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Indigenous Heritage and Tourism

Theories and Practices on Utilizing the Ainu Heritage

Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies

Indigenous Heritage and Tourism

Theories and Practices on Utilizing the Ainu Heritage

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Chapter 1

Aim and Implementation of the Research Project on Ainu and Indigenous Heritage and Tourism

1. Overview of the Research Project for Ainu and Indigenous Heritage and Tourism

– Case Studies in Sapporo, Noboribetsu and Shiretoko –

Hirofumi Kato¹

1. Introduction

Cultural heritage resources (including movable and immovable property) are indispensable for preserving the history and culture of indigenous communities and passing them on to future generations. The effectiveness of raising awareness of these treasures through eco-tourism and other tourism-industry efforts has been highlighted in the context of promoting their utilization.

Since the establishment of the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies, research on eco-tourism involving Ainu people has been pursued as part of the center's core activities. Against this background, it was decided that the center should implement the Comprehensive Interdisciplinary Research Project concerning Ainu and Other Indigenous People over a period of four years from FY 2008 to FY 2011 financed by the Special Funds for Education and Research initiative of Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. The purpose of the project was to engage in broad international comparison of the history, culture, languages and rights of the Ainu and other indigenous people around the world. Based on this decision, the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group was also established as part of the project.

This report represents the fruits of the four years of collaborative work conducted by the project team. Although examination and attempts were indeed made to develop model eco-tours and train guides under Ainu supervision during the project, the body's name was changed from the Ainu Ecotourism Working Group to the Indigenous Heritage and Tourism Working Group to better reflect its activities during the planned research period. The change also resulted from consideration of overseas research collaborators' areas of specialization and the possible future development of the project.

2. Project objective

The objective of the project was to establish a program to turn a wide range of historical and cultural Ainu heritage components (e.g., landscapes, place names, historic sites and oral traditions) into sustainable cultural resources using various tourism techniques. The project plan

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therefore also covered theoretical studies on the relationships between tourism and the preservation/utilization of indigenous heritage around the world. Specifically, the implementation plans developed under the project can be categorized as follows:

1. Urban eco-tour trails
 - 1) Planning of Heritage Tours at Hokkaido University Campus
 - 2) Creation of guide pamphlets
 - 3) Planning and implementation of the Ainu Tour Guide Training Program
2. Suburban eco-tour trails
 - 1) Planning and implementation of eco-tour trails in collaboration with Sapporo Pirka Kotan
 - 2) Planning and implementation of winter eco-tour programs
3. Heritage programs at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site
 - 1) Planning and implementation of an Indigenous Archaeology Field School in Shiretoko
 - 2) Planning and implementation of heritage tours in collaboration with local communities
4. Comparative studies on indigenous eco-tourism programs in other countries

3. Project implementation structure

The project was implemented mainly by Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies (CAIS) as a collaborative research effort with Hokkaido University's Center for Advanced Tourism Studies. In accordance with CAIS policy of promoting public research and collaboration with Ainu people, Ainu participation in the project was actively encouraged. The initiative was also implemented in collaboration with the Sapporo Branch of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

4. Status of implementation in each fiscal year

4-1. FY 2008

July: Shiretoko and Sapporo Campus Eco-tour following the Indigenous Peoples Summit in Ainu Mosir 2008 (five overseas participants)

September: Indigenous Archaeology Field School at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site (with the participation of Prof. Joe Watkins and adjunct instructor Carol Ellick, both from the University of Oklahoma, and Prof. Gelya Frank from the University of Southern California)

September: Exhibition at a *michinoeki* road station in collaboration with the *Siperu* Shiretoko Indigenous Eco-tour Workshop

October: Eco-tour (for monitoring) to Sapporo Pirka Kotan (in collaboration with the Sapporo Branch of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido)

January: Workshop on eco-tours on the Kauai Island by Prof. D. Burney, an instructor at the University of Hawaii (National Tropical Botanical Garden)

March: Ainu *Mata* (winter) Tour to Sapporo Pirka Kotan

4-2. FY 2009

September: Indigenous Archaeology Field School at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site (with the participation of Prof. Joe Watkins and adjunct instructor Carol Ellick, both from the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. Ulla Udagaad from the National Museum of Denmark)

September: Exhibition at a *michinoeki* road station in collaboration with the *Siperu* Shiretoko Indigenous Eco-tour Workshop

November: International Symposium on Indigenous Peoples and Natural Resources – A View of Sustainable Use – (held in collaboration with the University of Auckland during the Hokkaido University Sustainability Weeks 2009 event)

February: Development of the Shiretoko Audio Sightseeing Information System and related testing

4-3. FY 2010

July – February: Introductory Course on Ainu Eco-tours

June: Ainu Eco-tour (for monitoring) in Sapporo

July: Noboribetsu Ainu Place-name Tour

September: Indigenous Archaeology Field School at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site (with the participation of Prof. Joe Watkins and adjunct instructor Carol Ellick, both from the University of Oklahoma, Dr. Ulla Udagaad from the National Museum of Denmark and associate Prof. Ekatelina Lipnina from Irkutsk State University)

September: Monitoring tour on the Shiretoko-Utoro Cultural Heritage Trail

September: Exhibition at a *michinoeki* road station in collaboration with the *Siperu* Shiretoko Indigenous Eco-tour Workshop

September: Workshop featuring Bob Sam (a Tlingit storyteller)

October: Field Survey on eco-tours in Okinawa

4-4. FY 2011

May: Ainu Heritage Tour (for monitoring) in Sapporo

September: Indigenous Archaeology Field School at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site (with the participation of Prof. Joe Watkins and adjunct instructor Carol Ellick, both from the University of Oklahoma)

September: Monitoring tour on the Shiretoko-Utoro Cultural Heritage Trail

September: Exhibition at a *michinoeki* road station in collaboration with the *Siperu* Shiretoko Indigenous Eco-tour Workshop

5. Reports on the achievements of each research plan

This publication includes reports by Working Group (WG) members on research implemented over the study's four-year period as well as materials concerning the guide system developed

under the project.

In Chapter 2, the characteristics of indigenous cultural heritage and related problems are discussed from the viewpoints of archaeology and tourism along with the preservation and utilization of cultural heritage in collaboration with host communities. Specifically, Section 1 gives an overview of recent international trends in indigenous historical/cultural heritage and related challenges, and also discusses the significance of community-based archaeology. Section 2 highlights the significance of community archaeology and related challenges at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site, which served as the venue for various ongoing activities under the project. Section 3 discusses indigenous tourism from the viewpoint of heritage tourism, and Section 4 illustrates the efficient utilization of today's information infrastructure for effective development of indigenous tourism.

Chapter 3 details the results of practical guided-tour activities conducted over the four-year period. Section 1 illustrates results from guided tours as reported by project members who were actually involved in monitoring tours as guides, and also highlights related challenges. Section 2 covers future issues based on experience of implementing guided tours, and Section 3 details the development of heritage tour trails, results achieved and related challenges.

Section 4 discusses the relationships between local cultural heritage and the impressions tourists have of the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site based on several years worth of results from a questionnaire survey conducted in the region. Section 5 outlines the results of publicly communicating the outcomes of ongoing research in the region (implemented as part of the project) and related challenges. Section 6 highlights an interactive exhibition held for the general public with the support of an overseas researcher.

Chapter 4 begins with introduction of International Symposium "Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Potential in Hokkaido" which was held in 2012. The Symposium aimed to share new trends in archaeology, such as Public Archaeology and Indigenous Archaeology, and report ongoing challenges which our Working Group has done. This chapter includes two presentation papers, which are comprehensive and comparative studies between US and Japan in terms of Public Archaeology and Indigenous Archaeology, from the Symposium.

Finally, I would like to express my profound appreciation to everybody who contributed to this four-year project and to all other parties and organizations involved for their generous support. I am particularly indebted to Hokkaido University Emeritus Professor Yugo Ono, who retired during the project, staff at the Sapporo, Shari and Noboribetsu branches of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, the Noboribetsu City Board of Education, the Shiretoko Museum (Shari Town), the Shiretoko Naturalist's Association, the Shiretoko Shari-town Tourist Association, Iruka Hotel, the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center, the Utoro Shirietoku Michinoeki (road station), the Kunigami Tourism Association (NPO), the Onna Village Ecotourism Workshop, Kudakajima Shinkokai (the Kudaka Island Promotion Association; NPO), Naha Machikado Guide (NPO), Hiji Community in Okinawa, Tatsuya

Fujisaki, Katsunori Goda, Masayoshi Hayasaka, Fumitoshi Kaizawa, Norio Kanamori, Nobuhiro Kanno, Hironobu Kosaka, Isao Matsuda, Shuzo Muramoto, Shigeo Nishihara, Yasuko Uetake, Yukio Umezawa, Yasuo Yamakawa, Yasuhiro Yamamoto, Mutsumi Yokoyama and Koji Yuki (people's names arranged in alphabetical order by family name with honorific titles omitted).

2. Related publications

Hirofumi Kato¹

Reports and other publications

Yamamura Takayoshi, Takasaki Yuko, Jang Kyungjae (eds.). 2011. *Okinawa ni okeru gaido tsua no unei jittai ni kansuru jirei chosa hokokusho* (lit. “Survey report on guided tour operations in Okinawa”). Indigenous Ecotourism Project at Hokkaido University’s Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies.

Yamamura Takayoshi, Jang Kyungjae (eds.), Kato Yuyu (voice). 2011. *Shiretoko Utoro chiku heritegi toreiru F kosu: supotto kaisetsu bunshu + kaisetsu onsei* (lit. “Heritage Trail Course F in the Shiretoko Utoro area: collection of text and recorded on-site commentary”). Indigenous Heritage Tourism WG at Hokkaido University’s Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies.
<http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2115/47836>

Yamamura Takayoshi, Jang Kyungjae (eds.), Kurashina Yuuna (voice). 2011. *Shiretoko Utoro chiku heritegi toreiru U kosu: supotto kaisetsu bunshu + kaisetsu onsei* (lit. “Heritage Trail Course U in the Shiretoko Utoro area: collection of text and recorded on-site commentary”). Indigenous Heritage Tourism WG at Hokkaido University’s Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies.
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Jang Kyungjae, Yamamura Takayoshi

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Kato Hirofumi

2010. Living Archaeology for the Ainu in Hokkaido, in George Nicholas (ed.), *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*. pp. 246–251, Walnut Creek, CA.: Left Coast Press.

Kato Hirofumi

2010. Whose archaeology?: Decolonizing Archaeological Perspective in Hokkaido Island, in M. Wobst, S. Hart and M. Bruchac (eds.), *Reader on Indigenous Archaeologies*. pp. 314–321, Walnut Creek, CA.: Left Coast Press (The paper published in English in the Journal of the Graduate School of Letters Vol. 4 was selected and recorded).

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Kato Hirofumi

2010. *Dai 2 sho: Chiri Mashiho no egaita Ainu gaku no kozu* (lit. "Chapter 2: Structural outline of the science of the Ainu as described by Mashiho Chiri"). *Chiri Mashiho no hito to gakumon* (lit. "The character of Mashiho Chiri and her pursuit of study"), pp. 23–42, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press.

Kato Hirofumi

2010. *Ainu kenkyu ni oite kokogaku no hatasu beki yakuwari toha nani ka* (lit. "What roles does archaeology play in Ainu studies?"). Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies (ed.). *Ainu kenkyu no genzai to mirai* (The present and future of Ainu studies), pp. 100–113, Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press.

Kato Hirofumi

2010. Whose archaeology?: Decolonizing Archaeological Perspective in Hokkaido Island. *Journal of the Graduate School of Letters* Vol. 4, pp. 47–55, Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University.

Kato Hirofumi

2009. *Senjumin kokogaku to iu shiza–bunka isan, senju minzoku, kokogaku no kadai* (lit. "Viewpoint of indigenous archaeology—challenges facing cultural heritage, indigenous peoples and archaeology"). *Hokkaido kokogaku* (lit. "Hokkaido archaeology"), vol.45, pp. 31–44.

Kato Hirofumi

2009. *Bunka isan wa dare no monoka: kokogaku to senju minzoku no aratana kankei no kochiku no tameni* (lit. "Whose cultural heritage is it?: Toward the establishment of a new relationship between archaeology and indigenous peoples"). *Mori*, 21, pp. 52–54.

Kato Hirofumi

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Yamamura, Takayoshi. "Challenges and Potential of Tourism in Hokkaido: From the Viewpoints of Tourism as a Means of Access to the History, Culture and Current Status of Indigenous People." Symposium on Tourism and Landscape in the North. (Hokkaido–Finland Days, A Bridge For Northern Cooperation, Hokkaido University Sustainability Weeks 2011). Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan, November 1, 2011. <http://hdl.handle.net/2115/47369>

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Kato Hirofumi. *Senjumin kokogaku no sosei to chiteki zaisanken mondai – Hokkaido ni okeru jirei kenkyu* (lit. “Creation of indigenous archaeology and intellectual property rights issues—a case study involving Hokkaido”). 75th Annual Meeting of the Japanese Archaeological Association (FY 2009), May 31, 2009, Waseda University, Tokyo (presented jointly by Kato Hirofumi, Sato Takao, Hudson Mark, Xu Guanghui, Yamamura Takayoshi and Ono Yugo).

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Kato Hirofumi. “Whose World Heritage and Indigenous Peoples?: Issues Surrounding World Heritage in Japan,” The Society for Applied Anthropology 69th Annual Meeting, Santa Fe Convention Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA, March 17–21, 2009.

Kato Hirofumi. “World Heritage and Indigenous Archaeology in Hokkaido,” 6th World Archaeological Congress, University College of Dublin, Dublin, Ireland, June 29–July 4, 2008.

Kato Hirofumi. “Transformed Value and Function: Indigenous Archaeology in Hokkaido,” Workshop & International Conference 2007, Data and Interpretation Contemporary Understanding of Anthropological Knowledge, Taipei National University, Taipei, October 27–28, 2007.

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Kato Hirofumi. “Ainu and Contemporary Japan” Asian Studies, University of Oklahoma, February 16, 2012.

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Kato Hirofumi. "Archaeological Ethnicity in Hokkaido Island," SILA, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark, February 5, 2008.

Kato Hirofumi. "A New Discovery of the Bear Ceremony (IOMANTE) and the Origin of Ainu Culture--Archaeological Ethnicity on Hokkaido," The Ethnohistory and Archaeology of Northern Eurasia: Theory, Method and Practice, Irkutsk, Russia, May 19-25, 2007.

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Chapter 2

Theories and Methods of the Project

1. Indigenous Heritage and Community-based Archaeology

Hirofumi Kato¹

1. Introduction

This paper provides an overview of how research should be implemented with host communities in relation to preserving and utilizing the historical and cultural heritage of indigenous people² with particular focus on future directions in the discipline of archaeology and related challenges.

The significance of historical and cultural heritage in host communities has been highlighted in recent years, and a variety of initiatives for their preservation and utilization involving host communities have been implemented. However, researchers have conventionally evaluated archaeological heritage as part of historical and cultural heritage, and the criteria for such evaluation reflect only their values. For example, important archaeological heritage have generally been championed for their superlative age, scale and uniqueness, with academic evaluation tending to focus on size, scarcity and relative importance. Meanwhile, many historical and cultural heritage evaluated as being less important are destroyed or disappear regardless of the aspirations of researchers and host communities.

What theories and methods can be applied to support the preservation and utilization of historical and cultural heritage resources in the first place? Are researchers the only ones with the right and ability to examine and decide the importance of such resources, whether to preserve them, and how they should be utilized? Today, these questions are being reviewed and discussed on an international scale. The main goal is to clarify the future direction of relationships between researchers and host communities – a task that has become a major challenge discussed not only in archaeology but also extensively in relation to various other academic disciplines.

Hokkaido has a large number of historical and cultural heritage to which the Ainu, the indigenous people of Japan, have rights in their roles as members of descendant communities. However, opportunities for them to contribute to the preservation and utilization of such resources as stakeholders are not fully guaranteed. On the international front, discussions on

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² As has been widely discussed, there are no internationally common definitions for the terms “indigenous peoples” and “indigenous people” (Stewart 2009). This paper uses both, but essentially follows the notations of the countries concerned as well as the definitions given by Stewart unless otherwise specified. That is, the term “indigenous peoples” is used for specific (ethnic) groups, and the term “indigenous people” is used to collectively refer to such groups around the world in general (Ibid.).

indigenous people and on the preservation and utilization of historical and cultural heritage have taken on greater significance at international academic conferences, and indigenous people have assumed more of a major role as stakeholders.

In Japan, the positioning of indigenous historical and cultural heritage within the discipline of archaeology has not been fully discussed, and needs to be clarified in future work. To promote related discussions, it is necessary to study debates on the public nature of archaeological heritage to serve as a premise for discussions on such positioning. In this respect, dialogue among stakeholders with an interest in historical and cultural heritage over a wide range of fields is required.

2. Historical and cultural heritage in terms of location

2-1. Locations of cultural establishment and development

Human activities take place in the local environments of living spaces. As an example, children begin to grow when they visually embrace and experience their living environments, and develop as they learn and understand things. As a result of this process, people inevitably form bonds with the places where they were born and raised as well as locations associated with their memories. They feel an incomparable sense of security when they return to these places. In this way, individuals accumulate a strong sense of awareness for particular spots, and this becomes part of the information that constitutes group cultures and is handed down throughout the generations. In this sense, there is a strong correspondence between understanding culture and experiencing/remembering the environments and landscapes of places where the culture was created and has been handed down.

According to Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, “People respond to space and place in complicated ways that are inconceivable in the animal world” (Tuan 1988, 4). Unlike animals, people have a highly advanced sense of symbolism, meaning that their cognition of environments and landscapes is not limited to simple descriptions of their surroundings. People reflect their own experiences, ideas and minds in such cognition, appreciate them as part of culture and incorporate them into their daily lives. People often give names to the characteristics of spaces and landscapes they see. This is a concrete example of man’s behavior in symbolizing such areas. Places with symbolic names are no longer just ordinary landscapes; they become cultural landscapes with special significance, and enter the realms of memory.

2-2. Perceptible and imperceptible cultural heritage resources

Landscapes and places that are meaningful and symbolic to some individuals and groups are not necessarily known by others, and their value and significance are not automatically shared. Places that are significant to certain individuals and groups are often wholly unknown in other circles. Some non-symbolic places might even have a certain atmosphere or evoke feelings different from those produced by other places. However, the significance and memories of

certain landscapes and places for some individuals and groups can not be understood by others based on perceptive faculty alone. To appreciate these things, it is necessary to learn about the experiences of those individuals and groups based on related information.

Sacred and revered places for certain ethnic groups are often hard to understand for others. In this context, landscapes and rocks considered wholly ordinary by some individuals or groups in modern society may have been of paramount importance in the daily lives of others in the past. Even though there can be no direct communication with these previous generations, it is possible to evaluate landscapes and places that were or are important for certain groups of people and to recognize their importance – even with limited understanding of it – if they are easily recognized by other groups. Typical examples of this include Stonehenge and stone circles. As these ancient monuments are highly visible, people can understand that such meaningful spaces were created artificially for a specific purpose by altering the natural landscape and arranging stones, even though their exact significance and the memories of those who created them may be lost in time. In this way, such monuments are seen as important heritage resources to be passed on to future generations even without exact knowledge of their purposes and functions. Perceptible cultural heritage resources of this kind have been fully evaluated, and efforts to preserve them have been made.

The issue to be addressed today is the question of how imperceptible cultural heritage resources should be evaluated. Related examples include a variety of indigenous historical and cultural resources. For example, the indigenous Sami people of northern Europe consider sites with rocks³ and stones as sacred, positioning them within the natural landscape as an important element of their belief system. Similarly, *ci-nomi-sir* were sacred sites for the Ainu, and formed an indispensable part of their beliefs and rituals. However, as these sites do not have a characteristic artificial arrangement, it is difficult for non-Ainu people to recognize them.

These examples highlight the difficulty of accurately evaluating the historical and cultural heritage that is so important for indigenous communities within the present framework for its preservation. This is because the framework and related evaluation criteria were developed exclusively from a particular viewpoint and have not been examined in the context of different values and opinions. The very fact that indigenous cultural heritage faces so many such issues highlights how those responsible for evaluating it have not fully incorporated the viewpoints and interpretations of indigenous people themselves. The essential importance of culture is overlooked when exclusively external perspectives are applied.⁴ While this problem may seem easy to resolve, it is in fact surprisingly difficult. It is patently clear that the existence of issues

³ The Sami sacred heritage information here was provided in person by Prof. Neil Price of the University of Aberdeen.

⁴ This is a distinction between emic and etic perspectives in linguistics and cultural anthropology. In archaeology and heritage studies, resources are things from the past in a temporal sense, and the people who made them are no longer present to provide information on them. It is therefore difficult to grasp the distinction. As discussed later, this has become a factor in disagreements between researchers and indigenous communities over the evaluation and interpretation of indigenous historical and cultural heritage.

involving perceptible and imperceptible aspects of cultural heritage resources demonstrates a lack of perspective and methodology for the evaluation of specific regional cultures.

The preservation and utilization of cultural heritage in Japan requires more understanding than ever regarding the diversity of local cultures and awareness of the fact that the rich and diverse history of this archipelago stands on a foundation built by groups of people with different historical and cultural backgrounds.

3. Indigenous cultural heritage and archaeology

3-1. The historical background of archaeology and its relationships with indigenous people
The relationships between indigenous communities and archaeologists have become an important theme in contemporary archaeology (Smith and Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al. 2010), and the links between archaeology and society provide significant background to this situation.

Archaeology has developed on the basis of public interest in human history, representing intellectual curiosity in regard to antiques and ruins. The Renaissance cultural movement in Western Europe played a major role in positioning archaeology as an academic discipline. In relation to the formation of modern states in Europe, the subsequent movement to establish nation states promoted the preservation of heritage resources as a symbol of the unity of the people and the pursuit of the origins of peoples. It is commonly known that the establishment of archaeology as a modern science was closely related to the formation of modern states in Europe and the ensuing spread of colonialism (Trigger 1989; Kohl and Fawcett 1996). In modern times, archaeology has changed from an academic discipline based on intellectual pursuits with workshops as its center to an academic discipline representing a vehicle for the unity of the nation.

The expansion of political and economic activity in European nations led to the development of colonies, and many unknown cultures and civilizations were discovered during the colonization processes. The heritage resources found by these Western nations include many that are today registered as UNESCO World Heritage sites in recognition of man's universal heritage. These resources had long been seen as elements of lost cultures or civilizations in archaeological circles. Even though they might have been recognized as being important in understanding human history, the negative aspects of such one-sided evaluation and the prospect of opening these artifacts to the general public have never been actively discussed.

