

CASE STUDIES IN LARGE-SCALE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT IN CHINA: THE LIANGZHU, YIN XU, AND HAN YANGLING SITES

Estudos de caso sobre conservação e gestão de sítios arqueológicos de grande escala na China: Os sítios Liangzhu, Yin Xu e Han Yangling

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ABSTRACT

Conservation of what are termed large-scale archaeological sites in China has been undertaken since the turn of the twenty-first century due to increasing threats posed by natural disasters and urbanization, as well as the needs to display and utilize these archaeological sites. Changing administrative structures and new approaches to conserving and utilizing large-scale sites are attempting to address these threats and needs. This paper presents a classification of these large-scale sites, as well as three typical cases for a detailed discussion. Using published literature and field surveys, this study addresses two main issues. The first issue is how governmental agencies adjust current organizations and mechanisms in order to satisfy the social, ecological, and economic requirements of a project. The second issue is how governmental agencies identify the responsibilities of different stakeholders in relation to the conservation of archaeological sites within the context of local development.

Keywords: Chinese Large-Scale Archaeological Site; heritage site conservation; site management and mechanisms; stakeholders; local development

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RÉSUMÉ

Depuis le début du vingt-et-unième siècle, on a vu en Chine un développement de la conservation des sites archéologiques à grande échelle face aux menaces croissantes issues de l'urbanisation ou des catastrophes naturelles, mais aussi face au besoin d'exposer et d'utiliser les sites archéologiques. Pour répondre aux difficultés posées par ce défi, des changements de structures administratives ainsi que de nouvelles approches de conservation et d'utilisation des sites à grande échelle ont été mis en œuvre. Ce texte présente dans le détail la classification des cas typiques de ces sites à grande échelle. Puis, s'appuyant sur la littérature et des enquêtes de terrain, il cherche à résoudre deux questions fondamentales. Premièrement, de quelle manière les agences gouvernementales adaptent les organisations et mécanismes existants pour répondre aux exigences sociales, écologiques et économiques de ces projets ? Deuxièmement, comment identifier les responsabilités des différents acteurs dans la conservation de sites archéologiques dans des contextes de développement local ?

Mots-clés: sites archéologiques chinois à grande échelle, conservation des sites patrimoniaux, mécanismes de gestion des sites, intervenants, développement local

RESUMO

Desde o começo do século 21, a China desenvolve projetos de conservação de sítios arqueológicos em grande escala diante das ameaças ligadas à urbanização e às catástrofes naturais, bem como diante da necessidade de mostrar e usar os sítios arqueológicos. Para resolver as dificuldades encontradas, houve modificações de estruturas administrativas como desenvolvimento de novos meios de conservação e uso de sítios de grande escala. Este texto apresenta de forma detalhada a classificação dos casos típicos destes sítios. Apoiando-se na literatura como em pesquisas de campo, o texto tenta resolver duas interrogações fundamentais. A primeira, trata de entender a maneira cuja as agências governamentais adaptam as organizações e os mecanismos existentes para cumprir as exigências sociais, econômicas e ecológicas destes projetos. A segunda, procura esclarecer como identificar as responsabilidades dos diferentes atores na conservação de sítios arqueológicos em contextos de desenvolvimento local.

Palavras-chave: sítios arqueológicos chineses em grande escala, conservação dos sítios patrimoniais, mecanismos de gestão dos sítios, partes interessadas, desenvolvimento local

1. Introduction

The term large-scale archaeological site here refers to large and significant ancient ruins. More than 500 of such sites in China urgently need protection from increasing natural disasters and encroaching urbanization. They also require proper interpretive displays so that they can be used as cultural resources (State Administration of Cultural Heritage and State Ministry of Finance, 2006).¹ The Chinese national government implemented its programme of Chinese Large-Scale Archaeological Site Conservation (hereafter CLASC) at the turn of the twenty-first century. In doing so, the government increased its efforts to promote archaeological conservation, management, and site displays, while also improving urban construction and people's standard of living. This programme is an attempt at sustainable development that integrates ecological, social, and economic benefits.

