

Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site Conservation and Local Residents' Livelihood

Considering the Cases of Yin Xu (殷墟) and Han Yangling (漢陽陵) Sites

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Abstract

With the increasing threats posed by natural disasters and urbanization, as well as the need to display and utilize archaeological sites, the conservation of Chinese archaeological sites, especially large-scale archaeological sites, has been conducted. However, the wishes and emotions of local residents who are affected by such conservation have not received due consideration.

To comprehensively study local residents living in and nearby Chinese large-scale archaeological sites, this research selected Yin Xu and Han Yangling as cases where there is a close relationship between conservation efforts and 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 plan implementation as well as the wishes and feelings of local residents. Based on the findings, some suggestions are offered, along with considerations of feasibility.

Keywords: Archaeological Site Conservation, Local Residents

1. Introduction

Archaeological sites contain volumes of information about ancient civilizations, which are fragile and irretrievable. Meanwhile, the harmonious lives of citizens are the foundation of contemporary society. Indeed, at a large-scale archaeological site with great population of residents living in, how to balance the archaeological site conservation and the local residents' livelihood would be a big issue in Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation.

In fact, except for a few strong visible archaeological sites which are prominent, bringing cultural and economic value, most Chinese archaeological sites have a lack of visual appeal and thus difficulty to bring economic value. Moreover, the research and cultural value is widely recognized by scholars, but it takes a much long time to be realized by local residents. Therefore, the balance of the conservation of archaeological sites and local residents' lives is extremely difficult in most sites.

There are so many problems, for example, (1) the destroying of archaeological sites by illegal construction in the protected areas; (2) the low attention and participation of local residents in sharing the resource of the archaeological sites; (3) the limitations of local residents' production and lives in the protected area by cultural relics' protection laws and plans; especially, how massive house relocation and land acquisition along with archaeological site conservation strongly influences the local residents' living conditions, even their sense of belonging.

For these reasons, based on literature review and field research, this paper will focus on the issues of how to balance the relationship between archaeological site conservation and local residents' livelihood from two perspectives: one is that of the government, which hold most of the conservation projects, the other is the attitude of local residents. Some suggestions would be offered through finding the gaps between supply and demand on archaeological site conservation.

2. Issues

The large-scale archaeological site conservation project emerged in China at the end of the twenty-first century and has gradually accelerated. In 2005, the State Ministry of Finance established special funds for Chinese large-scale archaeological sites and other important cultural relics. Meanwhile, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and State Ministry of Finance enacted the Master Conservation Plan for Large-scale Archaeological Site during the National Eleventh Five-Years Plan (『「十一五」期間大遺址保護總體規劃』) (2006-2010)¹, which aimed to “develop the comprehensive benefits of special funds, promote the improvement of urban construction and people's living standards and quality, and achieve the harmonious and sustainable development of regional social and ecological benefits.” However, no specific approaches or inspection standards have been put forth to realize these objectives.

As such, how to achieve these targets has become an urgent issue. Over the last ten years, there has been active discussion about the relationship between heritage and local residents, but it remains insufficient. Thus far, research on Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation has mainly proceeded from the perspective of managers and management organizations. For instance, Meng Xianmin's study of theory and practice in the conservation of Chinese large-scale archaeological sites serves as a good reference work for administrators and planners (Meng Xianmin 2012). Similarly, Zhang Yun studied the management organizations and management functions related to the management system of Chinese large-scale archaeological sites (Zhang Yun 2010). However, studies that investigate the perspectives of local residents to determine their needs and ensure their rights are limited. The few studies that do exist in this area are not comprehensive. Wang Li, for example, focused on local residents' economic benefits and their attitudes about relocation at the Yin Xu site;

¹ This plan provided the clear definition of “Chinese Large-scale Archaeological Site.” It mainly includes ruins and groups of ruins—such as large and important far-reaching settlements, city ruins, palaces, mausoleums, tombs, etc.—that reflect the development of each period of Chinese ancient history in politics, religion, military, science, technology, industry, agriculture, architecture, transportation, water conservancy, etc. Translation by the author.

however, relocation is only one of the resident-related issues in archaeological site conservation, and Yin Xu, as a National Archaeological Site Park, cannot be considered only as a tourist attraction (Wang Li 2012). Liu Junmin investigated the archaeological site as an important aspect of the regional economy, thus relegating the wishes and feelings of local residents to a subordinate position. Moreover, the suggestions offered in that study—such as offering compensation to local residents—lack precision and are not currently feasible (Liu Junmin 2013).

Therefore, Yin Xu, where residents have been relocated many times, and Han Yangling, where large amounts of land have been acquired, were selected as cases to comprehensively analyze the needs and living conditions of local residents in the context of archaeological site conservation. This research has four parts.

First, the process of archaeological site conservation is reviewed, mainly consisting of key conservation events, policies, plan and approaches related to local residents.

Second, local residents' attitudes and living conditions in relation to archaeological site conservation are analyzed by sorting data from questionnaire surveys, interviews, and media.

Third, disparities between conservation policy and plan implementation by management organizations and the attitudes and living conditions of local residents are identified. The causes of such disparities are also considered.

Lastly, suggestions are offered to resolve the identified issues, and the feasibility of such solutions is examined as well.

3. Conservation of the Yin Xu and Han Yangling Sites

The Yin Xu and Han Yangling sites represent two different types of archaeological site conservation, which involve two kinds of relationships with local residents.

3.1. The Yin Xu Site

Yin Xu was the capital of the Shang dynasty (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, Henan Province. 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 protected area of the National Archaeological Site Park is 22.7 km² and the World Heritage Site is 1,134 ha² (fig. 1 and 2).

