pride and belonging of the Yin Xu site could have been promoted. However, the Xiaotun Troupe could not continue because of many practical difficulties, which will be discussed in the next section.

8.3. Establishment and Failure of Xiaotun Troupe

The participation of Xiaotun villagers in the conservation and utilization of the Yin Xu site was quite low. The rare participation of the Xiaotun Troupe only lasted less than two years and then it broke up. Its process from beginning to end as well as the causes of its dissolution reflects the larger difficulties of resident participation at this archaeological conservation site. Since the records of Xiaotun Troupe were few, most of the detailed information presented below was based on interviews with the related persons.

8.3.1. Process of Xiaotun Troupe

Xiaotun Troupe was the first project of Capital of Shang Media Company⁴³. It was prepared in 2006 and formally established at the end of spring to summer in 2007. Although its performance was widely-admired by scholars and tourists, this troupe

⁴³ The Capital of Shang Media Company planned to conduct four projects step by step. The first project was the performance team. The Xiaotun Troupe was established. The second project was the restaurant. The special menu for Yin-Shang Culture was created and registered as intellectual property. The third project was the guest house, which was based on the characteristics of the Xiaotun Village. The fourth project was a tourism company, which could drive the development of Yin-Shang Culture and Anyang City. These four projects were a complete cultural-industrial chain. However, the first project faced enormous difficulties, and all others were abandoned as a result.

suffered various obstructions and could not continue. Finally, the troupe disbanded in the autumn of 2008 after careful consideration by its members (Former Member H).

The establishment of Xiaotun Troupe was encouraged by the Yindu District Culture and Tourism Bureau (殷都区文化旅游局), assisted by Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute, and organized by Xiaotun and Huayuanzhuang villagers. As unemployment rates increased following the closing down of the factories, livestock farms, and individual workshops after World Heritage Nomination, the Yindu District Government planned to improve this situation through various policies (幫扶政策). The Yindu District Culture and Tourism Bureau was mainly in charge of the regional development of the two villages: Xiaotun and Huayuanzhuang. The administrators of the Yindu District came to Xiaotun Village many times to call upon “Planting Culture (種文化)” and “Planting Tourism (種旅游)”. Then, Zhiwei LIU (劉志偉) in the Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute, who was quite interested in local culture, offered professional assistance on music, dance, clothing, etc. Finally, some locals responded the calls from the government (Zhiwei LIU). As former member H explained, “Local residents trusted the appeals from the government at that time.” They believed that the development of cultural industry could bring wealth. Thus, the Xiaotun Troupe was established.

The Capital of Shang Media Company was a self-financing company created by villagers. It adopted a shareholding operation mode. Eleven shareholders contributed the capital from 5000 yuan (one Share) to 20000 yuan (four Shares). The initial capital was 120 thousand yuan and increased to 200 thousand yuan, which was mainly used for purchasing audio equipment, clothes, tools, and other props. The first project of this company was the Xiaotun Troupe with 20-40 members. With the exception of a main actor and main actress who were hired, all the other performers were villagers from Xiaotun and Huayuanzhuang. They were mainly 15-50 years old with basic educational backgrounds. They used to be farmers, part-time workers, or even formal workers. For the development

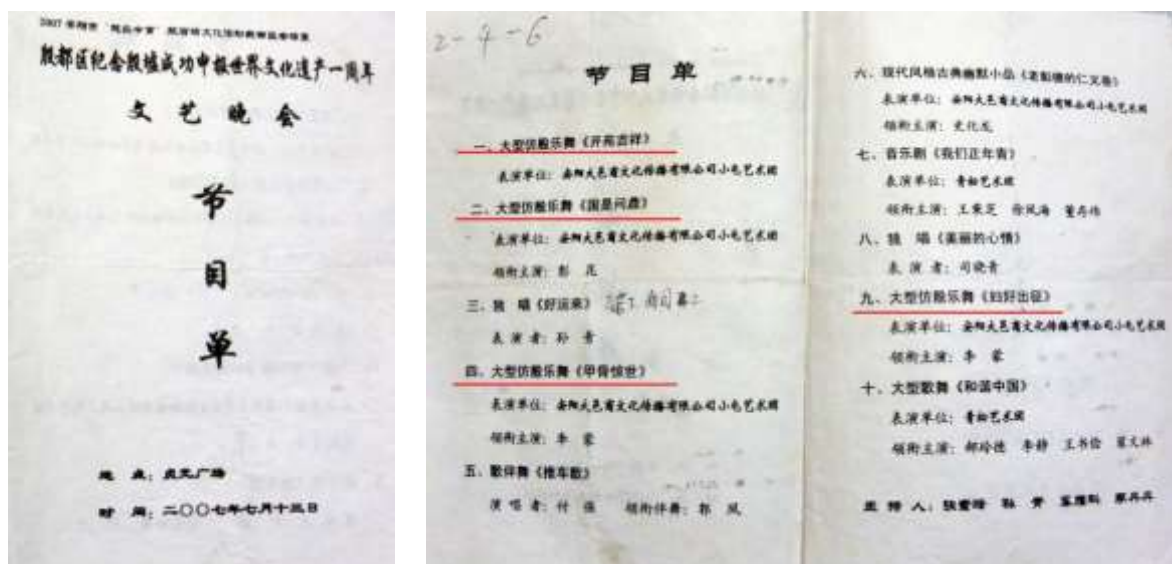
of the regional cultural industry, they quit their jobs (Former Member H).

The operation mechanism of the Xiaotun Troupe was commercial, which therefore should rely on the income of their performances. Its operation staged many performances in other archaeological parks, such as Millennium City Park (清明上河園) in Kaifeng City (開封). However, the biggest difference was that the performance at Millennium City Park was directly operated by a big company of Hainan Land Group Co., LTD (海南置地集團公司) and the Kaifeng City Government, while the Xiaotun Troupe was operated by locals with various supports from the Anyang City Government. The continuous funding and tight relationship with the government, especially site management and the village committee, decided whether the troupe could succeed or not (Zhiwei LIU).

The Xiaotun Troupe's act was Performance of Shang, which was choreographed by the Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute for everything from content, music, and dance to clothes, tools, and props. Performance content was based on the legend of Yin-Shang, which had several chapters (「開門大吉」, 「國是門鼎」, 「甲骨驚世」, 「傳說拜相」, 「婦好出征」). The style was the traditional type of “poem, music, and dance (詩, 樂, 舞),” and the music was arranged by a famous musician who also arranged other historical songs. All of the clothes, tools, and other props were made by the Research Institute of Yin-Shang Bronze Technique in Anyang (安陽市殷商青銅工藝研究所) and were based on research and their own design. Through two months of continuous practice in members' houses or at Huayuanzhuang Theatre (花園庄劇場), the outside performance was finished. Archaeologist, Jigen Tang at Anyang Workstation gathered national and international scholars to watch the first performance, which achieved high evaluation for its content and impact in promoting the Yin Xu site. Thereafter, the performance was conducted more than 200 times in Fu Hao Tomb Square (婦好墓廣場), Worker's Cultural Palace Square (工人文化宮廣場), and Zhenyuan Square (貞元廣場) in Anyang. Most performances were free,

or charged only a basic transportation fee (Fig. 8.4) (Zhiwei LIU)⁴⁴.

The Performance of Shang was designed for Yin Xu Site Park, no matter the content or the style. Therefore, from the beginning Xiaotun Troupe was trying to collaborate with Yin Xu Site Management. They wanted to get part of the income from the extra entrance fee after the performance was continuously enacted in the site park (Former Member H and Zhiwei LIU). However, site management rejected the suggestion since the entrance cost was just enough for the basic management and operation fees, and no more money could be used to pay for the Xiaotun Troupe (Site Manager S). After a lengthy period of discussion without resolution, the Xiaotun Troupe tried to find other places for fixed performances. However, the practical situation in Anyang was that the support from government was limited and the entire cultural atmosphere in Anyang was thin. With substantial pressure from both outside and inside, the Xiaotun Troupe disbanded.



**Figure 8.4 Performance of the Xiaotun Troupe on the First Anniversary of the Yin Xu Site Registered as World Heritage
(Source: Photos by the author)**

⁴⁴ Articles on the blog of Zhiwei LIU: the Yin-Shang Dream of Xiaotun Farmers' Troupe (殷墟小屯農民藝術團的殷商夢), http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4e86409c01019hbg.html. Accessed August 19, 2017; the International Influence of the Xiaotun Troupe (農民秀殷商傾倒海內外游客 小屯藝術團唱響國際), http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4e86409c01000ar5.html. Accessed August 19, 2017.

After the dissolution of the Xiaotun Troupe, the previous members found new jobs in the downtown area of Anyang City or at other locations further away. The history of the Xiaotun Troupe could be summarized by the words of the Chairman of Capital of Shang Media Company: “We trusted the government to start cultural industry at hometown, while nobody predicted the difficulties and complication. Ten years pass by, and I already found a job in another area. But I still have hope for the conducting of cultural industry at the Yin Xu site. I hope my descendants can accomplish the goal.”

8.3.2. Causes of the Xiaotun Troupe’s Dissolution

Through the investigation and primary analysis of the process of the Xiaotun Troupe, it was discovered that two groups—locals and assistants as well as site managers and village cadres—place blame and responsibility on each other for the Troupe’s dissolution. On the one hand, the site managers and village cadres emphasized the causes of funding and operation for the dissolution of Xiaotun Troupe. The funds for the Xiaotun Troupe were only gathering from locals, which were small and non-continuous. Although the Municipal and District Governments supported the development of the Xiaotun Troupe in principle, in reality they did not provide any financial assistance. Meanwhile, site management also did not offer any funds for utilization of activities (Site Manager S). The operation of the Xiaotun Troupe was a commercial operation that relied on the business environment. Rejected by the Site Park, no other places in Anyang City were available for the Troupe’s performance (Yongxian HE). On the other hand, locals and assistants emphasized the management system as the cause. They suggest that the primary cause was the dispute with the village committee. With the absence of village cadres in the Xiaotun Troupe, it could not gain real support from village committee; even permissions and approvals had been announced by Municipal and District Governments. The direct cause was the dispute with site management. The establishment of the Xiaotun Troupe was promoted by the Yindu

District Culture and Tourism Bureau. However, the government could not offer any practical support for the Xiaotun Troupe because the other troupes in the Yindu District and Anyang City might compete with this new troupe. Therefore, site management, which was a subordinate organization of the Cultural Relics Bureau and had a close relationship with village committee, could not support the Xiaotun Troupe at all. The relationship between different groups was severely restricted because each party was only interested in serving its own needs and benefits (Former Member H and Zhiwei LIU).

Because the positions and starting points for these two groups concerning the Xiaotun Troupe's dissolution were different, they completely disagreed on its causes. However, in reality, the failure of the Xiaotun Troupe was due to a range of factors. These can be summarized in the following three points.

(1) Operation Issues: The operation of the Xiaotun Troupe was borrowed from Millennium City Park. However, the investment and collaboration of these two performances were totally different. The former was local capital investment, while the latter was large enterprise capital investment. Therefore, the former needed significant effort to collaborate with site management, while the latter was a branch department of park and government. The tourism environment in the former city was vapid, while the latter was prosperous. Due to these points, the performance of the Xiaotun Troupe could not continue even though the act itself was excellent.

(2) Collaboration Issues: Although administrative support from the government was necessary, practical support, such as budget or performance approval were important as well. Moreover, support from the village committee and site management was quite critical. Without basic support, the local company or organizations could progress no further. Therefore, the stable and efficient collaborative input from each stakeholder was necessary.

(3) Ideological issues: Besides the guidance and support of government, as well as the

understanding and participation of locals, the social environment for culture was essential for stimulation of the cultural industry (Zhiwei LIU). The implementation of the cultural industry should be based on the recognition or requirements of culture. The failure of the Xiaotun Troupe revealed a lack of such a social environment in Anyang City. Therefore, the renaissance of the Xiaotun Troupe was not easy.