In the meantime, contrasting relationships have been maintained in the discipline of archaeology, with archaeologists one-sidedly evaluating host communities and indigenous people. The unbalanced relationship that has developed between archaeologists and the communities they research has today become problematic.

It is clear that the ancestors of local indigenous people around the world left behind a wealth of historical and cultural heritage resources. By the latter half of the 20th century, indigenous people had begun to express views on how this heritage should be evaluated and

managed in their roles as members of descendant communities. As a result, it transpired that evaluations of heritage by researchers and their approaches do not always match today's recognition of indigenous people. Researchers have also come to acknowledge the need to examine how their work may affect or damage indigenous communities.

In the latter half of the 1980s, the relationships between indigenous people and archaeologists were clearly defined and discussed at international academic conferences.⁵ At the 1st World Archaeological Congress (WAC) held in the UK city of Southampton in 1986, research ethics were discussed with particular focus on the historical/social roles and impacts of archaeologists' interpretations and the related political implications.

Specific items on the agenda were as follows:

- 1) Who benefits from archaeological research?
- 2) Do archaeologists have a right to control the pasts of others?
- 3) Is the Western scientific approach to archaeological theory and method necessarily the best way of interpreting the past?
- 4) What are the practical ramifications of archaeologists' research for the indigenous peoples with whom they work?
- 5) How can archaeologists transform their theory and practice so that they cease doing damage to indigenous people?

Among these items, 1) and 2) were intended to raise questions for the discussion of theories on who the main contributors to research should be. The issues raised were also related to problems concerning academic research and intellectual property rights involving indigenous communities, and today have developed into broader considerations (Nicholas and Bannister 2010).

Through discussions like these, researchers are expected more than ever to help build relations of mutual trust between archaeological circles and host/indigenous communities rather than simply engaging in research. Based on the outcomes of such deliberations, the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) presented a code of conduct for its members addressing the following considerations:

- a) Responsibility for education on the past, b) relationships between archaeologists and indigenous people, c) research ethics in archaeology, d) protection of archaeological sites and artifacts, e) examination of the roles of archaeology in host communities, f) ownership, preservation and utilization of archaeological resources, g) development of new technologies for archaeology and archaeological communication

⁵ As is widely known, campaigns for the rights of indigenous people began earlier than this. Under the influence of the 1950s civil rights movement in the US, the indigenous rights movement began in earnest in the 1960s in North America, New Zealand and Australia (Stewart 2009).

3–2. Challenges facing indigenous cultural heritage resources

As outlined above, discussion in response to questions such as “Who benefits from archeological research?” and “Do archaeologists have a right to control the pasts of others?” highlighted the unequal relationships between researchers and host/descendant communities in regard to cultural heritage.

In research of all kinds today, consideration for the public nature of work and the securement of informed consent from research subjects and target communities are essential. As discussed earlier, efforts to disclose research information to indigenous people have historically been lacking. As indigenous communities became colonized, they were unilaterally exploited and forced to take on the role of research targets. This historical background and the memories it created caused indigenous communities to harbor a profound distrust of researchers in regard to their historical and cultural heritage.

Perhaps the most troubling and conspicuous issue facing indigenous communities is the fact that remains of their ancestors, ceremonial objects and other artifacts have been collected for research purposes and stored for many years at museums and university research institutions around the world. The movement for the repatriation of human remains and other artifacts began to gain momentum in Australia in the 1970s and in the US in the 1980s (Fforde 2002).

In the US, two federal laws mandating the repatriation of such remains and artifacts were enacted. These were the 1989 National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAI) and the 1999 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). These developments had various impacts on international indigenous movements for the repatriation of human remains and ceremonial artifacts. Countries without legally binding legal systems such as NMAI and NAGPRA were also affected in various ways by the movements in the US, as exemplified by developments such as the establishment of institutions for repatriation and the formation of repatriation policies and guidelines by museums (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071115053257/http://www.aainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgmm_e.html).⁶

The challenges facing indigenous historical and cultural heritage are not limited to previously collected human remains and ceremonial artifacts. Further efforts are necessary to ensure the future preservation and management of such resources (including uninvestigated ruins) and to secure opportunities to reflect the wishes of indigenous people in related work.

In the past, researchers have studied reconstruction and interpretation regarding the history of indigenous people based on objective and scientific methods without input from these

⁶ In Canada, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples established under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1991 published the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996. The report contains the following statement as a moral imperative for repatriation: “Protection of historical and sacred sites, recovery of human remains so that proper burial can be arranged, repatriation of artifacts that are the private property or sacred inheritance of particular families and communities – these are essential to the spiritual health of nations and communities” (the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996).

individuals. Even from a global perspective, the rights of indigenous communities to their historical and cultural heritage are legally guaranteed in only a limited number of cases.

In the US, Congress granted American Indians the right to manage excavation on their land and to demand the return of archaeological resources excavated or removed from such land under the 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act. NAGPRA also provides them with authority over archaeological resources excavated or removed from Federal or tribal lands. With the introduction of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1992, Congress showed a deeper understanding of the rights of Indian tribes to cultural heritage resources on their tribal lands.

Australia has no legal system on the federal level, but a number of state government initiatives have been introduced. In 2003, the Queensland Government enacted the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act and the Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Act (<http://www.legislation.qld.gov.au/LEGISLTN/ACTS/2003/03AC079.pdf>), which prescribed that aboriginal people should be recognized as the primary guardians, keepers and knowledge holders of aboriginal cultural heritage. The acts also recognized aboriginal people's ownership of aboriginal human remains, secret or sacred artifacts and ceremonial items, and the need to return aboriginal cultural heritage resources to their land.

In 2007, the 61st session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Although not legally binding as international law, its stipulations affirm a wide range of indigenous rights. The declaration also states that indigenous people have rights to resources constituting part of their archaeological heritage, and member nations are expected to develop necessary legal systems. In academic circles, scientific societies are expected to clearly incorporate the declaration into their own codes of ethics and other guidelines.

4. The search for a new relationship between archaeology and host communities: public and indigenous archaeology

4–1. Initiatives in public archaeology

The word *public* inherently has two specific meanings: The first is the association of the term with the state and its institutions. The second is the concept of the public as a group of individuals. Both definitions stand in contrast to limitations imposed by private ownership, and are founded on the concept of universal sharing and accessibility (Merriman 2004, 1; Kato 2009; 2010).

Archeological sites and artifacts are broadly seen as elements of society's historical and cultural heritage. The debate on the public nature of archaeology is founded on two questions: 1) What are the purposes of research and study? and 2) Who benefits from such work? In recent years, against a background of community diversification in society and increasing awareness of the impacts of research on society, the following four questions have also arisen in discussions: 3) Who owns the past (history)? 4) What are the ramifications of research and study, and whom

do they affect? 5) How should the diversity of interpretation for survey and research results be handled? and 6) How should ethics be established in research and study?

The first two questions have long been discussed in the practice of archaeology, and in this sense are nothing new. However, the other questions highlight the need for archaeologists to reconsider their past activities and pay more attention to stakeholders who were previously neglected in their work. In relation to the dichotomous context of states and citizens, archaeologists have recognized the public nature of archaeology due to the relatively major role the state has played in it to date. However, it is now important for researchers to be more conscious of the diversity of citizen communities interested in aspects of historical and cultural heritage, their own spirit of public service to meet the needs of these communities, and the diversity seen in interpretations of the past (Merriman 2004, 4).

In the 1970s, the term *public archaeology* entered archaeological parlance and came to be used in a number of contexts. The first published use of the term was in a book by McGimsey in 1972 (McGimsey, 1972). At this time, the concept was associated with the practical exigencies of development-led cultural resource management (CRM), in contrast to academic archaeology and its apparent concern with wider research questions (Merriman 2004, 5).

However, amid ongoing debate on the protection of historical and cultural heritage against a backdrop of expanding development, the specialization of archaeology progressed and legal restrictions were imposed on related research and study. While the development of legal systems helped to prevent the destruction and illegal excavation of historical and cultural heritage artifacts during haphazard research, the authority to handle such elements of heritage became limited to experts, making it difficult for the general public to become freely involved in related matters. This trend became stronger in the US amid the development and systematization of CRM (Jameson 1997, 2004).

In England, where archaeological pursuits had been traditionally and openly engaged in by antiquity enthusiasts and amateur archaeologists as a hobby (Trigger 1989), a similar situation arose due to the development of legal systems intended to preserve historical and cultural heritage (Thomas 2004). A similar trend has also been seen in Japan.

Although space limitations here prevent extensive discussion of the background and characteristics of public archaeology's rise in different countries, a number of publications on the subject have recently been released, reflecting increasing interest in the topic (Okamura and Matsui 2011). Along with the establishment of independent sessions on public archaeology at academic societies (such as the Society of American Archaeology (SAA) and the World Archaeology Congress (WAC), this reflects the importance of related issues and heightened levels of interest in them.

Focus here is placed on the fact that legal-system development to preserve historical and cultural heritage and subsequent archaeological specialization have resulted in the separation of amateur archaeologists and communities hosting historical and cultural heritage artifacts from the

practice of archaeology.

Returning to the above topic of the public nature of archaeology, when discussing the purposes of research and study and who benefits from them, it is important to review the relationships between professionals and non-professionals, including members of host communities. While the expansion of archaeological studies that has accompanied publicly funded development means that only professionals can conduct related research and study, those who engage in such work are increasingly required to pass the fruits of their labors on to society.

In view of the diversity of the many communities that make up society, the questions of who owns the past, what the ramifications of research and study on society are and whom these ramifications affect have been raised. This has led to the recognition that associations with indigenous communities, in their roles as groups descended from people who left behind a wealth of historical and cultural heritage artifacts, also constitute a major issue in modern archaeology (Watkins 2003; 2010).

Public archaeology is often seen as being synonymous with community archaeology. However, given the fact that public archaeology today includes three particular approaches (publicly funded development-driven archaeology (cultural resource management, or CRM), academic research (based on a variety of publicly funded programs), and archaeology for the education of host communities), the focus of discussions should be aligned more closely with the diversity of the host communities in which archaeology is extensively practiced. The direction of discussions in public archaeology does not always follow that of discussions in community archaeology. In England in particular, community archaeology places academic research performed by professionals in contrast to participatory archaeology, which includes the involvement of volunteers. The development of related theories and methods and socio-educational aspects of archaeology have also become focal points of attention and discussion. In the US, indigenous populations are seen more as communities with three archaeological definitions: 1) indigenous communities, 2) non-indigenous communities hosting indigenous historical and cultural heritage artifacts, and 3) communities where indigenous and non-indigenous peoples live in harmony. Accordingly, discussions on public archaeology in the US tend to be roughly divided into two categories: one regarding social education and the return of the fruits of publicly funded research to society, and the other regarding the relationships between archaeologists and host/indigenous communities. Similar trends are also seen in Australia and New Zealand, and issues concerning the historical and cultural heritage of indigenous people require a unique approach and a particular direction. In this way, a new initiative known as indigenous archaeology has emerged.

4-2. Indigenous archaeology and its purposes

As discussed above, it is becoming increasingly accepted that communities where archaeology is active consist of diverse sub-communities rather than being homogenous. Social consciousness

movements have enhanced interest in the viewpoints of minorities – particularly those of indigenous peoples (who have often been neglected in historical descriptions) and their involvement in their own cultural heritage. In recent years, the relationships between cultural heritage and the intellectual property rights of indigenous people have become the subject of interdisciplinary studies involving researchers in a variety of disciplines (Nicholas and Bannister 2004; Nicholas 2008).

It is widely known that many archaeological sites surveyed around the world house a multitude of historical and cultural heritage artifacts left behind by ancestors of indigenous people. The relationships between these people and archaeologists lack equality in related surveys and heritage preservation/management efforts. This issue is often cited by archaeologists who have worked in previously colonized places inhabited by indigenous peoples (e.g., Nicholas and Andrew 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005; Watkins 2000).

In the context of closer relationships between indigenous peoples and archaeologists and diversifying relationships between archaeologists and indigenous communities, the need for a new perspective developed; this perspective is based on the concept of indigenous archaeology.

How can indigenous archaeology be defined to clarify its specific initiatives and framework? Roughly speaking, it can be seen as a discipline focusing on the relationships between archaeology and indigenous peoples based on archaeological discussions regarding various issues derived from these relationships. In reality, two types of relationship are presumed depending on the positions of indigenous archaeology's practitioners (Watkins 2000).

The first position involves the practice of archaeology by indigenous people. Who has rights over the past? Indigenous communities have strongly expressed opinions on this matter in various places. Today, researchers cannot simply ignore the values of such people, which are based on indigenous traditions and views on history. The movement by which indigenous people claim unique values and rights to the utilization and evaluation of their cultural heritage is rapidly gaining traction. International academic conferences also often feature sessions on indigenous archaeology at which lively discussions are held with main themes including *Who benefits from archaeological research?*, *Do archaeologists have a right to control the pasts of others?* and *Is the Western scientific approach to archaeological theory and method necessarily the best way of interpreting the past?* Of particular importance in this context is a presumed ignorance of the fact that sites seen by archaeologists as historic heritage resources with no direct connection to modern daily life are often in fact living heritage resources with sacred and other functions for indigenous people (Smith and Wobst 2005, 6).

The second position taken by archaeologists involves engagement in indigenous archaeology by non-indigenous practitioners. Many archaeologists have already expressed contrite thoughts on the subject, as represented by the quotation, *"Traditionally, archaeology has been done 'on', not 'by', 'for' or 'with' Indigenous peoples."* (Nicholas and Andrews 1997, 3; Smith and Wobst 2005, 7).

Indigenous archaeology's greatest effect on conventional archaeology stems from the diversity of its evaluation and interpretation of historical and cultural heritage.

Martin Wobst asserts that sampling bias is introduced as a result of archaeological interpretation by indigenous people in regard to historical and cultural heritage resources from a Western viewpoint (Wobst 2001). For example, in archaeological site designation, the value of such sites is usually assessed in relation to the density and visibility of artifacts as well as the extent of artificial surface-ground alteration (Wobst 2001). Wobst also asks whether these criteria can be applied to communities with values different from those of archaeologists, and in particular to indigenous communities, pointing out the need to remember that indigenous people's views of the past do not always match those of archaeologists (Wobst 2005).

Naturally, archaeologists' awareness and perceptions come from knowledge based on the experience they gain through education. Using their accumulated expertise, they evaluate and interpret the past according to their own standards and values. However, such judgments do not necessarily equate to the sensibilities of the original users of the archaeological sites they investigate, and often also contradict the related sensibilities of indigenous people living in host communities. Against this backdrop, Wobst highlights the concept of visual nature in the evaluation of archaeological sites, and his observation is enlightening. As discussed earlier, natural landscapes are considered sacred in many indigenous communities, and important religious spaces remain in such landscapes without artificial alteration. Is it possible for archaeologists to understand the significance of such spaces without appreciating the worldviews and values of indigenous peoples?

Taking into account the current situation and the shortcomings of conventional archaeological viewpoints and approaches, Wobst maintains that the significance of indigenous archaeology engaged in by non-indigenous practitioners lies in their critique of the ethnocentric and colonizing practice of mainstream archaeology found in various places when it is implemented as a national policy (Wobst 2005, 20).

5. Preservation and utilization of Hokkaido Ainu historical and cultural heritage resources

The above discussions on new approaches to the evaluation of indigenous historical and cultural heritage overseas and on the review of relationships linking indigenous people and archeology clarify that these are global rather than regional issues, and of course affect Japan too.

It was not until 2008 that the Ainu were recognized as an indigenous people of Japan, despite strong demand from the Ainu community, due to government delay in making such a decision. In related legal systems too, the evaluation of Ainu historical and cultural heritage and the uniqueness of these people had not been fully examined.

In Japan, a discipline known as Japanese archaeology covering the nation's limited geographical area is widespread. Accordingly, related discussions regarding the Japanese archipelago have long been conducted within the framework of this discipline. The historical,

cultural and social diversity of Hokkaido has been debated on an ongoing basis along with that of the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands (e.g., Yoshizaki 1986; Fujimoto 1988). However, as observed by Fujisawa, it is unclear why these discussions sometimes produce sweeping observations that ignore temporal scale, as if there were commonalities between the Ainu and Jomon cultures, and evoke aspects of simplified collective genealogy (Fujisawa 2006).

As the above discussions have clarified, a viewpoint based on indigenous archaeology is indispensable for the practice of archaeology in Hokkaido. Whether individual archaeologists realize it or not, it is obvious that Hokkaido is a unique place where the Ainu, the indigenous people of Japan, experienced colonization in the course of modern–state formation. Discussions on indigenous archaeology have highlighted that the image of history stemming from archaeological research and study has direct impacts on indigenous peoples today. Archaeological studies are linked even more deeply than previously thought to the historical awareness of indigenous peoples living in places where studies are conducted, and significantly affect their current and future activities toward the restoration of related rights.

Knowledge of the history of Hokkaido, including that of Ainu culture, is based primarily on archaeological resources and is described from the viewpoint of archaeological culture. Historical perception developed in this way is reproduced intellectually through general publications written by researchers and through museum exhibits. It should be noted in this context that accounts based on archaeological culture regarding non–state societies adjoining states tend to result, from a comparative historical viewpoint, in a lack of elucidation on the history of the groups constituting the non–state society and in the development of a perception that such people were marginalized in relation to the state.⁷ This trend is also seen in periodization based on Hokkaido’s archaeology; while generally conforming to the periodization centering on Japan’s main island of Honshu, that of Hokkaido has emphasized negative overtones according to the logic of state formation, such as the existence of non–agricultural livelihoods and non–stratified society. Such periodization has also presented views on the changing times in which the unique culture that had developed from the post–Jomon, Okhotsk and Satsumon cultures was dismantled amid growing political and economic influences from the Honshu mainland before Ainu culture became established in the medieval and early modern periods. These interpretations of Hokkaido’s prehistoric culture contributed to the justification of the government’s colonization and assimilation policies for the “unspoiled land” based on the logic of the state, even if archaeologists were not aware of this themselves.

The next issue, which is related to the one discussed above, is a lack of theoretical and methodological consideration in regard to indigenous people’s narratives of their past. The historical narrative of how non–state society was swallowed by the state economically, socially

⁷ In this regard, Hidefumi Ogawa highlighted the existence of a type of ideology or a state ideology for national integration (Ogawa 2000, 285).

and religiously represents a one-sided view given by the state. On this matter, Hidefumi Ogawa points out that Japanese archaeology had no narratives other than those about human footsteps toward civilization. He also highlights Japanese archaeology's lack of theoretical and methodological consideration, saying that its narratives centered on artifacts representing the advanced pioneering techniques used in each period and their continuity, and that there were no narratives on the hunter-gatherer societies that existed during the same periods (Ogawa 2000, 285). His observation is astute, and also clearly shows that viewpoints in discussions on the formation of Ainu culture depend solely on a methodology based on the state formation framework. Academic interest in the formation and definition of Ainu culture is considerable, and related discussions have been conducted by many archaeologists and anthropologists. However, anthropological and archaeological definitions of Ainu culture as part of the historical formation process are yet to be completed, despite the continued existence of the Ainu as an indigenous people and the specific aspects of Ainu culture that they preserve and hand down.

The dynamics of history are always based on mainstream society, and non-state society exists on the periphery of the state. In this way, we see only interpretations from historical narratives indicating that non-state society has been at the mercy of changing times brought about by the state. In regard to the formation of Ainu culture too, archaeologists' viewpoints tend to be limited by boundaries concerning the history of state formation and related methods.

Japan's indigenous Ainu people have long inhabited the island of Hokkaido. Although numerous archaeological sites there have been researched and studied, it is necessary to ask whether related methodological issues have been recognized and discussed within the framework of archaeologists' viewpoints and considerations. Such issues include the political nature of archaeologists' discourses, cultural heritage ownership and the relationships linking cultural heritage and intellectual property rights. When indigenous people demand that their values and wishes be reflected in the evaluation and interpretation of their historical and cultural heritage, to what extent can we maintain the effectiveness of our present theoretical and methodological foundations?

Joe Watkins classified approaches taken in research involving indigenous peoples into the following four categories⁸: 1) colonial surveying, 2) consensus-based surveying, 3) contractual surveying and 4) cooperative surveying. Colonial surveying is conducted with no consideration for the subjects being observed. It is regarded as undesirable (even when presented as scientific research or when its purpose is genuinely to salvage history) if it is implemented without the involvement of groups closely related to the survey subject or without consideration of their desires, hopes and feelings. Consensus-based and contractual surveys cannot lead to true knowledge sharing if they are conducted based only the public nature of the government or other

⁸ Source: September 2008 Hokkaido University lecture entitled Code of Ethics, Law and Regulations, and Repatriation Issues, and related materials

authorities. Conversely, Watkins describes cooperative surveying as a form of research that benefits all parties involved. It requires the relationships between surveyors and survey subjects to be transcended, and the parties involved must work closely throughout the survey to ensure that all stakeholders are satisfied.

The direction to be taken should not be one in which history is depicted with focus on how a non-state society becomes swallowed by the state economically, socially and religiously. Nor should we lean toward one-sided historical descriptions provided by the state. Rather, we should aim to build a new framework for the history created by people who have lived in Hokkaido – an island characterized by long-term historical transition.

As Hokkaido is home to many people with different historical backgrounds, archaeologists should strive to treat all local parties involved as equal partners to support the development of programs for local heritage protection and management. They should then work to establish a framework for the expression of Ainu history. It is fully understood today that archaeology is a powerful tool in the creation of cultural identities in the past (Smith and Wobst 2005, 14). It should also be understood that archaeologists cannot survive in the absence of partnerships with host communities (Kato 2009).

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2. Cultural Heritage and Archaeology at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site

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1. Introduction

In its role as a modern science, archaeology has played a major part in the development of public awareness in the state by supporting the creation of historical memories to be shared. In recent years, an increasing number of archaeologists have recognized this political aspect of archaeology. The conventional roles of the discipline – creating historical value and forcing the value of historical and cultural heritage on its host communities – are today in need of review. Meanwhile, there is some recognition that communities in which archaeology is actively practiced in relation to historical heritage resources do not always consist of homogeneous sub-communities; rather, such sub-communities have diverse historical and cultural backgrounds. Modern archaeology must respond to these new circumstances.

Today, archaeologists cannot conduct research without considering questions such as with whom they should discuss history and whether sufficient equality is maintained in their relationships with host communities. Taking a harsher view of the situation, archaeologists also face the fundamental question of what qualifies them to investigate, interpret and evaluate the pasts of others and the histories of societies other than their own.