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

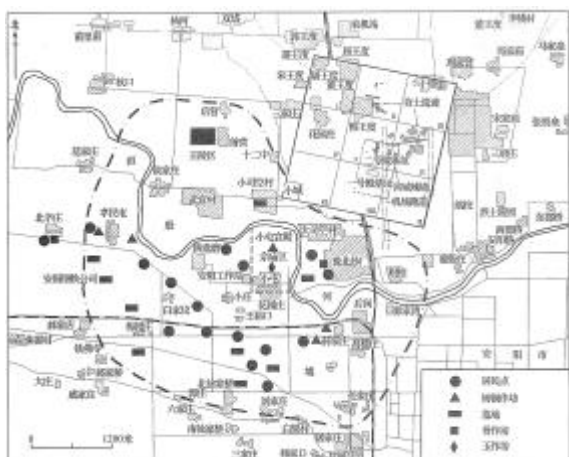


Figure 1 The Area of the Yin Xu Site
(Tang Jigen 2011: Figure 2)



Figure 2 The Protective Core and Buffer Zones of the Yin Xu Site (UNESCO)²

3.1.1. Discovery and the Early Excavation Period

The discovery of the oracle and its source, the Yin Xu site, by Wang Yirong (王懿荣) and Luo Zhenyu (羅振玉) dates to the late nineteenth 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 shown by the 1932 establishment of the Anyang Antique Conservation Committee (安阳古物保存委员会) 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.

3.1.2. Reexcavation 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 (妇好墓) in 1976. Then, Yin Xu Park (殷墟博物苑) was established in 1987 to show these discoveries to the public. In order 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 foundation of the Anyang Cultural Relics Management and Examination Committee (安阳文物管理检查委员会), various special managements for the palaces and royal tombs were established. Protection laws and regulations were gradually

² http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1114/multiple=1&unique_number=1293, Dec. 15th, 2015.

implemented, such as the *Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang* (『安陽市殷墟保護管理辦法』) (1982). 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.

3.1.3. The World Heritage Nomination Period

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, the *Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang, Henan Province* (『河南省安陽殷墟保護管理條例』) (2001) and *Conservation and Utilization Plan of Yin Xu in Anyang* (『安陽殷墟保護與利用總體規劃』) (2003) were implemented. Based on these plans and regulations, 688 local residences and factories in six villages were moved out of the protected area. In addition, significant improvements were made to the surrounding roads and natural environment, in particular, the Huan River (洹河). The Yin Xu Museum (殷墟博物館) was opened in 2005. One year later, Yin Xu was registered as a World Heritage Site.

To utilize the Yin Xu site after it had become a World Heritage Site, besides establishing the agritainment business(農家樂) and opening souvenir shops, the Performance of Shang (大秀殷商) was carried out by Xiaotun villagers. As one of the projects in the local Capital of Shang Media Company (大邑商傳播公司) established in 2006, the performance was arranged with help from the staff of the Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute (安陽殷都文化研究院) and other institutions. Unfortunately, as a result of unfavorable relationships and insufficient funds, the project was eventually discontinued.

3.1.4. Establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park and the Development Period

In recent years, archaeologists have surveyed almost the entire Yin Xu site area for the purpose of establishing the National Archaeological Site Park. They determined the function of each part and how the different parts were connected (e.g., road and water networks). The survey results will provide the basic information for the exhibition and utilization of the Park, which has been a major conservation project at the Yin Xu site since 2010.

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. As of 2014, however, for various reasons, not all relocated residents had been moved into new houses. The survey results in the present study indicated that this was one reason why locals were dissatisfied with the relocation or even with the site conservation

In 2008, the management organizations related to the Yin Xu site were combined to strengthen conservation efforts. Meanwhile, with increases in the population at the Yin Xu site, illegal construction in the buffer zones was still severe.

In summary, 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. First, land acquisition and home relocation have occurred many times at the Yin Xu site, 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 fifty years to protect the site, and limitations have been placed on the activities of local residents and factories. Third, 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. Lastly, conservation of the Yin Xu site has changed the surrounding environment and improved certain infrastructures, while those improvements are not the most urgent parts in 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. The Han Yangling Site

Han Yangling is the graveyard of the sixth king and queen of the Western Han dynasty. 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 and Jingyang County in Xianyang, as well as Gaoling County in Xi’an. 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, Weicheng District. The area of the Han Yangling site is 12 km², and the protected area of the National Park is 2 km² (fig. 3 and 4).

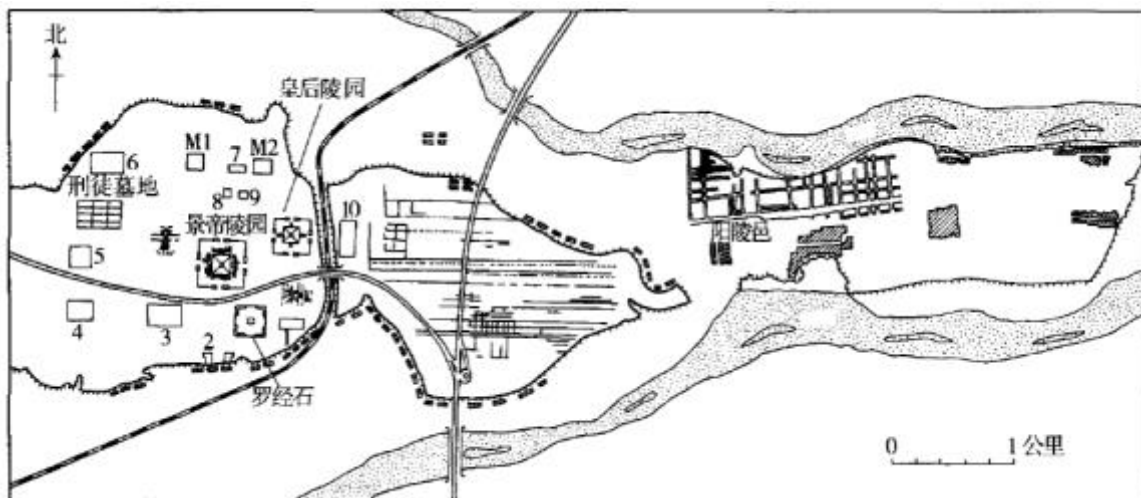


Figure 3 The Area of the Han Yangling Site (Jiao Nanfeng 2006: Figure 1)



Figure 4

The Protected Area of the Han Yangling Museum
(Photo by the author)

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

3.2.1. Discovery Period and Early Excavation

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; this 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 (陕西省博物館) 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.