In summary, the failure of the Xiaotun Troupe was caused for three main reasons. First, the requirements of the group overrated than its ability. Second, the implementation of policies faced some difficulties in basic management and organization. Third, a lack of understanding the cultural values of the Yin Xu site was common. The utilization of the archaeological site by local company/organization had not found a clear position in current society.

In summary of section 8.3, the understanding of archaeological site conservation should be reasonable and clear to all stakeholders. Fundamentally, the conservation of archaeological site can bring cultural, educational, and environmental values. However, the cultural and educational values were not achieved at the Yin Xu site, which needs further efforts and practices. Local residents were indeed affected by economic aspects in the conservation process of the Yin Xu site, but this issue could not be solved by only relying on the conservation project. However, conservation projects should minimize the impacts on residents from the initial preparation stage onwards. Economic and cultural benefits encouraged Xiaotun villagers to organize a company to participate in the utilization of the Yin Xu site. However, in the beginning their attempts faced significant difficulties from several aspects. The failure of the Xiaotun Troupe revealed a lack of reasonable goals, local governmental support, and social environment for the development of the cultural industry.

8.4. Project Proposals

The difficulties in Xiaotun villagers' daily lives and the failure of the Xiaotun Troupe reflect the general issues in Chinese archaeological site conservation. Specific suggestions for Yin Xu site and Xiaotun Village in following based on Chapter 7 could be referred to reduce the negative impact on local residents, stimulate their participation, and enhance their awareness for site conservation in theory. Administrators, managers, archaeologists, and locals could indeed gain some ideas from these suggestions. However, to be acknowledged, the implementations of these suggestions still face some practical difficulties in the background of Anyang City. These challenges and potential solutions are described below.

(1) How to solve the issue during relocation and land acquisition?

In the questionnaire survey by Li WANG in Section 3.2, 60% residents would choose relocation if they had a choice. However, residents have little power to decide whether to relocate or not in reality. In addition, during several relocation projects at Yin Xu site, the results usually did not satisfy residents due to the tortuous process of relocation and the unavailability of benefits.

Relocating the residents in the site area could protect archaeological heritage from destruction but cannot be considered as the best solution for the residents in the site area. The Nara Palace site has been kept for Japan and the world, while the impacts on locals are obvious. For instance, the proportion of the population in surrounding villages is decreasing, and cultural and economic development are limited. In China, villagers pay the price for the site conservation as well. Huayuanzhuang Village at Yin Xu site had entirely disappeared from the original place, and part of Xiaotun Village was also relocated. However, the remaining part of Xiaotun Village should not and could not disappear at all. The best solution for site conservation is not to relocate the entire village, but rather to actively address and resolve existing issues in the current situation with locals under the

principle of minimizing the impact on them. If relocation were inevitable, it should not be only concerned with executors' performance and achievements while overlooking the opinions and emotions of affected people on its speed, scope, price, and process. Even though some locals have already been relocated, the continuous connections with them should be kept in various ways. The detailed discussion of the relocation process and the close connection between site and residents found in Chapter 4 could serve as a model for how to achieve successful relocation and land acquisition.

During field research in Xiaotun Village in March, 2017, the administrators in Anyang City expressed that it is still hard to make decisions related to in site conservation from the perspective of locals. The serious judgement of whether to relocate or not, the complete process of relocation, as well as the full consideration of the affected peoples' opinions, are still not easy to achieve.

(2) How to solve the issues in daily lives?

Similar issues of house reconstruction, road reconstruction, and other daily issues occurred both in Japan and China. These issues in China are generally ignored or solved ineffectively, while in Japan, they have been solved with negotiation between the managers and locals that balance the site conservation with locals' benefits.

The specific solutions for each issue might different, but the key point for all is establishing a platform for the communication between managers and locals to solve those issues. Two groups should take the primary responsibilities. First is the village committee. The members of the village committee play a fundamental role in solving the issues related to locals in site conservation. They should have a keen sense of responsibility regarding their position. They should not only promote the compliance of the conservation project with governments' instructions, but also represent the general opinions of locals to achieve their requirements. One main reason for the failure of the Xiaotun Troupe is the failure of

the village committee. Second is the media. Local media, such as *Anyang Ribao* (安陽日報), should actively speak for locals and supervise authorities, as *Naranichinichi Shimbun* did. Meanwhile, with the development and popularity of new media, the general public could take an active role in communication through microblogging and WeChat.

During field research in March, 2017, the role and concept of the village committee as a performer for the central government rather than the representative of local residents appeared quite hard to change. However, the media has much more freedom to express original opinions related to locals. For example, some reports from Zhiwei LIU had attacked the core issues. In the future, more similar reports which could reflect local residents' opinions are needed.

(3) How to enhance the relationship between Xiaotun villagers and Yin Xu site?

Survival issues in (1) and (2) impede strong linkages between Xiaotun villagers and the Yin Xu site. However, enhancing their relationship might be helpful to solve survival issues.

Two approaches can be considered to enhance the relationship of the Yin Xu site with Xiaotun villagers on cultural aspects. The first method is conducting activities. For instance, organizing an exhibition of Xiaotun Village's history could strengthen the advertisement of local history and promoting the ritual and festival held at the Temple of Horse King near the entrance of the Yin Xu Site Park could enrich the meaning of Yin Xu site. The second approach is to encourage locals to participate in Yin Xu site. There is only one volunteer guide group at the Yin Xu site that conducts guide service during holidays and weekend days, and it does not include Xiaotun villagers. This situation might be related to their marginal living conditions and educational status. However, the participation of villagers should be intensively promoted in the developed city. The sustainable and intensive conservation of the archaeological site should be based on the close and stable relationship with local residents. For more detailed information on how

this can be accomplished, please refer to discussion of the Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites in Chapter 5.

During the field research in March, 2017, it was discovered that Xiaotun people generally believed that the civil organizations like Japan could not possibly exist in Anyang and they were not interested in participating with these organizations. For example, a previous member of the Xiaotun Troupe stated: “I am busy with my work everyday.” Zhiwei LIU said: “We want to develop cultural industry, which should bring economic benefits.” Archaeologist T responded: “Villagers do not care about anything except the construction of houses.” These opinions show that these goals are still difficult to achieve.

(4) How to conduct educational and experimental activities at Yin Xu site that are regular and extensive?

In the questionnaire survey described in Section 3.2, more than half of the respondents knew some information about the site protective project and supported the world heritage declaration without having specific knowledge of the Yin Xu site. This shows the outcome of insufficient educational activities and the lack of experimental activities. Without an understanding of site, it is difficult to achieve cultural, social, and regional development.

Abundant activities could improve local residents’ understanding of archaeological site and reduce their intellectual and emotional distance. Several approaches could be utilized at Yin Xu site that are based on the successes of the Japanese experience. First, the site administration should closely collaborate with local schools, such as Xiaotun Elementary School, to conduct regular historical and archaeological classes. The key point is that all the components, such as staff, schedule, budget, content, form, and results should be stipulated in regulations. Second, in consideration of the development of the city and the requirements of the citizens, the management and research departments should conduct lifelong education. Although the current basic conditions in Anyang City might be insufficient, it could implement such practices in near future. Third, social organizations

could be active mechanisms for improving the influence of the Yin Xu site, through education about Yin-Shang culture, oracle bone inscriptions, bronze ware, calligraphy, the ancient capital, and World Heritage. The form could be small-scale study meetings, large-scale lectures, or some other activities for group membership. The detailed information from Chapter 5 regarding the Sannai-maruyama Assistance Brigade could be referred to as an example. With the continuous provision of educational and experimental activities, local residents' understanding of the Yin Xu site could be deepened, local organizations could be established, and the diversification participation of locals could be achieved.

During the field research in March, 2017, it was observed that Xiaotun Villagers and even site managers have not noticed the importance of educational and experimental activities. They generally believed that these activities could not possibly exist at the Yin Xu Site Park, and they were not interested in implementing any such activities. Xiaotun Villager A mentioned: "I never think about this question. But I could not participate even if the activities existed." The staff at Xiaotun Village Committee said: "Nobody would like to go to the Yin Xu Site Park." Managers at the Yin Xu Site Administration responded: "The top priority is site conservation, which is already hard to achieve. Thus, other works could not be conducted with limited budget and staff." Moreover, without incentives such as salary increase or promotion, managers generally lacked motivation to promote these activities. These opinions show the same situation as described in item (3) above.

(5) How to bring economic benefits for Xiaotun villagers at Yin Xu site in a proper way?

In the questionnaire survey in Section 3.2, 40% of locals wanted to join in the utilization of the site, but they did not know how to participate. Although jobs or priority operations at archaeological sites could offer some opportunities and incomes for locals, the positions were quite limited and the incomes were not high. Therefore, they could only cover the

operation fee. The projects that had been conducted at the Yin Xu site, such as the Xiaotun Folklore Village and Huayuanzhuang Antique Market, were generally for businessmen from outside, while locals stated that they rarely participated in these businesses. Most governmental administrators and company managers do not consider potential benefits to local residents in their regulations and project development.

Fortunately, some scholars are strongly motivated and encourage these activities. For example, Professor T from the Anyang Workstation of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute stated that archaeological site conservation should not occupy a site area without doing anything; instead, it should develop some aesthetic activities with economic value. Archaeological site conservation especially should assign practical work to local residents. Therefore, using non-governmental capital in site conservation and utilization might be the primary option in current Xiaotun Village, as demonstrated in the Japanese cases. Through collaboration with local companies, such as restaurants, design companies, and production workshop, the choice for local residents widens and their incomes could achieve a basic level. The detailed information on the collaboration with companies in the Sannai-maruyama site could refer in Chapter 5.

During the field research in March, 2017, some managers and archaeologists expressed high interest in various utilization of the site. However, their actions were still negative since few new activities have been conducted at the Yin Xu site over the last 11 years.

(6) How to strengthen the consciousness of the conservation and utilization of cultural heritage?

In China, it is a common occurrence for locals to view cultural heritage as a tool for economic income, and for managers to lack administrative action or incentive. In Japan, although authorities and locals do consider the economic benefits, the advertisement of cultural value and the construction of regional culture are simultaneously considered. It is especially true that in Japan administrators and managers have clear responsibilities for

organizing, assisting, or promoting activities.

Strengthening the administrators' (especially at village level), managers' and locals' consciousness of cultural value for site conservation and utilization is based on the implementation of protective laws (*Law for the Protection of Cultural Property*), conducting a national protective program (Fudoki-no-oka), and educational activities (such as live presentations, open lectures, etc) for more than 60 years in Japan. While all these conditions are improving in China, it still takes time to achieve them.

In summary, Section 8.4 offered six proposals for improving the situation of local residents in archaeological site conservation. Some proposals focused on the consciousness of stakeholders, while the others emphasized on the standardization and innovation of management system. And some suggestions could be implemented soon, while the others should take a long time to accomplish.