In 2005, the State Ministry of Finance established special funds for the conservation of large-scale sites and other valuable cultural relics (objects and monuments). It planned to offer 2 billion yuan (approx. 300 million USD) for the CLASC programme during the National 11th Five-Year Plan (2006–2010). In 2006, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and the State Ministry of Finance promoted the *Master Plan for Large-Scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National 11th Five-Year Plan (2006–2010)*. It pointed out the preliminary requirements of establishing management systems and compiling conservation regulations and plans, including guidelines for building archaeological parks. It identified and listed the first 100 large-scale archaeological sites and the first 12 national archaeological site parks. In 2013, these two administrations created the *Special Plan for Large-Scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National 12th Five-Year Plan (2011–2015)*, which failed to mention the exact amount of funds allocated, but continued to implement the projects. It added more 50

¹ Chinese names and titles are given in English translation throughout (translations by author when official translations are unavailable).

sites to the list and included plans to build more 12 site parks. The mid-term evaluation was carried out in 2013, suggesting the ongoing implementation of the CLASC programme by the national government. In late 2016, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage proposed the *Special Plan for Large-Scale Archaeological Site Conservation during the National 13th Five Year Plan (2016–2020)*. It continues to promote the CLASC programme in order to develop local economies and to promote cultural interpretation. It includes clear requirements for improving the displays and services offered at large-scale sites. Furthermore, it states that the CLASC programme should coordinate with regional cultural heritage frameworks, which can address projects at the local level. Thus, these projects could become responsible for improving cultural functions in cities.

The CLASC programme has spanned three different five-year plans, with interesting results. The content of the programs is now more nuanced, with precise numbers, site names, and areas of focus. Meanwhile, the number of large-scale sites and national archaeological site parks is increasing, and as a result, the protective coverage is broader in scope. However, other than research on the theory and practice of large-scale archaeological site conservation, detailed information related to adjusting the management system and integrating stakeholders remains insufficient (MENG, 2012). CLASC as a new approach poses many challenges to current management organizations and mechanisms, which also influences the stakeholders' considerations. Can the general management system adapt to the new requirements of CLASC? Are there any adjustments required by the newly identified organizational issues? How should the preservation of significant sites be dealt with while balancing the residents' livelihoods and the entire area's development? Several areas need improvement based on this study's evaluation of current conditions.

This study examined published documents about the CLASC programme and then conducted field surveys. From July 26–September 26, 2014, I surveyed the selected sites featured in this paper (Figure 1). Some local residents were interviewed using a questionnaire, and a judgment-sampling approach was used to conduct semi-structured interview with administrators, managers,

archaeologists, some villagers, and related persons. Some respondents had already been pre-determined, and questions were prepared for the fixed-research questions. In the field studies, the questionnaires were anonymous, and the interviewees used an assumed name with permission.

Figure 1 Map of China featuring sites mentioned



2. Research Issues

As the CLASC programme has grown, five different aspects of planning 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 Sites* (2016). Second, more organizations related to

research, planning, and management of significant sites are actively participating in conservation planning to ensure proper implementation. This participation has resulted in the *Master Plan for Anyang Yin Xu Site Conservation* (2002)² and the *Master Plan for Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Conservation* (2013). Third, management organizations and mechanisms are continually adjusted and improved. One example is the establishment of comprehensive and enterprise-oriented institutions, such as the Liangzhu Site District Management Committee and the Xi'an Qujiang Daming Palace National Archaeological Site Park Management Co., Ltd. Four, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage has already held many forums for related staff to discuss their experiences, share achievements, and promote the CLASC programme. Forums held at Xi'an, Liangzhu, Jingzhou, and Luoyang highlighted many new concepts. Finally, citizens' awareness of archaeological site conservation is increasing. In the 2013 case of "Fuzhou Subway Construction Meets Archaeological Sites," the increasing local demands for the protection of the 2200-year-old Minyue City Ruins resulted in their preservation. In that specific case, site protection won out over the construction project.