The Indigenous Heritage and Tourism Working Group (which operated from 2008 to 2011 under a Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies research project) engaged in community archaeology at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site as a form of activity rooted in host communities. This paper outlines the objectives and framework of these activities and highlights future challenges clarified as a result of the project.

2. Activities at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site and related challenges

The Shiretoko Peninsula and the seas around it are well known for having been designated as Hokkaido's first World Natural Heritage site in 2005. The name *Shiretoko* is derived from the Ainu word *sir-etok*, meaning “the end of mother earth.” The area is recognized for its natural beauty and has many Ainu place names, a rich historical and cultural heritage and a long history of human habitation.

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However, while the region's rich natural environment was highlighted in the process of its designation as a World Heritage Site, its historical and cultural heritage was not. The evaluation made when Shiretoko was listed included information such as its status as an outstanding example of interaction between marine and terrestrial ecosystems, its particular importance as a habitat for a number of marine and terrestrial species (some endangered or endemic) and its global significance for threatened seabirds (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1193/>). Shiretoko was inscribed as a World Natural Heritage site based on these characteristics.³

Why were the existence of cultural properties in Shiretoko and the involvement of indigenous people in the land not taken into consideration during the designation process?

The Shiretoko Peninsula today has 114 archaeological sites, including 19 *casi* (an Ainu word meaning a palisade or a palisaded compound). This number is significantly higher if sacred resources (for which the securing of heritage designation based on conventional archaeological methods is difficult) such as *ci-nomi-sir* (sacred Ainu sites) are included. The location, with its many indigenous historical and cultural heritage resources, was designated for protection only as a World Natural Heritage site.

The designation poses further serious problems if it restricts indigenous people's access to their ancestral land. This may be the price of neglecting to discuss the importance of involving indigenous people in the ownership and management of historical and cultural heritage resources on the island of Hokkaido. Concerning the involvement of indigenous people on the Shiretoko Peninsula, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN; a body that conducted a field survey for the designation) reminded the Japanese government of the importance of giving Ainu representatives (e.g., individuals from the Hokkaido Utari (Ainu) Association) opportunities to be involved in the future management of the local area, including contribution to the development of appropriate ecotourism activities to showcase the region's traditional customs and functions (IUCN World Heritage Evaluation Report 2005, 31). The responsibility for this issue now lies with us.

Although not highlighted during Shiretoko's designation process, the relationships linking heritage properties and local indigenous people must be taken into consideration in new World Heritage site nominations. At a meeting of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in December 2001, it was recommended that the development and implementation of laws, policies and plans should be pursued for the protection of indigenous people's holistic knowledge, traditions and cultural values related to their ancestral lands within or comprising sites to be designated as World Heritage areas.

During future discussions within the framework of indigenous intellectual property rights, it may be problematic that the World Heritage designation process was implemented for a land known to have such a large indigenous cultural footprint without appropriate examination of

³ Yugo Ono reported on problems relating to the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site's designation process (Ono 2006).

indigenous people's rights.

A re-evaluation of historical and cultural heritage at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site may be possible. A number of sites worldwide, such as Australia's Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park (where Ayers Rock is located), were initially listed as Natural Heritage sites but later as Mixed Heritage sites in recognition of their cultural heritage value.⁴ In future work, Shiretoko will require systematic evaluation in terms of its heritage as well as initiatives with public information campaigns – specifically, the publication and distribution of English–language heritage information.

In September 2008, Prof. Joe Watkins (Director of Native American Studies, University of Oklahoma, at that time) and Prof. Gelya Frank of the University of Southern California (who studies the relationships between indigenous peoples and World Heritage resources) were invited to Shiretoko to discuss the possibility of promoting indigenous archaeology in the region. Their assessments highlighted the area's great potential in this regard. Although this survey remains in its early stages, we hope to study the possible future involvement of indigenous people in the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site through the development of heritage preservation and utilization programs by accumulating basic materials and practical experience.

3. Host communities in archaeology: community archaeology

Mainstream archaeological research in Japan focuses on the history of state formation based on a single system. This tendency is particularly marked in parts of Japan's main island of Honshu, where ancient burial mounds are located and ruins of large settlements from the Yayoi period (300 BC to 300 AD) are found. However, the characteristics of archaeological research in Hokkaido tend to differ from those of Honshu's Kansai region and areas to its west. Hokkaido had less relevance to the establishment of modern society in Japan because it experienced a transition from the Jomon and post-Jomon periods (when subsistence depended on hunting and gathering) to the Ainu culture period. Accordingly, archaeology in Hokkaido can be seen as a type with a history linked to ethnic group formation. The question here is this: Who benefits from archaeology intended to reconstruct the history of a different target as well as related sites and artifacts in their roles as cultural resources?

In response to the economic downturn seen in recent years, people have questioned the social value of public works projects conducted in various fields, including that of archaeology. Since Japan's economic bubble and construction boom collapsed at the end of the 1980s, the annual number of archaeological digs managed by municipal governments has decreased. As archaeology is closely related to socioeconomic conditions, it is now urgently required to demonstrate its own relevance. Why is archaeology necessary? The needs are considered diverse

⁴ Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park was inscribed as a Natural Heritage site in 1987. The subsequent recognition of aboriginal people's deep cultural connection to the land led to its inscription as a Cultural Heritage site in 1994. Today, it is designated as a Mixed Heritage site.

and different by individual communities in which archaeological sites are located. The term community in the context used here refers to communities of various sizes, from those with a large framework (like Japanese culture in general) to small ones (such as villages and settlements). Communities are discussed in further detail below.

Recent archaeological research trends around the world have seen the emergence of community archaeology. In this approach, researchers view archaeological sites/artifacts as cultural resources, and consider (with the involvement of host communities) the ownership of such resources and their significance to various people. On the subject of defining the communities to which cultural heritage resources belong, Yvonne Marshall wrote that communities are seldom, if ever, monocultural and are never of one mind. They are aggregations of people who have come together for all kinds of planned and contingent reasons (Marshall 2002). Naturally, a community is formed when its members have at least one reason to come together, but not all members share the same thoughts and culture.

Then, what are these reasons for members of communities to which Kofun culture-centered archaeological resources belong in the above-discussed Kansai region and areas to its west, where archaeological studies tend to focus on the history of state formation? As archaeological sites there have close ties to the history of Japan's state development, communities probably formed because their members were Japanese or Kansai people. In the Japanese language, the terms *Japan* and *Kansai* are place names, and also refer to people who live there.

Turning to Hokkaido, a different landscape is seen with locally unique prehistoric and historic cultures found among those that followed the Jomon period – post-Jomon, Satsumon, Okhotsk, Tobinitai and then Ainu. What were the communities that fostered the development of cultures from the post-Jomon era to the Tobinitai era (other than the Ainu culture)? Although nobody from any of these periods is alive today, if their cultures were associated with certain locations, these places should be easy to find. If we presume that communities descended from those who created history and culture, Ainu people may well be members of such communities.

As an example of a social group made up of various sub-communities, one with members residing along the Sea of Okhotsk in eastern Hokkaido (where the Okhotsk culture thrived) can be presumed. Naturally, communities have strong ties with archaeological sites and artifacts. The relationships linking communities and such resources are significantly related to the background of a community's existence and its geographical location.

Cultural resource utilization in archaeology should begin with consideration of this question: Which communities benefit and gain value from historical narratives resulting from the interpretation of archaeological sites and artifacts? Communities should also be involved in such interpretation, which precedes the construction of historical narratives.⁵

⁵ From the fundamental viewpoint of community archaeology, researchers are required to create environments that enable communities to be involved in all phases concerned, including both the interpretation phase and the research concept development phase.

4. Archaeological interpretation, its impacts on the interpretation of cultural heritage and related challenges

Ian Hodder (2003) argues that archaeological interpretations of digs greatly change the significance of sites as cultural resources, and that the need for extensive recording and reporting of excavation results hinders the establishment of ties with communities (Hodder 2003). Despite the many issues facing archaeologists, the involvement of community members in excavation work brings with it the great advantage of multivocality (i.e., diverse interpretations, Ibid.). In this way, members of host and indigenous communities interpret archaeological resources and determine their value in the same way as archaeologists do when considering their relationships with archaeological sites and artifacts. The views established and shared through this process make the cultural resources in question more significant for host communities than when views are based on researchers' narrower historical interpretations.

Archaeological resources highlight the history of the literature-free prehistoric age, and their interpretation significantly affects the way they are displayed at museums. Kenji Yoshida (2000) maintains that the period of conventional exhibition of other cultures is over, while that of exhibition of one's own culture has now begun. He also observes that collaboration with communities to which exhibits belong is necessary in the exhibition preparation phase (Yoshida 2000). There are more opportunities for the interpretation of archaeological resources than for artifacts already held by museums. The involvement of communities in the processes from excavation to exhibition to status as part of museum collections allows the maximum value to be extracted from archaeological finds in their roles as cultural resources.



Photo 1 Kamuy-nomi (ritual for prayer to the deities) held at a newly discovered casi near Benzai Bay⁶
(with Koji Yuki and Masayoshi Hayasaka serving as priests)

⁶ The Utoro area has many archaeological sites left behind by the ancestors of the Ainu, Japan's indigenous people. Here, it is important to involve today's Ainu community and host community members in exchanges of views on archaeological sites and archaeology.

Archaeological finds have varying levels of value as cultural resources, and these levels are not necessarily uniform. Interpretations of resources are also diverse. In this context, interpretation and evaluation are not the prerogatives of researchers. Archaeological discoveries were not necessarily left behind by individuals. As it is impossible to identify their owners, communities today with the closest cultural ties to such resources should consider and determine their value and matters related to the preservation and utilization of related sites and artifacts. This paper highlights issues concerning the relationships linking communities and cultural heritage based on problems faced in archaeology today and on the authors' activities and related challenges. In future work, focus will be placed on practical and experimental activities to address the problems at hand.

Various specific initiatives viewed as part of the Hokkaido style of community archaeology are being taken today. These include archaeological surveys under way at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site, workshops and exhibitions organized by the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center (located in the Utoro area) to support the provision of survey results to local communities, and initiatives for the development of indigenous heritage tour trails incorporating archaeological sites. The development of methods for the effective utilization of local indigenous cultural heritage finally allows it to be presented in the form of cultural resources that can be shared and handed down in the region.

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3. Heritage Tourism and Indigenous Tourism

Takayoshi Yamamura¹

1. Introduction

1–1. Challenges facing tourism in Hokkaido

When we consider tourism in Hokkaido, we must not forget, as a fundamental premise, the general disregard, ignorance and indifference seen with previous tourism development in regard to the history, culture and current status of indigenous people. The Japanese government and the majority of its people were indifferent to indigenous issues, as manifested by the fact that it was not until 2008 that both houses of the Japanese Diet finally adopted a resolution urging the government to officially recognize the Ainu as an indigenous people as a change of direction from the assimilation policy implemented in the Meiji Period (1868 – 1912).

This indifference is apparent in the way Hokkaido is advertised as a travel destination and in guidebooks. The region is often promoted based on weighted images, such as that of unspoiled nature emphasizing how the natural environment there remains untouched by mankind, and that of the frontier spirit, which focuses only on the history of land reclamation during and after the Meiji Period.

In contrast to the images presented by these descriptions, people have inhabited Hokkaido continuously since prehistoric times, and the area's culture has developed over thousands of years. The history of land reclamation there is no more than a single chapter in Hokkaido's history. Needless to say, the culture that predated the settlement of ethnic Japanese people – particularly Ainu culture – forms the basis of today's cultural tapestry in Hokkaido. Tourism promotion and related programs that intentionally emphasize the region's pioneering culture and ideals without understanding and respecting indigenous culture may distort its true history.

1–2. Purposes of this paper

As defined in the International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), tourism is an economic activity that is among “the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange.” In other words, it is a means of making the value and significance of cultural heritage accessible to visitors as well as people in and outside host

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communities in the form of real-life experiences, knowledge and emotional affinity/enjoyment.

Taking these matters into consideration, two issues facing tourism in Hokkaido require immediate examination. The first is the need for the parties concerned to share a common understanding about what constitutes tourism oriented toward cultural heritage (i.e., heritage tourism). The second is the need to establish indigenous tourism as a tourist activity with the direct involvement of indigenous people in managerial roles and consideration of the resources used.

In the above context, it is necessary to clarify the types of cultural heritage to which accessibility should be guaranteed and then to create, with the active involvement of indigenous people, a mechanism by which accurate information on the value and significance of their cultural heritage is made widely accessible in a user-friendly manner.

Based on these viewpoints, the author here aims to clarify the concept of heritage tourism and suggest a future direction for the development of indigenous tourism.

2. What is heritage tourism?

2-1. The essential meaning of heritage tourism

The term *heritage* originally relates to property that is inherited as well as things of value and traditions passed down from generation to generation. In other words, it refers to things and events with historical and cultural value that is recognized by a group or society (and even individuals in some cases) as something handed down from the previous generation (the past) to the present generation (the present) for posterity (the future).

In this way, the concept of heritage is based on human value judgments and emotional attachment. It can be seen as the result of a natural human desire to hand down historical and cultural artifacts from generation to generation. Accordingly, when a certain society acknowledges historical and cultural value and decides that the related traditions or artifacts should be handed down, it is important to embrace them as part of that culture's heritage even if they are intangible elements such as landscapes or natural environments. The World Heritage movement, which recognizes cultural heritage, natural heritage and mixed heritage, is a good example of this.

Heritage tourism involves the use of these resources. While this term has a variety of definitions around the world, it is important to consider the fundamental meaning of the term *heritage* in order to grasp its essence.²

² The UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines heritage tourism as "an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country" (UNWTO 1992). The National Trust for Historic Preservation in the US defines heritage tourism as "travel to experience places, artifacts and activities that authentically represent stories and people of the past; heritage tourism may include the involvement of cultural, historic and natural resources" (The National Trust for Historic Preservation 2003). In Japan, the term *heritage tourism* is often used synonymously with the term *modernization heritage tourism* (which contributed to the nation's development). This is because the term *heritage tourism* was frequently used when local governments and the business community promoted tourism and the preservation/utilization of industrial monuments from the 1990s onward. However, caution is required because the Japanese sense of the term is more limited than that of its international usage and does not necessarily convey the true essence of heritage tourism.

2–2. Recent international discussions on heritage

Particularly noteworthy among recent international discussions on heritage is the trend seen since the 1990s toward its generalization not as a single item but as an overall system. With a historical streetscape as an example, such generalization means viewing the buildings present as only *a part* of the heritage tapestry; it is also important to see the other parts that make up the streetscape (such as people's daily lives, industry and the natural environment and historical/cultural backgrounds that have produced the buildings) in a comprehensive, integrated manner as a system from the various viewpoints of society, culture, nature, tangibility and intangibility.

The concept is based on the notion that passing cultural and natural resources to future generations requires two elements to work as a system: one involves the social and cultural activities that produce and maintain these resources (such as climate, value systems, thoughts and narratives), and the other involves abstract, dynamic elements that, together with the resources themselves, create value and enable inheritance (such as techniques for resource maintenance/inheritance and structures for related protection). Based on this idea, the author (Yamamura 2006, 115) redefines heritage as a concept that collectively incorporates the diverse social and cultural relationships connecting resources with people that are necessary for resources to be handed down.

Concepts of this nature were presented when the cultural landscape concept was introduced in the context of UNESCO World Heritage (1992) and during discussions on an Integrated Approach (2004),³ which further advanced related discourses in the fields of heritage conservation and tourism studies. Today, these ideas have become widely recognized around the world.

2–3. Prerequisites for heritage tourism

Based on these discussions, heritage tourism can be seen as a way for travelers to deepen their understanding of the diverse relationships linking resources and people and as a way for host communities to re-evaluate these relationships, make related resources widely accessible, and actively develop their roles in such relationships in a sustainable manner.

From this fundamental viewpoint, in the previous example of a historical streetscape, simply presenting or viewing buildings in isolation in an artistic or superficial way does not constitute heritage tourism. Comprehensive background on relationships concerning the development and inheritance of the streetscape is required, such as information on the climate that produced it, where the building materials used were produced, construction techniques, people's lives and legal systems put in place to protect the streetscape. It is important for both the host and visitors to have access to such information and, as a result, help to promote the protection and inheritance of the streetscape in some way. Ideas like this are essential in the promotion of

³ Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage

heritage tourism.

3. What is indigenous tourism?

3–1. Definition of ethnic tourism

In the field of tourism studies, ethnic tourism is generally defined as travel motivated primarily by the search for first-hand contact with people whose ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds are different from one's own. It usually refers to trips whose primary aim is to gain direct experience of the culture of a host community, and does not include experiences of secondary importance such as ethnic cultural performances and other tourist attractions (Harron and Weiler 1992). While the direct experience of culture different from one's own is part of the primary importance of ethnic tourism, cultural tourism may be defined in terms of situations where the role of culture is contextual, where it serves to shape the tourist's experience of a situation in general with no particular focus on the uniqueness of a specific cultural identity (Wood 1984).

Direct experience with the host culture as the primary purpose of ethnic tourism often involves visits to native homes and villages to observe, learn about and/or participate in native customs, ceremonies/rituals, dances, craftwork and other traditional activities, and personal elements such as face-to-face interaction with indigenous people are also considered important (Harron and Weiler 1992).

3–2. Definition of indigenous tourism

The term *ethnic tourism* refers to a form of leisure classified with a focus on the experiences of travelers. Since the 1990s, another variety called *indigenous tourism* classified with a focus on the initiatives of the people hosting travelers has attracted attention (e.g., Butler and Hinch 1996; Ryan and Aicken 2005). Specifically, the term refers to tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction (Butler and Hinch 1996).

The term *indigenous tourism* entered common parlance against a background of global interest in the restoration of indigenous peoples' rights, with such developments as the adoption of ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention No. 169 (ILO 1989; a set of human rights standards concerning indigenous issues) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations General Assembly (United Nations 2007).

3–3. Guidelines for indigenous tourism as outlined in the International Cultural Tourism Charter

ICOMOS developed the International Cultural Tourism Charter in 1999 as a set of international guidelines promoting the involvement of indigenous peoples in tourism. A section entitled *Involve Host and Indigenous Communities* in the Charter Principles clearly states that 1) the host community, 2) property owners and 3) relevant indigenous peoples who may exercise traditional rights or responsibilities over their own land and its significant sites should be involved in the

conservation of their cultural heritage and the planning of cultural expression in a tourism context (ICOMOS 1999/2002, Principle 4).

To clarify the roles of these three parties, the charter also includes the following four checkpoints: (i) Are the host community, property owners and/or relevant indigenous people involved in planning for conservation and tourism at the place?; (ii) Do planning, conservation and tourism activities show appropriate respect for the rights and interests of the host community, property owners and relevant indigenous people?; (iii) Have relevant people been involved in establishing goals, strategies, policies and protocols for identification, management and conservation programs?; (iv) If appropriate, has there been respect shown to the wishes of the host community or relevant indigenous people to restrict or manage access to certain cultural practices, knowledge, beliefs, activities, artefacts or sites?

Consideration of these four points is also essential for the promotion of indigenous tourism in Hokkaido. As the region currently has no framework specifying the involvement of indigenous peoples in tourism development, it is important to establish a structure appropriate for collaboration among the parties concerned in line with local situations based on reference to this charter and other international documents.

3–4. Efforts to promote tourism as a cultural exchange platform and a peacetime industry

As discussed above, the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter defines tourism as being among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange and as a means of making the values and significance of cultural heritage accessible to visitors as well as to people in and outside host communities physically, intellectually and/or emotively. It also states that well-managed tourism enhances public awareness of cultural heritage and helps to secure the levels of funding necessary for heritage conservation and public/political support.

In the field of cultural heritage conservation, the charter's content is seen as something to strive toward in extensive international discussions on the relationships linking heritage conservation and tourism. The document is therefore very useful not only from the viewpoint of cultural heritage conservation but also as an evaluation framework for indigenous tourism.

In this way, it is highly important to position tourism as a means of access to convey the value of heritage, as this adds a new dimension to the tourism industry in its roles as a cultural exchange platform and a peace-time industry rather than simply as an economic activity. That is, tourism highlights the significance inherent in the culture and history of others and the existence of diverse values.

This point should be recognized as a fundamental premise before tourism is considered as an economic activity. The preamble to the UNESCO Constitution states: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed; ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their

differences have all too often broken into war” (UNESCO 1945). In the consideration of indigenous tourism, there is a strong argument for beginning with a perspective like this as a basic philosophy.

4. Challenges facing indigenous tourism in Hokkaido

4–1. The need to view whole areas surrounding core facilities as places for Ainu cultural studies
In Hokkaido, pioneering tourism programs led by Ainu people are run in various areas including Sapporo, Shiraoi, Akan and Shiretoko, and a range of new initiatives have also been implemented in recent years. Levels of satisfaction are high among tourists experiencing these programs, but these results may be skewed because such participants necessarily already have a high level of interest in Ainu culture. Levels of recognition for such programs among regular tourists and local residents remain low, and tourism has so far contributed little to the promotion of Ainu culture and related awareness among the general public.

In relation to this problem, examination of advanced implementation overseas shows that facilities and mechanisms have been developed to provide tourists with guidance and information before they visit areas and sites closely related to indigenous people in order to foster respect for their culture. In Hokkaido, however, little guidance of this kind is provided.

As discussed above, the Ainu culture forms a clear basis for today’s cultural tapestry in Hokkaido, and tourism programs that intentionally emphasize the region’s pioneering culture and ideals with no understanding or respect for indigenous culture may distort the region’s history. The parties concerned should pay careful attention to this issue.

The perspectives outlined here suggest a need to immediately develop facilities and mechanisms that will provide visitors with basic information on the Ainu culture as a form of guidance for sightseeing in Hokkaido. During such development, local museums (and similar facilities whose staff highlight local issues and tackle them together with local residents) in various areas of Hokkaido and educational and research facilities such as universities can make an important contribution. In future work, these facilities should be positioned as core eco–museum facilities in individual areas and for the entire region as places for the Ainu cultural studies. This will help to promote educational and awareness–raising work relating to Ainu culture with two pillars: 1) activities to provide information to and raise awareness among regular tourists and local residents, and 2) activities to promote understanding of the Ainu culture among Ainu people themselves and to help them hand it down to future generations. Based on the promotion of these activities in coordination with tourism programs, efforts should be made to build a mechanism that will enable tourism proceeds to be used for initiatives toward the preservation of Ainu culture and allow the creation of places for dialogue and exchanges between the Ainu community and ethnic Japanese people.⁴

⁴ Initiatives such as those implemented by the Native Heritage Center in Anchorage, Alaska, and the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii serve as useful references.