In summary of Chapter 8, the conflicts related to Xiaotun villagers concerning the Yin Xu site conservation were serious and representative, which involved various aspects, such as daily lives, participation, and recognition. In particular, it has analyzed the difficulties and limitations of Xiaotun villagers' participation in the conservation and utilization of the Yin Xu site through the case of Xiaotun Troupe. Six challenges were presented that mainly focused on the attitudes and consciousness of all stakeholders in understanding others' requirements and aiming to reach harmonious and productive coexistence in Yin Xu site conservation. These elements could improve the involvement of Xiaotun villagers at Yin Xu site in theory, while certain practical difficulties inhibit their implementation. They reflect the current social background in the following four aspects. (1) Low individual income limits multiple participations. As was explained: "When people are adequately fed and clothed, they naturally know about etiquette and honors or disgrace (倉廩實而知礼

節，衣食足而知榮辱”。 However, Xiaotun villagers are still not financially secure. Some are unemployed and some have to work late outside the village. Thus, conducting and participating in activities at the Yin Xu site is still quite difficult. (2) Insufficient knowledge and low motivation for learning imprison development possibilities. The superficial understanding of local culture, the feelings of distance from the ancient site and low recognition of local and national culture make the local residents and some managers consider cultural heritage as a tool for economic income rather than a vehicle of culture and history. Furthermore, the simple and rough utilization of archaeological site in an economic way limits stakeholders' desires to learn more and deepen understanding of cultural heritage. (3) The managers' consciousness and actions to benefit locals are insufficient which is hard to correct in a short time. Certain managers only maintain the conservation work on the site since the conservation project finished ten or more years ago, while overlooking needed updates and adjustments. Although some attempts to change this pattern were made with massive investments in the Yin Xu site after its nomination to the World Heritage List, including the Xiaotun Folklore Village and Huayuanzhuang Antique Market, these attempts were started from the perspective of government, not local residents. Therefore, whether these projects were a success or a failure, there was no connection with locals. In reality, the results of these projects are unsatisfactory. (4) Anyang City lacks the social environment for the development of a cultural industry. The utilization of cultural heritage is one part of the municipal development. Since Anyang City lacks the vitality for developing education, tourism, and even the economy, the situation of site conservation could not be sustainable. Along with the improvement of aforementioned conditions gradually, the situation of local residents in archaeological site conservation and utilization could get better in China.

Chapter 9. Conclusions

The study of the involvement of local residents in the conservation and utilization of archaeological sites is both extremely urgent and enormously complex. It not only requires knowledge of archaeology and sociology, but also extensive information on politics, economics, museology, tourism, and psychology. The primary object of this research, local residents, comprise a group whose living environments, livelihoods, relationships, and cultural recognition fluctuate with social development. Therefore, their real situations and opinions should be cautiously judged. The national diversity of China and Japan and the language barriers in the field surveys are additional obstacles to overcome. To overcome these difficulties, the broad framework offered here aims to achieve the harmonious coexistence of archaeological site conservation and local residents' livelihoods, which could not only reduce the potential negative impacts on the daily lives of local people and offer opportunities for participation in cultural activities but also promote their recognition of the archaeological site and their enthusiasm in site conservation. Within the compass of this research, I summarize the most important points below.

(1) From the perspective of local residents, something that has lacked discussion in previous studies, this research tries to solve the issues concerning locals in site conservation through analyzing the effects of site conservation on local residents' livelihoods and morale, as well as their opinions and appeals regarding the conservation. This research takes considerable pains in investigating and collecting essential materials for further studies. Some insights could be gained during the data collection. Due to the lack of published documents related to locals in site conservation in China, the data were collected through interviews and a questionnaire, which could reflect the common and real situation of the locals. After analysis, the three issues of local residents' survival, diverse participation, and recognition in site conservation are summarized. For Japan, however,

published documents on local residents' life issues, requirements, and the solution of problems in site conservation in Japan are abundant. The data were collected through both a search of publications and conducting field surveys. Mass data have been reported, which includes newspapers, conservation reports, conservation organizations' journals, biographies, manuscripts, comics, and textbooks. Data collection is convenient in Japan, since the publications' contents reflect the local residents' situations, their publicity is high, and they are easy to access. The abundant, well sorted, and open data about locals in JASC could not only promote the conduct of conservation projects but also provide research materials.

(2) Reference is made to Japanese success stories to solve the issues in China over an extended period and through presentation of comprehensive content rather than selection of isolated pieces of experience. This research provides a panorama of Japanese models of local residents' involvement during site conservation. Each case gave a detailed account of the original background, the scope of application, the development process, the advantages and disadvantages, as well as the results and influences. For example, the solutions to the issues during the land acquisition at Nara Palace site are worth recalling; thus this research recorded the entire core period of the 1960s-70s. The participation of local residents in Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites has a certain differences, which are closely related to the reputation and location of the site, as well as local governmental decisions. The emergence of Fudoki-no-oka project is in the background of establishing each prefectural cultural center in Japan. Through comprehensive research, the feasibility of these international experiences could be thoroughly examined; thus, ensuring that the references were reliable, reasonable, and considerable. Three key insights are summarized here.

First, the solving of local residents' issues during site conservation requires all stakeholders to assume their own responsibilities and balance power between each other. Archaeological site conservation includes the widespread participation of local

residents, administrators, managers, archaeologists, the public, media professionals, businessmen, and other related persons. All stakeholders need to understand clearly the responsibilities of their own positions and give full play to their respective functions. Meanwhile, the damage, losses, and effects for other stakeholders, especially locals should be taken fully into consideration. Some compromises and concessions should be made when the requirements are reasonable. Administrators should take the leadership responsibility, make overall consideration of various opinions, and seek to develop a path for site conservation. Administrators should not force the conduct of conservation and utilization projects regardless of the archaeologists' advice and local residents' opinions. Particularly during relocation and land acquisition, administrators should adequately weigh locals' profound concerns. Managers, as the staff of the basic management agency for site conservation, should take the direct and pioneering responsibility for site maintenance and communication between administrators and locals. Managers should not be confined to conserving the current situation, but overlook active conservation and appropriate utilization due to the public requirements. Notably, managers should always find opportunities for the involvement of locals. Archaeologists should make some efforts towards site conservation, education, and advertisement. The regular administration of this work requires both specific regulations and sense of responsibility by archaeologists. Media should make real, equitable and timely reports about the issues related to locals in site conservation. Media should not only convey governmental policies but also express the voice of people. The participation of local companies in site conservation and utilization should be encouraged. However, the range and approaches to participation should be severely judged. All stakeholders should respect local residents' rights, benefits, and emotions in site conservation. Any damage to their interests or ignorance of their feelings is unacceptable, while on the other hand their excessive demands and destructive activities should not be allowed, either.

Communication and collaboration among stakeholders are vital in site conservation, even in regional cultural development. Therefore, the establishment of a platform for equal communication is quite necessary, especially one in which local residents are able to express their opinions freely and equally. Attending other groups' meetings at the Nara Palace site and publications in *Naranichinichi Shimbun* and *To-o Nippo* could provide models for enlightenment.

Second, the participation of local residents in site conservation and utilization requires all stakeholders to pursue their activities and collaborate with others. The achievement of successful site conservation must be based on regular activities and steadfast faith that withstands the test of time. In the past in Japan, the implementation and three major revisions of *Law for Protection of Cultural Property (1950)* around 70 years ago have made the two concepts of conservation and utilization take root in every managers' thoughts and behaviors. While the law not only offers the basic criteria for cultural resource conservation, it also protects the rights of local residents. Events like the revision of textbooks for incorporating archaeological discoveries, regular school trips to local archaeological sites and live presentations at archaeological sites have been conducted for around 70 years as well. The continuous, extensive, and in-depth advertisements prompt public understanding of site content and value, as well as the necessity for conservation and local development. The broad-based participation of social organizations in site conservation is closely related to economic development after the war. Because the public's basic living standards have been met, extra time is available for individual activities and achievement of high educational levels. Local conservation and academic research organizations have conducted various sustainable and regular activities for internal members or that are open to the general public regardless of the size of groups, the scale of operations, and the number of participants. Most organizations introduced in this dissertation have been established for more than 20 years, or even 50 years. Many

activities like volunteer guides, open lectures, study meetings, workshops, and festivals have not been interrupted since the establishment of the organizations.

The promotion of the participation of locals in site conservation is not only singular. It also involves the coordination of law, education, and advertisement for locals as well as consideration of their economic background, thoughts, and sense of responsibility. Continuous participation at Sannai-maruyama and Goshono sites with their varying reasons, elements, support, and difficulties was able to provide enlightenment to the sites lacking of locals' participation.

Third, site conservation needs the dedication of all sections of society and we should respect this dedication. People prize archaeological sites as containing the treasures of human history and culture. The sense of cherishing is not inherent and kept by everyone, and so it needs to be aroused and spread. Therefore, the achievement of site conservation has been difficult to obtain for many people that expend their dedication. Notably, the commitment of locals should be recognized and respected by administrators, managers, archaeologists, and the general public. For example, the agreement of locals regarding land acquisition and relocation in site conservation is not only for economic benefits but also involves a great deal of sacrifice of individual interests for national site maintenance. The participation of social organizations is not only to fulfill personal values and satisfy a personal interest, but also demands dedication of time, energy, and money. For example, some managers and scholars joined the ranks of the volunteers to make some efforts for the site. Participation of some local organizations and companies may not bring them high economic benefit, but they operate continuously out of a sense of public spiritedness. Such dedication found among all participants in site conservation should be encouraged, respected, and advertised. Moreover, local residents' involvement in site conservation should be more open and transparent.

(3) This research is a theoretical but practical study. It focuses on the pointed issues of

local residents in Chinese large-scale site conservation and then conducts in-depth field surveys for collecting the data of locals, due to a lack of information on the subject. After comprehensive analysis of the Japanese experience, it offers some proposals. Not only that, this research conducts practice at Yin Xu site and gets feedback which explores the feasibility of these proposals. Some suggestions, such as the normalization of educational activities, the design of site mascots and products, and commercial development could be implemented directly within a short time. There is still a lack of basic material and mental conditioning, such as respect for local residents' requirements and their emotions, participation by various local organizations, and the construction of local culture. Therefore, it is hard to accomplish the coexistence of local residents and archaeological site conservation in China. However, the principles of minimizing impact on locals and preserving the links between locals and sites, as well as strategies at effective communication, regular activities, seeking economic benefits, and strengthening consciousness should be followed consistently.

Research on local residents' involvement in archaeological site conservation is an interdisciplinary and practical field that encompasses a broad vision of cultural resource management. Its most important point is the humanitarian concern of the researcher to realize the local residents' living conditions, mental changes, and internal pursuits during the archaeological site conservation. This research still needs many improvements and enhancement. Meanwhile, administrators, managers, scholars, and planners for site conservation all need to develop humanitarian concern for local residents, so that the sustainable development of site conservation can be achieved.

Appendices

Appendix I: Field Research in Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation and Management

Questionnaire at the Yin Xu Site

Respondents: Local Residents in Yin Xu Site

Dear all the local residents in the Yin Xu site:

Nice to meet you! I am a graduate student from Kanazawa University in Japan, and I am doing the field research for my graduate thesis. Please fill out the following questionnaire so I can understand your opinions about Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation and Management, especially the connection with your daily livelihood.

This questionnaire is anonymous. Your answers will be used only for my research. All your personal information is strictly confidential. Your honest answers will be quite useful for my research. Thanks for your cooperation.