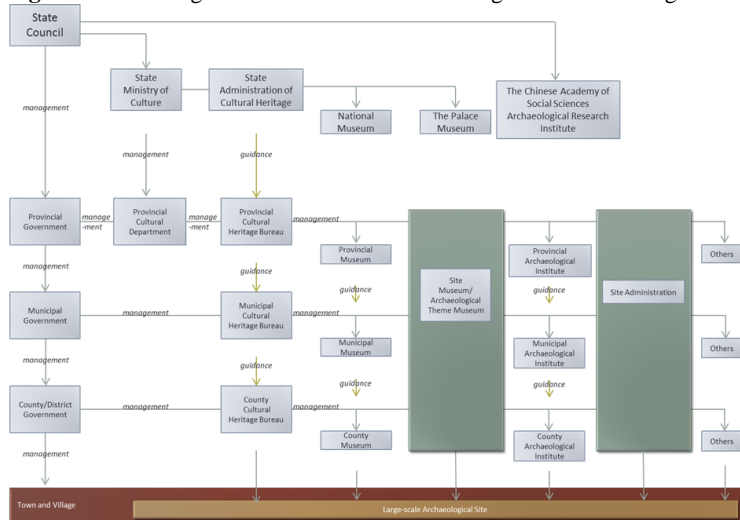
However, serious issues have emerged in the process of the implementation of CLASC, and many challenges remain. For instance, only a small number of sites are regulated, and most conservation plans have not yet been implemented. Some sites lack a management organization and dedicated staff, and the rank of their management organizations is too low to be effective. Funding (shared equally by the national and local governments) is limited and is affected by local economic inequality. Finally, there are frequent conflicts with local residents. For example, at the Yin Xu site, several rows of houses were constructed within 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.

² These master plans are not published but available for consultation at the Cultural Relics Bureau, Management Organization and other related organizations.

In the following discussion, this paper makes some suggestions for solving these issues. In the following section, the sites are classified by the type of site conservation and management, and the characteristics and the specific problems of each type are outlined. Next, potential adjustments to the management systems are identified. Finally, the responsibilities of related stakeholders are clarified in order to ensure the conservation of archaeological sites during development. Case studies are used to illustrate each of these aspects.

3. The Classification of CLASC

CLASC is an elaborate system, including different levels of government, the Cultural Relics Bureau, public institutions, enterprises, and social organizations. Archaeological Research Institutes and museums are also involved in the excavation and display of sites (Figure 2). The three levels of government are the national, provincial, and municipal/county levels. The municipal/county level is often the primary manager of sites and is directed by the provincial and national managements. When sites are managed at the municipal/county level, they have less capacity for site conservation. Challenges may include understaffing, lack of funds, and mismanagement. Site management can also vary among regions, given the number and relative importance of archaeological sites. But some cities and counties do not even have government departments for this. All of these factors limit the development of CLASC.

Figure 2 The management structure for Chinese large-scale archaeological sites

There are three types of management organizations: government administrations, public institutions (including local site administrations and site museums), and state-owned enterprises.

Sites under the authority of government administrations 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 decide on site operations. Site conservation is an important goal, and the outcomes for these projects are primarily education and public benefit. This management type is assigned to sites considered to be high calibre or of significant national importance due to their complexity in their surrounding environments (LIU, 2012, p. 211).

Public institutions, such as site administrations and site museums, are government organizations and do not have direct administrative powers. Their site management follows and implements policies rather than shaping them. Coordination 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 on-site cultural relics and cannot

transfer their ownership. This management type works best for cultural relics of high quality and is relatively easy to implement (LIU, 2012, p. 213-214).

Sites run 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 outcomes for the general public are not necessarily in their mandates. This management type is used for cultural relics and sites of medium quality and importance that are easy to conserve (LIU, 2012, p. 216).