3.2.2. 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 (陕西省考古研究院). 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.

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 (陕西旅游集团公司) 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 (陕西省文物局) expropriated lands and

indemnified local residents with one-time compensation. Since the area had previously been a plantation and relatively few people lived there, the conflicts between locals and the ruins conservation project were not major. All powers were eventually consolidated in 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.

3.2.3. Establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park and the Development Period

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 in the works. *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 the *Regulations on the Han and Tang Dynasties Mausoleum Protection and Management in Shaanxi Province* (『陝西省漢唐帝王陵保護管理條例』) will be enacted later.

Meanwhile, excavation of the Han Yangling site became more transparent, which means it was opened to the public. In 2010, for example, 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 between May 16 and May 18 in 2011.

In summary, 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 noncentral 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 is as important as improving people’s living standards and quality of life, which are quite inadequate.

4. Survey of Local Residents at the Yin Xu and Han Yangling Sites

To gather the actual opinions of local residents regarding the conservation of archaeological sites, I conducted surveys in relevant villages. I used an accidental sampling approach, which means I spent a certain amount of time in the village and sent prepared questionnaires to all local residents. I also interviewed several key persons in the villages.³

³ Moreover, I referenced news and reports that were related to residents’ attitudes about the sites. I also

4.1. The Yin Xu Site

4.1.1. Approach and Respondents

I wandered around the villages of Xiaotun and Xiaosikong for one day each and sent out questionnaires to the local residents through accidental sampling. I also sent questionnaires to the locals working in the Archaeological Institute of Yin Xu site. In total, I obtained thirty-four valid questionnaires.

4.1.2. Statistics and Analysis

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

4.1.2.1. Understanding of the Yin Xu Site

Four questions in my prepared questionnaire for the Yin Xu site were related to this topic (Table 1).

Table 1 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 in Yin Xu site?	8	25	24	75	32
Do you know some representative remains from 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, 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.

4.1.2.2. Knowledge of Yin Xu Site Conservation and Interest in Yin Xu Site Utilization

Two questions were related to knowledge of Yin Xu site conservation (Table 2).

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. However, from the interviews with administrators, I learned that local residents had received many advertisements for the site. For example, while developing the conservation plan, local residents' opinions were taken into consideration.

Table 2 Knowledge of Yin Xu Site Conservation

Have you heard about	A. Never	B. Only the title	C. A little bit	D. Some parts	E. Very clear	Num. %
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interviewed some managers and archaeologists to verify the opinions gathered from the limited field research. To ensure anonymity, all interviewees use pseudonyms.

<i>Regulations on Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang, Henan Province?</i>	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

On the other hand, the situation regarding interest in site utilization was quite different, according to data gathered from two questions (Table 3).

Table 3 Interest in Yin Xu Site Utilization

Do you want to participate in making 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	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	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 the 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 with regard to knowing the protection regulations and plans and wanting to participate in site protection and utilization. It is clear, however, that the introduction of the site to the local residents has been far from satisfactory.

4.1.2.3. 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 Figure 5.

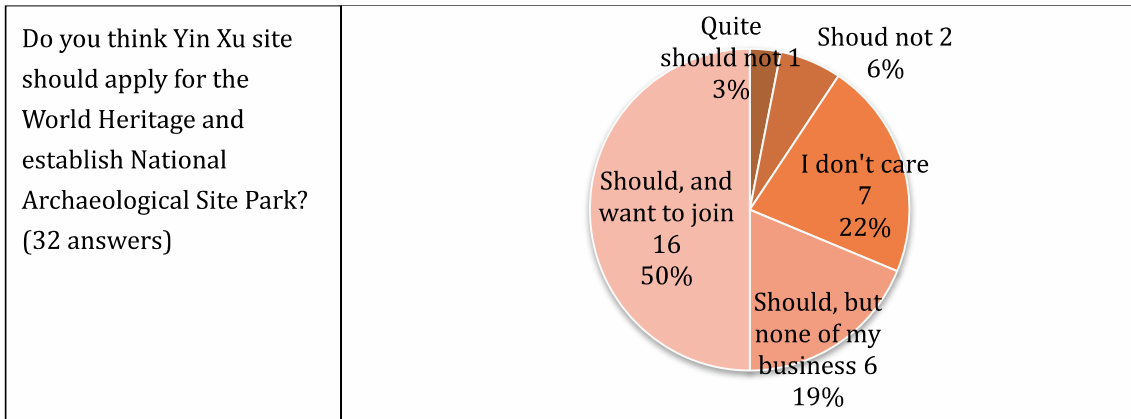


Figure 5 The Approval Rating of World Heritage Declaration and National Archaeological Site Park Establishment at the Yin Xu Site

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 did not pay much attention to the events surrounding the Yin Xu site in their hometown.

4.1.2.4. Attitudes about Relocation

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 4).

Table 4 Attitude of Local Residents Before and After Relocation in 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	3	100
Are you satisfied with the conditions for relocation or land expropriation now?	A. Not satisfy	B.A little dissatisfy	C. I'm not sure	D.A little satisfy	E. Very satisfy	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.