I. Knowledge about Yin Xu Site

1. Have you visited Yin Xu Site Park (now the World Heritage Park) before?
A. No, never B. Yes (_____Times)
2. Do you know the period that the main part of Yin Xu site dates from?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes (_____Period)
3. Do you know the main ruins at the Yin Xu site?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes, I know (Such as:_____)
4. Do you know some representative remains from the Yin Xu site?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes, I know (Such as:_____)

II. The Attitude of Yin Xu Site Conservation and Management

5. What do you think of the conservation situation of Yin Xu site?
A. Very bad B. A little bad C. I'm not sure D. A little good E. Very good
6. Have you heard about the destruction and illegal excavation of Yin Xu site?
A. Never B. Sometimes C. Often (Details:_____)
7. What do you think of the management situation of Yin Xu site?
A. Very bad B. A little bad C. I'm not sure D. A little good E. Very good
8. Have you ever mentioned problems to Yin Xu site managers?
A. No, I haven't B. Yes (Because of_____)
9. Have you heard about *Regulations on the Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang City, Henan Province?* (If you choose A or B, please skip next question)

- A. Never B. Only the title C. A little bit D. Some parts E. Very clear
10. Do you follow the rules of the regulation above? Such as: without permission, farming is prohibited around the foundation of the ancient building and nearby area.
- A. I never consider the rules B. Sometimes I follow the rules C. I'm not sure D. I have to follow, because of strict supervision E. I want to follow
11. Have you heard about *Yin Xu Site Conservation Master Plan*?
- A. Never B. Only the title C. A little bit D. Some parts E. Very clear
12. Do you want to participate in the formulation of the conservation plan?
- A. Not at all B. No, I don't want to C. None of my business D. Yes, but I don't know how to do that E. Yes, very much
13. Your land will be expropriated or you may need to relocate if the World Heritage Declaration or the establishment of National Archaeological Site Park starts, what's your opinion?
- A. Very reluctant B. A little reluctant C. I don't care D. A little expect E. Very expect
14. Are you a land expropriation or relocation local resident?
- A. Yes B. No (skip 15-16) C. Preparing (skip 16)
15. If you answered A to the previous question: when you moved, what was your main reason? Choose C: If you are planning to move, what is your main reason? (From the most to the least)
- A. A similar house as now B. One-time compensation C. Installment compensation
D. Right of priority to be hired in the site area E. Franchise rights in the site area F. Other
(_____)
16. Are you satisfied with the conditions for relocation or land expropriation now?
- A. Not satisfied B. A little dissatisfied C. I'm not sure D. A little satisfied
E. Very satisfied
17. What are the reasons for your answer of question 16?
(_____)
18. What is the biggest difficulty in living in the archaeological site area? (From the most to the least)
- A. Building or reconstructing houses B. Income lower than around C. Shrinking farmland
D. Low employment opportunity E. Inconvenient transportation F. Others (_____)
19. Do you have some suggestions to solve the problems above?
(_____)
20. Are you proud of the long history of your hometown and the archaeological sites in your hometown?
- A. Very disappointed B. A little disappointed C. None of my business D. A little proud
E. Very proud

III. The Attitude of the utilization of Yin Xu Site

21. Have the Cultural Relics Department or Archaeological Research Institute explained the regulation, plan, or the situation of Yin Xu site to you?

A. Never B. Only a little C. I don't remember D. Some parts E. Very much
22. Many people believe that the protection of cultural relics is blocking the economic development and urban construction. Do you agree?

A. No, I don't agree B. disagree a little C. None of my business D. Yes, agree a little
E. Yes, quite agree

23. Whether the protection of Yin Xu site bring some benefits to you or not?

A. No benefit, and a lot of inconvenience B. No benefit, and a little inconvenience C. I don't know
D. A little benefit E. A lot of benefit

24. What are the benefits?

(_____)

25. Do you think Yin Xu site should apply for the World Heritage and establish a National Archaeological Site Park?

A. No, it quite should not B. No, it shouldn't C. I don't care D. Yes, it should, but none of my business
E. Yes, it should, and I want to join

26. What are the reasons of question 25?

(_____)

Opposite reasons, such as: A. Occupy my farmland B. Do not want to relocate C. Others

Supportable reasons, such as: A. Get funds B. Move to better area C. For the site conservation
D. Have a park to relaxation rest E. Others

27. Would you want to join the utilization of the Yin Xu site?

A. Not at all B. No, I don't want to C. None of my business D. Yes, I want to, but I don't know how to do that
E. Yes, I want very much to participate

28. Xiaotun art troupe, which is organized by Xiaotun villagers used to be popular at Yin Xu site. But now, they are on the verge of bankruptcy, what are the reasons?

(_____)

29. Do you have any comments and suggestions for the protection and management of Yin Xu site?

(_____)

IV. Personal information

Gender: A. Male B. Female

Age: A. Under 20 B. 21-40 C. 41-60 D. Above 61

Educational level: A. Illiteracy B. Junior high school C. Senior high school or technical secondary school
D. University or college

Job: A. Government staff B. Company employee C. Worker D. Farmer E. Temporary worker
F. Laid-off worker G. Student H. Unemployed

Family members: total _____ persons, _____ generations.

Income per person per year: A. Under 2500 RMB B. 2500-5000RMB C. 5000-10000 RMB
D. Above 10000 RMB

Questionnaire's Results at the Yin Xu Site

Respondents: Local Residents in Yin Xu Site

Question Villages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	18	20	21	22	23	25	27	Gen	Age	Edu	Job	Fam	Inc
HYZH1	B	A	B	B	D	B	C	A	C	C	B	D	E	A	D	D	C	C	B	A	B	E	D	F	B	C	E	8III	A
HYZH2	B	A	B	B	D	A	C	A	A	A	A	E	A	A	D	F	E	A	/	B	E	C	F	C	B	D	5III	/	
HYZH3	A	A	B	A	B	C	B	A	B	A	B	B	A	A	A	B	D	C	C	B	D	C	B	F	B	C	E	11III	D
HYZH4	B	A	B	B	B	A	C	B	A	A	A	A	E	A	A	A	F	A	A	E	A	/	/	M	C	B	E	6III	C
XT1	B	A	A	A	A	C	B	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	C	A	BDE	C	A	A	A	E	B	M	B	C	H	4II	A
XT2	B	B	B	B	B	B	D	A	A	B	A	C	B	A	C	B	DF	D	B	E	B	D	D	F	C	C	H	3II	B
XT3	B	A	B	B	D	C	D	B	A	D	B	D	C	A	A	B	ACD	E	A	D	A	D	/	M	B	C	H	6III	A
XT4	B	B	B	B	D	B	B	A	/	C	C	D	B	A	D	B	CDA	D	B	B	A	E	E	M	C	C	E	3II	A
XT5	B	B	B	B	D	C	D	A	/	D	A	B	A	A	/	/	ADB	B	A	A	A	C	E	F	B	D	E	/	D
XT6	B	B	B	B	A	A	A	A	A	D	A	B	A	A	ACDEF	C	ABCD	A	A	A	A	C	C	M	B	D	E	/	D
XT7	B	B	B	B	D	B	D	A	A	/	B	D	C	A	AC	A	BCD	D	C	B	B	D	C	F	B	D	E	6III	/
XT8	/	/	/	/	A	B	A	A	/	/	/	E	E	C	/	/	AC	E	A	A	C	E	C	M	B	B	E	15III	A
XT9	B	B	A	B	B	A	D	A	B	B	C	B	C	C	/	/	DE	D	B	D	D	E	E	M	C	B	C	3II	/
XT10	B	B	B	/	C	A	C	B	/	/	/	/	/	C	/	/	DEB	C	/	C	/	E	D	F	C	B	H	4III	/
XT11	A	A	B	A	/	A	/	/	A	C	A	B	C	C	A	/	BD	D	A	E	A	A	D	M	B	B	D	7III	A
XT12	B	A	A	B	C	A	B	A	A	B	A	B	A	C	ACDE	/	/	C	C	C	E	E	B	F	B	C	H	5III	B
XT13	B	B	B	B	C	C	D	A	B	C	C	D	C	C	A	/	D	E	A	E	A	E	D	M	C	B	D	7III	A
XT14	A	A	A	A	B	A	C	A	A	A	A	A	C	C	/	/	AB	B	A	D	A	B	D	F	C	B	H	4III	/
XT15	B	A	B	B	D	A	E	A	A	A	A	D	A	C	/	/	BCD	D	C	D	A	B	D	F	C	B	E	4II	/
XT16	B	B	B	B	C	A	C	A	A	B	B	C	C	C	ABD	/	DBC	C	A	B	A	E	D	F	C	C	E	7IV	A
XSK1	B	B	B	B	A	A	A	A	B	/	A	B	D	B	/	/	BDE	B	A	E	A	E	E	M	C	C	D	3II	B
XSK2	B	A	B	B	C	B	D	A	B	C	A	C	C	B	/	/	DE	B	B	C	A	D	B	M	B	C	D	4II	A
XSK3	B	B	B	B	D	A	D	B	B	C	B	D	C	B	/	/	F	E	C	B	A	E	D	M	C	B	D	/	B
XSK4	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	A	B	A	D	C	B	/	/	ABD	D	A	C	C	D	M	B	B	D	6III	B	
XSK5	B	A	/	B	C	A	C	A	A	D	A	D	B	B	/	/	DE	B	B	C	A	/	B	F	C	C	D	6III	A
XSK6	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	B	B	D	E	B	/	/	AB	A	C	B	A	C	C	M	C	C	D	7IV	A
XSK7	A	B	B	B	D	C	D	B	B	B	B	B	E	B	/	/	C	C	A	C	B	C	B	M	C	/	F	7III	A
XSK8	B	B	B	B	C	B	C	A	A	A	A	B	B	B	/	/	A	A	A	E	A	E	B	M	D	A	D	6III	/
XSK9	A	B	B	B	/	C	/	B	B	B	B	C	B	B	/	/	B	C	C	C	C	C	M	B	/	/	6III	A	
XSK10	B	B	B	B	C	A	C	A	A	A	A	C	E	B	/	/	A	B	A	E	A	C	D	M	D	B	H	8IV	A
XSK11	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	B	D	B	D	A	B	/	/	B	E	B	E	A	E	E	M	C	B	D	5II	/
XSK12	A	A	A	A	C	C	C	A	A	C	A	D	A	B	/	/	B	E	A	C	C	E	D	F	C	B	D	5III	B
XSK13	A	A	A	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	D	E	B	B	/	/	A	A	/	E	A	E	D	F	C	C	C	4II	A
XSK14	B	B	B	B	C	B	B	A	A	D	B	D	B	B	/	/	D	D	C	A	C	D	E	M	B	C	D	5II	B
Total	9A	16A	8A	8A	5A	16A	4A	28A	19A	7A	18A	4A	7A	11A			11A	5A	17A	6A	20A	1A	0A	14F	0A	1A	0A		15A
	24B	17B	24B	24B	7B	10B	7B	5B	10B	9B	11B	10B	5B	14B			15B	6B	7B	6B	5B	2B	7B	20M	14B	14B	0B		7B
					11C	8C	11C		1C	8C	3C	4C	11C	9C			9C	8C	8C	8C	5C	7C	6C		18C	14C	2C		1C
					9D	0D	9D		0D	6D	0D	14D	2D				19D	8D	0D	4D	2D	6D	13D	2D	3D	13D			3D
					0E	0E	1E		0E	0E	0E	1E	8E				6E	7E	0E	9E	1E	16E	6E		2/	10E			
	1/	1/	2/	2/	2/		2/	1/	4/	4/	2/	1/	1/				4F				2/	1/	1/	1/	2/				7H
																											1/		8/

Remarks

I. HYZH=Huayuanzhuang village, XT=Xiaotun village, XSK=Xiaosikong village

II. The answers to Question 17: the relocation was promised to complete in two years, but five years passed by, the local residents have not move to the new houses; the regulations of relocation for male and female are different, which is unfair; Yin Xu Site Administration did not provide a job for me; compensation for relocation is less and not enough for my daily life currently; I did not get any benefits.

III. The answers to Question 19: provide jobs for us; establish souvenir market for us to operate; relocated all of us to a better area; give us more compensation.

IV. The answers to Question 24: no benefit, the factory had to be closed or relocated, and reconstruction of houses is forbidden; some benefits, the environment become better.

V. The answers to Question 26:

Opposite reasons: A.4 B.2 C.1 (no jobs, no income)

Supportable reasons: A.3 B.9 C.4 D.1 E.9 (Applying for the World Heritage and establishing National Archaeological Site Park could make contributions to tourism and bring benefits; those activities may offer jobs for us; Yin Xu can get a better reputation from those activities; those activities are the national policies, so we have to support it.

VI. The answers to Question 28: no funds and supports from the government and organization; without reputation.

VII. The answers to Question 29: get more supports from the government; establish souvenir market for the villagers to operate; provide jobs for the villagers; relocate the villagers to better area; give the villagers more compensation; protect the basic living of old people (over 60 years old).