All three types have their advantages and disadvantages. Sites administered 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. Most sites are classified as public institutions, and there are two different sub-types. They could achieve the basic goals of site conservation, but it remains difficult to achieve other CLASC goals due to their low rank. Enterprise management comes with some risks, as conservation is not a priority. This type will not be discussed any further in this paper. The following case studies will present one example of government administration and two examples of publicly managed institutions.

4. Case Studies from the CLASC programme

To examine the CLASC programme, I used three different but typical large-scale sites—Liangzhu, Yin Xu, and Han Yangling—as case studies. During my analysis of site management, conservation, exhibits, and site use, various issues arose, which will be outlined in the following discussion.

4.1. Liangzhu

The Liangzhu site is located in Hangzhou City, downstream from the Yangtze river, and dates to the Neolithic period. The ancient city of Liangzhu is located in the current villages of Daguanshan and Changming, in the town of Pingyao. The archaeological research on Liangzhu includes the origin of rice paddy agriculture, ideology, and jade technology.

4.1.1. Management System

The Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Administration was established in 1987 and transferred to the Liangzhu Site District Management Committee in 2001. The Liangzhu Committee and all the affiliated institutions — the Liangzhu Site Administration, the Liangzhu Museum, and Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd. — collaborated to ensure the protection of the Liangzhu site, established a National Archaeological Site Park, and applied for UNESCO World Heritage status (Figure 3). The development of the Liangzhu ruins as a heritage resource is relatively recent, following the creation of Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd. in 2010. Three subsidiary corporations direct three different projects: Hangzhou Liangzhu Jade Culture Creative Industry is responsible for jade design and research on jade; Hangzhou Meilizhou Management Company is responsible for the management of Meilizhou Gardens, which surround the museum and the National Archaeological Site Park; and Hangzhou Creative Liangzhu Art Company is responsible for the interpretive displays at the Liangzhu site.

The Liangzhu Committee is a new department, outside the regular organizational system of Chinese cultural relics conservation and management, and it affords the site its rare government administration management mechanism. The establishment of such a new organization has brought both advantages and challenges. When compared with public organizations, the Liangzhu Committee has more functions and power in law enforcement. Thus, conservation efforts are efficient, which is seen in the implementation of legislation and cooperation with other departments. For instance, land transfer to create the sites was enacted smoothly; the committee rented land from

construction projects, and law enforcement. Villages in the site area have organizations for further protection, and amateurs assist in conservation work. However, the ruins are directly protected by the Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Administration, which is undertaken by the Liangzhu Committee. The protection of the earthen ruins is challenging due to the high groundwater table and the high levels of rainfall in southern China. The monitoring system used is based on the requirements for World Heritage status. The Liangzhu Committee and the Zhejiang Provincial Archaeological Research Institute have created the Liangzhu Site Archaeology and Protection Center.

Available conservation measures include *Regulations on Liangzhu Site Protection and Management in Hangzhou City* (2002, revised in 2013) and *Master Plan for Hangzhou Liangzhu Site Conservation* (2013). Given the sites' high ranking and management organization, the implementation of these plans faces few difficulties. Villages and factories were relocated from inside the ancient city of Liangzhu in preparation for its nomination for World Heritage status and the establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park. The Liangzhu Committee authorized this project, and it was undertaken by Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd. This state-owned firm organized all relocations and dispensed funds for the compensation. About 600 residents in 3.5 square kilometres and 76 companies in 5.9 square kilometres resettled to two areas termed *nongjudian* (*tr.* residential). All the related farmland was rented by Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd. for 50 years. Based on my interview with one manager, each relocated person was compensated for the lost revenue of 400 kg of rice/mu (approx. 667m²).