Wang Li (王立 2012: Table 2 and 3) 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 5 and 6). Furthermore, four options were offered with 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. With only four options,

however, it could be that their opinions were not fully expressed.

Table 5 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 6 If You Had a Choice, Would You Choose Relocation?

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

4.1.2.5. Benefits Accompanying Yin Xu Site Conservation

Here, “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 Figure 6 aimed to determine whether site conservation brought benefits to local residents.

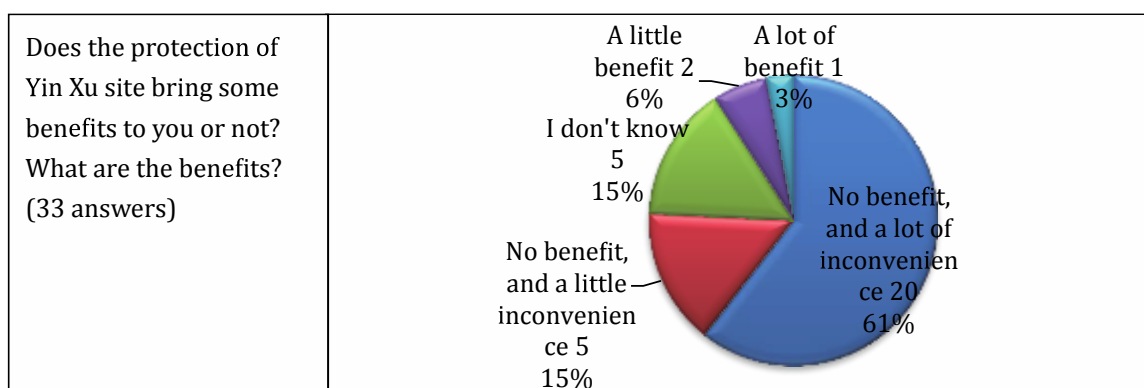


Figure 6 Benefits Accompanying Yin Xu Site Conservation

Seventy-six percent of local residents thought archaeological site conservation brought no benefits; only 9% believed it did bring benefits. Although traffic and the environment had completely changed in the area since the project started, people might not have paid attention to those aspects. Furthermore, the economic benefits did not satisfy their requirements before relocation. A minority of people obtained actual benefits from site conservation.

4.1.2.6. Main Difficulties in Residents' Livelihoods

Before conducting the field research, based on news and reports it appeared that illegal construction might have been the biggest issue in archaeological site conservation. However, the responses to the question shown in Figure 7 show a different situation.

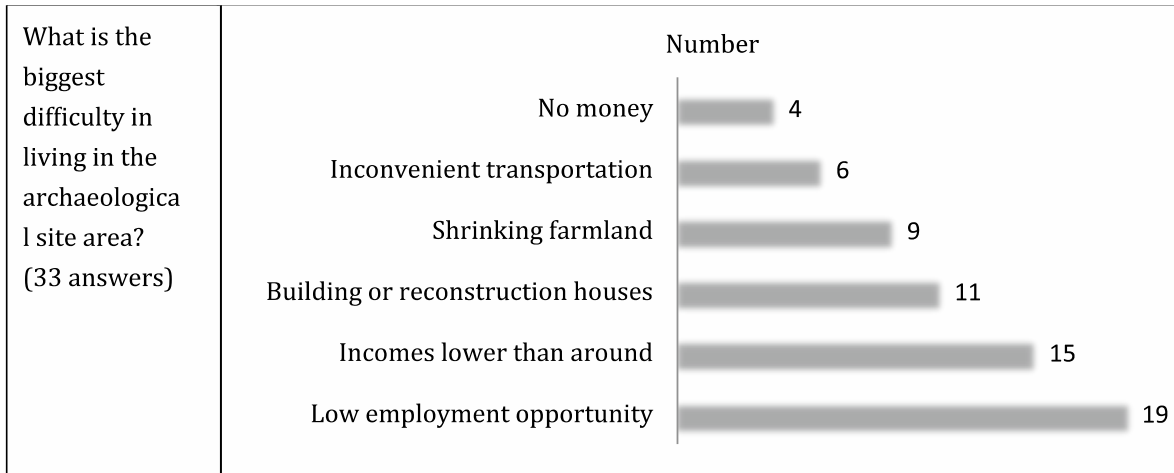


Figure 7 Main Difficulties in Local Residents' Livelihood in Yin Xu Site (Plural Statistics)

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. Meanwhile, 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 was lower than that of the surrounding villages. This means local residents had to give up their economic benefits to protect the archaeological site. This is also one reason why they were not proud of the site.

4.1.2.7. Belongings of 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 Figure 8.

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.

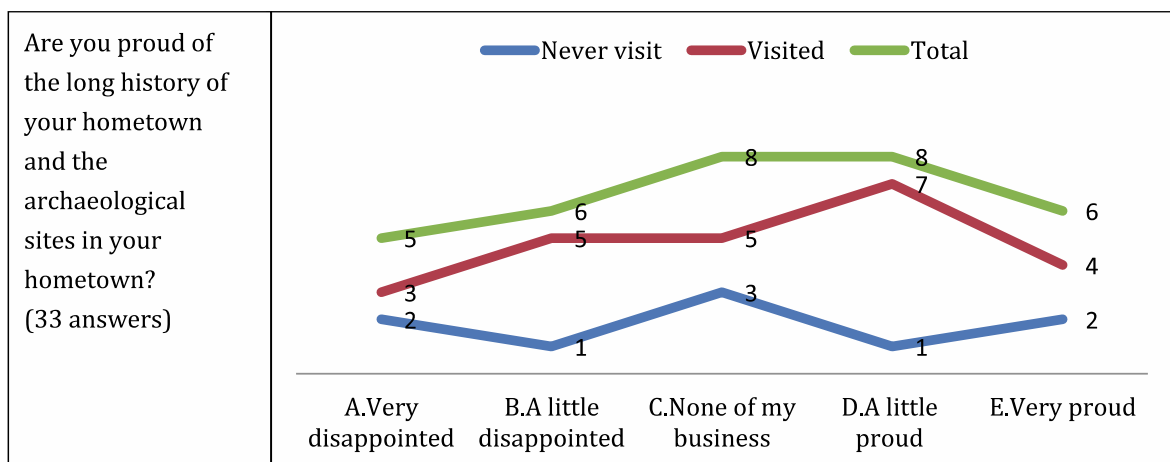


Figure 8 The Comparison between Visit the Site or Not and How Proud of the Site by Local Residents in Yin Xu Site