Questionnaire at the Han Yangling Site

Respondents: Local Residents in Han Yangling Site

Dear all the local residents in the Han Yangling site:

Nice to meet you! I am a graduate student from Kanazawa University in Japan, and I am doing the field research for my graduate thesis. Please fill out the following questionnaire so I can understand your opinions about Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation and Management, especially the connection with your daily livelihood.

This questionnaire is anonymous. Your answers will be used only for my research. All your personal information is strictly confidential. Your honest answers will be quite useful for my research. Thanks for your cooperation.

I. Knowledge about Han Yangling Site

1. Have you visited Han Yangling Museum before?
A. No, never B. Yes (Times)
2. Do you know the occupant of Han Yangling?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes (_____ Period)
3. Do you know the main ruins at the Han Yangling site?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes, I know (Such as: _____)
4. Do you know some representative remains from the Han Yangling site?
A. No, I don't know B. Yes, I know (Such as: _____)

II. The Attitude of Han Yangling Site Conservation and Management

5. What do you think of the conservation situation of Han Yangling site?
A. Very bad B. A little bad C. I'm not sure D. A little good E. Very good
6. What do you think of the management situation of Han Yangling site?
A. Very bad B. A little bad C. I'm not sure D. A little good E. Very good
7. Have you heard about *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*? (If you choose A or B, please skip next question)
A. Never B. Only the title C. A little bit D. Some parts E. Very clear
8. Do you follow the rules of the Law above? Such as: without permission, construction is prohibited in the construction control area.
A. I never consider the rules B. Sometimes I follow the rules C. I'm not sure
D. I have to follow, because of strict supervision E. I want to follow
9. Have you heard about *Han Yangling Site Conservation Master Plan*?
A. Never B. Only the title C. A little bit D. Some parts E. Very clear
10. Do you want to participate in the formulation of the conservation plan?
A. Not at all B. No, I don't want to C. None of my business D. Yes, but I

don't know how to do that E. Yes, very much

11. Are you a land expropriation or relocation local resident?

A. Yes B. No (skip 12-15)

12. What was your attitude to land expropriation or relocation?

A. Very reluctant B. A little reluctant C. I don't care D. A little expect E. Very expect

13. When you moved, what was your main reason? (From the most to the least)

A. A similar house as now B. One-time compensation C. Installment compensation D. Right of priority to be hired in the site area E. Franchise rights in the site area F. Other
(_____)

14. Are you satisfied with the conditions for relocation or land expropriation now?

A. Very dissatisfied B. A little dissatisfied C. I'm not sure D. A little satisfied
E. Very satisfied

15. What are the reasons for your answer of question 15?

(_____)

16. What is the biggest difficulty living in the archaeological site area? (From the most to the least)

A. Building or reconstructing houses B. Income lower than around C. Shrinking farmland
D. Low employment opportunity E. Inconvenient transportation F. Others (_____)

17. Are you proud of the long history of your hometown and the archaeological sites in your hometown?

A. Very disappointed B. A little disappointed C. None of my business D. A little proud E. Very proud

18. Have the Cultural Relics Department or Archaeological Research Institute explained the regulation, plan, or the situation of Han Yangling site to you?

A. Never B. Only a little C. I don't remember D. Some parts E. Very much

19. Many people believe that the protection of cultural relics is blocking the economic development and urban construction. Do you agree?

A. No, I don't agree B. disagree a little C. None of my business D. Yes, agree a little
E. Yes, quite agree

20. Whether the protection of Han Yangling site bring some benefits to you or not?

A. No benefit, and a lot of inconvenience B. No benefit, and a little inconvenience C. I don't know D. A little benefit E. A lot of benefit

21. What are the benefits?

(_____)

III. The Attitude of the utilization of Han Yangling Site

22. Would you want to join the utilization of the Han Yangling site?

A. Not at all B. No, I don't want to C. None of my business D. Yes, I want to, but I don't know how to do that E. Yes, I want very much to participate

23. Do you think the Han Yangling site should establish a National Archaeological Site Park?

- A. No, it quite should not B. No, it shouldn't C. I don't care D. Yes, it should, but none of my business E. Yes, it should, and I want to join

24. Do you think the Han Yangling site should apply for the World Heritage or not?

- A. Not at all B. No, it shouldn't C. None of my business D. Yes, it should, but I cannot participate E. Yes, it should, I want to do something

25. Do you have any comments and suggestions for the protection and management of Han Yangling site?

(_____)

IV. Personal information

Gender: A. Male B. Female

Age: A. Under 20 B. 21-40 C. 41-60 D. Above 61

Educational level: A. Illiteracy B. Junior high school C. Senior high school or technical secondary school D. University or college

Job: A. Government staff B. Company employee C. Worker D. Farmer E. Temporary worker F. Laid-off worker G. Student H. Unemployed

Family members: total _____ persons, _____ generations.

Income per person per year: A. Under 2500 RMB B. 2500-5000RMB C. 5000-10000 RMB D. Above 10000 RMB

Questionnaire's Results at the Han Yangling Site

Respondents: Local Residents in Han Yangling Site

Question Villager	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18	19	20	22	23	24	Gen	Age	Edu	Job	Fam	Inc		
ZhjW1	B	B	B	B	D	D	E	D	C	B	A	E	D	B	BC	D	B	D	D	D	E	E	F	C	B	E	7II	/		
ZhjW2	/	/	/	/	E	E	B	D	C	C	A	C	/	B	BE	E	D	A	C	D	D	E	F	B	C	E	5III	A		
ZhjW3	B	B	B	B	D	B	B	D	B	D	A	B	D	B	BCE	B	B	B	D	D	E	D	F	B	C	E	5III	B		
ZhjW4	B	A	B	B	C	C	D	E	B	C	A	C	B	C	/	/	A	C	C	C	C	C	M	C	A	D	/	/		
ZhjW5	B	B	B	B	C	C	/	/	A	D	A	C	B	A	/	C	A	D	B	B	D	E	M	B	C	H	5III	B		
ZhjW6	B	B	B	B	C	C	/	/	A	/	A	C	B	A	EC	/	C	C	B	C	C	C	F	D	A	D	6III	/		
ZhjW7	B	B	B	A	C	C	C	E	B	D	A	D	D	C	A	D	D	D	A	D	E	E	M	B	C	B	/	/		
ZhjW8	B	B	B	B	E	E	D	E	B	D	A	D	B	C	A	E	E	A	E	E	E	E	M	B	B	D	3II	C		
ZhjW9	B	B	B	B	D	D	C	B	A	D	A	D	D	A	D	D	A	C	C	D	D	E	M	B	B	E	5III	A		
ZhjW10	B	B	B	B	C	B	C	C	B	B	A	C	D	A	A	C	A	C	C	B	D	A	M	B	B	/	11V	/		
ZhjW11	B	B	B	B	E	C	D	E	A	A	A	C	B	E	E	D	A	A	B	D	E	C	M	D	B	D	6III	B		
ZhjW12	B	B	B	B	D	D	C	E	B	C	A	E	/	D	E	D	B	B	D	C	E	D	F	C	C	/	5III	/		
ZhjW13	B	A	B	A	C	C	E	E	/	/	A	C	B	C	No Diff	E	/	C	E	C	C	E	M	D	B	D	2I	/		
ZhjW14	B	B	A	A	C	B	C	C	B	C	A	C	B	A	BDE	B	A	C	C	A	D	D	M	B	B	D	5II	/		
ZhjW15	B	B	B	B	C	D	C	C	C	C	A	C	B	C	No Diff	C	A	/	/	C	D	/	M	B	B	D	/	/		
ZhjW16	B	B	B	B	D	D	E	E	B	B	B	/	/	/	BC	D	D	D	D	D	E	E	F	C	B	E	3II	A		
ZhjW17	B	B	B	B	C	D	D	C	A	D	B	/	/	/	EBACDF	C	B	C	C	C	C	D	F	A	C	G	6III	/		
ZhjW18	B	B	B	B	D	C	D	E	E	D	B	/	/	/	BCD	C	C	E	C	B	E	E	F	C	C	D	3II	B		
HG1	/	/	/	/	E	E	/	A	/	D	B	/	/	/	E	D	C	B	D	D	E	E	F	B	B	E	6III	A		
HG2	B	B	B	B	E	E	D	E	A	C	B	/	/	/	No Diff	E	A	C	B	E	D	E	M	D	B	E	2I	/		
Total	0A	2A	1A	3A	0A	0A	0A	1A	6A	1A	15A	0A	0A	5A	4A	0A	8A	3A	1A	1A	0A	1A	9F	1A	2A	0A		4A		
	18B	16B	17B	15B	0B	3B	2B	1B	8B	3B	5B	1B	8B	3B	7B	2B	4B	3B	4B	3B	0B	0B	11M	10B	11B	1B		4B		
					9C	7C	6C	4C	3C	6C		9C	0C	5C	6C	5C	3C	8C	7C	6C	4C	3C		5C	7C	0C		1C		
					6D	6D	6D	3D	0D	8D		3D	5D	1D	4D	7D	3D	4D	5D	8D	7D	4D		4D		8D				
					5E	4E	3E	9E	1E	0E		2E		1E	8E	4E	1E	1E	2E	2E	9E	11E					7E			
																												1G		
																												1H		
	2/	2/	2/	2/			3/	2/	2/	2/			2/		3No Di	2/	1/	1/	1/							2/		11/		

Remarks

- I. ZhjW=Zhangjiawan village; HG=Hougou village
- II. The answers of Question 15: land where was expropriated is not well used; the compensation for land expropriation is less and not enough.
- III. The answers of Question 16: 3 No Difficulty
- IV. The answers of Question 21: no benefit at all; some benefits, I got a job near my home.
- V. The answers of Question 25: build road; strengthen the advertisement; improve the conservation of Han Yangling site; build communities between villagers and Han Yangling Museum.

Appendix II: Collections of Local Residents' Materials at the Nara Palace Site

平城宮跡保護における住民に関する資料

Category		Title	Source	Note		
Newspapers	Regional Newspapers	<i>Naranichinichi Shimbun</i> 『奈良日日新聞』	Nara Prefectural Library and Information Center 奈良県立図書情報館	The newspaper clippings of Nara Palace site are systematically collected by Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, which provides a shortcut to do the research of locals.		
		<i>The Yamato Times</i> 『大和タイムス』	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties 奈良文化財研究所			
	National Newspapers	<i>The Asahi Shimbun</i> 『朝日新聞』	Kanazawa University Library 金沢大学図書館			
		<i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> 『読売新聞』	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties			
Related Organizations' Publications	Excavation Reports	『平城宮跡第五次発掘調査報告』 1961	Kanazawa University Library 金沢大学図書館	This database made by Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties offers various resources of archaeological reports in Japan. Some information is related to locals.		
		『平城宮跡昭和 39 年発掘調査概要』 1964				
		『奈良国立文化財研究所年報』	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties Comprehensive Database of Archaeological Site Reports in Japan 全国遺迹報告総覧 Http://sitereports.nabunken.go.jp/ja			
		『奈良文化財研究所紀要』, etc				
	Conservation Reports	『平城遺跡博物館基本構想資料』 1978	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties Database of the Conservation and Restoration Reports in Japan is making by Professor John Ertl from Kanazawa University.		The publication of conservation and restoration reports in Japan is common, which provides abundant data about locals for this research. However, some early and individual publications are still hard to find.	
		『平城宮跡保存整備基本構想』 1978				
		『特別史跡平城宮跡保存整備基本構想推進計画』 2008				
		『平城宮跡整備報告書』 2016				
	Restoration Reports	『平城宮朱雀門の復原的研究』 奈良国立文化財研究所 1994				
		『特別史跡平城宮跡第一次大極殿正殿復元工事の記録』 文化庁 2013				
	Management and Utilization Reports	『平成 7 年度 特別史迹平城宮跡の管理運営等について』 奈良国立文化財研究所 1996	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties			The research institute and management agency actively conducts the researches of operation and utilization in Nara
		『特別史跡平城宮跡平成 15 年秋季及び冬				