The funds for site conservation come from different levels of government, especially the local Yuhang District Government. In 2002–2004, the provincial, municipal, and district governments funded 13 million yuan/year (approx. 2 million USD), while in 2005–2006, they allocated 15 million yuan/year (approx. 2.3 million dollars USD). After 2007, the funding approach changed from a fixed-budget to funding specific preservation projects that were able to use the budget effectively. In addition, the Liangzhu Committee paid out 5 million yuan (approx. 760,000 USD) to locals in compensation in 2004.

4.1.3. Display and Interpretation

Since 2005, the remains of the Liangzhu site have been primarily exhibited in the Liangzhu Museum, which replaced the original Liangzhu Culture Museum, established in 1994 (Figures 4 and 5). Access to the museum and site are free and include public lectures. The Meilizhou Garden was built around the museum as a leisure area for citizens. One challenge is the fact that the location of the museum is outside of the Liangzhu site and the National Archaeological Site Park. The displays have been developed slowly over time, because great care has been taken to protect the earthen ruins before they went on display. Now parts of the northern, southern, and western walls of the ancient city of Liangzhu are presented to the public (Figures 6 and 7). A new project, called the Synthesis of Creative Liangzhu and operated by Meilizhou Enterprise Co. Ltd., will showcase the Liangzhu site using photos, videos, and other, more modern methods.

Figure 4 The Sandy Panorama Model and the Imagine Painting of the Liangzhu site



Figure 5 The courtyard of the Liangzhu Museum



Figure 6 The display at the excavation site of Liangzhu's northern wall



Figure 7 The panel at the excavation site of Liangzhu's northern wall



4.2. *Yin Xu*

Yin Xu was the capital of the middle and late Shang Dynasty. The Yin Xu site is located in the northwest of Anyang City. The core areas of the palace and the royal tombs are located separately, in the current villages of Xiaotun and Wuguan. The archaeological research conducted in Yin Xu focuses on oracle bones, primary state formation, and the creation and trade of bronze.

4.2.1. *Management System*

The management of the Yin Xu site began in 1932. Until the 1980s, two different management structures existed, one for the palace and the other one for the royal tombs. In 1995, the Anyang Municipal Government set up another structure in order to promote the site's protection, the primary purpose of which is fire prevention and site security. In 2008, these were all combined into the current Yin Xu Site Administration at the municipal level, to better integrate these resources (Figure 8). However, the rank of this site administration is low compared with some other sites.

4.2.2. *Site Conservation and Protection*

The Security Safeguard Section in the Yin Xu Site Administration is in charge of protection of the site, but without the power of law enforcement. It conducts basic patrols and prevents illegal activities and can enforce penalties, but it cannot curb the site's destruction. As mentioned by the managers in the Yin Xu Administration, every village in the site area has protective organizations, which initially worked well, but are currently less effective due to weak organization. Therefore, the core area, containing the archaeological park, is well protected, but the buffer zone, where many villagers live, is not.

The Yin Xu Protection Monitoring Center is in charge of protecting the ruins. In conformity with the requirements of World Heritage status, a three-level (national, provincial, and local) monitoring system and a two-tier (national and provincial) inspection system have been established. Many approaches have been adopted in order to protect the ruins, including sealing off part of the original site, restoring part of the original architecture, and covering the ruins with tempered glass or using different materials to highlight the location of the ruins.

Many protection regulations and conservation plans have been written, such as *Regulations on the Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang City* (1982), *Regulations on the Yin Xu Protection and Management in Anyang City, Henan Province* (2001), and *Master Plan for Anyang Yin Xu Site Conservation* (2002). Their implementation is hampered by staff shortages and management problems. Three different relocation projects of villages and factories have been completed. During the first relocation, related to the application for World Heritage status, parts of Xiaotun and Huayuanzhuang villages were relocated. During the second relocation, only six or seven households in Xiaotun village were transferred. During the third relocation, related to the establishment of the National Archaeological Site Park, all remaining sections of Huayuanzhuang village and some further parts of Xiaotun village were resettled. Based on the questionnaire survey at Xiaotun and Huayuanzhuang villages, as well as WANG research (WANG, 2012) the residents are not satisfied with their new living areas or the

compensation offered, and they face stress about their future livelihoods.