4–2. Lessons from pioneering public welfare undertakings overseas

There is also an urgent need to examine a possible framework for tourism development in the context of the Ainu initiative. A noteworthy example of such application is a trust method applied in New Zealand. Many Maori tribes (*Iwi*) there have established Maori Trust Boards based on the Maori Trust Board Act of 1955, and each one administers its assets for the general good of its beneficiaries. Boards also coordinate with external parties to protect tribal interests and administer assets in order to promote education, vocational training, social welfare and other goals. These organizations also often discuss the development of tourism within their regions. Other trusts (particularly the charitable type) of various sizes are also formed for different purposes. In tourism development, these boards as well as the Maori Regional Tourism Organization (MRTO), community associations, local governments and other public interest groups and bodies coordinate matters, work with one another and engage in related discussions. This enables the matching of varying interests and the flow of proceeds from tourism to social welfare and other non-tourism fields.

The existence of these public interest organizations, which enable coordination not only for Maori interests but also for those of Caucasian and Asian residents as well as wealth distribution for the benefit of the entire region, are expected to serve as a useful reference in consideration of collaboration between Ainu and ethnic Japanese peoples toward the promotion of indigenous tourism in Hokkaido.

New Zealand's Kaikoura Town is home to Whale Watch Kaikoura – a Maori whale-watching enterprise with 53% of its shares owned by local *Hapu* (a sub-tribe) and 47% by local *Iwi* (a tribal group above the *Hapu*). Proceeds are shared not only within the small ethnic group but also within its superordinate group. This example can also be seen as a useful reference for tourism development involving Ainu people, who have diverse regional characteristics.

Clearly, tourism in Hokkaido is currently led by the tourist industry and is largely promoted for the benefit of profit-seeking private enterprises. Against this backdrop, there is a lot to learn from the way the indigenous organizations discussed here implement public welfare undertakings.

5. Conclusion

A number of indigenous peoples around the world face challenges such as the need to secure employment, extricate themselves from poverty, restore their rights to land, resources and knowledge, and hand down their culture and pride to future generations. The tourism industry is closely related to these challenges; if tourism is appropriately planned and managed, it can contribute greatly to the creation of jobs, the restoration of rights and cultural inheritance. This is the significance of the tourism approach taken by the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group.

As detailed by Kyungjae Jang in the next section, modern technologies such as those

relating to computer networks and personal digital devices have enabled host communities and indigenous peoples to provide information on the value of their cultural heritage without relying on the central government or specific private enterprises. This provides outstanding opportunities for indigenous communities, and has contributed to increased momentum for tourism initiatives led by indigenous peoples around the world.

However, these studies and practical applications remain in their early stages, and a number of challenges remain to be addressed. In particular, specific tourism-related issues have surfaced regarding 1) how indigenous and non-indigenous people collaborate with each other, 2) who should be tasked with guaranteeing the authenticity and veracity of information provided by indigenous people, and 3) how such guarantees should be made. These issues require a non-profit approach as well as neutrality and objectivity, and should be tackled by universities in collaboration with indigenous people and host communities.

Discussions and field surveys implemented over the course of four years by the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group have helped to clarify key issues concerning heritage tourism and indigenous tourism. In the next fiscal year and beyond, the author plans to study these issues based on the actual situations of host communities so that the findings obtained can be more specifically translated for practical application.

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4. Indigenous Tourism and Network Society/ICT

Kyungjae Jang¹

1. Introduction

The discussions presented here so far have highlighted the utilization of indigenous cultural heritage and indigenous tourism from the viewpoints of public archaeology and heritage tourism. This section illustrates new approaches to indigenous tourism in line with the globalization and networking of society with primary focus on the concept of network society and the utilization of information and communication technologies (referred to here as ICTs).

The advent of network society has enabled indigenous peoples to freely promote their cultures beyond the boundaries of modern nation states. This paper first discusses the development of network society and its significance in regard to cultural promotion by indigenous peoples.

With the transformation of modernity, the influence of modern nation states is gradually declining. In the context of efforts made to attach significance to cultural resources and utilize them, the general paradigm is shifting from state-led, top-down cultural heritage designation to community-led cultural resource interpretation. The development of digital networks has also eliminated physical restrictions on the interpretation of cultural resources, providing an effective framework for indigenous peoples to interpret and present their own cultures. In light of these situations, this paper also discusses the diversification of cultural resource interpretation in today's network society.

Lastly, based on the above observations, cultural promotion by indigenous peoples using ICTs and a new form of indigenous tourism are discussed.

2. The development of network society and indigenous culture

2-1. Definition and characteristics of network society

(1) Societal change and information/communication technologies

Major changes in society are perceived according to periodization based on various criteria. A typical example of this is periodization in the context of changes on which people base decisions regarding values/norms, livelihoods and behavior. In this method, human society is divided into

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three periods: the medieval period, in which God was seen to function as an existent entity; the modern period, in which God no longer functioned as such and artificial “gods” (i.e., nation states) appeared; and the late-modern period, in which the fictitious nature of the modern period was exposed, nation states weakened and diverse small groups took on a status similar to that of nation states.

One such periodization criterion involves community formation based on changes in community forms. Wellman (2001) classifies human society in consideration of the types of community created: the period of door-to-door community seen until the 19th century, when communities were based on face-to-face communication with neighbors; the period of place-to-place community, when households functioned as communities after the advent of fixed-line phones linked people in different places rather than only those in the same locale; the period of person-to-person community, when the development of mobile communications gave rise to portable communities; and the period of role-to-role community, in which it has become possible for people to communicate in cyberspace showing only fragments of their selves rather than their whole.

Wellman’s main point is that tools in the form of technologies are important factors behind societal change. With such viewpoints, a balanced perspective is required that avoids the arbitrariness of the radical constructivist position, with its single-minded view that the discourses surrounding technologies are the only phenomena with any possible sociological (and social) relevance, and evades the equally unilateral epistemology associated with technological determinism, as argued by Hutchby (2001). However, considering the major roles played by mass printing technology and print capitalism in the establishment of modern society (Anderson, 2007), technology can be seen as having a significant influence on societal change.

(2) Definition

What Wellman refers to as role-to-role community is based on the Internet and other computer networks (referred to here simply as “the network”). Castells (2000) notes that social foundations and structures are transformed by networks, and identifies network society as a new social make-up with information links constituting the backbone of its cultural formation and economic activity.

(3) Characteristics

Castells (2000) highlights network society’s informational, global and networked aspects as fundamental considerations. In short, he argues, the production, circulation and consumption of information in global networks represent the foundation of this society.

Such networks have spatial and temporal characteristics relating to timeless time and the space of flows. The former is defined by the use of new technologies in an effort to annihilate time in communication, and the latter refers to the possibility of organizing the simultaneity of

social practices without geographical contiguity, as seen in financial markets.

These characteristics are important because they significantly affect cultural formation. Castells defines culture as something produced by symbolic interaction in a given space and time. In networks characterized by changing space and time, cultural formation also naturally changes. That is, as people do not share space and time in networks, culture develops through the self-identification processes of individuals and small groups based on their arbitrary interpretations rather than their sharing of things in the same place and timeframe.

2-2. Network society and indigenous culture

Cultural formation in network society strengthens the ability of indigenous peoples, other minorities and local stakeholders to create and promote their cultures. This can be considered from the two viewpoints of weakened modern nation states and increased capacity for local groups to convey their messages.

In regard to weakened modern nation states, the changes in time and space discussed by Castells lead to the disappearance of common places that affect cultural formation; these places are such nation states. In other words, with the arrival of timeless time and the space of flows, the influence of modern nation states as a foundation for cultural development disappears.

Meanwhile, networking helps local stakeholders to strengthen their communicative capacity. Sassen (2004) asserts that information and communication technologies (ICTs) have enabled a variety of local political actors to enter international arenas once exclusive to nation states. A variety of stakeholders, including indigenous people, NGOs, human rights activists and even terrorist groups, come together and act using networks.

Previous studies on the significance and effectiveness of network utilization and cultural promotion by indigenous peoples have focused primarily on American, Australian and Caribbean communities (Prins 2002; Latukefu 2006; Forte 2006). These studies involved a variety of approaches, including one regarding such communication as a tool for cultural promotion (Prins) and another viewing it as a platform for community development (Latukefu 2006; Forte 2006).

3. Cultural resource interpretation in network society

3-1. Changes in modernity and cultural resource interpretation

Aside from the advancement of networking, changes in efforts to attach significance to and utilize cultural resources in relation to the transformation of modernity began to appear in the latter half of the 1950s. The first such instance was the a contribution by Freeman Tilden (1957), who defined heritage interpretation as an educational activity that aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information. His definition is innovative for its emphasis on the subjective views of interpreters. In this way, Tilden opened up the potential for museums and their artifacts, which had previously functioned to communicate value for the

maintenance of modern states, to be re–interpreted by individuals.

New museology and eco–museums were developed in the 1970s based on Tilden’s theory in combination with consideration of environmental issues, political movements and postmodern thinking that arose in the 1960s. New museology began with resolutions adopted as a result of International Council of Museums (ICOM) Round Table discussions held in Chile in 1972. The Round Table emphasized the role museums should play in expressing the identity of communities, and paved the way for official acknowledgment of cultural resource interpretation at a regional level. Conversely, regional roles are emphasized more actively under the concept of eco–museums, which was introduced in 1971 and defined as encompassing territory, heritage, memory and population (Rivard 1984; Boylan 1992; Corsane, Davis & Murtas 2009). More recently in Europe, eco–museum promotion has come to be seen as a dynamic way in which communities preserve, interpret and manage their heritage for sustainable development (Corsane, Davis & Murtas 2009). In this way, regions can highlight the value of their heritage and manage it by connecting it to the natural environment using various techniques.

In the 1980s and onward, modern states were exposed as imagined communities (Anderson 2007). In combination with skepticism toward modernity, this stimulated discussions on postmodernism after the modern period. Bauman (1987) maintains that postmodern cultural formation is characterized by the fall of legislators and the rise of interpreters, the latter of whom came to play central roles. In other words, cultural formation with modern states as the driving force behind modernity led to cultural formation based on interpretation by various stakeholders. These characteristics correspond to the development represented by Tilden’s concepts, new museology and eco–museums.

With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the shift toward postmodernism gained momentum. Against this backdrop, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which had previously focused on the preservation of tangible cultural heritage, turned in 2008 toward concepts and methods for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage (ICOMOS Charter for Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites).

3–2. Interpretation of cultural resources using ICT

The development of networking removed spatial constraints in the interpretation of cultural resources. This was made possible by the expansion of the concept of place and community and the provision of new presentation tools. These are detailed below, followed by a discussion of the actual network–based interpretation of cultural resources involving an example from the UK.

(1) Expansion of the concepts of place and community

The development of information and communication technologies and devices has given rise to a world of augmented reality in which information and value are transmitted via networks in real–world environments. For example, information (e.g., text, images and audio) in Google Maps or

other such online services can be reproduced in real-world environments with the same latitude and longitude coordinates as those of the map. This represents the elimination of physical boundaries between communities subjected to interpretation and groups of people in such communities. In this way, it is now possible to remotely interpret and manage cultural resources.

Along with the development of technological infrastructure, there is growing recognition of networks as actual locations based on the high interest indigenous people show in web space creation and utilization (Forte, Latukefu, Prins) and on the rapid growth of social network services and other advances.

(2) ICTs as tools

The interpretation of cultural resources based on network information requires field-ready presentation tools that connect networks with physical locations. The development of ICT has made it possible to communicate on networks in physical spaces. In particular, the proliferation of compact PCs, GPS receivers, wireless LANs, digital cameras, display devices and smart phones supports highly practical interpretation and presentation at cultural resource sites based on audio-visual media.

(3) Interpretation of cultural resources and network utilization in the UK

In the UK, cultural resource interpretation began in earnest in 1975 when the body known today as the Association for Heritage Interpretation (referred to here as AHI) was established. The AHI website² highlights a variety of organizations involved in the interpretation of cultural heritage in forms such as storytelling, oral history and website design. Of particular note here is the use of cultural resource trails with audio guides, in which the development of audio heritage trails using a readily available medium such as podcasting enables the interpretation that connects networks and physical locations.

A case in point here is the Heather and Hillforts Project, which is intended to preserve cultural landscapes and promote nature conservation in Wales. Under the project, various interpretation initiatives are implemented using network space. The project's website³ functions as a guidance tool and a core eco-museum facility featuring location details and an interactive map to provide users with information beforehand so that they can experience the feeling of visiting actual locations. The additional provision of audio trail files means that the area is constantly being interpreted.

4. A new form of indigenous tourism

The discussions conducted so far have addressed the characteristics of network society, indigenous culture and networks, changes in the interpretation of cultural resources and the

² <http://www.ahi.org.uk>

³ <http://www.heatherandhillforts.co.uk/>

effectiveness of interpretation using ICT. In the last part of the paper, the question of how indigenous tourism using ICT should be developed in network society is discussed.

4-1. Establishment of accessibility and indigenous tourism

To support the discussion of how indigenous tourism using ICT should be developed, forms of access in tourism and their characteristics first need to be outlined. The Principles and Guidelines for the implementation of the International Cultural Tourism Charter established by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) states that access to cultural heritage resources includes all forms, including 1) physical access, 2) intellectual access and 3) emotive access. ICOMOS says that 2) and 3) in particular do not necessarily need to involve actual site visits. This means that indirect and simulated experience with no actual physical movement is also seen as representing a form of access and a form of tourism. Based on such a definition, tourist access via networks can also be broadly included in this category.

In light of such expansion regarding the concept of access, the establishment of physical access as well as intellectual and emotive access should be considered in the design of indigenous tourism programs leveraging ICT.

4-2. Issues concerning interpreters of heritage

Networks serve as the main stage in consideration for the establishment of intellectual and emotive access to cultural resources using ICT. With this in mind, the question of responsibility for interpreting cultural resources arises because networks have no physical boundaries. For example, in the current interpretation of cultural resources such as those found in eco-museums, their existence generally corresponds to the living space of people who interpret them. That is, groups of people who perceive places and landscapes as their own (i.e., local community members) interpret cultural resources. Meanwhile, anybody can participate in network-based cultural resource interpretation due to a lack of physical boundaries.

Issues concerning the question of who should interpret heritage resources do not represent a dichotomy between physical space and networks, but should be considered in light of demographic changes. Today, regions are made up of various groups of people with a variety of demographic characteristics except in areas where traditional communities have survived. For example, some groups may live in towns from which they simply commute to work, while others may not live there but are attached to such areas through a sense of affinity or affection. In some cases, indigenous peoples were forced out of the areas where they used to live by the effects of modernization and colonization, and now live in other places as diasporic peoples. Against this backdrop, it is extremely difficult to allocate responsibility for the interpretation of heritage resources based simply on residential criteria. Thus, emotional and subjective factors (such as emotional attachment and memories) should be considered in addition to residence when determining who should interpret heritage.

From this perspective, potential interpreters of cultural heritage include not only people who live in a certain region but also those who simply feel an attachment to it and indigenous people who now live elsewhere.

4–3. Development of indigenous tourism based on ICT

The final section of this paper discusses how indigenous tourism using ICT should be developed in network society.

(1) Networks as a major arena for indigenous tourism

In ICT-based indigenous tourism, networks function as a space to accommodate online communities and allow remote interpretation. The relationships linking indigenous peoples and settlers are often premised on the incorporation of the former's land into the latter's territory and the semi-forced modernization or relocation of the original residents from areas where their traditional lifestyles flourished. This diasporic situation causes the loss of communities and land-based traditional cultures, but networks can function as a tool to revive both.

Using networks as a tool for community formation, indigenous peoples have actively formed Internet groups (as seen in the previously mentioned examples of American, Australian and Caribbean peoples). These groups represent an online reproduction of communities that existed before the emergence of diasporas. As Sassen notes, the formation of online communities provides indigenous peoples with a powerful tool for cultural promotion.

Networks also provide space for interpretation. Technological development has enabled the simulation of real-world environments in network space and the converse presentation of network information in real-world environments, thereby supporting the creation of augmented-reality experiences. In this way, it has become possible for indigenous peoples to interpret their memories of the past and cultural traditions through networks and for tourists to utilize such interpretations in the field, regardless of where these indigenous peoples currently live.

(2) Establishment of accessibility based on interlocking spaces

Even though digital networks are now set as a major arena for indigenous tourism, physical access should also be taken into consideration due to the need for physical, intellectual and emotive access in tourism. In this context, digital networks play the twin roles of attracting tourists to a region and providing them with interpretations of local resources.

The role of attracting tourists is similar to that played by general websites in the sense that they present local cultural resources and attractions on a network. As the recognition of indigenous cultures as tourist resources is relatively low and such cultures have lacked active promotion, providing information on them and highlighting related attractions on the Web can be seen as an effective way to raise their profile. However, caution is required in regard to veracity. Based on an analysis of online communities of Taino people, Forte (2006) notes that many Taino

sites are heavy on aesthetic staging and elaborate in appearance, and underlines the importance of veracity in online cultural expression by indigenous peoples. This does not only apply to publicity for indigenous cultures; issues concerning aesthetic staging, fictitious accounts and the authenticity of indigenous cultural expression in network space may become a major challenge in relation to problems concerning the secondary use of such expression by users and intellectual property rights.

The other role of digital networks involves providing tourists with interpretations. As shown by the example of the Heather and Hillforts Project, digital networks help to provide interpretation content. That is, when tourists visit a heritage site, they can listen to cultural resource interpretations using ICT without a guide being present. Network utilization of this kind is particularly effective for the interpretation of cultural resources by indigenous peoples who live far from them because it enables remote communication.

(3) Digital networks and communication

Lastly, indigenous tourism and communication should be discussed. The sections above primarily outline a form of ICT-based indigenous tourism in which tourists utilize cultural information communicated digitally by indigenous people in a one-way arrangement. However, communication between tourists and local communities is also an important element of tourism. A new form of tourism has also recently emerged in which tourists exercise creativity together with local community members in a consumer-producer arrangement with no line drawn between hosts and visitors. Here, communication also plays an important role. In digital networks, two forms of communication are considered – the direct type and the collective intelligence type.

Direct communication is the same as general communication on the Internet, with examples including social network services like Twitter and Facebook. In particular, the use of geotags containing GPS information supports communication based on content left by tourists at places where certain cultural resources are found. This means that indigenous peoples in remote areas are able to communicate with tourists in regard to cultural resources as if they were in the same place.

The other form of communication in digital networks is the collective intelligence type. In networks, users add value to their information by labeling it in a process referred to as social tagging. Rather than representing person-to-person interaction, this can be seen as a form of collective communication between groups of network users and indigenous peoples (cultures).

5. Summary

This paper outlines network utilization and related cultural promotion among indigenous peoples, discusses the significance and effectiveness of these activities, and highlights how indigenous tourism using ICT should be developed. PC networks function as tools with which indigenous

peoples can better promote their cultures, form communities with no physical constraints and interpret their cultural resources. In a broad sense, such networks also help to secure physical, intellectual and emotive access to interpretations and communication with indigenous peoples.

Network utilization enables multi-level coexistence of a range of interpretations regarding particular regions and resources. This makes digital networks a platform where diverse cultures can coexist in parallel rather than in conflict. In cultural resource interpretation, the utilization of digital networks is considered to contribute to the promotion of indigenous cultures as well as to the enhancement of regional appeal.

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Chapter 3

Case Studies

1. Views on the Roles of Guided Tours

Kozue Kadowaki

1. The significance of conveying one's own culture

First of all, how much do you know about the history of Hokkaido and about the culture and cultural heritage handed down by your ancestors? I believe that an accurate understanding of the history and culture of Hokkaido forms the foundation of cultural development for the future. Eco-tours and guided tours represent efforts to communicate this history and culture in an easy-to-understand manner via the medium of dialogue.

The promotion of Ainu culture through such tours is important in ensuring accurate understanding of Hokkaido's history and natural environment, as this culture is an integral part of our heritage. Guidance from Ainu people on these tours is also important, and contributes to the continuation and development of their culture. Few tours have been given by Ainu guides to date, but on the positive side, this means that there is plenty of room for Ainu people to develop their own culture and promote it to others. In regard to eco-/guided tours, we should bear in mind that people live in harmony with nature, which protects them and keeps them alive. I hope such tours with Ainu guides will provide opportunities for people to appreciate the harmonious relations that link humans and nature, find out about the history and culture of Hokkaido, and properly understand the aspects of culture they learn about from guides.



Photo 2 A historical remnant in Sapporo's Hiragishi area: a hiike (a pond formerly used to make natural ice)

Photo 1 An eco-tour in the Kannonsawa area of Minami-ku in Sapporo



2. Problems and challenges of guide work

It is essential for guides to have a thorough understanding of cultural properties in Hokkaido and to fully comprehend the history and culture of Ainu people. Even though individual cultural properties may be private assets, their cultural value has a public nature. Accordingly, they should be seen as valuable property to be shared by all people and protected regardless of how they change over time. Such cultural properties are irreplaceable elements of cultural heritage and integral parts of our living environments. They are closely related to daily life as important subjects of study and resources that help people to live spiritually rich lives.

There have been few opportunities to discuss Ainu culture to date, but now is the time to move away from the traditional image of the Ainu. Accordingly, it is necessary to accurately communicate and understand the current situation of these indigenous people. A major challenge in this regard is for Ainu people themselves to learn how to communicate and promote their own culture.

I believe we have a responsibility and a duty to carefully protect these cultural properties as temporal constants and pass them on to future generations. I hope the Ainu and other people of Hokkaido will maintain pride in the history and culture of their region and cherish the variety of cultural properties that surround us as part of our shared cultural heritage.



Photo 3 A *casi* site in the Tenjin-yama area of Hiragishi



Photo 4 Shojin River and explanation of the origin of the river name

Kikue Harada

Although I don't feel qualified to dictate the nature of tours, I'd like to express my thoughts on my involvement in the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group.