		季利用事態調査』奈良国立文化財研究所 2004		Palace site, which could promote the further conservation, management, display and utilization. The data is also important for this research.
	Journals	<i>Bunzenkyo News</i> 『文全協ニュース』,etc	Websites of Related Conservation Organizations Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	The various publications of local and protective organizations record their participation in the site conservation and utilization.
	Minutes	「平城宮跡を守るために：再度の破壊に抗議する」奈良バイパスの平城宮跡通過に反対する協議会	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	
高速道路計画で危機をむかえた「世界遺産平城宮（京）跡を考える」シンポジウム 2002 明治大学				
「平城宮跡の国営公園化と奈良のまちづくり」シンポジウム, etc				
	Demanding Paper	「平城京及び平城宮跡の保存に関する要望書」飛鳥平城京跡保存会 1962	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	This is the precious data for conservation movement.
Individuals' Publication	Protectors' Manuscripts	「平城宮跡保存関係資料」岡田庄三氏寄贈品 1989	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	
		「平城宮跡保存先駆者 棚田嘉十郎語録集」		
	Protectors' Exhibitions	「平城宮跡保存の先覚者たち—北浦定政を中心として—」奈良文化財研究所編 1976	会期・会場：1976年10月23—11月7日 平城宮跡資料館	
		「明治30年代—大正期の平城宮跡保存運動：柳沢文庫・10年新春企画展展示解説資料」大和郡山：郡山城遺跡・柳沢文庫保存会 2010	会期・会場：2010年1月9日—3月21日 柳沢文庫	
	Protectors' Biographies	『平城宮跡保存先駆者 棚田嘉十郎の足跡』岩本次郎・館野和己編 奈良：棚田嘉十郎翁溝辺文四郎翁顕彰会 1991	Kanazawa University Library Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	

		小説『棚田嘉十郎 平城宮跡保存の先覚者』 中田善明著 京都：京都書院 1988		
Interview	Research Institute	奈良国立文化財研究所 研究員 丹羽 崇史	Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	The data by interview are the direct opinions from the stakeholders.
	Local Organization	平城宮跡保存協力会事務局長 和田勝文、 代表理事澤口昌弘	Souvenir Shop in Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	
	Conservation Organization	NPO平城宮跡サポートネットワーク 理事長宮岡功一	Meeting Room in Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties	
Textbooks	Primary School and Junior High School in Nara Prefecture	『国定歴史教科書』	Textbook Centers in Nara Prefecture 奈良市保健所・教育総合センター (奈良市三条本町 13-1) 奈良県立教育研究所 (磯城郡田原本町秦庄 22-1)	The establishment of Textbook Centers in Japan is convenient to obtain the information of education.
		文部省編『くにのあゆみ』、『日本の歴史』、『日本歴史』など		
		坂本太郎編『中学日本史』 学習図書		
		小西四郎編『中学社会歴史』 三省堂		
		林健太郎編『中学社会歴史』と川崎庸之編『標準中学社会』 教育出版社		
『新しい社会 2』、『新訂 新しい社会 2』、『新編 新しい社会 歴史的分野』、『新しい社会 歴史』、『改訂 新しい社会 歴史』、『新編 新しい社会歴史』など 東京書籍				
Laws and Regulations	National Laws	『文化財保護法』		
		『古都保護法』		
	Prefectural Regulations	「奈良県文化財保護条例」 「奈良県文化財保護条例施行規則」 「奈良県文化財保護審議会条例」 「奈良県文化財保存活用認定会議規則」 「奈良県出土文化財管理規則」		

Appendix III: Reports of the Nara Palace Site in the Newspapers (1962–1973)
 平城宮跡に関する新聞紙のまとめ(昭和 37 年ごろから昭和 48 年ごろまで)

	新聞の名前	期日	タイトル
A. 平城宮跡国費買収及び全域指定と住民の意見			
Aa. 国費買収 Aa1. 時間と範囲 Aa2. 値段と方法			
Ab. 小作人と地主 Ac. 史跡指定 Ad. 住民の気持ち			
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1962.7.12(1)	平城宮跡国費買上げ決議
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1962.7.12(1)	平城宮跡国費買上げについての要望書
Aa1,2 Ac Ad	奈良日日新聞	1962.8.6(1)	波紋呼ぶ平城宮跡国費買上げ 二派に分かれた 地元 補償などめぐり対立激化
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1962.10.9(1)	17 万坪の買上げへ 参院文化財小委会平城宮跡 視察
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1962.12.25(1)	再度復活要求へ 飛鳥平城京跡保存会平城宮跡 買上費ゼロで
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1962.12.26(1)	予算全額削られる 平城宮跡の国費買上げ
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.1.13(1)	平城宮跡の国費買上げ軌道に 総額四億二七〇 〇万円 県、買収事務所設置へ
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.1.19(1)	25 日に開催決まる 平城宮跡買収調査委員会
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.1.28(1)	上京して打ち合せ 県文保課平城宮跡の買上げ で
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1963.2.10(1)	買上げ県に一任 県文保課長ら平城宮跡問題で 語る
Aa1,2 Ab Ad	奈良日日新聞	1963.5.16(1)	地元農民、暗い表情 はかどらぬ平城宮跡買上げ
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1963.5.18(1)	買上げ七万坪 平城宮跡買収軌道に
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.5.22(1)	今月末から実測調査 平城宮跡の買収交渉
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1963.5.24(2)	難航する平城宮跡の買収 県と地元意見対立 買収予定地の設定めぐり
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.5.28(1)	地元側が態度硬化 平城宮跡の買収交渉
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.6(1)	“地元と話合う用意” 平城宮跡の買い上げ中 央の課長来県
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.6(1)	地元が努力約す
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.22(1)	26 日から測量開始 平城宮跡の買収予定地
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.25(2)	明年予算確保明るい 平城宮跡の買上げ
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.27(1)	平城宮跡測量開始 地元代表らも立会い
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.6.29(1)	価格でこじれる 平城宮跡の買上げ
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.3(1)	階段を設ける方針 難航の平城宮跡買収価格
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.4(1)	地元と話合い 平城宮跡買収
Aa1 Ad	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.10(1)	早期、全域買上げを陳情 野田自民政調副会長平 城宮跡視察で地元が
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.20(1)	買収はまた遅れる 平城宮跡交渉窓口を支障
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.24(1)	先ず地域価値を示す 買収事務所平城宮跡の所 有者へ
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1963.7.26(1)	買収計画図を作成 明年の平城宮跡買収費確保 へ
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.9.17(1)	写真集の要望書作る 平城宮の継続買収促進へ
Aa1,2 Ab	奈良日日新聞	1963.10.14(1)	紛糾地域は除外か 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1963.10.26(1)	先ず 120 人と契約終る 平城宮跡の民有地買収

Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1963.11.30(1)	第一次支払い始まる 平城宮跡の国費買上げ 最高一人五百万円
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1963.12.14(1)	明るい見通しつく 平城宮跡民有地の買収
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1964.1.17(1)	来月末から交渉 明年度分平城宮跡の民有地買 収
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1964.1.28(1)	路線価方式で実施 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa1 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.9(1)	平城宮跡趾全域を指定地へ 十日すぎから交渉 未指定地の所有者らと
Aa1 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.10(1)	全域指定本決めへ 平城宮跡整備事務次長が語 る
Aa1,2 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.24(1)	具体的な連絡ない 平城宮跡の全域買収問題
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.28(1)	国費買収交渉で 23.5 ヘクタール決る 六割近く 国有地に 平城宮跡全域買収来年度の地元交渉
Aa1 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1964.4.16(1)	地主の同意求める 県事務所平城宮跡の全域指 定へ
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1964.5.1(1)	急ピッチで進む 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1964.5.12(2)	地主全部の承諾得る 平城宮跡民有地買収
Aa1 Ab	奈良日日新聞	1964.6.11(2)	未解決の小作地に主力 国費買収作業終わる 土地収用法の適用考慮
Aa1	奈良県観光	1964.7.10(3)	アンケート① 平城宮跡について
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1964.12.10(1)	本年度文は全部終わる 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa1	大和タイムス	1964.12.10	既に五分の三が国有 平城宮跡本年度分も大半 買収
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1964.12.22(1)	第一次二億八百万円 平城宮跡買上げ 県文保 委復活要求へ
Aa1,2 Ab	奈良日日新聞	1965.1.6(1)	地主と小作人对立 平城宮跡今年の買収予定地 で
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1965.2.5(2)	所有者、値上げ要求 県整備事務所応じられない と高姿勢
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1965.3.7(1)	かなり遅れそう 平城宮跡の新年度民有地買収
Aa1 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1965.4.28(2)	民家密集地も指定 平城宮跡の未指定地
Aa1 Ac	奈良日日新聞	1965.6.26(1)	史跡に指定さる 平城宮跡の未指定地域
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1965.6.28(1)	平城宮跡の買収交渉大詰め 近く所有者と会合 県整備事務所明るい見通しつく
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1965.7.23(2)	平城宮跡民有地買収交渉行詰まる 千円の値上 げ要求 国と直接交渉すると地主
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.1(1)	買収の値上げ認めぬ 文保委柳川課長平城宮跡 の問題で語る
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.1(1)	知事あっ旋で軌道へ 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.5(1)	きょう態度を決定 平城宮跡買収の知事あっせ ん
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.17(1)	二十日ごろ協議書 平城宮第一次買収分
Aa1 Ab	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.22(2)	解決のキザシ出る 平城宮跡の小作人と地主配 分
Aa1,2 Ab	奈良日日新聞	1965.11.1(1)	年末に三億支払い 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa2	読売新聞	1965.12.20	難航しそう一条通北側の買収 強い農家の反対 安すぎる価格大蔵省も気乗り薄

Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1965.12.21	24日に二億三千万 平城宮跡民有地買収費支払い
Aa2	読売新聞	1965.12.22	24日に支払い 平城宮跡買い上げ代金
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1965.12.24	北側買上げも要望 知事帰県談平城宮跡の民有地
Aa2	大和タイムス	1965.12.24	来年度中に買収完了を 平城宮跡で文部省に要望
Aa2	読売新聞	1965.12.24	来年度は全額認めてと陳情 県、平城宮跡の買い上げ
Aa2	産経新聞	1965.12.24	予算額の認可を陳情 平城宮跡買い上げで
Aa2	大和タイムス	1965.12.25	百九人に二億三千万円 平城宮跡買い上げ代金支払い
Aa2 Ad	奈良日日新聞	1966.1.6(2)	大金にわく平城宮跡旧地主 12億円ころげ込む 不景気知らずの別天地
Aa1	奈良日日新聞	1966.5.19(2)	本格的買収交渉へ平城宮跡の国費買収
Aa1,2	奈良日日新聞	1966.10.7(1)	知事の善処で解決へ 平城宮跡の民有地買収
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1966.11.6(1)	結局、七百万円値上げ 平城宮跡本年度買収解決
Aa1	大和タイムス	1973.2.1	まとめて 面倒みよ 平城宮東院跡買上げで地元が陳情 “コマギレは困る” 文化庁、県へ公債買収案
Aa1	読売新聞	1973.2.2	平城宮跡東院跡買上げ 文化庁へ“一括”直訴 地主30人 県にも協力頼む
Aa2	奈良日日新聞	1973.8.27(1)	国費買上げ軌道に 平城宮跡国地方債制度導入で
Ad	奈良日日新聞	1963.4.23(1)	奥田知事の発言が動機 来県の共産党谷口代議士語る平城宮跡買上げ
Ad	奈良日日新聞	1965.2.15	24日平城宮跡視察 学術調査団一行が来県
Ad	奈良日日新聞	1973.12.10(2)	新県民にも郷土愛 問題多い平城宮跡周辺
B.平城宮跡保存と住民の日常生活との対立			
Ba.住居の建築 Bb.公共施設の建築・移築 Bc.耕作 Bd.草刈り			
Ba	奈良日日新聞	1962.8.4(1)	誠意のない文保委 平城宮跡放任された補償で地元講義
Ba	奈良日日新聞	1965.7.14(2)	一年半ぶりに許可 平城宮跡の民家増築
Ba	奈良日日新聞	1971.4.30(1)	文化庁、対決覚悟で不許可 平城宮跡指定地域内の 無許可建築に裁定
Ba	奈良日日新聞	1971.9.22(1)	県下初の原状回復命令出す 文化庁が二家主に平城宮跡の違法建築で
Ba	読売新聞・夕刊	1973.6.4	文化財規制無視許されぬ 違反住宅の訴え却下 奈良地裁平城宮跡は国民の財産
Ba	朝日新聞・夕刊	1973.6.4	私権より文化財保護 原状復帰命令は妥当 奈良地裁所有者の却下
Ba	大和タイムス	1973.6.5	個人の権利より文化財が大事 原状回復せよ 平城宮跡に建築の二人敗訴
Ba	読売新聞	1973.6.5	どまどう入居者8世帯 平城宮跡の貸し家訴訟棄却 どこに訴えたら契約書には「保証なし」
Ba	朝日新聞	1973.6.5	私たちの暮らしはどうなるんだ 平城宮跡判決の建物入居者ら 絶対に立退かない やっと得た「安住の地」
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1962.10.28(2)	波紋呼ぶ佐紀駐在所の移転 発掘協力を拒否か