4.2. The Han Yangling Site

4.2.1. Approach and Respondents

I wandered around Zhangjiangwan village for two days and sent questionnaires to the local residents through accidental sampling. I also sent questionnaires to the local residents working in Han Yangling Museum, where the villagers were also from Hougou village. In total, twenty valid questionnaires were obtained.

4.2.2. Statistics and Analysis

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

4.2.2.1. Understanding of the Han Yangling Site

Four questions in my prepared questionnaire for the Han Yangling site were related to this topic (Table 7).

Table 7 Understanding of 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 in Han Yangling site?	1	5.6	17	94.4	18
Do you know some representative remains from 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.

4.2.2.2. Knowledge of Han Yangling Site Conservation and Interest in Han Yangling Site Utilization

Two questions were related to the knowledge of conservation at the Han Yangling site (Table 8).

Table 8 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 explain 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

Fourteen respondents out of eighteen did not know about the protection regulations, and fifteen

out of nineteen had not heard of the protection laws and regulations. Only a few local residents knew about the protection regulations and plans for the site in their hometown.

Regarding interest in site utilization, the situation was quite different based on the two relevant questions in the questionnaire (Table 9).

Table 9 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	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	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 the 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 in Han Yangling site is similar as Yin Xu site that local residents still do not familiar with the conservation.

4.2.2.3. The Attitude of National Archaeological Site Park Establishment in the Han Yangling Site

The question shown in Figure 9 below aimed to gather locals' opinions about the establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park.

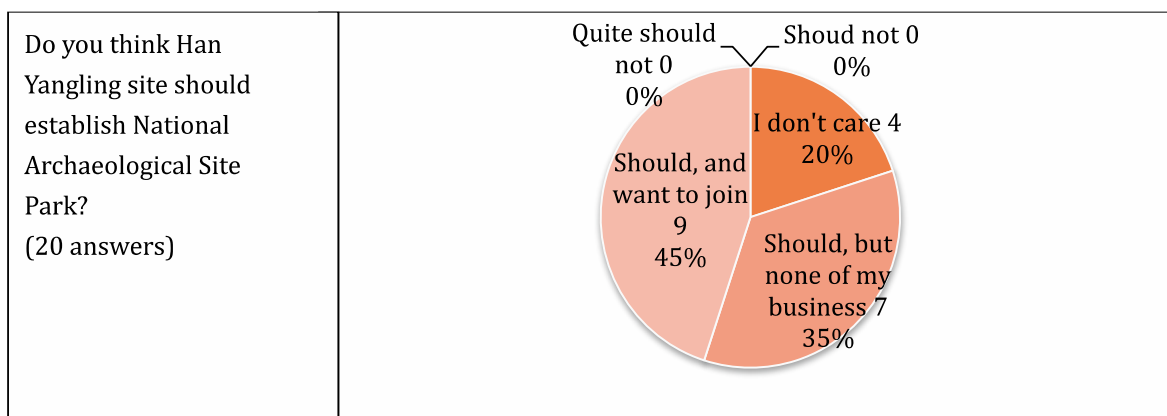


Figure 9 The Approval Rating of National Archaeological Site Park Establishment in the Hang Yangling Site

Eighty percent of local residents supported the establishment of a National Archaeological Site Park, but less than half had reasons for their agreement. Twenty percent did not care about the event. The situation at the Han Yangling site is similar to the Yin Xu site in that more than half of the local residents did not pay much attention to events surrounding the archaeological site in their hometown.

4.2.2.4. Attitudes about Expropriation

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 acquired. Residents' attitudes were gathered through the two questions below (Table 10).

Table 10 Attitude of Local Residents Before and After Land Expropriation in 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 dissatisfy	B.A little dissatisfy	C. I'm not sure	D.A little satisfy	E. Very satisfy	Num. %
	5	3	5	1	1	15
	33.3	20	33.3	6.7	6.7	100

At Han Yangling site, local residents did not initially care about land expropriation. After the expropriation, however, they 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 was not perfect, expropriated land was not well used, or there have been changes in the thinking of contemporary people.

4.2.2.5. 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 Figure 10 aimed to determine whether site conservation brought benefits to local residents.

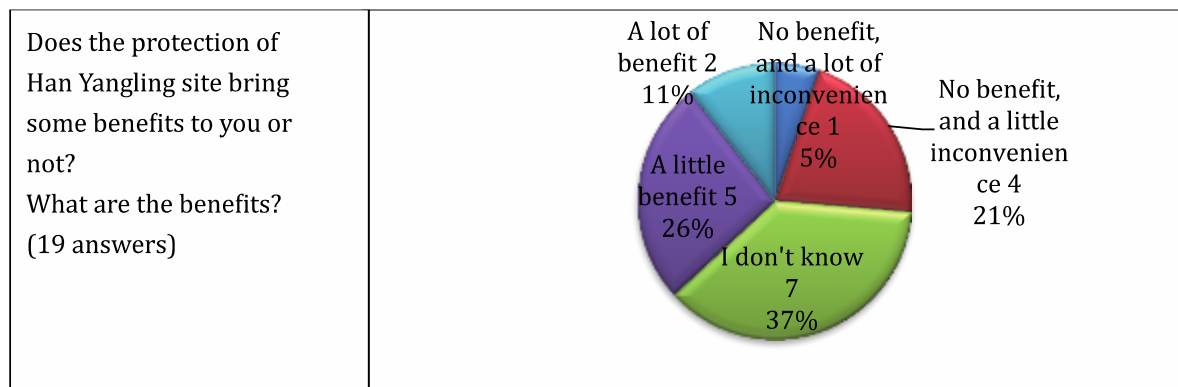


Figure 10 The Benefit Accompanying Han Yangling Site Conservation

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 some people recognized the benefits of site conservation.