First I'd like to discuss whether I'm qualified to work on guided tours. I'm a poor Ainu woman and have never been on a guided tour, so I don't know much about what guides do. However, based on my recollection of a school excursion I went on in the third year of junior high school, my image of guides is that they know and tell people about everything. If this is what they do, then I'm not a guide because I don't know so much, and I'm still studying to become one. If somebody asks me a question, I can't answer it immediately. When a heritage tour was held at Hokkaido University, most of the commentary was provided by Prof. Kato and Prof. Yamamura. The only narrative I managed to give was about Kotoni at Ohno Pond. I don't remember when it was, but one day I was walking on the HU campus with Prof. Yamazaki and he asked me to explain what an *urai* (fish trap) was. I couldn't do it and felt terrible about it. Prof. Kato had once told us about them in a Working Group (WG) meeting, and I listened, but when I tried to explain it myself, I couldn't. I realized that just listening to others and providing information myself are two completely different things.

In this way, I was wholly dependent on HU professors during WG workshop tours. I realized how easy it is to have no responsibility. I talked with a friend one day and decided to serve as a guide on the HU campus in a private capacity (without professors or other WG members). The tourists I guided were interested in Ainu culture and taught elsewhere. As I was their only guide, I made a guide pamphlet and prepared for the tour before I did it. This experience made me realize that I'd been spoiled in the WG. It's hard to take on responsibility.

During my preparations for the tour, I read up on the work of Prof. Kodama, S. (an anthropologist known for his enormous collection of Ainu remains and artifacts), because I thought I'd need to talk about him in reference to HU. Before this, I'd believed that what he did was bad news for Ainu people based on the opinions of others, and particularly those of professors. However, once I learned about him, I realized he'd tackled Ainu issues earnestly. The literature I read might have been HU-friendly, but he didn't seem as bad as I'd heard.

The tour I gave was called An HU Tour with Kiku-chan. One of the group members kindly wrote some nice feedback about the tour on a website, which made me realize how important it is to have what you do recognized by others. While students and other people go on the free tours provided by the WG, those on my tour paid 500 yen each. This was good for me because the group members were happy with the tour even though they had to pay for it. I was relieved that they responded positively, but I also wonder if they were just being polite.

I don't think you can understand guiding unless you give a tour yourself, whether it's a WG workshop tour or a personally organized one. It's hard to become a good guide just by listening to other guides, maybe hoping they'd speak up and doubting their commentary. I believe practice makes perfect, but there's no point in practicing if professors jump in to help you out; you'll

never develop. You should try it independently, make guide pamphlets, prepare and decide what to talk about yourself. If possible, it's a good idea to charge a fee, whether it's 100 yen or 1,000 yen. This might seem to devalue the free WG tours, but this isn't the case. WG workshops gave me my first opportunity to serve as a guide, and this was when I began to study guiding, so it's important to give it a try rather than just deciding that it's not for you. Once you begin to study, you'll learn a lot and want to talk about various things. I'm grateful to WG workshops because they taught me that I've learned a lot and can serve as a guide.

In regard to the characteristics of guides, it would be wonderful if Ainu tour leaders could sing *upopo* (Ainu festival songs), show tour group members craft items they've made, teach them how to play the *mukkuri* (Ainu mouth harp), dance with them and tell *yukar* (Ainu epic tales). Serving *shito* (dumplings) and/or *ento* herb tea during breaks would also create a special experience. I'd love to do these things, but this implementation would require a core program. In the neighborhood of Hokkaido University, it may be possible to organize collaboration with the Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies; in Noboribetsu, the Chiri Yukie Memorial Museum (where *ento* tea is usually available); and in Shiretoko, the Iruka Hotel or the Shucho no Ie Hot Spring Inn.

It would also be a good idea to pick nearby plants from which bark-fiber can be twisted (an action known as *kaeka* in the Ainu language) into thread for bracelets that tourists can take home. These are easy to make but will be remembered for a long time.

To this end, I believe it is essential to maintain favorable relations with local branches of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido and other Ainu organizations so that we can collaborate with them whenever the need arises.

As Ainu people may be reluctant to become guides if they are simply asked to think about it and give it a try (assuming that this is not just my personal perception), advice from HU professors could facilitate developments in this regard. It would be highly advantageous if they could provide extensive input of this kind. As Ainu people tend not to be hesitant in front of professors and instructors, I hope these teaching staff will also not hesitate to provide candid suggestions to them. I think this is the essence of the collaboration needed.

I'll continue to do my best in this regard because I see it as my duty to work with other members so that the WG can facilitate study by younger Ainu people.

2. Challenges regarding the Roles of Guided Tours

Takayoshi Yamamura¹, Shinobu Ueda²

1. Introduction

As defined in the International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), tourism is an economic activity and a primary vehicle for cultural exchange. The significance of academic and non-profit research on tourism by universities lies in their pursuit of the potential of tourism in its role as such a vehicle. The purpose of survey and research activities concerning indigenous heritage tourism with the input of Ainu people is to provide academic support for the facilitation of exchanges between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples through tourism.

Against this background, the Indigenous Heritage and Tourism Working Group has implemented a variety of surveys and practical activities over the past several years. It has also conducted in-depth multifaceted discussions and supported stronger common understanding in regard to matters to be studied in order to promote heritage tours led by indigenous people in Hokkaido.

As a result of these efforts, it was decided that the final goals of the Working Group should be 1) to present a framework for enriched mutual understanding and mutual respect through tourism in its role as a means of exchange, and 2) to recruit more people to support the protection and inheritance of the target culture. In other words, the aim is to leverage tourism as a way of increasing the number of people who feel an affinity with and support Ainu culture. There is a common understanding that reaching this goal depends on our ability to move beyond fundamentally viewing tourism simply as an economic activity and as a medium for commodity transactions between hosts and visitors.

The specifics of this direction and related future challenges are discussed below.

2. Guaranteeing three forms of access to cultural heritage

As discussed above, ICOMOS (1999) defines tourism as an economic activity and a primary vehicle for cultural exchange. It also states that information regarding cultural heritage should be

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made accessible to visitors as well as people in host communities and elsewhere physically, intellectually and emotively. More specifically, visitors should be able to appreciate the value and significance of cultural heritage in the form of real-life experiences (physically), knowledge (intellectually) and emotional affinity/enjoyment (emotively) so that they develop respect for cultural heritage.

It is important to understand the roles of heritage tours and those of guides from this perspective. That is, guides should ensure that visitors understand and appreciate the significance of cultural heritage based on balanced provision of these three forms of access.

However, some caution is required. Naturally, it is necessary to respect indigenous people's wishes for access to certain places to be restricted (such as ritual spaces, sacred sites and sanctuaries) for religious and other reasons. It is also important for indigenous communities to provide information highlighting the significance of such areas to help visitors understand and respect the reasons for this protection.

3. Core-facility establishment – addressing the need for a one-stop destination to support comprehensive learning

Before heritage tours can be organized, it is important to provide introductory information to prospective visitors so that they can learn about the target site in advance. The physical source of such information should allow visitors to develop a comprehensive understanding of the value of the site based on related major historical narratives (including those on natural history), its culture and other relevant considerations. Such places can be referred to as guidance facilities, and play the same roles as core parts of eco-museums.

Tourism targeting heritage sites can negatively impact the natural environment, the host community and local indigenous culture. To minimize the related effects, visitors should be given adequate guidance and basic information through presentations in advance. When heritage trails are established in the future, appropriate studies should be conducted to clarify how existing facilities can be used effectively for such guidance.

Additionally, giving visitors and guides the chance to look back on tours and talk about them will help to enhance understanding of cultural heritage, and will also provide guides with visitor feedback for use in designing future tours. Opportunities of this kind also create forums for exchange between visitors and guides as discussed below, and can lead to higher levels of visitor satisfaction.

4. Establishing a spirit of collaboration that transcends host/visitor boundaries

To ensure high levels of visitor satisfaction, it is important to maintain equilibrium between relationships in tourism (e.g., those between the host and visitors and between guides and visitors) and camaraderie based on which people collaborate beyond the bounds of commercial tourism. This can be seen as a balance between knowledge and fun or between tourism

commerce and voluntary exchanges. It should be recognized that visitors often forget complex matters but remember pleasant experiences such as drinking tea with their guide. The primary objective of heritage tours is to increase the number of people supporting the protection and generational continuity of the target cultural heritage. In other words, it is important to make visitors supporters of Ainu culture through the tours they experience.

In this regard, tours given by indigenous peoples in other countries often include tea at the guide's home after a session of trail walking. Programs of this kind are very effective in fostering a sense of satisfaction among tour group members, who enjoy the host's hospitality. There is no need to serve special food – just some local food or drink is more than enough. Introducing programs of this type in which visitors eat and drink with indigenous people will also help to enhance related exchanges.

Having hosts and visitors interact and maintaining flexibility in host–visitor relationships are important considerations that have been lacking in discussions to date. It should be remembered that such interaction plays an essential role in the promotion of mutual understanding.

5. Significance of beginning with the present, showing the true current state of things and creating a lived-in feel

It is important to strike a balance between communicating the present situation of indigenous people and providing accurate information on their history, culture, natural environment and other considerations. Current tours involving indigenous people tend to emphasize the provision of correct information on these matters with insufficient focus on actual situations. Such tours usually begin with historical accounts, and these narratives are then connected to modern-day situations. This approach is also seen in indigenous culture exhibitions at museums. With this method, tours tend to focus entirely on communicating the history of indigenous people and place insufficient emphasis on their situations today and on related understanding and empathy.

An opposite approach involving primary focus on current situations followed by historical narratives is also required. For example, it is useful for visitors to directly learn from ordinary Ainu people that today's urban Ainu lifestyles are the same as those of ethnic Japanese people, but that Ainu people maintain their ethnic identity. Such direct input is expected to enhance visitors' interest in Ainu culture and motivate them to visit other sites.

The type of interaction with guides outlined above helps visitors to develop a sense of closeness to indigenous people by learning about their identity based on actual sensory experience of their daily lives. Such experience teaches tourists that indigenous people have a very real presence today rather than being relics from the past. Providing people on tours with a little something to eat and/or drink relating to Ainu culture also helps to enhance interest in the present situation of indigenous people and to create a sense of affinity with them. Obviously, the Ainu characteristics of food and drink provided should be highlighted to visitors.

Against this background, there is a need to examine an approach that involves helping

visitors to develop a sense of closeness to today's indigenous people before understanding their past. Clearly, methods that may be disagreeable to Ainu people should not be used as a fundamental premise, but specific programs should be examined with a focus on highlighting Ainu ways of life today (e.g., visits to current living spaces) and having visitors experience their lives. This requires consideration because it is virtually impossible in Hokkaido for tourists to visit Ainu settlements where traditional lifestyles survive and experience their daily lives.

6. Guide training – securement of knowledge and expression of guides' individuality

Machikado Guide, an Okinawa-based NPO with roots in local communities, engages in guiding activities. One of its basic policies underlines the need for guide training to enhance knowledge on the part of people performing such work, but the organization does not use manuals for tour commentary because this suppresses the individuality of guides. The policy also underscores the NPO's guarantee of a certain level of knowledge, while other matters are left to the judgment of individual guides. Such perspectives are very important in maintaining the above-discussed balance between knowledge and fun and providing tours that help group members develop a sense of closeness with their guides.

In particular, the development of guide training programs requires clarification for the minimum level of knowledge to be imparted (knowledge systematization) and the setting of boundaries for matters to be left to the judgment of individual guides (demonstration of guides' individuality and appeal) as well as the elucidation of roles.

It should be noted in the field of guide training that enhancing knowledge and providing information alone will not necessarily increase the popularity of Ainu culture or the number of people supporting it.

Today, guide training courses and research activities are slanted toward the provision of knowledge and information. In future work, more consideration should be given to the provision of emotive pleasure and humanized exchanges along with knowledge through tours. In this regard, the creation of lists and databases of relevant domestic and overseas examples (particularly indigenous heritage tours) would be a useful exercise.

Naturally, guide training tailored to Ainu people is also indispensable in consideration of the value of people from indigenous communities telling visitors about their culture.

7. Small-group and multi-guide tours

As with eco-tours, the number of people on group heritage tours led by a single guide should be kept to a minimum. This is extremely important not only in terms of physical matters (i.e., to secure safety) and intellectual considerations (e.g., the provision of comprehensive commentary) but also from an emotive viewpoint (i.e., to enhance the satisfaction of visitors through interaction with guides). The Working Group has organized a number of monitoring tours on which its members served as guides, and has concluded that that in consideration of these

factors, the ideal number of people on tours led by a single guide is two or three, while the maximum should be five.

In this regard, the question of how to interest people in such small-scale offerings is expected to require special consideration when tours are organized in the future. These services will essentially cater to individuals or small groups of friends or family. There is plenty of scope for further research in regard to trends and orientations regarding individual tourists.

Meanwhile, feedback received by the WG indicates that tours with over five people should have more than one guide – a main guide with comprehensive knowledge and advanced guiding skills and sub-guides for support. WG members on a field trip previously took a multi-guide eco-tour, and the experience proved very satisfactory. The sub-guides on the tour were knowledgeable in specific fields such as botany while giving the impression of being locals (rather than experts) supporting the tour. The advantages of this multi-guide system include high levels of satisfaction among tourists because plural guides are able to pay more attention to individuals than a single guide can, and local sub-guides provide more chances for interaction via small talk during periods of travel between tour destinations.

Although sub-guides are not professionally trained in most cases, the system gives people who are interested in guiding and interaction a chance to join tours. In future work relating to the development of tourism led by indigenous people, this system should be viewed as a means of human resource development.

8. Stimulating interest in Ainu culture

Viewed simply, visitors to Hokkaido can be categorized as those who are interested in Ainu culture and those who are not. The former actively seek information via media such as the Internet and readily sign up for tours, and guides can provide them with specialized information. However, it is very difficult to attract people who have no interest in Ainu culture.

Discussions to date concerning indigenous people and tourism, including those conducted by the Working Group, have focused on people who are interested in Ainu culture and largely neglected those who are not. However, if increasing the number of people who feel an affinity with and support Ainu culture through tourism is seen as an objective of providing heritage tours, then the question of how to attract the latter becomes a key consideration. This also raises the very important issues of how to expand the market, enhance understanding of Ainu people and raise awareness of their culture.

The need to attract people with no interest in Ainu culture can be addressed by including aspects of Ainu history and culture in general heritage tour information provided by guides rather than emphasizing Ainu culture as a particular highlight of tours. Unfortunately, not all visitors to Hokkaido want to know more about Ainu people, but presumably do want to know about the places they visit. The idea of the approach proposed here involves highlighting Ainu history and culture in terms of the information people want by incorporating it into the general sightseeing information that guides provide. This is expected to stimulate the interest of people who either

do not know about Ainu culture or are not interested in it.

Hokkaido is characterized by a multi-level history and Ainu place names, and is home to Ainu people and Ainu culture. With these observations as a fundamental premise, Ainu-related narratives should be incorporated into general sightseeing commentary as a matter of course.

9. Efforts toward enhanced heritage tourism – an administrative staff viewpoint

Working members of the Indigenous Heritage Tourism Project launched in 2008 have come together a number of times to discuss the details of ideal guided tours, conduct surveys and perform research. In relation to the organization of monitoring tours, one of the authors (Shinobu Ueda) has tried to find ways to raise public awareness and interest in Ainu culture from the viewpoint of tour group members in her roles as an administrative staff member and a local resident.

Hokkaido has a rich natural environment and an abundance of valuable resources through which people can experience Ainu culture. Against this backdrop, project staff set the following tour trails: (A) Central Sapporo Area: Sapporo No. 1 (HU campus) and Sapporo No. 2 (Sapporo Station and its environs); (B) Shojin River and Tenjin-yama Area; (C) Noboribetsu and Kojohama Area; and (D) Shiretoko Utoro Area.

The Elm Grove Hokkaido University Information Center near the main gate of the campus provides an ideal meeting and dispersion point for the Sapporo No. 1 trail. Although the use of most campus facilities requires advance reservation, Elm Grove does not. It can be utilized effectively because it is open all year round and available regardless of the time of day and the size of the tour group. The ability to serve Ainu food and/or drinks on these tours would be ideal, but in reality it is difficult to secure cooking space and ingredients. In the future, student cafeterias may be used for this purpose. The relevant organizations at tour spots along the Sapporo No. 2 trail must be informed in advance of the arrival of tour groups and give approval. For trails in the Noboribetsu/Kojohama and Utoro areas, the cooperation of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido (the main Ainu organization) is indispensable. It is important that WG members serve as points of contact and maintain close collaboration with such organizations based on the group's commitment to supporting host communities. In all related events, Shinobu Ueda has played a coordinating role between the organizers (faculty members, students and Ainu people) and related organizations/tour group members, readily liaising between them and double-checking details as necessary. Although a myriad of challenges still need to be addressed, WG staff hope that their heritage tourism initiatives will help to enhance public interest in Ainu people and to pass on the fruits of these efforts to them in some way.

Awareness of the issues outlined above and related discussions served as a premise in the compilation of this report. In particular, guide pamphlets and the audio guide system were proposed by WG members as tentative ways of addressing these issues. In the future, the authors plan to collect more feedback from the parties involved and conduct further discussions to support practical consideration of how heritage tours can be enhanced.

3. Chronicle of Events concerning the Development of Heritage Trails, Achievements and Related Challenges

Kyungjae Jang¹, Takayoshi Yamamura²

1. Heritage trail development – its background and aim

1–1. Background to trail development and related aims.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hokkaido is often presented as a travel destination based on weighted images, such as those of unspoiled nature, frontier spirit and ambition (which focus only on the history of land reclamation during and after the Meiji Period). However, people have in fact inhabited Hokkaido since prehistoric times, and the area's culture has developed over thousands of years; the history of land reclamation there is just one chapter in the region's history. The truth is that the culture of Hokkaido is a conglomeration of various cultures, including those from prehistoric times, the Ainu culture period, the land reclamation period and onward, but this is not fully recognized in the field of tourism.

Today, the history and culture of Hokkaido are in need of major review following the enforcement of the Ainu Culture Promotion Act (1997), the establishment of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2006), the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) and other developments. Accordingly, it is important to promote accurate understanding of Ainu culture in the field of tourism and to popularize it in Japan and elsewhere.

Based on this premise, the Indigenous Heritage and Tourism Working Group (WG) of the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies has developed walking trails to promote enjoyment of cultural heritage (heritage trails), and has also implemented related studies since 2009 to support accurate understanding and the maintenance of Ainu culture. These trails are intended to help locals and visitors alike to experience and understand the target culture.

WG members have engaged in practical research activities to develop 1) tools to be provided free of charge to Ainu people serving as guides in Hokkaido, and 2) systems that allow easy access to information on Ainu culture at tour destinations for as many people as possible, including visitors and locals. Specifically, this work has involved 1) the development of trails

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along which visitors can appreciate natural and cultural resources in an integrated manner and learn about them in association with Ainu culture; 2) the establishment of a database on related materials; 3) the development of a system for the input of related information into the Web-based Geographic Information System for access using personal digital assistants (PDAs); and 4) the development of an on-site presentation system for use with PDAs such as iPads.

It is assumed that locals and visitors alike will use these trails as discussed above. However, people who have no contact with or interest in Ainu culture are also viewed as important target users in the interests of promoting accurate understanding and the continuation of Ainu culture in particular. Previously, most such trails were planned as part of the Special Interest Tourism (SIT) initiative for people specifically interested in indigenous culture, and current travel packages tend to have this characteristic. Accordingly, priority in this research was placed on the development of walking trails along which people with little interest in Ainu matters can naturally enjoy and learn about this indigenous culture on leisurely strolls. This approach makes the WG's initiatives unique.

Specifically, aspects of Hokkaido culture from prehistoric times, the Ainu culture period, the land reclamation period and onward have been incorporated into the tour courses in a balanced manner. Efforts have also been made to encourage tour group members to actively position Ainu culture in the landscapes they actually see by highlighting natural and cultural resources. This will help tourists to learn about the multi-level nature of Hokkaido's history and realize the inseparability of its nature and culture.

1-2. Heritage trails and its target area

Identification of prospective target areas for heritage trails in Hokkaido was based on a number of criteria: 1) the areas should be suitable for the objectives discussed above; 2) it should be possible to establish walking courses with a completion time of one to four hours with spots at appropriate intervals for group members to learn about elements of Ainu culture (e.g., place names); and 3) related materials should be well organized and readily available. Based on these criteria, the four districts listed below were identified as target areas for model courses (heritage trails), and seven such courses were developed.

A) Central Sapporo Area (Kita-ku and Chuo-ku, Sapporo)

A-1: Hokkaido University Campus Course

A-2: Central Sapporo Course

B) Shojin River and Tenjin-yama Area (Toyohira-ku, Sapporo)

B: Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course

C) Noboribetsu and Kojohama Area (Noboribetsu City and Shiraoi Town)

C-1: Ainu Place Name (Hideo Yamada) Course

C-2: Mashiho and Yukie Chiri Course

D) Shiretoko Utoro Area (Utoro area of Shari Town)

D-1: Central Utoro Course

D-2: Archaeological Site and Fishery Course

As Prof. Kato, H. and other researchers had conducted a series of archaeological surveys at the Casi-kot-etu B Site in the Shiretoko Utoro area, focus was placed on demonstration experiments in this area to leverage the synergetic effects of combining trail development with accumulated survey resources.

The individual model courses are detailed below with times for reference purposes only.

- A-1: Hokkaido University Campus Course (time required: approx. 3 hours)

(1) *Elm Grove* Hokkaido University Information Center (meet at 9:30 followed by a 10-minute introduction) → (2) Elm trees planted by Mrs. Inazo Nitobe (arrive at 9:40) → (3) *Urai* (fish trap) next to the library (arrive at 9:45) → (4) Furukawa Hall (arrive at 10:00) → (5) Bust of Dr. William S. Clark (arrive at 10:10) → (6) Faculty of Agriculture buildings (arrive at 10:20) → (7) Hokkaido University Museum (arrive at 10:30) → (8) Ohno Pond, Sakushukotoni River and Chuo Shokudo (cafeteria) (bathroom break; arrive at 10:40) → (9) Poplar Avenue (arrive at 11:00) → Experimental Farms → (10) Site of Old Village (arrive at 11:30) → Walking trail over Elm Tunnel → (11) Model Barn (arrive at 12:00) → (12) Enyuu Gakusha building (arrive at 12:30) → End

- A-2: Central Sapporo Course (time required: approx. 3 hr. 30 min.)

(1) *Elm Grove* Hokkaido University Information Center (meet at 13:30 followed by a 10-minute introduction) → (2) Seikatei and former Kairakuen Park (arrive at 14:00) → (3) Botanic Garden (former pit-dwelling site, museum, Exhibition Room of Northern Peoples, bathroom break; arrive at 14:30) → (4) Hokkaido Ainu Center (*Kaderu* 2.7 Hokkaido Citizens' Activities Promotion Center; arrive at 15:30) → (5) Former Hokkaido Government Office Building (bathroom break; arrive at 16:00) → (6) Clock Tower (arrive at 16:30) → (7) Ainu artwork display sites (Underground Shopping Mall, JR Tower; arrive at 17:00) → End

- B: Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course (time required: approx. 4 hr. 30 min.)