The funds for site conservation come from both the national government and local governments. According to the *Regulations on Special Funds for Large-Scale Archaeological Site Conservation*, the national government provides some of the funds for site preservation and display, but the local governments are expected to provide funds as well. In both Anyang City and Yindu District, funds are lacking. The funds allocated for Yin Xu are limited to needs in the park, with no funds for local development.

4.2.3. Display and Interpretation

The Yin Xu Site Museum has been open since 2005. Before the nomination to the World Heritage List, the interpretive goal was to prove the authenticity and significance of Yin Xu to the public. However, challenges ensued during the creation of the museum. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Archaeological Research Institute and the Anyang Municipal Government administered the excavations and displays separately. The Archaeological Research Institute provided the museum content, while the Anyang Municipal Government provided the funds and the land to build the museum. Finally, a new model, called the “Anyang model,” was created (TANG, 2011). However, the success of this depended on two conditions. First, the Archaeological Research Institute provided the museum content for the public, but they reserved special rights to do research. Second, the local government had to find the means to extend the cooperation of the Archaeological Research Institute. The ruins displayed in the palace and ancient shrine area, as well as the royal tombs area, have been displayed in the same way for many years (Figures 9 and 10), and some restoration has taken place. Based on the results of the questionnaires for visitors conducted by the Yin Xu Administration, in which some visitors described the display as difficult to understand, a variety of methods to make the exhibition more participatory are being developed. For instance, archaeologists have suggested the creation of a “Yin and Shang Archaeological World,” with chariot pits, copper workshops, and bridges on the Huan river where visitors can learn about life during the Shang Dynasty.

The interpretation of Yin Xu culture was limited to displays of farmhouses (Figure 11), souvenir shops, and some cultural elements. As many factories were closed in Xiaotun in order to protect the ruins, the villagers turned to cultural industries based on local traditions. With the support of the local government, they established the Capital of Shang Media Company and arranged the *Performance of Shang* (Figure 12). Due to lack of funding, these performances came to an end. However, an interesting outcome of this project is the attempts by the government on behalf of the locals to find a job in the local community.

Figure 9 The ruins of the Yin Xu palace and ancient shrines



Figure 10 The ruins of the Yin Xu royal tombs



Figure 11 Display panel describing a Yin Xu Farmhouse



Figure 12 The *Performance of Shang*
(Source: Used with permission from the Anyang Yindu Culture Research Institute)



4.3. Han Yangling

Han Yangling is the graveyard of the sixth king and queen of the West Han Dynasty, located in the cities of Xianyang and Xi'an. The mausoleum is located on a small hill in the north of the Zhangjiawan and Hougou villages. The archaeological research on Han Yangling focuses on royal funerary rituals and life during the West Han Dynasty.

4.3.1. Management System

The establishment of the Han Yangling Museum is unique in China. Before 1993, Han Yangling was managed by the Cultural Relics Management Office in Weicheng District. Then the management was transferred to the municipal level, but eventually it was given back to the district level because of conflicts with locals. In 1998, the Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Research Institute established the Archaeological Exhibition Hall to display the excavated remains of the Han Yangling site. Management changed from the Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Research Institute to a tourism company—the Han Yangling Tourism Development Co. Ltd.—and, finally, to the Han Yangling Site Museum, in 2009 (Figure 13). During each of these transfers, the primary purpose of the museum changed.

finished in 2011. Some conservation projects have already started, such as land expropriation in the central area of Han Yangling. In 1999, the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau expropriated the land and indemnified residents with a one-time compensation payment. Because the area used to be a plantation and few people lived there, conflicts between the interests of the residents and the protection of the ruins were minimal. Funds for conservation are administered from each level of government by applying for protection projects.