			地元、文保委の態度に不満
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1962.11.8(2)	こんどは建築基準法違反か 佐紀駐在所の移転 文保法は条件つき許可
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.26(2)	地元、“まだ文化財か”の不服 “舗装工事待った” 平城宮跡西側沿いの県道
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1967.11.17(1)	近鉄の移設考える 県経済部長答弁平城宮跡公園 団化すれば
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1968.6.13(1)	近鉄路線移設せよ 県万博対策委平城宮跡公園 化答申
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1968.4.6(1)	奈良バイパス万国博開通は絶望か 新路線を検討へ 建設省 奈良開発一步も進まず 文化財 が大きな壁
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1965.4.24(4)	平城宮跡に保養センター 簡易保険事業団が計画
Bb	大和タイムス	1965.12.25	高まる国立博物館移転論 平城宮跡内へ改築の 声 文部省内にも 最近の展示内容にも問題
Bb	奈良日日新聞	1968.2.2(1)	平城宮跡へ建設望む 奈良国立博物館新築位置 で知事が
Bc	奈良日日新聞	1963.8.12(2)	未解決の無断耕作 離作料要求もからむ
Bc	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.26(2)	始の返還申し入れ 平城宮跡の無断耕作者
Bc	奈良日日新聞	1964.9.14(1)	文保委が乗り出す 平城宮跡内の無断耕作解決 へ
Bc	奈良日日新聞	1964.10.2(2)	明け渡しは収穫後 平城宮跡の無断耕作問題
Bd	奈良日日新聞	1962.7.3(1)	平城宮跡の朝堂院あとを草刈り
Bd	奈良日日新聞	1963.2.10(1)	平城宮跡で芝焼き
Bd	奈良日日新聞	1963.8.16(1)	保存対策にも万全 平城宮跡問題でも語る
Bd	奈良日日新聞	1965.10.6(1)	不手際から焦げる 平城宮跡一本松大極殿跡
C.住民参加による平城宮跡の保存			
Ca.保存組織 Cal.平城宮跡対策委員会/運営協議会 Ca2.平城宮跡保存協力会			
Cb.保存個人			
Cc.保存運動 Cc1.近鉄検車区建設 Cc2.国道24号線バイパス建設 Cc3.ほかの			
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.7(1)	10日に役員を改選 平城宮跡対策委員会
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.12(1)	会長選出はお預け 平城宮跡対策委員会の役員 改選
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1964.3.24(1)	会長に福井氏有力 平城宮跡対策委員会
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1965.3.12(1)	委員全員を再編成 平城宮跡対策協議会
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1965.3.22(1)	新しい組織作りへ 平城宮跡対策協議会解体か
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1965.3.31(1)	五日ごろに新発足 平城宮跡対策運営協議会
Ca1	奈良日日新聞	1965.5.15(1)	やっと新役員決まる 平城宮跡対策協議会
Ca2	奈良日日新聞	1965.12.5(2)	平城宮跡保存おへ民間協力 旧地主で「会」設立 へ 文保委もバックアップ
Ca2	読売新聞	1965.12.12	農地売却後の生活安定へ 財団法人「平城宮跡協 力会」つくり
Ca2	産経新聞	1965.12.5	地主で保存顕彰 平城宮跡協力会を結成
Ca2	奈良日日新聞	1966.4.26(1)	近く保存協力会 平城宮跡の旧地主らで
Ca2	奈良日日新聞	1966.6.29(1)	来月三日に結成式 平城宮跡の保存協力会
Ca	奈良日日新聞	1962.7.12(1)	奈良でも結成！平城宮跡を守る会
Ca	奈良日日新聞	1962.7.14(1)	政府へ保存要望書 平城宮跡を守る会発足
Ca	奈良日日新聞	1963.3.31(1)	初代所長に加納氏 平城宮跡整備事務所

Ca	奈良日日新聞	1964.12.12(1)	平城京研究会発足
Ca	奈良日日新聞	1970.10.21(1)	平城宮跡碑の保存へ 浄財募金を展開中
Cb	奈良日日新聞	1968.2.14(1)	明治百年と郷土の偉才(7) 棚田嘉十郎氏 命がけの保存運動 平城宮跡へ悲願の一生
Cc1	奈良日日新聞	1963.1.22(1)	新車庫計画を変更 近鉄が平城宮跡買上げで
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.18(1)	地主と補償など交渉 奈良バイパスの平城宮跡地区
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.2.10(1)	奈良バイパス積極的に促進 路線もまだ未決定 両方で突っ張り合い 平城宮跡さげよ文部省変更増
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.4.8(1)	路線変更で影響大 =奈良市が早期決定働きかける= 奈良バイパス予定路線地元は混乱
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.5.3(1)	バイパス早期完工質疑録(1)
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.5.7(1)	バイパス早期完工質疑録(3)
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.5.15(1)	バイパス早期完工質疑録(10)
Cc2	奈良日日新聞	1968.5.17(1)	バイパス早期完工質疑録(12)
Cc3	毎日新聞	1965.3.16	平城宮跡の保存を考えよう
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1966.9.4(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきや
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.7(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきか(1)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.8(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきか(2)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.9(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきか(3)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.10(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきか(4)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1967.2.11(1)	平城宮跡の保存を如何にすべきか(終)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1970.1.9(1)	都市の開発と保存 新平城京建設の提唱(1)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1970.1.10(1)	都市の開発と保存 新平城京建設の提唱(2)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1970.1.11(1)	都市の開発と保存 新平城京建設の提唱(3)
Cc3	奈良日日新聞	1970.1.12(1)	都市の開発と保存 新平城京建設の提唱(4)
D. 住民参加による平城宮跡の整備と活用			
Da. 整備 Db. 活用			
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1964.7.16(1)	知事、三大公園新設構想発表 葛城山、矢田丘陵、平城宮跡の三つ 歴史公園へ博物館も
Da	奈良日日新聞	1964.9.11(1)	買収地の平坦化から 平城宮跡整備急ぐ
Da	奈良日日新聞	1964.9.16(1)	きょうから本格的に 平城宮跡の整備開始
Da	奈良日日新聞	1964.11.7(1)	緑地化方針決まる 平城宮跡国費買収地域
Da	奈良日日新聞	1965.5.21(2)	道路造りや植樹 平城宮跡第二次整備計画
Da	奈良日日新聞	1965.9.10(1)	二千万円投じて 今年の平城宮跡整備
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1965.12.2(2)	歴史公園で保存を 平城宮跡の整備問題
Da	奈良日日新聞	1966.1.16(1)	あすから本格工事 平城宮跡の買収地整備
Da	奈良日日新聞	1966.4.26(1)	芝張りや遊歩道 今年の平城宮跡整備
Da	奈良日日新聞	1966.5.22(1)	背の低いサッキ 平城宮跡整備あとに植樹
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1966.7.14(1)	史跡公園化実現を記念事業に平城宮跡保存
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1966.8.2(1)	文化会館建設など 平城宮跡史蹟公園試案まとまる
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1966.12.13(1)	平城史跡公園に 県平城宮跡整備構想発表
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1967.12.3(1)	平城宮跡の公園化も 立派な環境造りに努力
Da Db	読売新聞	1965.3.7	来月、国の保存協議会 平城宮跡史跡公園化進む
Da	産経新聞	1965.5.20	第二次朝堂院に重点 40年度の平城宮跡整備
Da Db	朝日新聞	1965.5.22	旧平城京中心に復元 朱雀大路は文化施設帯

Da	毎日新聞	1965.12.10	保存・整備のマスタープランを 80 パーセントは 国有地になったが
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1971.11.13(1)	平城宮跡南部が理想的位置 「奈良計画」を説明 奈良市庁舎建設特別委開く 京大西山教授語る
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1972.6.9(1)	平城京の全体像が浮き彫り 調査結果まとまる 保存開発に有効な活用を
Da Db	奈良日日新聞	1972.6.9(1)	平城京の全体像が浮き彫り 朱雀大路はこのせ 公園化の都市施設可能
Da	毎日新聞	1973.5.17	平城宮跡に万葉大草原 千三百年の昔そのまま に 百ヘクタールに草や鳥 テスト用地が完成
Db	奈良日日新聞	1965.2.5(2)	発掘調査の現地説明会開く
Db	奈良日日新聞	1967.8.12(1)	出土品一般公開など 県万博整備委員会平城宮 跡見学受入れ

Appendix IV: Conservation Organizations of the Nara Palace Site

平城宮跡に関する組織

	Organization and URL	Period	Chairman	Publication and URL
1	奈良文化財研究所 http://www.nabunken.go.jp	1952-present		『奈文研ニュース』 2001-present https://www.nabunken.go.jp/publication/nabunkennews.html
2	奈良県農村問題研究会	-1961-		
3	平城宮跡を守る会 <i>Naranichinichi 1962.7.12(1)</i>	1962-		
4	飛鳥、平城京跡保存会	1960s	奥田良三	
5	奈良を守る会	1960s	矢川民雄	
6	平城京研究会	1960s		
7	平城宮跡発掘調査事務所	1960s		
8	平城宮跡整備事務所	1963-	加納清尋	
9	平城宮史跡指定解除促進連盟	1960s	城本末吉	
10 Ca1	平城宮跡対策委員会/平城宮跡対策運営協議会/平城宮跡買上げ対策委員会	1963-1965	城本末吉 橋本万治郎 福井由太郎	
11 Ca2	社団法人平城宮跡保存協力会	1966-present		
12	奈良県文化財保存対策連絡会（奈文連）	1969-		
13	青年考古学者協議会（青考協）			『いたすけニュース』
14	関西文化財保存協議会（関文協）	1966-1968		『埋蔵文化財問題』 1966-1968
15	文化財保存対策協議会（文保協）			
16	全国史跡整備市町村協議会	1966-present		『全史協会報』 1998-present
17	文化財保存全国協議会（文全協） http://www001.upp.so-net.ne.jp/bunzenkyou/bunzenkyoutoha.html	1970-present		『文全協ニュース』 1964-present http://www001.upp.so-net.ne.jp/bunzenkyou/bunzenkyounews.html 『文化財を守るために』1970-1990→ 『明日への文化財』 1991-present http://www001.upp.so-net.ne.jp/bunzenkyou/asubun.html 『埋蔵文化財問題』 1970-1971
18	平城宮跡碑保存会 <i>Naranichinichi 1970.10.21(1)</i>	1970	小清水卓	
19	日本考古学協会 http://archaeology.jp/ 埋蔵文化財保護対策委員会（埋文委）	1948-present 1962・ 1965・ 1971-present		『埋文委ニュース』 http://archaeology.jp/maibun/news52.htm
20	ユネスコ・アジア文化センター	1971-present		『ユネスコ・アジア文化通信』 1972-1975