4.2.2.6. Main Difficulties in Residents' Livelihoods

The question shown in Figure 11 below aimed to determine the single biggest issue for local resident at the Han Yangling site.

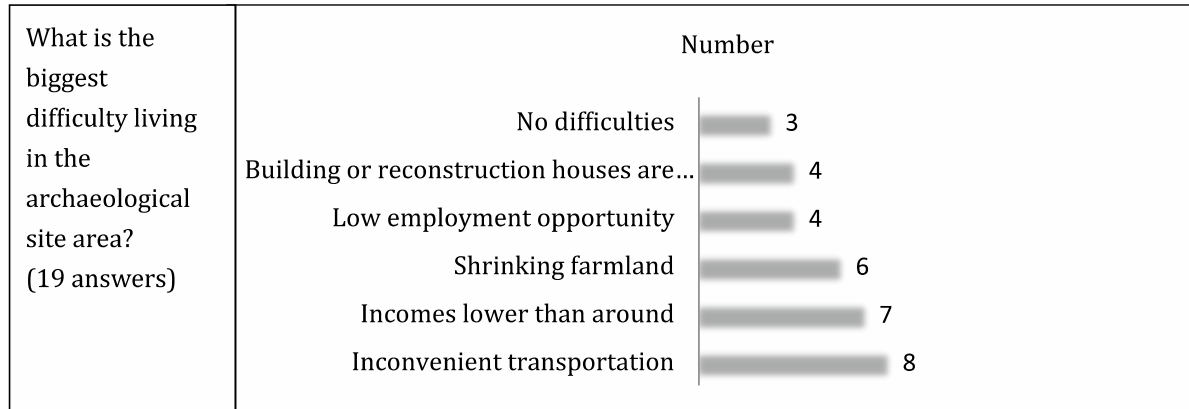


Figure 11 The Main Difficulties in Local Residents' Livelihood in Han Yangling Site (Plural Statistics)

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 with the village or the local residents.

As with the Yin Xu site, the income of the villages in and nearby the site was lower than that of the surrounding villages.

However, the reconstruction of the houses was not the main urgent issue for both two sites.

4.2.2.7. Belongings of the Han Yangling Site

The situation regarding belongings was ascertained through the following question in Figure 12.

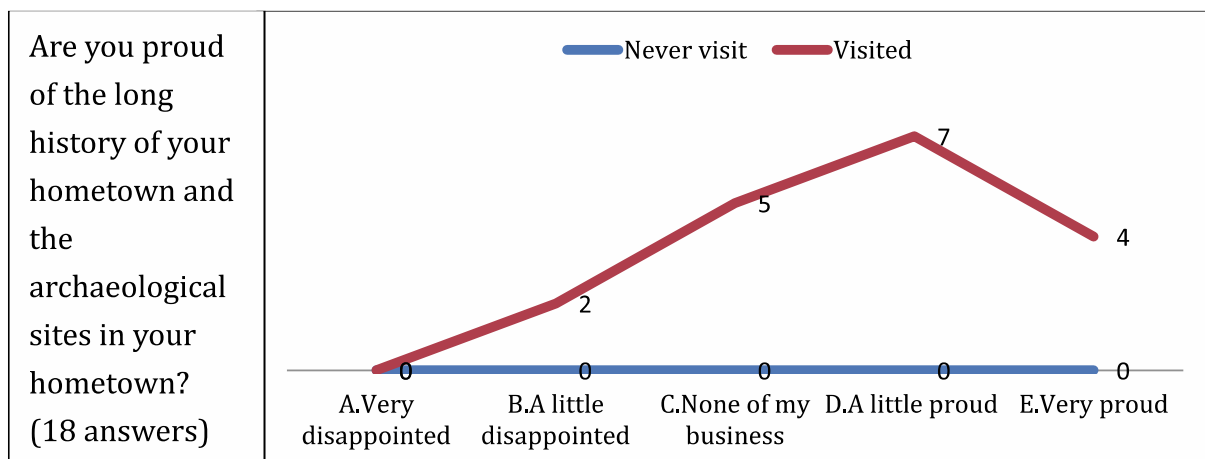


Figure 12 The Comparison between Visit the Site or Not and How Proud of the Site by Local Residents in Han Yangling Site

All the residents have 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. Knowledge of the site can also help them be proud of it.

5. Disparities with Local Residents in Archaeological Site Conservation

Many disparities are mentioned in the data presented above. Three of them will be discussed and analyzed.

5.1. Disparity between High Expectations of Tourism and Economic Benefits from Archaeological Site Conservation and the Unprosperous Situation in Reality

Many administrators focus on ideas that archaeological sites can be conserved through major events such as World Heritage designation and establishing a National Archaeological Site Park. Moreover, the surrounding environment and basic infrastructure can be improved, and economic development can be achieved through tourism and real estate. Local residents pay a lot of attention to economic value as well. Actually, for archaeological site conservation, it mainly brings social and ecological benefits to the region, such as culture, education, and environmental improvement. Such situations are rather far removed from the desires of local residents and administrators.