(1) Subway Namboku Line Minami Hiragishi Station (meet at 13:00) → (2) Hiragishi Takadai Park (arrive at 13:10 followed by 10-minute introduction) → (3) *Fukuya* Sweet Rice-dumpling Shop (arrive at 13:40) → (4) Hiragishi Elementary School (arrive at 13:50) → (5) Departure for Shojin River and Shojin Kahan (riverside) Park from the Nakanoshima 2-jo area (arrive at 14:15) → (6) Tenjin-yama Green Space and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Site (arrive at 15:00) → (7) Soma Shrine (arrive at 15:30) → (8) Taiheizan Miyoshi Shrine and Hiragishi Tenmangu Shrine (arrive

at 15:45) → (9) Hiragishi Local History Museum (arrive at 16:30) → (10) Minami Hiragishi Station (arrive at 17:30) → End

• C-1: Ainu Place Name (Hidezo Yamada) Course (time required: approx. 2 hr.)

(1) JR Noboribetsu Station (meet at 9:50 followed by 10-minute introduction) → (2) Noboribetsu Fishing Port and Humpesapa → (3) Ponayoro River (arrive at 10:30) → (4) Kamuy Mintar → (5) Kamuy Ekasi Casi (arrive at 10:50) → (6) Yaunkut-tomari and Repunkut-tomari → (7) Osoro-kot and I-ma-nit (arrive at 11:30) → Ayoro River (arrive at 12:00) → End

*The section from Yaunkut-tomari to the Ayoro River via Osoroko follows the coast and includes areas where walking is difficult at high tide. Accordingly, tidal conditions should be checked beforehand and caution should be exercised in regard to water level variations.

• C-2: Mashiho and Yukie Chiri Course (time required: approx. 2 hr. 30 min.)

(1) JR Noboribetsu Station (meet at 13:00 followed by 10-minute introduction) → (2) Chiri Yukie Memorial Museum (arrive at 13:30) → (3) Noboribetsu Elementary School (Mashiho Chiri Monument; arrive at 14:30) → (4) Ahunrupar (arrive at 15:00) → (5) Tomiura Cemetery (Grave of Yukie Chiri, Matsu Kannari Monument; arrive at 15:30) → End

• D-1: Central Utoro Course (time required: approx. 2 hr. 30 min.)

(1) Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center (meet at 9:30 followed by 10-minute introduction) → (2) Takeshiro Matsuura Monument (arrive at 9:50) → (3) Opne-iwa (triangular rock) → (4) Oronko Rock (arrive at 10:10) → (5) Archaeological site on top of Oronkoiwa Rock (arrive at 10:30) → (6) Godzilla Rock (arrive at 11:00) → (7) Jinja-yama Old Burial Site (arrive at 11:10) → (8) Pereke River (arrive at 11:20) → (9) Pereke River Kasen (riverside) Park → (10) Pereke Casi (arrive at 11:40) → (11) Cultural landscape of reclaimed farmland (arrive at 12:00) → End

• D-2: Archaeological Site and Fishery Course (time required: approx. 2 hr. 30 min.)

(1) Casi-kot-etu B Site (meet at 13:30 followed by 10-minute introduction) → (2) Casi-kot-etu (cape)/Turtle Rock → (3) Pereke Bay → (4) Fishing village with stone weights (arrive at 14:30) → (5) Pereke River and Pereke River Kasen (riverside) Park (arrive at 15:00) → (6) Godzilla Rock → (7) Oronko Rock and Apatteushi (arrive at 15:30) → (8) Utoro Fishing Port (arrive at 15:40) → (9) Site of the first fisheries location in Utoro (arrive at 16:00) → End

1-3. Chronicle of events concerning the project's development

Table 1 details events concerning the development of heritage trails by WG. The progress of work is classified into the following four periods: (1) Preparation Period (April 2009 – February 2010), (2) Database Development Period (April – July 2010), (3) Tour Implementation Period

(August 2010 – March 2011) and (4) Audio Guide System Development Period (April 2011 – March 2012).

Table 1. Flow of heritage trail development

Classification	Time	Main developments
Preparation Period	Jun. 2009	• Preparations for heritage trail development, PDA contractor meetings
	Sep. 2009	• Questionnaire survey on awareness among tourists at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site (Utoro) • Data collection for the Heritage Trail Database
	Feb. 2010	• Inspection tour for the development of monitoring–tour model courses in Utoro and related data collection
	Feb. 2010	• Inclusion of Sapporo in heritage trail development efforts, discussion on the feasibility of smartphone utilization
Database Development Period	Apr. 2010	• Consultation with database construction contractor
	Apr. 2010	• Frame division: creation of an archive database and upload to a PDA • Division of WG members into teams: Database Development Team (basic data) and Model Tour Development Team (Database Team + guide training course participants) • Selection of courses in Sapporo (Inspection Tour Team)
	May 19	• Implementation of a tag–development experiment using GPS equipment on the HU campus in conjunction with representatives from the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design (led by Prof. Yamamura, T.) in the Tourism Creation Major program at the HU Graduate School of International Media, Communication, and Tourism Studies, the Database Team and the Inspection Tour Route Team
	Jun. 9	• Implementation of a preliminary inspection tour on a trail course in Sapporo’s Hiragishi area and data collection in conjunction with representatives from the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design (led by Prof. Yamamura, T.) in the Tourism Creation Major program, the Database Team and the Inspection Tour Route Team
	Jun.	• Preliminary inspection tour result reporting at the third WG meeting, uploading of data from the tour (photos with metadata, including location information, and commentary) using Google’s Picasa Web Album service • Completion of a basic plant database with 156 species (incl. Ainu names, applications and links)
	Jul.	• Decision to run a model Sapporo course tour (August 16)
	Jul.	• Implementation of an inspection tour in Noboribetsu visiting places with Ainu place names and others associated with Ainu–Japanese translator Yukie Chiri in conjunction with representatives from the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design (led by Prof. Yamamura, T.) in the Tourism Creation Major program, the Database Team and the Inspection Tour Route Team
Tour Implementation Period	Aug. 16	• Implementation of a model tour in Hiragishi: web–based database tagging and trial access at tour sites via iPhone and iPad
	Sep. 25 – 26	• Implementation of a model tour in Utoro: database trial access using iPad, concurrent implementation of a tour for local residents
	Oct.	• Completion of a basic animal database with 55 species (incl. Ainu names, applications and links)

Audio Guide System Development Period	May 2011	• Introduction of an audiovisual web-based guide system based on QR codes
	Jun. 27	• Implementation of a heritage trail experiment (Shojin River course in Sapporo) using QR codes in conjunction with representatives from the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design (led by Prof. Yamamura, T.) in the Tourism Creation Major program and the Heritage Trail Team
	Jul. 11	• Decision at the fifth WG meeting to develop an audio guide system without the use of QR codes, planning to implement a monitoring tour in conjunction with the next inspection tour in Utoro
	Sep. 5	• Clarification of audio guide system output, decision to use various media formats including CDs, podcasts, YouTube videos and MP3s
	Sep. 19	• Implementation of a model/monitoring tour in Utoro: implementation of self-guided tours on two courses with 26 tour spots using iPod and other devices
	Dec.	• Registration of collections of text and recorded on-site commentary in the Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers (HUSCAP), free online publication and launch for download
	Jan.	• Production of audio-visual content for YouTube and on-site presentations (for seven tour spots)

The next section details the characteristics of each period based on the table above.

2. Preparation Period (April 2009 – February 2010)

This period was characterized by discussions and surveys on heritage trail model development. Deliberations focused on achieving the following three goals: 1) the establishment of a mechanism to support the efficient management and utilization of scattered data on Ainu culture; 2) the sharing of knowledge with society and the establishment of a mechanism to support the utilization of the university as the core facility; and 3) the establishment of a mechanism to make information widely accessible using information and communication technology.

A heritage trail concept based on the use of portable information communication terminals equipped with GPS³ receivers (Personal Digital Assistants, or PDAs) was developed to help achieve these aims. The idea was premised on achieving Goals 1 and 2 through database development and Goal 3 through PDA utilization.

2-1. Specific work conducted

Work during the Preparation Period was implemented via the three major steps outlined below.

(1) Tour spot selection and route development

The Utoro area of Shiretoko was the first site selected for heritage trail development. Reasons for this included: 1) a series of archaeological surveys have been conducted in the area; 2) abundant natural resources have been preserved there as part of the World Natural Heritage site; 3) many elements of the culture of indigenous people who have utilized such natural resources remain in the forms of place names and traditions; and 4) local natural resources are also actively used

³ The Global Positioning System, which provides location information based on radio signals transmitted by GPS satellites

today through fisheries.

In the trail development, the WG first selected tour spots bearing in mind that diverse resources would be picked up with Ainu culture at their center in order to highlight the multi-level nature of the area's history and integrity with nature. Accordingly, a wide range of resources, including plants, animals, archaeological sites and places names, were identified.

Next, field surveys were conducted in September 2009 and February 2010, and a wealth of information on the tour spots was collected. The data included images/video and historical materials, information on the origins of place names and legends, and data relating to vegetation. In the field survey, portable GPS-based data loggers⁴ were used so that location information could be integrated into photo and other data for use on PDAs.

The WG then developed a trail route in a linear form in consideration of various factors, including the significance of each tour spot, the relationships linking them, and the overall path of flow (approximately two or three hours on foot).

The WG limited areas to be connected by the trail route to those in central Utoro and the high-ground area of Utoro, and incorporated elements of both Ainu and pioneering cultures in tour spots so that tour group members would feel the involvement of Ainu and ethnic Japanese peoples in these places and the relationships that link them. As a result, the places chosen as tourist spots were Oronko Rock, Opne-iwa, Takeshiro Matsuura Monument, Godzilla Rock, Hachiman Shrine, Pereke River, the former location of the Utoro Elementary and Junior High School building, Onnebetsu Shrine and the cultural landscape of reclaimed farmland (the D-1 Course discussed above). Figure 1 shows the trail route connecting the tour spots.



Fig. 1 Map of the Central Utoro Course
(Source: authors; base map source: Google Earth)

⁴ An electronic device to record GPS location data

(2) Data organization and addition

After the fieldwork, the WG organized the photos of tour spots and other data collected, and the GPS data gathered using the portable loggers were added to the photo data. This process tagged the images with GPS information on the tour spots, thereby allowing users in certain places with the same location information (north latitude and east longitude) as that of a photo to view the image on a PDA.

Along with the photos, the WG also added supplementary data, such as commentary on Ainu culture and related photos/videos. Basic information on Ainu culture and other materials were brought together with particular focus on tourists who have never come across Ainu culture, and location data were also input.

(3) Development of PDA software

Based on the data and route map, exclusive trail software was developed. As the creation of PDA software required technical expertise not held by WG members, the task was outsourced to a specialist company. As a result, a system was developed that can display the route, photos, commentary and videos on a PDA along with location information.

The dedicated software works as follows: an overall route is first shown on a map on the PDA screen. Users determine their current position based on received GPS signals and begin walking. Upon reaching a tour spot on the trail where commentary is available, the PDA automatically picks up relevant GPS information. The data associated with the location information concerned appears on the screen, and commentary begins. When it is complete, the next tour spot is automatically shown on the screen. When the user arrives at the spot, commentary automatically begins again.

2-2. Problems identified during the Preparation Period

Several problems regarding the practicality of PDA usage were identified from the work conducted during the Preparation Period.

The first problem concerned data updating. During PDA software development, the specialist company to which the work was outsourced converted the data collected by the authors and other WG members through field surveys for the software and then ported them to the PDA. This outsourcing was necessary because WG members did not have the expertise to develop software. Although this approach had the advantage of yielding a finished product with the necessary data already ported, it was not possible to freely add or update information. This meant that project members and indigenous people would not be able to change the data in the future.

A further issue in addition to this updating problem was the need to create the maps necessary for each occasion and load them via software in order to use the system.

Because of these problems, the development of a highly versatile system that allows anybody to easily update data and map information was positioned as a major priority.

Difficulties with PDA operability were also found. The unit used during this period was a Juno SB PDA produced by Trimble Navigation, Ltd. in the US. This model has the Windows Mobile 6.1 operating system created by Microsoft Corporation in the US and is equipped with a GPS receiver. Trimble Navigation specializes in the development of surveying instruments and equipment for other fields, and the Juno SB PDA was developed for GPS surveying. As a result, the product had outstanding GPS performance but was difficult for lay people to use. The operation of the Windows Mobile 6.1 operating system was also not simple. In fact, during on-site test operation, the majority of participants deemed it unsuitable for non-skilled users.

In consideration of these problems, the WG concluded that it would be more effective to develop a highly versatile tool using existing free systems, such as Google Maps, than to develop dedicated software.

3. Database Development Period (April – July 2010)

3–1. Change in methodology

Based on the problems identified during the Preparation Period, the Working Group decided to change the work procedure at a meeting held in April 2010.

The reason for the change was that the PDA-focused work conducted in the previous fiscal year failed to address the aforementioned problems. Accordingly, the WG decided to adopt a policy with focus on improving the databases that serve as the foundation of heritage trails and designing model tour routes. Based on this policy, decisions were also made to 1) implement monitoring tours using devices considered ideal for the circumstances to support evaluation of their effectiveness; and 2) examine the effectiveness of databases and the appropriateness of routes, and then implement modification based on the results.

3–2. Specific work conducted

Specific database development work conducted during this period is detailed below.

(1) Selection of categories

At the Working Group meeting held in April 2010, major categories to be registered in the databases were discussed. The following categories were set in line with the project objectives: place names, plants, animals, general sightseeing information, Takeshiro Matsuura's footsteps, historic sites/history, people, bed and breakfast-style inns, and restaurants.⁵

(2) Database structure

As the ultimate goal of the project's database development was to enable access using PDAs, the database structure proposed was premised on the use of such devices. That is, rather than being seen as an aggregate of all related information, the database was viewed as a tool facilitating access to original data based on the accumulation of information on the locations of original data

⁵ As of 2012, a plant database with 156 entries and an animal database with 55 entries had been completed.

and other related factors. Figure 2 shows a schematic diagram of the structure.

For example, data in Category A were made up of Information A (which explains A) and Links 1 and 2 (which show where related information is available). Information A here is the unique knowledge-based type developed by the WG for database development. Information other than this unique type was made accessible via website links. Users could also access new link destinations from the information contained in Link 1.

An important consideration in the setting of links was the need to verify the integrity of the target websites. For example, the Wikipedia⁶ free online encyclopedia is widely used as a reference. Although it is easy to search, the reliability of its information sources is problematic because anybody can edit the content.

Meanwhile, Encyclopedia of Life⁷ (referred to here as EOL) – an online natural science reference – is useful as a model for verified specialist information. As all EOL data is peer-reviewed by staff at the Smithsonian Institution, Harvard University and other research organizations, its content is more objective and reliable than that of general free online encyclopedias.

Naturally, the duties of universities in their roles as research institutions include the provision of highly objective and reliable data. In the database development process, WG members carefully examined link-target websites with reference to the EOL system.

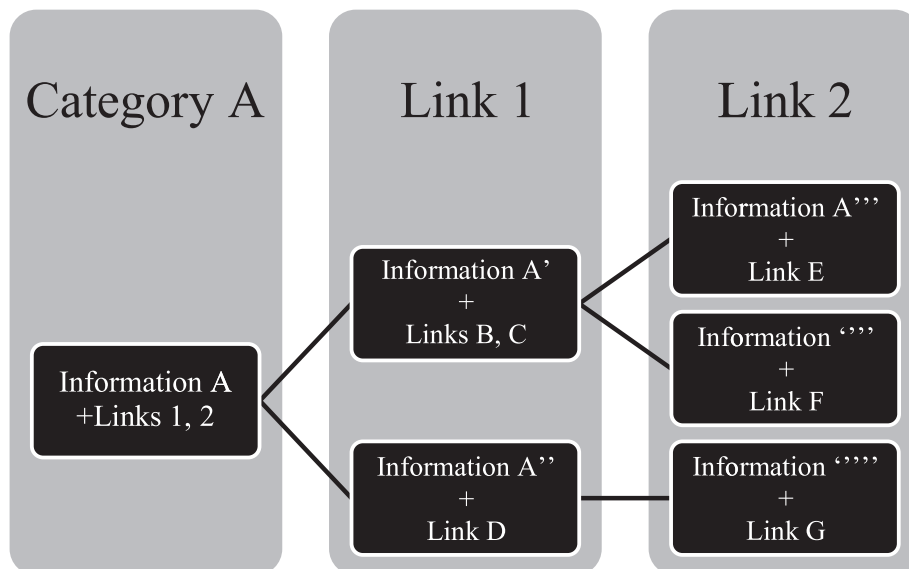


Fig. 2 Heritage trail database structure
(Source: authors)

⁶ <http://www.wikipedia.org>

⁷ <http://www.eol.org>

(3) Guide–system data generation

Via the database, data were generated for a guide system to be used on actual tours (a setup allowing heritage information access via PDAs).

As with the PDA system described previously, the data consisted of digital photos with location information and related commentary in text form.

In this connection, a training course on the integration of location information into digital photos was held on May 18, 2010, as part of the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design (led by Prof. Takayoshi Yamamura) in the Tourism Creation Major program at the HU Graduate School of International Media, Communication, and Tourism Studies. The course consisted of a classroom training session on recording location information in photos using a GPS logger (Fig. 3) and practical exercises involving the addition of location information to photos of HU's Model Barn.

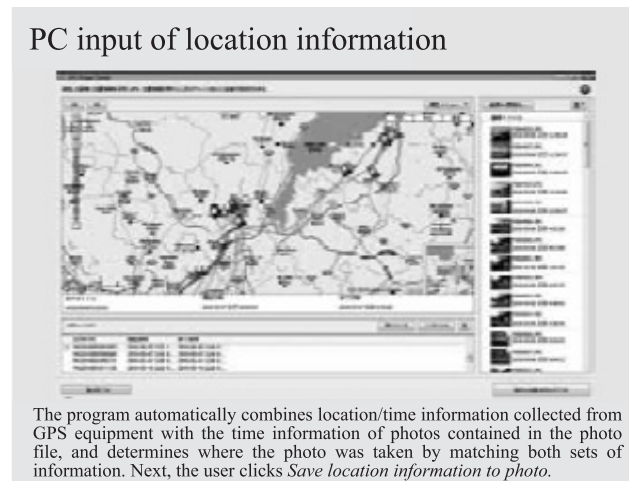


Fig. 3 Part of a presentation given during the training course on the use of GPS equipment
(Source: authors)

(4) Preliminary survey for model tour operation

In conjunction with the data generation process, a preliminary survey to support the implementation of model tours was also conducted. On June 9, 2010, students of the Seminar in Cultural Resource Design and representatives of the Indigenous Heritage Tourism Project jointly conducted a preliminary survey to set the Shojin River and Tenjin–yama *Casi* Course (in the southern Hiragishi area; referred to as Course B) on an experimental basis. The survey involved route confirmation, determination of the time required to complete the course, excavation of plants and other natural resources, and work to complement the information contained in the database (e.g., data collection). Participants also discussed ways to enhance the quality of tours and customer satisfaction.

4. Tour Implementation Period (August 2010 – March 2011)

As a result of the June 9 preliminary inspection tour, a plant database with 156 entries was completed. The WG began full-fledged heritage trail model tours in August 2010.

4-1. Outline of the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course – Seven tour spots

Based on data collected through the preliminary survey and the information in the basic database, a model tour was operated on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course on August 16, 2010 (Fig. 4).

The route included tour spots highlighting Ainu culture, pioneering culture and contemporary culture/lifestyles (e.g., a TV shooting location and a little-known but well-established store) to introduce tour members to the multi-faceted and multi-level nature of local culture. The main spots along the trail were Hiragishi Takadai Park, the *Fukuya* Sweet Rice-dumpling Shop, Hiragishi Elementary School, the Shojin River, Tenjin-yama, Soma Shrine and Hiragishi Tenmangu Shrine (Table 2). These seven tour spots appear rich in aspects of contemporary culture and the culture of ethnic Japanese people from the region's pioneering era. However, extensive commentary on elements of Ainu culture, such as plants and legends, was provided along the Shojin River (No. 4). In terms of content, the course focused on Ainu culture at spots 4 and 5.



Fig. 4 Map of the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course (Southern Hiragishi area)

(Source: authors; map source: Google Earth)

Table 2 Tour spots on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course

No.	Tour spot name	Classification	Details
1	Hiragishi Takadai Park	Media-related, contemporary culture	Shooting location for a TV program called <i>How do you like Wednesday?</i> (viewed as a sacred site among program enthusiasts)
2	<i>Fukuya</i> Sweet Rice-dumpling Shop	Little-known but well-established store, general sightseeing	Flagship Coffee Daifuku dumplings
3	Hiragishi Elementary School	Land reclamation period, cultural heritage	Established in 1890, known as the site of a ginkgo tree over 100 years old
4	Shojin River	Ainu place names, natural landscapes	The river name is derived from the Ainu term <i>o-so-us-i</i> (meaning a river with a waterfall in its lower stream); commentary on Ainu names of various plants
5	Tenjin-yama	Ainu culture (<i>Casi</i>)	<i>Casi</i> site, ruins from the middle Jomon period approx. 5,000 years ago
6	Soma Shrine	Land reclamation period, culture of ethnic Japanese people	Shrine
7	Hiragishi Tenmangu Shrine	Culture of ethnic Japanese people	Shrine

4-2. Model-tour process

The model tour was based on the three-step process shown in Fig. 5.