	http://www.accu.or.jp/			『ユネスコ・アジア文化ニュース』 1975-present http://www.accu.or.jp/jp/accunews/2016.html#398
21	ユネスコ・アジア文化センター 文化遺産保護協力事務所 http://www.nara.accu.or.jp/index.html	1999-present		『文化遺産ニュース』 1999-2009, 2010-present http://www.nara.accu.or.jp/news/index.html
22	世界遺産登録に燃える奈良を歩く会	1997-		
23	平城宮跡サポートネットワーク http://www.heijyonet.nara.jp/	2001-present		『天平のひろば』 2001-present http://www.heijyonet.nara.jp/spt5.html
24	日本遺跡学会 http://iseki-g.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/	2003-present		『日本遺跡学会会報』 2003-present http://iseki-g.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/cat49486225/
25	国営飛鳥歴史公園事務所 https://www.asuka-park.go.jp/ 国営飛鳥歴史公園事務所平城分室 http://www.kkr.mlit.go.jp/asuka/heijo/	1970s-present 2008-present		『国営飛鳥歴史公園ニュース』 2003-present https://www.asuka-park.go.jp/news/detail.php?id=260
26	平城宮跡にぎわいづくり実行委員会 www.heijo-nigiwai.jp/	2010-present		平城京天平祭 2011- present 天平たなばた祭り 2016- present みつきうまし祭り 2016- present
27	平城京天平祭実行委員会 http://volunt-info.jp/cn4/pg247.html	2011-present		平城京天平祭 2011- present http://www.tenpyosai.jp/index.html

Appendix V: Preservation Society of Asuka Area and Heijo-kyo: Demanding Paper for the Conservation of Nara Capital and Nara Palace Site, 1962 飛鳥平城京跡保存会「平城京及び平城宮跡の保存に関する要望書」, 1962

平城京及び平城宮跡の保存に関する要望書

平城京がもつ歴史的意義の重要性は、和銅3年（710年）の遷都によって、わが国の歴史に一新時期を画したことであり、唐の長安城に範をとった東アジアにおける典型的な都城として世界史的な意義をもつ点にある。

大規模にして整然たる都城の計画と設営、宮城の造営、諸大社寺の移築と創建にともなう堂塔の建立、諸仏の彫立、広汎にわたる写経事業に対する最高最大の知識と技術の結果、おびたしい物資と労力の投入とは必然の結果として、政治、経済、宗教、学術技芸の各方面に、大きな変化をもたらさずにはおかなかった。

かくて律令国家の体制が強化され国家権力が拡張されて、そこに開花したのが、いうところの天平文化であった。そしてそれを現在に伝えているのが、正倉院をはじめとして、今なお厳然として法灯を守り続けている諸大社寺の堂塔、諸仏、經典、文書である。宮城には今日建物こそ見られないが、大極殿をはじめとして、朝堂院、朝集殿の土壌がなお現存しており宮城全域も明かにされている。

このように平城京も諸大寺も遷都とともに、平城に移築、創建されたものであるかぎり、個々のものとしてもそうであるが、より大きな意義は、それらが総合されて、平城京とそこに開花した天平文化をさながらに示しているところにこそあるというべきであって、そこにまた教育的にも大きな意味があるといえよう。

しかも宮城にしる、都城にしる、わが藤原、難波、長岡、平安の諸京にしても、今日その跡をほとんど地上に止めず、唐の長安、渤海の東京城、新羅の都城また同然であって、その点では殆んど唯一の例である。特別史跡に指定された所以もまた以上に述べてきた意義の重要性にあったことはいうまでもない。

かくの如く得がたい文化財にもかかわらず近年都市の近代化に伴って平城京の条坊製造構は刻々に破壊の危機にさらされている。もとより経済の高度成長政策により、地元の近代化は防ぐべくもないが、しかし述べてきたように平城宮跡と現存する諸大寺の関連性において、平城京の一部をそのままに復元し得るのであってみれば、これらを総合しての保存対策は当然たてられるべきであり、この対策の確立によってこそ、平城宮跡未指定地の問題も併

せて解決しようと併ずるのである。

ただ事態は急迫しつつあり、かならずしも楽観を許さない現状である。ここに去る3月19日の本会総会の決議にもとずき急ぎ要望書を提出し、地元関係者の決意を披瀝するとともに、関係御当局の抜本的な対策とその早期実現を強く要望する次第である。

要 望 事 項

- 1 国は、平城宮跡とその周辺地の重要遺跡に対して、組織的な調査を促進するとともに、この調査に対する人的、物的の強力な機構を早急に確立されたいこと。
- 2 国は、平城宮跡に対して早急に買収措置を講ずると共に保存対策を確立されたいこと。
- 3 国の買収が不可能な場合、地元奈良県において買収する措置に踏みさらざるを得ないが、この際は高率の国庫補助とその他の便宜を与えられたいこと。
- 4 調査によって発見した遺構、遺物はできるかぎり原位置において原状のまま、或は復原し

て保存し、遺物は一般の視覧に供するため、陳列館等を建設して、教育のために活用すべく配慮すると同時に、買収地一帯を緑地化して史跡公園として公開するよう計画されたいこと。

昭和37年3月28日

殿

飛鳥、平城宮跡保存会会長 奥田良三
奈良県 景 観 知 事

Appendix VI: Field Research in Sannai-maruyama Site Conservation and Utilization 三内丸山遺跡の保存と活用に関するアンケート調査

三内丸山応援隊の皆さま

この度は文化財保護に関する調査研究にご協力頂まして、誠に有難うございます。

現在私は『考古遺跡と地元住民の共生—中国と日本における考古学遺跡の保存と管理の比較研究』と題し、金沢大学博士論文研究のため、フィールド調査を行っております。三内丸山遺跡は管理組織系統が明瞭で、地元住民を筆頭に、ボランティア、NPO の参加も盛んで、一般向けの各種活動を積極的に行い、縄文文化の素晴らしさを伝える運動を日本に留まることなく、グローバルな視点で展開されています。つきましては、その保存と管理に関し、地元住民との関係を重点に理解を深めたく、ご協力をお願い致します。

論文に個人名を使用する必要がある場合は、必ず E メール等で対象者様本人に許可を得、掲載するものとし、許可を得ずに個人名を使用することはありません。

1. 性別 : A. 男性(2) B. 女性(2)
2. 年齢 : A. 20 歳以下(0) B. 20-29 歳(0) C. 30-39 歳(0) D. 40-49 歳(0) E. 50-59 歳(0)
F. 60-69 歳以(4) G. 70-79 歳(0) H. 80 歳以上(0)
3. 出身地 : A. 青森市(4) B. 青森県の(0) C. 日本の(0) D. 海外(0)
4. 職業 : 定年退停職(3) 主婦(1)
5. なぜ三内丸山遺跡のボランティアに参加しているのですか。

I. 地元にある遺跡でなにかボランティアができないかと思ったから。II. その前に他の遺跡で発掘していたから；奥さんが三内丸山の住民だったから。III. 研修で指導にくる先生の話を知りたくて、ガイドに応募した。IV. 県の体験に参加した時にボランティアの人に誘われたから。

まとめ：遺跡は重要；地元住民；考古学好き；知り合い人に誘う

6. 主にどんなことをしていますか。

I.II.IV. 遺跡のガイド；体験学習の指導。III. 遺跡のガイド；出土したものの掃除。

まとめ：ガイド；体験；アルバイト

7. どのようなトレーニングを受けましたか。具体的にお答えください(どの機関によるものか、頻度、間隔など)。

I.II. 研修(1年に1回、2-3月、週に1度、全部6回程度)；他の遺跡の見学。III. 20年間、土器を洗ったり土を分析したりするアルバイトをしていた。IV. ガイド：マニュアル；体験：先輩に指導してもらった(2-3回)。

まとめ：ガイド：研修(大学の教員、学芸員推進室の先生、埋蔵文化財センターの職員、1年中2-3月、6回)；先輩の指導；自学(配る本)；体験：作り方は先輩からの指導；自学

7.1 トレーニング内容は十分だと思いますか。他に何か知りたいこと、トレーニングしてほしいことはありますか。

I.人それぞれ。II.IV.十分でない人は自分で学習するべき。III.他の遺跡よりもトレーニング内容は豊富だと思う。

7.2 自習などはされていますか。I.II.文献を読んだりする。IV.実際に体験して。

8. どのくらいの頻度でボランティアに参加しますか。

I.II.III.週2-3回；IV.ガイド（週1-2回）；体験（週3-4回）。

9. 一日何回、何時間参加しますか。I.II.III. ガイド 1.5 時間。IV. ガイド 1.5 時間；体験 3 時間。

10. 参加経験年数、累計回数・時間を教えてください。I.III.18 年。II.15 年。IV.7 年。

11. ガイド・解説において、どこに重点をおいていますか（考古学の専門知識、遺跡の重要性、世界遺産登録の取り組みなど）。

I.専門用語をあまり使わず、一般の人のもわかるように説明する；客層に合わせて説明する。II.客層に合わせて説明する。III.嘘を言わない。IV.ガイド：マニュアル通り；体験：手早く正確に。

まとめ：アニュアルに沿って話す；専門用語を使わず和から安く；客層に合わせて話す

12. あなたのガイド・解説に対し、お客様からどのような反響、意見がありましたか。

I.自分だけで見学するよりもガイドを聞いた方がよかった；知らなかったことがわかって驚いた。II.自分で周るより、ガイドを聞きながらの方がよかった。III.ガイドを聞いてよかった。IV.ガイド：楽しかった；体験：いいものができた；なるほど。

まとめ：自分だけで周るよりも為になった；勉強になった；楽しかった

13. なぜボランティア活動を続けているのですか。

I.II.人とコミュニケーションをとることが好きだから。III.好きだから。IV.新しい情報が常に入れる；楽しい。

まとめ：人とコミュニケーション；新しい情報が入れる

14. 三内丸山遺跡のボランティアに参加した感想をお聞かせください。

I.日々の生活に張り合いがある。II.いろんな年代の人と話せるのが楽しみ；自己研鑽になる。III.ボランティア仲間が素晴らしい。IV.楽しい；来やすい（車で5分）

まとめ：いろんな人と話せて楽しい；仲間が素晴らしい；日々の生活に張り合いがある

15. 遺跡と地元住民は繋がっていると思いますか。どのような点でそのように感じますか。

I.II.III.繋がっている（三内丸山草刈り隊；小学校の見学）。IV.思わない（県外の人ばかりが訪れる；近場の人との話にならない。）

16. 観光で遺跡に来る外国人は多いですか。どのように日本の文化を紹介していますか。どのような意見、感想を聞きますか。

I.船で青森に来る人が増えて、最近多くなってきた；自国の遺跡と比較した質問を受ける。

II. 最近多くなってきた。III.最近多い、英語を話せるガイドをあらかじめ準備して対応。IV.多い（アメリカ、韓国、台湾、中国）；日本について知っている人が多い；青森の話（ねぶた、八甲田山、リンゴ）

17. 三内丸山遺跡、あるいは日本の縄文文化をどのようにしたら世界に広めていけると思えますか。

I.III.世界遺産に登録（4-5年前から運動開始）。II.海外で縄文展を開く。IV.日本のものづくり（包丁など）と同じように外国人と密に関わって、少しずつ広めていく。

まとめ：世界遺産に登録；海外と密に関わりをもって

18. 他のボランティアに参加していますか。

I.年に数回の公園の清掃。II.老人クラブの会長、清掃活動、ジャパンレクリエーションインストラクター。III.IV.してない

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