Although some events can provide some 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 major gap.

Such events may give locals some opportunities for new business as well. However, the number of visitors to Yin Xu fell from 2,400,400 between July 16 and August 15, 2006—when the site was nominated for 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, in the Han Yangling site, the route to the museum does not stop at the surrounding villages, so no business goes to the villages.

The conservation of archaeological sites is the duty of all human beings. Many administrators and archaeologists have proposed giving Cultural Relic Protection Compensation (文物保護補償金) directly to local residents. At the Liangzhu site (良渚), Yuhang District allocates five million RMB per year to local residents for losses caused by the protection of the site. The budget comes from the county-level government, not 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 with the Yin Xu site. To achieve such a goal, those sites would need national-level regulations. It is difficult, however, to pay compensation for all sites in the country at the national level. As such, achieving this goal remains difficult for most sites.

5.2. Disparity between Requests for High Resident Participation and Low Participation in Reality

Archaeological site conservation requests the support and participation of local residents. With the active participation of locals, archaeological site conservation can be stable and sustaining. However, actual participation remains low.

One reason is a lack of stable long-term communication between government and local residents in archaeological site conservation. Although some forums are used to invite local residents when the conservation plans are being made, communication remains insufficient.

A lack of understanding by residents is a key factor in their low participation as well. For example, more than 95% of residents at the Yin Xu site and 75% at Han Yangling did not know about the conservation plan. Meanwhile, more than 50% of residents wanted to participate in site utilization but did not know how to go about it.

Furthermore, archaeological site conservation imposes many limitations on residents' lives and productive capabilities, such as house reconstruction, livestock breeding, and factory relocation. Meanwhile, no rules have been proposed to feasibly compensate them for the damages.

5.3. Site Conservation, Display, and Utilization are Mainly for the General Public, Overlooking Local Residents

Generally speaking, archaeological site conservation aims to conserve and pass down cultural heritage. Specifically, it is to share the achievement of the archaeological sites 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 mainly focused on tourists. Moreover, archaeological sites offer few events that are related or attractive to local residents.

At the Han Yangling site, the experience activities are mainly for tourist groups and require reservations. The Yin Xu site, meanwhile, offers no experience activities. Neither site has displays or other elements that would connect local residents with the site.

Publicity and education programs related to archaeological sites and their history for primary and junior high school students are discontinuous and uncommon.

Yin Xu and Han Yangling are both National Archaeological Site Parks, and tickets for the two sites are rather expensive—90 RMB for the Yin Xu site and 80 RMB for Han Yangling in 2014. 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 a 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 is true of the Han Yangling Museum—it used to 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 can visit the museum for free. However, local residents Y said this does not always work.

6. Suggestions for Archaeological Site Conservation and Local Residents

In light of the three disparities identified above, three suggestions are offered.

6.1. Seek Economic Benefits for Locals under the Premise of Site Conservation

It is mentioned that archaeological site conservation should focus on cultural, regional, social, and ecological benefits. Under the premise of site conservation, some approaches can be considered to help local residents who are affected economically by the process. Since employment in National Archaeological Site Parks and other related organizations or direct compensation are not currently feasible, other approaches should be considered. Some specific approaches may emerge based on the situation of each site.

6.1.1. Help Local Residents Become Self-employed

Since management organizations cannot offer positions to local residents, encouraging them to find jobs by themselves or become self-employed should be considered. However, this approach has its own difficulties.

One type of self-employment is to open a souvenir shop or restaurant near the site. There are not very many souvenir shops or restaurants near the Han Yangling site. At the Yin Xu site, some restaurants are opening, but some have already closed. Now, the government of Yindu District is considering ways to reopen souvenir shops and restaurants.

Another means of self-employment is to establish a local company. In the Capital of Shang Media Company, an art troupe mainly organized by Xiaotun villagers performed very well for about two years. However, it eventually dissolved due to a lack of both financial and governmental support.

6.1.2. Use Nongovernmental Capital in Site Conservation and Utilization

In recent years, nongovernmental capital has entered the field of archaeological site conservation. The Tang West Market Museum (大唐西市博物館), built on the Tang West Market ruins, is a typical case in which funds were raised from nongovernmental capital.

At the Yin Xu site, the Anyang Team of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute and the government of Yindu District used nongovernmental capital to establish the rose garden. The basic premise was that the roots of roses are light and thus 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 widely accepted would be acceptable and expandable.

Professor T from the Anyang Team of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute said that archaeological site conservation should not occupy a site area without doing anything; it should develop some aesthetic activities with economic value. He also emphasized that archaeological site conservation should assign the practical work to local residents.

6.1.3. Minimize Impacts on Local Residents in Archaeological Site Conservation

There are three ways in which site conservation should minimally impact local residents. First, with

regard to planting grass, it is preferable to keep the previous crops if they do not destroy ruins. Second, if possible, it is better not to relocate residents. Third, archaeological site conservation should be considered as part of the process of social change, which cannot be accomplished all at once or over a short period.

For relocation, it should be ensured that the process goes smoothly if unavoidable. There are generally two reasons why locals are disappointed with relocation: one is that the relocation area is much worse than where the locals lived before; the other is that the process is not smooth. 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 they would be moved into new houses within two years. As of 2014, however, they had not yet moved into the new houses. At the Liangzhu site, however, prior to relocation preparations were made, and a new plan for the basic infrastructure was implemented.

6.2. Build Close Relationships between Administrators and Locals in Site Conservation

With good communication, the wishes and requirements of local residents can be clearly understood. However, communication between administrators and local residents in archaeological site conservation remains inadequate. On the one hand, communication methods should be established; on the other hand, basic information about the archaeological sites should be well known to local residents.