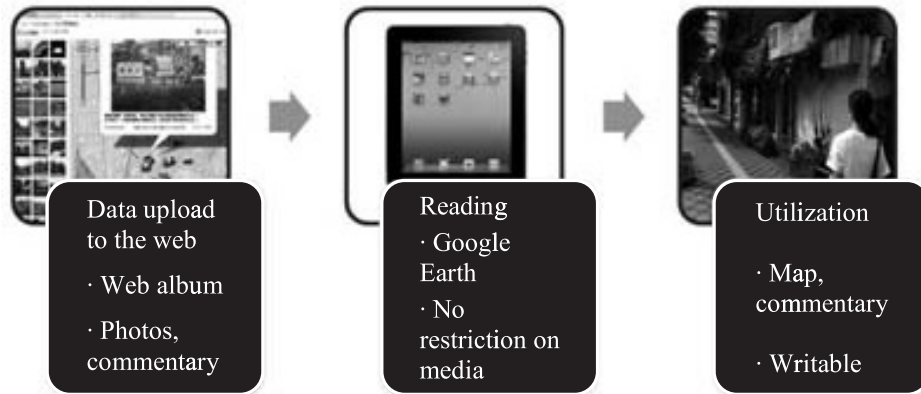


Fig. 5 Model tour steps

(Source: authors; image sources (from left): Google's Picasa Web Album, Apple website, authors)

(1) Data upload to the Web

To prepare for the model tour, WG members uploaded relevant data to the Web. This task corresponded to that of porting data to the PDA during the Preparation Period. However, as a departure from the method of PDA-based data storage, WG members used cloud technology for storage. This enables anybody to access information regardless of the device type.

For the model tour, Google's Picasa Web Album site⁸ was used (Fig. 6). Its main advantage

⁸ <http://picasaweb.google.com>

is its compatibility with Google Maps and Google Earth (both operated by the same company), which can be browsed with almost any PDA. This provides a significant advantage in terms of versatility.

More specifically, anybody can use a PDA to access location photos and commentary uploaded to the Picasa website as shown in Fig. 6.

However, as the model tour was experimental in nature, the information was made available only to WG members rather than to the general public.



Fig. 6 Picasa Web Album start screen
(Source: authors' page on Google Picasa)

(2) Data access

Data uploaded to the cloud can be accessed via PDAs. People on the August 16 model tour used Google Earth to access information on Apple iPhones and iPads.

The group followed the trail with reference to the My Location mark on Google Earth.

The system also allows real-time PDA-based online distribution of information such as live photos and location reviews.

(3) Problems and challenges

As a result of the model tour on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, a number of problems and challenges were identified. The first issue concerned PDA displays. As the iPhone, iPad and other models have a glass LCD screen, the display was difficult to see outdoors due to glare from sunlight. The 9.7-inch iPad was also considered too large to use while walking along the trail, although its functions proved effective for commentary in the field.

In regard to the content of the tour, some tour members highlighted the need for materials such as old versions of maps and photos of plants that cannot be seen during the season when the tour is held. Others also suggested that video materials showing Ainu songs, dances and

legends would be useful.

As shown by these observations, an advantage of PDAs is their capacity to show video and other multimedia representations of things that cannot be seen live.

4-3. Model tour for the Central Utoro Course

After the work on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, a model tour for the Central Utoro Course was operated on September 25 and 26, 2010 (Fig. 7).

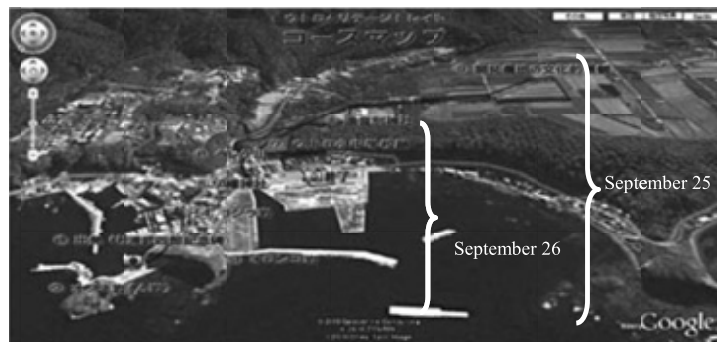


Fig. 7 Map of the Central Utoro Course
(Source: authors; map source: Google Earth)

The implementation of the model tour for the Central Utoro Course was significant in two respects: it represented a concerted effort to address the problems identified from the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, and was also the first model/monitoring tour for local residents.

The trail course and tour spots were the same as those of the Central Utoro Course developed during the Preparation Period (current Course D-1). The results and significance of the model tour for the Central Utoro Course as well as related problems and challenges are discussed below.

(1) Solutions to previous problems

In light of the problems identified on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, WG members used iPhones and iPads for separate purposes on the Central Utoro Course. Their usages were clearly separated, with iPhones used as a tool for self-guidance by individual members and iPads used as a presentation medium to supplement guide commentary. Care was taken to ensure that the presentation materials for iPads were simple, intuitive and aesthetically appealing so that people less knowledgeable about the location and Ainu culture could also enjoy the tour.

During the tour on the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, it was found that PDAs could be used to show things that cannot be seen in the field on tours. To leverage this capability, old photos and materials applicable to other seasons were included among the presentation materials.

(2) Participation of local residents

The second model tour conducted on September 26 was joined by two employees of a major local hotel. They suggested that the trail could be used for the recently increased numbers of wintertime tourists from Abashiri/Kitami and regular visitors to show them the new appeal of Utoro. It was also proposed that Pereke River Kasen (riverside) Park located along the course could be developed as a heritage trail route for joggers to accommodate the increasing number of visitors who jog while staying in the area.

(3) New problems

The model tour also highlighted new problems. The first one concerned the time taken to complete the route. As shown in Fig. 7, the distance of the course covered on September 25 was different from that on September 26. The latter excluded tour spots 8 and 9, which were covered the previous day. Although the change was made due to inclement weather, the post-tour meeting showed that the level of satisfaction was higher on September 26 than on September 25. Based on this input and other feedback stating that the course was too long overall, a new compact route was proposed for future tours. This consisted of the section encompassing tour spots from 1 to 7 as shown in Fig. 7 and Pereke *Casi* located next to spot 7.

A weather-related problem was also pointed out. Conditions were inclement on both days. On the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, there were problems with glare on the iPhone screens, and PDAs could not be used this time due to rain. In this regard, several specific countermeasures were proposed, including the use of commercially available waterproof goods and the production and concurrent use of paper-based guide materials.

5. Audio Guide System Development Period (April 2011 – March 2012)

Based on the results of the model tours conducted before the end of FY 2010, WG members began developing a self-guide system in FY 2011 that tourists could actually use during their trips.

5-1. Introduction of a guide system incorporating QR codes

(1) Background

To address weather-related problems affecting the usability of PDAs as seen during the model tour in FY 2010, the development of guide pamphlets incorporating QR (quick response) codes began in May 2011. Based on this system, tourists can read information in the field using PDAs with paper-based guide pamphlets showing QR codes that link to audio, photo and video resources (Fig. 8). Unlike the situation in the previous fiscal year when WG members depended solely on PDAs for guide materials, the new system was premised on paper-based guide pamphlets, and PDAs were adopted as a supplementary tool. This allowed the use of only paper-based guide pamphlets in rainy conditions and their concurrent utilization with PDAs on clear

days.

(2) Implementation of a monitoring tour

On June 27, 2011, a monitoring tour using QR codes was implemented along the Shojin River and Tenjin-yama *Casi* Course, where the monitoring tour had been held in the previous fiscal year. For this route, audio commentary for 10 tour spots was recorded and uploaded to YouTube in advance, and the link information was converted to QR format and printed on guide maps. Links to related web resources, such as word-of-mouth tips on souvenir shops and the ward office website, were also QR-coded and attached to the maps as an appendix.

(3) Problems with the use of QR codes and the effectiveness of audio guides

Three problems were identified as a result of the monitoring tour. The first concerned data communications. The reading of QR codes requires data transmission over mobile phone networks, which may result in high bills for some users. The second problem was related to functionality and communication speed. Without smart phones, it was often impossible to access YouTube to listen to audio commentary in the first place. Smart-phone users also found that loading video in particular was often time-consuming. The third problem concerned convenience. Many tour members noted that it was hard to hold a paper map in one hand and read information on a mobile phone in the other.

Based on consideration of these problems, WG members concluded that the development of a guide system with QR codes needed to be re-examined.

Putting the QR-code problem aside, very positive feedback was received regarding the effectiveness and potential of the audio guide system used during the monitoring tour. Users found the system more suitable than visual guidance along walking trails because they could concentrate on looking at what was in front of them, and it was also easier to walk. Based on this input, WG members decided to try to develop a heritage trail audio guide system akin to an outdoor version of those adopted by museums and other facilities.

5-2. Audio guide system development

Based on the results outlined above, audio guide system development was begun in earnest in July. The Shiretoko Utoro area, where model tours had been implemented in 2010, was selected as the target area for the system.

(1) System design

The design of the system was based on three considerations: 1) guaranteed reliability representing the fruits of academic research by a university; 2) development of a system that can be easily operated and managed by indigenous people; and 3) user convenience.

WG members placed high priority on communicating accurate information, as this was an

academic university project. Guidance documentation was created based on the results of literature searches and advice from professionals in related fields, and members also partnered with a university institutional repository (the Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers; HUSCAP) to enable the use of documentation and audio data for academic and educational purposes. Administrative and technical issues were considered so that the final products could be published online free of charge.

In regard to the development of a system that can be easily operated and managed by indigenous people, one objective of this heritage trail development was to lay the foundations for a sustainable system that would allow Ainu people to develop such trails and operate related programs independently in the future. From this perspective, WG members decided as a fundamental policy to build a system that could be developed, maintained and operated affordably. Specifically, the decision was taken to build a system independently using a free or reasonably priced existing platform (e.g., YouTube) rather than outsourcing. For guide audio, freelance voice actresses who were active on the Internet were used to secure an appropriate level of audio quality for a model guide. In the future, however, WG members envisage that commentary will be provided by Ainu people themselves.

Lastly, in relation to user convenience, WG members aimed to build a system that will allow tourists and other people from all walks of life to enjoy heritage trails directly. From this viewpoint, attention was paid to enhanced convenience based on the provision of various means of access to maximize the availability of information. Specifically, members decided to provide audio data through a range of media outlets, including YouTube, CDs and podcasts, as well as via the university's institutional repository and the HU Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies website.

Tour participants need to be given an overview of heritage trails before actually walking along them. For such guidance, WG members also developed orientation videos⁹ by combining the recorded on-site commentary discussed above with video footage.

(2) Establishment of a new trail course

In regard to the development of the audio guide system and monitor-tour implementation, WG members set a new trail course in addition to the existing one (Course D-1) to further leverage archaeological sites in the Utoro region. The new route covered the area from Benzai *Casi* to the first fisheries site in Utoro (Fig. 8; Course D-2).

The new course would provide information on archaeology, indigenous culture and modern fisheries, with the history of fisheries in Utoro at the core. (Tourists would enjoy self-guided walks along the trail using the audio guide system.)

⁹ The audio guides and orientation videos are included in appendix DVD to this report.



Fig. 8 Guide map for the Archaeological Site and Fishery Course in the Shiretoko Utoro Area
(Source: authors)

(3) Model tour implementation, related problems and future challenges

On September 19, 2011, a self-guided model tour using the audio guide system was implemented for Courses D-1 and D-2 with 26 tour spots in the Shiretoko Utoro area. Feedback from tour group members indicated a positive impression of the audio guide system, with seven out of nine people saying that they would be interested in attending future tours. Eight of the nine participants said they had had no problems with audio playback, indicating that the system was also technologically stable.

However, the feedback also indicated that the quality and speed of the audio could be improved, with only five members saying that these considerations were adequate and four indicating dissatisfaction. In particular, it was noted that the pauses between sentences were too long, and that the commentary for each tour spot was excessive. After the tour, WG members addressed these problems by making an improved version of the audio data with shorter gaps between sentences. In December 2011, a beta version of the audio was uploaded to the Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers (HUSCAP) website, and a link¹⁰ to HUSCAP was posted on the HU Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies website. WG members plan to make the audio available free of charge via a YouTube channel and in podcast format.

6. Summary

This paper chronicles heritage trail development by the WG. The initiative was novel in that the members developed a system for accessing updatable information (centering on access to data, related utilization and updates) with ongoing verification of its usability on actual tours rather

¹⁰ <http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2115/47818>

than adopting the conventional approach of simply archiving related materials.

With the rise of network society, local stakeholders (particularly indigenous people) now actively provide information on their areas. Against this background, the authenticity and veracity of information can be seen as highly important (Forte 2006, 145 – 146).

In this regard, it is imperative to develop this WG model as a way of providing information on indigenous culture and verifying its authenticity based on collaborative efforts between indigenous people and university representatives studying indigenous culture. It is also important to promote the initiative as a model for tourism oriented toward network society, as characterized by the securement of access to information through database publication and sharing.

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4. Report on Results of Questionnaire Surveys Conducted in the Utoro Area of Shari Town

–Toward the establishment of relationships linking archaeological sites, host communities and tourism at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site–

Mayumi Okada¹

1. Introduction

The purpose of this report is to clarify the current situations of archaeological sites, local residents and tourism at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site based on analysis of results from questionnaire surveys conducted by the author in autumn 2009 and autumn 2010.

In recent years, closer interaction has been seen among the fields of archaeology, cultural heritage and tourism.² Previously, places associated with ancient times were actively selected as tourist destinations. However, increased numbers of tourists at places registered as World Heritage sites, enhanced focus on the economic effects of the World Heritage brand and other factors have prompted related parties in Japan and elsewhere to highlight cultural heritage resources within their countries (Yamamura 2008, 49). Expectations have also risen among archaeologists, historians, cultural property administrators and curators toward tourism and collaboration with host communities. Moving on from conventional archaeology as a field for study exclusively by researchers, a new type of archaeology with a focus on its public nature has recently appeared. This type involves the active provision of information to host communities as a way of securing their understanding for the collaborative protection of archaeological sites (Matsuda & Okamura 2005, 100; Kato 2009, 31 – 32). It has also been noted that tourism has the power to link heritage sites not only with visitors but also with people living nearby (Toda 2010, 15; Sato 2011, 203; Marui 2011, 61). The future of archaeological sites, host communities and tourism requires ongoing close monitoring.

In 2008, the Casi-kot Project was inaugurated as a collaborative effort between Hokkaido

¹ Post Doctoral Fellow at the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies.

² For example, feature articles on cultural heritage/tourism and archaeology/tourism have appeared in various publications, including *Kokogaku Janaru* (Archaeological Journal; Vol. 607 *Tokushu kanko kokogaku I* (lit. “Feature – tourism archaeology I”), 2010; Vol. 609 *Tokushu kanko kokogaku II* (lit. “Feature – tourism archaeology II), 2011), *Bunka isan no sekai* (The world of cultural heritage; Vol. 14 *Tokushu kanko kokogaku (1) kanko shigen to shite no nihon no iseki* (lit. “Feature – tourism archaeology (1) Japanese archeological sites as tourist resources”), 2004) and *Senri Ethnological Reports* (Vol. 21 *Heriteji tsurizumu no sogo teki kenkyu* (lit. “Comprehensive studies on heritage tourism”), 2001; Vol. 51 *Bunka isan manejimento to tsurizumu no genjo to kadai* (lit. “Present situation and challenges of cultural heritage management and tourism”), 2004; Vol. 61 *Bunka isan manejimento to tsurizumu no jizoku kano na kankei kochiku ni kansuru kenkyu* (lit. “Studies on the establishment of sustainable relationships between cultural heritage management and tourism”), 2006). Discourses on cultural heritage and tourism are now dealt with outside the discipline of archaeology in relation to various academic fields, including those of cultural anthropology, sociology, tourism studies and economics (Tashiro 2011, 28).

University and NPO Shinra. The aim of the project is to introduce and practice community archaeology for the first time in Japan. Based on such efforts, the interaction of land and people as clarified by archaeological studies can be communicated in an easy-to-understand way by opening excavation survey sites to the public and encouraging local residents to participate in excavation surveys.

As part of these efforts, basic data were collected from 2008 to 2010 as a basis for consideration of the relationships linking archaeological sites, local residents and tourists. This paper discusses the results of questionnaire surveys as a way of exploring the possibility that archaeological sites located within the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site will influence various aspects of society in their roles as cultural resources.

2. Archaeological sites in Shiretoko

As of 2009, there were 114 archaeological sites, including 19 *casi* (an Ainu word meaning a palisade or a palisaded compound) on the Shiretoko Peninsula (Kato 2009, 40–41). Rescue archaeology and research excavation work have often been implemented to date in the towns of Shari and Rausu, and archaeological sites from the early–modern Ainu, Okhotsk and Satsumon cultures have been unearthed. Artifacts excavated at the Casi–kot–etu B Site and other parts of the Shiretoko Peninsula from the Okhotsk and Satsumon culture periods have also been shown at excavation news–flash exhibitions, where the questionnaire surveys were conducted. However, many archaeological sites on the Shiretoko Peninsula have not been maintained. As they are left unattended, they are vulnerable to damage caused by deer and people. Accordingly, there is an urgent need to investigate, record and preserve archaeological sites from the early–modern Ainu culture period, which are considered globally important as they highlight the relationships between cultural heritage and indigenous people.³

Shiretoko was designated as a World Natural Heritage site in 2005 in recognition of the exceptional diversity of its natural environment. However, the cultural properties that stand as a testament to the lives of people who have continuously inhabited the area since ancient times and historical/cultural aspects of indigenous Ainu life were not recognized⁴ (Matsui 2006, 243 – 244; Ono 2006; Kato 2009, 40). An interview survey conducted by Seiko Sugawara as part of basic–data collection for her BA research paper as a senior at Hokkaido University’s Faculty of Letters indicated that Shari Town Office was reluctant to utilize such properties as cultural or tourist resources (Sugawara 2009, 26; 44).

³ Hirofumi Kato, 2008: *Shiretoko misaki chosa hokoku* (lit. “Cape Shiretoko survey report”) (<http://www.hucc.hokudai.ac.jp/~r16749/siberia/project/2008/shiretoko.html>)

⁴ In a technical evaluation report on Shiretoko, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) recognized the close relationships that link the region’s natural environment and the history and culture of Ainu people. However, this evaluation was not reflected in the written nomination submitted to the World Heritage Committee by the Japanese Government (Matsui 2006, 244).

3. Survey overview

In 2008, Seiko Sugawara conducted a questionnaire survey over a period of 11 days from September 11 to 21 among tourists and local residents visiting an excavation news–flash exhibition held at the Utoro Shirietoku Michinoeki road station for the Casi–kot–etu B Site. In 2009, the author created a new questionnaire to help clarify public recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro and explore their potential use as tourist resources with reference to Sugawara’s questionnaire, and conducted a survey from September 13 to 22 in exactly the same location and under the same conditions as the 2008 investigation. In 2010, the author oversaw another questionnaire survey in collaboration with Mariko Ishioka, a senior at the HU Faculty of Letters. The survey was conducted from August 21 to 28 among visitors to an excavation news–flash exhibition at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center (adjacent to Utoro *Sir-etok* Michinoeki (road station)) for the Casi–kot–etu B Site, where excavation was under way.

This paper focuses on four considerations based on data from the questionnaire surveys conducted and tabulated by the author in 2009 and 2010: 1) impressions of Utoro, 2) recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro, 3) reasons for visits to excavation news–flash exhibitions and feedback on exhibits, and 4) participatory archaeology events. The results of the 2008 survey conducted by Sugawara are also used as a reference. The 2009 and 2010 questionnaire surveys are described below.

(1) Questionnaire items (Fig. 1)

Questionnaire items were based on those of the 2008 survey. The wording and order of some questions were changed to facilitate understanding, and other questions were broken down to enable the collection of more detailed information. To gain support among visitors for the survey work, the objectives were posted in the exhibition venue.

(2) Survey group (Table 1)

The questionnaire survey participants were visitors to excavation news–flash exhibitions held at the Utoro *Sir-etok* Michinoeki road station and the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center for the Casi–kot–etu B Site. Exhibition visitors staying for over five minutes, looking at exhibits or listening to commentary provided by Hokkaido University students serving as guides were asked to take part. Anybody agreeing to participate was given a questionnaire and asked to fill it out on the spot.

A total of 179 people answered the questionnaire during the 10–day period in 2009, while 198 completed it during the 7–day period in 2010 (Table 1).⁵ However, as the responses from exhibition visitors cannot be considered to have necessarily represented the tendencies of general tourists to Utoro or local residents, the question of how to address these biases should be addressed in the future.

⁵ The number of respondents to the questionnaire survey of 2008 was 174.

2009
Q. 1 Do you live in Shiretoko? Q. 2 If so, what is your occupation? Q. 3 (1) What is the purpose of your visit to Utoro? (2) How long are you staying in Utoro? Q. 4 What comes to mind when you think of Utoro? (MA) Q. 5 Did you know there are archaeological sites in Utoro? Q. 6 What is the purpose of your visit to the road station? (MA) Q. 7 Did you know about last year's parents-and-children hands-on archaeological excavation program and excavation news-flash exhibition at the road station in Utoro? Q. 9 If your answer to Q. 8 was positive, how did you find out about these things? (MA) Q. 10 What are your impressions of the exhibition? Q. 11 Are you interested in attending hands-on archaeological events? Q. 12 What are the reasons for your answer to Q. 11? (MA) Q. 13 Please provide the following information: (1) gender; (2) age; (3) place of residence; (4) relationship to people in your group; (5) number of people in your group
2010
Q. 1 (1) What is the purpose of your visit to Utoro? (2) How long are you staying in Utoro? Q. 2 What is the purpose of your visit to the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center? (MA) Q. 3 What comes to mind when you think of Utoro? Q. 4 Did you know there are archaeological sites in Utoro? Q. 5 How did you find out about the excavation news-flash exhibition? Q. 6 What was the most interesting thing about the exhibition? Q. 7 Did you know that there have been parents-and-children hands-on archaeological excavation programs and excavation news-flash exhibitions at the road station in Utoro? Q. 8 If your answer to Q. 7 was positive, how did you find out about these things? (MA) Q. 9 Would you be interested in taking part in an archaeological dig? Q. 10 What are the reasons for your answer to Q. 9? (MA) Q. 11 Please provide the following information: (1) gender; (2) age; (3) place of residence; (4) relationship to people in your group; (5) number of people in your group

*Note: MA: Multiple answers OK

Fig. 1 Questionnaire items in the 2009 and 2010 surveys

Table 1 Daily number of respondents during the questionnaire survey periods

2009										
Place of residence/Date	Sep. 12	Sep. 13	Sep. 14	Sep. 16	Sep. 17	Sep. 18	Sep. 19	Sep. 20	Sep. 21	Sep. 22
Hokkaido	2	2	0	4	11	10	27	22	22	6
Elsewhere	5	0	2	0	12	8	10	9	9	7
NA	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	2	3	0
Subtotal	8	2	4	6	23	18	38	33	34	13
Total	179									
2010										
Place of residence/Date	Aug. 21	Aug. 22	Aug. 23	Aug. 24	Aug. 25	Aug. 26	Aug. 27	Aug. 28		
Hokkaido	3	5	10	9	11	5	12	12		
Elsewhere	3	14	39	21	10	8	17	13		
NA	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	0		
Subtotal	6	20	50	31	21	15	30	25		
Total	198									

*1 No survey work was conducted on September 15, 2009.