4.3.3. Display and Interpretation

The Archaeological Exhibition Hall shows the remains found at the Han Yangling site and houses additional exhibits. The Underground Museum highlights the many passages surrounding the King's tomb and funerary objects are left in place for display purposes. The south gate, east gate, Luoqing stone, and other ruins are open to the public (Figures 14 and 15). The methods used for protection and display at the Han Yangling site are quite advanced by Chinese standards. The excavated tomb passages have controlled temperature and humidity and allow visitors to see the structure of the tomb. Site development is concentrated within the site park. Visitors can participate in excavations or replicate figurines (Figures 16 and 17). Activities involving Han clothing and ceremonies are held at the south gate. The museum raised deer as a business at one point. An onsite restaurant closed due to lack of customers.

Figure 14 The inside display at the Han Yangling Museum



Figure 15 The restored south gate at Han Yangling

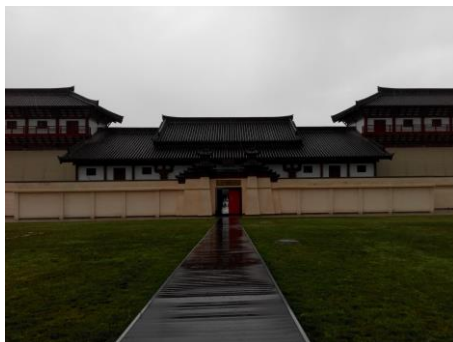


Figure 16 The Experience Zone at Han Yangling



Figure 17 The Experience Room at Han Yangling



5. Discussion and conclusions

Through a review of the literature, three main types of Chinese large-scale archaeological site conservation were identified: government-administered, publicly managed, and museum-administered. A case study analysis of one example of each type

identified specific challenges and solutions for each of these three types.

The first problem is related to the managerial structuring of these organizations. Most CLASC sites have traditionally had a simple and singular function, namely, to conserve archaeological sites that are deemed significant. This works well if conservation is the only goal of the management structure. This does not work when there are additional needs relating to interpretation, display, and local economic development; environmental considerations; and the impact on local residents. Some sites, such as the three case studied analyzed for this paper, have made adjustments to include these needs (Table 1).

Table 1 Comparison of the organization and mandates of the three case study sites

	Liangzhu	Yin Xu	Han Yangling
Organization	Liangzhu Site District Management Committee	Yin Xu Site Administration	Han Yangling Museum
Management System	-Local government -Higher rank and more functions	-Public institution -Lower rank and fewer functions	-Public institution -Lower rank and fewer functions
	Funding: government finances	Funding: ticket sales and local finances	Funding: ticket sales
Site Conservation and Protection	Protection regulations and plans	Protection regulations and plans	Protection regulations and plans
Display	Museum and park	Park (museum at the site)	Museum (in the park)
Site Interpretation	Culture -Local education	Culture and business -Performance	Culture -Ceremony -Public engagement activities
	Environment -Environmental reform	-Environment and business -Tourism -Agriculture	
	Business -Jade business: Meilizhou Enterprise -Modern villas and cultural village	Business -Souvenir shop -Nongjiale (local restaurant)	Business -Restaurant -Raising deer

Several sites have added new organizations to improve their CLASC, such as the Liangzhu Committee. However, new high-level committees cannot be implemented at many sites due to lack of economic and human resources and the additional difficulties of adjusting the original administrative system. Furthermore, whether the Liangzhu Committee will continue operating smoothly after the nomination to the World Heritage List remains to be determined.

Some sites combine and adjust existing organizations to become large-scale sites without changing the function and the rank of the site in a substantial way. The Han Yangling Museum is one example of such a situation that generally functions well. For example, there is a long-established archaeological park, the site conservation and displays are of good quality, and there are few conflicts about site protection, which is made easier because the mausoleum is underground. However, the Han Yangling Museum has not paid much attention to local development. Improving benefits to the local communities should be a goal for Han Yangling.