6.2.1. Establish a Platform for Communication

To strengthen communication, there is a need for regular forums in which participants (e.g., administrators, archaeologists, local residents and journalists) can freely express their opinions. Alternatively, local organizations that include local residents could exchange the ideas with government offices, institutes and other groups.

6.2.2. Increase Opportunities to Spread Knowledge about the Site

An example of this strategy would be regular live presentations given by archaeologists about the archaeological sites. With current advanced technologies, people can get a lot of information on the Internet. However, archaeology is still mysterious to the public, and the discovery of ancient ruins and remains is attractive.

In Japan, archaeologists give live presentations to the public as a regular part of the site excavation process. This is a good way to give people more information about the site and archaeology in general. In China, however, while archaeologists will sometimes give live presentations to the public, it is not a regular activity. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to give such presentations, and perhaps Chinese archaeologists can try to make this a more regular activity.

6.3. Increase Local Residents' Sense of Belonging and Identification with the Site

Humans have deep feelings for their hometowns; this is known as *topophilia*. Regardless of where people go or how society changes, the natural and cultural environments of their hometowns influence them significantly. Such particularity and significance for local residents should be considered in

archaeological site conservation.

6.3.1. Strengthen Connections between Ancient Sites and Contemporary People

One example of this approach is creating a new type of exhibition related to local residents or contemporary society. Archaeological museums display ruins and remains from thousands of years ago. While some people are interested in history and museums, others find ancient things irrelevant. Therefore, even people who have a chance to visit a site or museum for free might not go at all. The issue arises, then, of how to make an ancient archaeological site familiar to contemporary people.

The Daming Palace Heritage Museum (大明宮遺址博物館) was built at the center of the Daming Palace ruins. In one attractive exhibition room, there are photos and real materials from the villages that were removed from the site to display the whole ruins to the public. When local residents visit this room, they not only learn the history of Daming Palace but also sense their own contributions to the display. Such an exhibition arouses residents' feelings for their hometown and enhances their identification with the local culture. Moreover, the general public learns that some people gave up their homes for the conservation of the site. This method could be referenced for other sites.

6.3.2. Local Cultural Education for Primary and Junior High School Students

While local education has been employed at many archaeological sites, it needs to be more standardized. The typical methods are campus education on archaeology, museums, or cultures. The establishment of Chinese Cultural Heritage Day⁴ in 2006 reflects the popularization of such activities. Many events have been initiated since then, and introducing archeology or history to campuses is one such development.

For instance, at the Han Yangling and the Yin Xu sites, the staff sometimes introduces the archaeological sites to local students as well as those from faraway primary and junior high schools, and even universities. The methods include lectures, displays, touching or making replicas of artifacts, and interactive games. However, the frequency and scope of these activities need to be more firmly established.

Publishing textbooks is another recently introduced method. During the World Heritage nomination process at the Liangzhu site, many events were considered and implemented. In 2014, the Liangzhu Committee (良渚遺址管理區管理委員會) compiled and published textbooks on Liangzhu culture. These textbooks are now used by fourth- and seventh-year students in Yuhang District, who will be tested on the contents at their final examinations. The Liangzhu Committee has also implemented plans to train history teachers to teach these textbooks. This training project is ongoing, and the effects remain to be seen.

Such activities for primary and junior high school students can help children to understand and appreciate their hometowns. They can also help parents and other family members understand the site. However, it is important for staff to show initiative and enthusiasm in this process of advertising to

⁴ The State Council made an announcement concerning enhancements to cultural heritage conservation on December 22, 2005. One article stipulates that beginning in 2006, the second Saturday of June will be Chinese Cultural Heritage Day.

or educating local residents. On one hand, this is related to occupational qualifications of the staff to meet the requirements of their jobs. On the other hand, it relates to implementing policies that can encourage staff to work harder and sustain the activities.

6.3.3. Free or Discounted Tickets

There are currently no clear rules regarding free or discounted tickets for local residents to enter archaeological site museums or parks. Most museums in China are free to the public, but only some site museums follow that regulation which still requires tickets.

Local residents cannot get free or discounted tickets to visit sites in their hometowns. However, I think such free or discounted tickets should be made available since local residents have a right to easily learn about their history. Regardless of whether all residents want such access and knowledge, the ability to visit sites should be a basic condition.

7. Conclusion

By reviewing conservation processes at the Yin Xu and Han Yangling sites, conducting field research on local residents, and interviewing administrators and other stakeholders, this study identified three disparities related to local residents in the process of archaeological site conservation. The first disparity concerns the purpose of site conservation in which high expectations for tourism and economic benefits are coupled with unprosperous situations in reality. The second disparity concerns the implementation of archaeological site conservation in which there is a high request for local participation coupled with low participation in reality. The last disparity concerns the way site conservation, display, and utilization are mainly geared toward the general public and lack relevance for local residents. For each case, some possible causes were given.

Three general suggestions were put forward to solve these issues: (1) considering economic benefits for locals under the premise of site conservation, (2) building close relationships between administrators and locals, and (3) increasing locals' sense of belonging and identification. Several specific approaches were suggested as well, and their feasibility should be considered. Some approaches, such as local cultural education, have already been implemented, but they need to be more standardized. Other approaches—such as strengthening the connections between ancient sites and contemporary people, helping locals become self-employed, and introducing nongovernmental capital—are difficult to realize. For the near future, there is a need for more varied ideas, meticulous plans, and multiple supports. The remaining approaches—such as establishing platforms for communication—are very much needed but take time to implement.

The process of Chinese archaeological site conservation involves considering the best ways to conserve sites. Therefore, there is an urgent need to find feasible solutions to issues related to local residents' living in the site areas. After such issues are resolved, the next step will be to expand upon the various utilizations of archaeological sites, such as holding archaeological site festivals.

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