At times, dissolving previously existing organizations had a very negative influence on a CLASC. The Yin Xu case study is one example. Yin Xu adjusted its organizational structure in order to prepare for its nomination to the World Heritage List. During that period, to solve problems relating to relocation, conservation, and display construction, the Leading Group and its Office for World Heritage Declaration were established at the provincial level. Later, this group was dissolved, and the management of Yin Xu site was entirely transferred to the Yin Xu Site Administration, which is a public institution at the municipal level. This has resulted in many conflicts around the site, which are difficult to resolve. Yin Xu therefore needs to improve its management, and other sites should avoid this drawback.

Another issue is the varying responsibilities of different stakeholders, including administrators, archaeologists, and local residents, and their approaches to dealing with site conservation while also considering the inhabitants' livelihoods and local development (Table 2). If residents are being asked to forego their livelihood and relocate from their homes for the sake of an archaeological site, administrators and archaeologists should shoulder the responsibility for the residents' welfare as well as due compensation.

Table 2 Comparison of the opinions of the three different stakeholder groups

	Local Residents	Archaeologists	Cultural Administrators
Improve quality of living standards	-Self-employment	-Participate in creation of site conservation plan (balancing goals of site conservation and those of the local residents)	-Offer compensation for cultural relic protection -Improve basic infrastructures -Support local activities
Enhance cultural influence	-Free tickets/ discount tickets -Special opening day events	-Pay attention to displays and the utilization of sites - Provide presentations of archaeological sites -Conduct public engagement activities such as excavations that include the public	-Enhance local cultural education (especially that of primary and junior high school students) -Create new exhibits to connect ancient sites and contemporary populations
Achieve regional social and ecological benefits			-Adjust management organizations to upgrade ranks and expand functions -Cooperate with other departments to protect sites at the same time as protecting forests, farmlands, and waterways - Renovating houses need in rural areas -Find new ways protect CGAS: National archaeological site parks, etc.

Administrators have access to a variety of solutions. CLASC could solve problems and satisfy residents by offering to protect cultural relics at sites like the Liangzhu site, and by hiring and training residents in order to provide them with better incomes, and extending and improving local transportation beyond the Han Yangling site. Not just the economic value, but also the cultural and educational value of large-scale sites should be emphasized.

Publishing textbooks for elementary and middle school students in Yuhang District started in 2014 based on the Liangzhu site. This helps students learn about their hometowns and helps raise awareness about the importance of local heritage at a young age. Many media campaigns also covered the registration of Yin Xu on the World Heritage List. In future, new kinds of exhibitions, which make connections between the ancient site and contemporary people, as well as travelling exhibitions, should also be considered. These approaches should be regularly reviewed in order to evaluate their relevance. Furthermore, administrators cannot ignore the continuing needs relating to site conservation and protection. Covering the excavation area with reinforced glass at the Han Yangling site is an exemplary way to display and protect ruins, now popular at many sites. However, earthen ruins face other conservation and display challenges. The profiles of Liangzhu's ancient city wall on display for visitors are immersed in water for extended periods of time annually. Site conservation and protection should be important goals of the CLASC programme.

Archaeologists should be encouraged to participate in the creation of conservation plans. They also need to think about the display and utilization of sites beyond excavation and academic research. Live presentations conducted by archaeologists could be an interpretative option. Also, archaeologists need to cooperate with administrators to find better ways to conserve large-scale sites.

Local residents may also play active roles in enlivening the local culture. Communication about their priorities and self-employment opportunities should be encouraged. How to revive and improve upon previous ventures, such as the Capital of Shang Media Company, shops, and restaurants, should also be considered. Additional job training, such as foreign language classes, would not only improve the marketability of locals, but would also encourage local businesses to offer tailored tours for visitors.

In conclusion, the work of the CLASC programme is in its infancy. The results of theoretical studies of regulations and conservation programmes need to be applied in practice, and the various approaches to site conservation and use need to be continually renewed.

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RECEBIDO EM: 01/10/2017
APROVADO EM: 10/12/2017