(3) Respondent attributes

Objective of Utoro visit and period of stay (Table 2)

More than 80 percent of respondents were visiting Utoro for sightseeing purposes both in 2009 and 2010. In 2008 too, 87 percent of respondents were also there for this purpose (Sugawara, 2009, 36). It can therefore be said that most respondents were tourists. Among those staying in Utoro for sightseeing purposes, 80 percent (149 people) in 2009 and 90 percent (177 people) in 2010 were staying for less than a week. Table 2 shows the breakdown of those who stayed for less than a week each year, and indicates that the average period of stay in Utoro was two days or less.

Table 2 Number of respondents staying in Utoro for each number of days less than a week

2009							
Less than a day	1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days	5 days	6 days	Total
75	17	37	15	3	4	0	151
2010							
Less than a day	1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days	5 days	6 days	Total
48	31	55	23	7	2	1	167

Place of residence (Table 3)

Data on respondents' places of residence showed that many visitors were from Hokkaido in 2009 and from elsewhere in 2010. In both years, the number of people from Sapporo was the largest among those from Hokkaido, while the number from Tokyo (30 people) was the largest among those from elsewhere. Visitors from eastern Hokkaido,⁶ including Utoro, accounted for less than 20 percent of all respondents and about 30 to 40 percent of those from within Hokkaido.

Age groups

Both in 2009 and 2010, people of various ages ranging from younger than 10 to over 70 took part in the surveys. Many of those visiting were in a wide twenties-to-sixties age group.

Travel patterns

The majority of respondents both in 2009 and 2010 were visiting Utoro with family members or a spouse, boyfriend or girlfriend, and many were traveling in groups of two to five. Although these results appear to suggest that most were individual visitors rather than people in organized tour groups, it is also possible that bus-group visitors simply did not have time to answer the questionnaire or even visit the exhibitions due to time constraints.

⁶ The term *eastern Hokkaido* refers to areas under the jurisdiction of the Okhotsk, Tokachi and Kushiro general subprefectural bureaus and Nemuro Subprefectural Bureau.

Table 3 Number of respondents from different parts of Japan (with eight regional divisions)

	Region			Subtotal
2009	Hokkaido	Eastern Hokkaido	35	106
		Elsewhere	67	
		Municipality name NA	4	
	Tohoku/Kanto	Tohoku	6	33
		Kanto	27	
	Chubu/Kinki	Chubu	16	21
		Kinki	5	
	Chugoku/Shikoku	Chugoku	1	2
		Shikoku	1	
	Kyushu/Okinawa	Kyushu	5	6
		Okinawa	1	
2010	Region			Subtotal
	Hokkaido	Eastern Hokkaido	31	67
		Elsewhere	36	
		Municipality name NA	0	
	Tohoku/Kanto	Tohoku	2	76
		Kanto	74	
	Chubu/Kinki	Chubu	21	36
		Kinki	15	
	Chugoku/Shikoku	Chugoku	2	7
		Shikoku	5	
	Kyushu/Okinawa	Kyushu	4	5
		Okinawa	1	

*Those with no response for both prefecture and municipality names were classified as NA.

4. Survey results (1): Impressions of Utoro

The Shiretoko area, which includes Utoro, tends to give visitors a strong impression in its role as a World Natural Heritage site. The question of whether this has caused the area's other historical and cultural aspects to disappear from public awareness (as indicated in the introduction on the Casi-kot Project website) is discussed below based on the results of both questionnaire surveys.

Table 4 shows answers to the question of what comes to mind when respondents think of Utoro (Q. 4 in the 2009 survey with two answers allowed and Q. 3 in the 2010 survey with one answer allowed). The five options provided were a. animals, b. World Natural Heritage sites, c. outdoor activities, d. Ainu culture and e. other.

Table 4 Impressions of Utoro (unit: no. of people)

	a. Animals	b. World Natural Heritage sites	c. Outdoor activities	d. Ainu culture	e. Other	NA	Total
2009	27	147	3	10	7	11	205
2010	20	132	4	11	10	21	198

*The 2009 total exceeds the number of respondents because multiple choices were allowed.

In regard to impressions of Utoro, 155 respondents in 2009 (70 percent) and 132 in 2010 (67 percent) selected World Natural Heritage sites as a major influence, suggesting that the Shiretoko area (including Utoro) has become known for its rich and beautiful natural environment (Table 4). In contrast, only 17 people in 2009 (7 percent) and 11 in 2010 (5

percent) associated Utoro with Ainu culture, showing low levels of public recognition for indigenous culture and history in the region.

Next, analysis was conducted to identify possible differences in impressions of Utoro depending on respondent attributes.

Place of residence (Tables 5 and 6)

To identify possible correlations between respondents' places of residence and their impressions of Utoro, Mann–Whitney U testing (designed to highlight differences between attributes) was conducted. For the test, all data (except NA values) on impressions of Utoro were expressed in five ranks. Taking respondents living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2009, for example, the absolute value of Z corrected for ties ($= -1.32353027740483$) was smaller than the uncorrected value (0.975 ; $= 1.95996398454005$), which is the boundary value for the 5 percent significance level in a two-tailed test based on standard normal distribution. This means that the value of Z corrected for ties is not in a critical region for rejection of the null hypothesis. In regard to P also, the value corrected for ties (two-sided probability) was 0.185659094309609 . As this is greater than the 5 percent significance level value (0.05), the null hypothesis is not rejected. Accordingly, there was no significant difference in impressions of Utoro between respondents living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere. The same test was also conducted for respondents living in eastern Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2009, between those living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2010, and between those living in eastern Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2010. The results showed no statistically significant difference in impressions of Utoro among any respondent attributes at the 5 percent significance level.

Table 5 Impressions of Utoro (by place of residence; unit: no. of people)

2009							
	a. Animals	b. World Natural Heritage sites	c. Outdoor activities	d. Ainu culture	e. Other	NA	Total
Hokkaido	18	88	3	6	6	5	126
Elsewhere	9	49	0	3	1	6	68
Eastern Hokkaido	8	32	0	2	0	2	44
Elsewhere	10	53	3	4	6	2	78
2010							
	a. Animals	b. World Natural Heritage sites	c. Outdoor activities	d. Ainu culture	e. Other	NA	Total
Hokkaido	6	45	3	3	6	4	67
Elsewhere	13	83	1	8	3	16	124
Eastern Hokkaido	3	11	2	0	2	2	20
Elsewhere	3	34	1	3	4	2	47

*1 In 2009, 11 respondents provided no information on their place of residence and 4 did not specify the Hokkaido municipality where they lived. These numbers are not included in the total. The corresponding figures for 2010 were 7 and 0, respectively. These are also not included in the total.

Table 6 Test results showing differences in impressions of Utoro by place of residence

		2009	
2 test groups and number of data		Hokkaido (subtotal) 121	Eastern Hokkaido (subtotal) 42
		Elsewhere (subtotal) 62	Elsewhere (subtotal) 76
Test results	U value	3959	1344
	U' value	4753	1848
	Z value	-1.0578433	-1.4164011
	P value (two-sided probability)	0.2901269	0.1566581
	Z value corrected for ties	0	-1.7953014
	P value corrected for ties (two-sided probability)	0.1856591	0.0726057
	Number of ties	5	5
Z (0.975)		1.959964	1.959964
Significant difference at the 5% significance level		No	No
		2010	
2 test groups and number of data		Hokkaido (subtotal) 63	Eastern Hokkaido (subtotal) 18
		Elsewhere (subtotal) 108	Elsewhere (subtotal) 45
Test results	U value	3723	502
	U' value	3081	484
	Z value	1.027896245	0.124109403
	P value (two-sided probability)	0.303998636	0.901228653
	Z value corrected for ties	1.351079962	0.155895601
	P value corrected for ties (two-sided probability)	0.17666982	0.876115313
	Number of ties	5	5
Z (0.975)		1.959963985	1.959963985
Significant difference at the 5% significance level		No	No

Age groups (Tables 7 and 8)

Steel–Dwass multiple comparison testing for non–parametric data was conducted to identify differences between attributes. For the test, all data (except NA data) on impressions of Utoro were expressed in five ranks, and respondent age group pairs were compared. Taking the test results of respondents aged from 10 to 19 and those aged from 20 to 29 in the 2009 data as an example, the absolute value of the difference between the rank sum and its expected value was smaller than the critical value, indicating no significant difference between the two groups. As comparisons between other age group pairs also showed similar results, it can be concluded that there was no significant difference in impressions of Utoro among respondent age groups in the 2009 and 2010 data.

These test results show that the respondents' places of residence and ages did not affect their recognition of Utoro as a World Natural Heritage site.

Table 7 Impressions of Utoro (by age group; unit: no. of people)

2009							
	a. Animals	b. World Natural Heritage sites	c. Outdoor activities	d. Ainu culture	e. Other	NA	Total
Under 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10s	1	6	0	0	2	1	10
20s	6	27	0	2	3	0	38
30s	4	36	0	2	0	3	45
40s	3	22	2	3	2	4	36
50s	6	24	0	1	0	3	34
60s	7	25	0	2	0	0	34
70s or over	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
2010							
	a. Animals	b. World Natural Heritage sites	c. Outdoor activities	d. Ainu culture	e. Other	NA	Total
Under 10	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
10s	1	11	0	2	1	0	15
20s	2	21	1	3	3	1	31
30s	4	18	1	4	2	8	37
40s	7	21	2	1	1	6	38
50s	3	29	0	0	2	4	38
60s	3	19	0	2	0	1	25
70s or over	0	5	0	1	0	0	6

Table 8 Test results showing differences in impressions of Utoro by age group

2009							
Test groups	Test results					Critical value	Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data for two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value		
10s, 20s	238	47	216	888.6147086	22	87.88722036	No
10s, 30s	263	51	234	721.6835294	29	79.20313594	No
10s, 40s	192.5	41	189	684.9658537	3.5	77.16199387	No
10s, 50s	218	40	184.5	546.1961538	33.5	68.90381992	No
10s, 60s	233.5	43	198	694.5149502	35.5	77.69798924	No
10s, 70s or over	55	11	54	1104545455	1	9.798526618	No
20s, 30s	1555	80	1539	5489.659177	16	218.4447802	No
20s, 40s	1278	70	1349	4707.153623	-71	202.2777743	No
20s, 50s	1399	69	1330	4060.484655	69	187.8702084	No
20s, 60s	1456.5	72	1387	4851.571205	69.5	205.3573187	No
20s, 70s or over	778	40	779	159.7948718	-1	37.2692282	No
30s, 40s	1470	74	1575	4346.230285	-105	194.3682602	No
30s, 50s	1624	73	1554	3550.402397	70	175.674113	No
30s, 60s	1685	76	1617	4396.736842	68	195.4943528	No
30s, 70s or over	943	44	945	111.8816068	-2	31.18518521	No
40s, 50s	1146.5	63	1024	3214.857143	122.5	167.1667195	No
40s, 60s	1198.5	66	1072	3857.708159	126.5	183.1191084	No
40s, 70s or over	564	34	560	120.7843137	4	32.40218135	No
50s, 60s	1018	65	1023	3267.4	-5	168.5272495	No
50s, 70s or over	522	33	527	88.77272727	-5	27.77849813	No
60s, 70s or over	624	36	629	119.7285714	-5	32.26026129	No

2010							
Test groups	Test results					Critical value	Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data for two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value		
Under 10, 10s	7.5	16	8.5	12.28125	-1	10.62157335	No
Under 10, 20s	13.5	31	16	51.29032258	-2.5	21.70627404	No
Under 10, 30s	14	30	15.5	55.56666667	-1.5	22.59304352	No
Under 10, 40s	18.5	33	17	62.96969697	1.5	24.05101272	No
Under 10, 50s	18.5	35	18	37.71428571	0.5	18.61317711	No
Under 10, 60s	13.5	25	13	25.3	0.5	15.24501398	No
Under 10, 70s or over	3.5	7	4	1.5	-0.5	3.712044688	No
10s, 20s	338	45	345	1101.136364	-7	100.5745548	No
10s, 30s	343	44	337.5	1157.739165	5.5	103.1271294	No
10s, 40s	408.5	47	360	1304.347826	48.5	109.462226	No
10s, 50s	411	49	375	967.6339286	36	94.28076772	No
10s, 60s	329	39	300	651.6194332	29	77.36857185	No
10s, 70s or over	164.5	21	165	91.71428571	-0.5	29.02592444	No
20s, 30s	923.5	59	900	3079.830508	23.5	168.20193	No
20s, 40s	1054.5	62	945	3455.441565	109.5	178.1637491	No
20s, 50s	1062.5	64	975	2885.31994	87.5	162.8038065	No
20s, 60s	893.5	54	825	1953.584906	68.5	133.9626444	No
20s, 70s or over	557	36	555	345	2	56.29594503	No
30s, 40s	978	61	899	3510.679781	79	179.5821536	No
30s, 50s	982	63	928	3066.040963	54	167.8249563	No
30s, 60s	828	53	783	2055.169811	45	137.4014837	No
30s, 70s or over	519	35	522	371.7605042	-3	58.43851759	No
40s, 50s	1035	66	1072	3412.363636	-37	177.0497097	No
40s, 60s	892	56	912	2297.766234	-20	145.2849031	No
40s, 70s or over	602	38	624	420.3243243	-22	62.13836591	No
50s, 60s	1010	58	1003	1733.89147	7	126.1982907	No
50s, 70s or over	679.5	40	697	268.7307692	-17.5	49.68511096	No
60s, 70s or over	358.5	30	372	180.9931034	-13.5	40.77543284	No

5. Survey results (2): Public recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro

In response to the question on whether respondents knew there were archaeological sites in Utoro, less than around 30 percent of those surveyed answered in the positive both in 2009 (47 people) and in 2010 (50 people).

To identify possible differences in levels of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro between respondent attributes, the tests outlined below were conducted.

Place of residence (Tables 9 and 10)

Table 10 shows the results of the chi-square test of independence (2×2 contingency table), which is intended to assess the probability of association or independence of attributes. This was conducted to highlight any correlation between respondents' places of residence and their level of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro. For the test, all data (except NA data) on recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro were expressed in two ranks. The results for 2009 showed a significant difference at the 5 percent significance level between those living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere and between those living in eastern Hokkaido and those living elsewhere.⁷ Accordingly, it can be considered that places of residence may be related to the recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro. In the 2010 survey, a significant difference was found between those living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere, but no significant difference was observed between those living in eastern Hokkaido and those living elsewhere.

Table 9 Recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro (by place of residence; unit: no. of people)

2009								
	a. Yes			b. No			NA	Total
Place of residence	Hokkaido		Elsewhere	Hokkaido		Elsewhere	3	179
	Eastern Hokkaido	Elsewhere		Eastern Hokkaido	Elsewhere			
	15	19		13	16			
Total	47			129				
2010								
	a. Yes			b. No			NA	Total
Place of residence	Hokkaido		Elsewhere	Hokkaido		Elsewhere	1	108
	Eastern Hokkaido	Elsewhere		Eastern Hokkaido	Elsewhere			
	10	16		24	21			
Total	50			147				

⁷ Taking data for respondents living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2009 as an example, the chi-square (X^2) value was 4.28477901329578. As this is greater than the upper boundary value (X^2 (0.95); 3.84145882069412) for the 5 percent significance level in chi-square distribution with 1 degree of freedom, the null hypothesis is rejected. As the P value (0.0384550812316836) is less than the 5 percent level of significance, the null hypothesis is also rejected. Consequently, it can be concluded that there was a significant difference between those living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2009.

Table 10 Test results showing recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro by place of residence

			2009		2010	
2 test groups and number of data			Hokkaido(subtotal)105	Eastern Hokkaido(subtotal)31	Hokkaido(subtotal)67	Eastern Hokkaido(subtotal)31
			Elsewhere(subtotal)71	Elsewhere(subtotal)74	Elsewhere(subtotal)130	Elsewhere(subtotal)36
Test results	Degrees of freedom		1	1	1	1
	Chi-square (χ^2) value		4.284779013	5.14676177	9.662470192	1.041672551
	P value (upper probability)		0.038455081	0.023289767	0.001880706	0.3074328
	Contingency coefficient		0.154164608	0.216162904	0.216228669	0.123730885
	Phi (ϕ) coefficient		0.156029918	0.221397332	0.221467993	0.124689019
	Yates' corrected chi-square (χ^2) value		3.596037626	4.16176746	8.618112628	0.591699407
	Yates' corrected P value (upper probability)		0.057917462	0.041346238	0.00328365	0.44176272
	Fisher's exact probability P value		*	0.021821741	*	0.221245481
	Odds ratio		2.136511376	2.713815789	2.800813008	0.595238095
	$\chi^2(0.95)$		3.841458821	3.841458821	3.841458821	3.841458821
Significant difference at the 5% significance level			Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Age groups (Tables 11 and 12)

Table 12 shows the results of Steel–Dwass multiple comparison testing (for non-parametric data) conducted to identify differences in levels of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro among age groups. For the test, all data (except for NA data) on the recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro were expressed in two ranks. Taking the test results of respondents aged from 10 to 19 and those aged from 20 to 29 in 2009 as an example, the absolute value of the difference between the rank sum and its expected value was smaller than the critical value, indicating no significant difference between the two groups. As comparisons between other age group pairs also showed similar results, it can be concluded that there was no significant difference in levels of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro among respondent age groups in the 2009 and 2010 data.

Today there are around 120 archaeological sites in the towns of Shari and Rausu on the Shiretoko Peninsula, but these are little known by visitors from outside Hokkaido. Although levels of recognition for these sites in Utoro among people living in Hokkaido (including those in eastern Hokkaido) are higher than those of other groups, overall recognition is low. It is therefore difficult to conclude that people living in areas where archaeological sites are located are familiar with them.

Table 11 Recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro (by age group; unit: no. of people)

2009										
	Under 10	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s or over	NA	Total
Yes	0	3	3	8	9	15	8	1	0	47
No	0	6	27	33	15	23	22	0	5	126
2010										
	Under 10	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s or over	NA	Total
Yes	0	5	5	6	9	16	6	3	0	50
No	2	10	26	31	30	21	19	3	5	147

Table 12 Test results showing recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro by age group

2009							
Test groups	Test results					Critical value	Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data in two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value		
10s, 20s	148.5	39	180	351.7105263	-31.5	55.29191906	No
10s, 30s	204	50	229.5	807.6581633	-25.5	83.78818324	No
10s, 40s	157.5	33	153	425.25	4.5	60.79825877	No
10s, 50s	226.5	47	216	970.2391304	10.5	91.83503025	No
10s, 60s	171	39	180	547.1052632	-9	68.96113912	No
10s, 70s or over	52.5	10	49.5	6	3	7.221785842	No
20s, 30s	1138.5	71	1080	2899.285714	58.5	158.7502757	No
20s, 40s	924	54	825	1711.698113	99	121.9782972	No
20s, 50s	1203	68	1035	3828.358209	168	182.4211813	No
20s, 60s	990	60	915	2055.508475	75	133.6683589	No
20s, 70s or over	493.5	31	480	27	13.5	15.31972122	No
30s, 40s	1441.5	65	1353	3136.5	88.5	165.116938	No
30s, 50s	1795.5	79	1640	6431.74359	155.5	236.446746	No
30s, 60s	1520	71	1476	3865.714286	44	183.3090288	No
30s, 70s or over	898	42	881.5	74.25	16.5	25.4048836	No
40s, 50s	765	62	756	3408.786885	9	172.1348897	No
40s, 60s	621	54	660	2136.226415	-39	136.2676043	No
40s, 70s or over	319.5	25	312	37.5	7.5	18.05446461	No
50s, 60s	1238	68	1311	4402.61194	-73	195.624923	No
50s, 70s or over	771.5	39	760	92	11.5	28.27892486	No
60s, 70s or over	491	31	480	49.5	11	20.7430006	No

2010							
Test groups	Test results					Critical value	Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data in two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value		
Under 10, 10s	23	17	18	28.125	5	16.073625	No
Under 10, 20s	39	33	34	67.8125	5	24.95872777	No
Under 10, 30s	46	39	40	96.39473684	6	29.75734824	No
Under 10, 40s	51	41	42	140.4	9	35.91295326	No
Under 10, 50s	56	39	40	179.1578947	16	40.5681816	No
Under 10, 60s	34	27	28	60.57692308	6	23.5896323	No
Under 10, 70s or over	12	8	9	6.428571429	3	7.684662582	No
10s, 20s	312.5	46	352.5	930	-40	92.42916734	No
10s, 30s	350	52	397.5	1226.985294	-47.5	106.1664377	No
10s, 40s	382.5	54	412.5	1545.283019	-30	119.143837	No
10s, 50s	425	52	397.5	1771.102941	27.5	127.5526449	No
10s, 60s	290	40	307.5	766.8269231	-17.5	83.92981051	No
10s, 70s or over	172.5	21	165	117	7.5	32.78389101	No
20s, 30s	1070	68	1069.5	2683.466418	0.5	157.0057829	No
20s, 40s	1142.5	70	1100.5	3434.26087	42	177.6168678	No
20s, 50s	1225	68	1069.5	4224.212687	155.5	196.9883102	No
20s, 60s	914	56	883.5	1743.75	30.5	126.5638498	No
20s, 70s or over	620.5	37	589	299.6666667	31.5	52.46706674	No
30s, 40s	1474	76	1424.5	4401.15	49.5	201.071562	No
30s, 50s	1572.5	74	1387.5	5363.479452	185	221.9682597	No
30s, 60s	1201.5	62	1165.5	2274.590164	36	144.5503491	No
30s, 70s or over	851.5	43	814	404.3571429	37.5	60.94669026	No
40s, 50s	1647	76	1501.5	6132.75	145.5	237.3532578	No
40s, 60s	1272	64	1267.5	2843.75	4.5	161.6267624	No
40s, 70s or over	928.5	45	897	526.5	31.5	69.54513494	No
50s, 60s	1076.5	62	1165.5	3336.065574	-89	175.0591662	No
50s, 70s or over	821.5	43	814	602.5714286	7.5	74.39981131	No
60s, 70s or over	419.5	31	400	247.5	19.5	47.68207736	No

6. Survey results (3): Reasons for visits to excavation news–flash exhibitions and feedback on exhibits

This section discusses the excavation news–flash exhibitions held at the Utoro Shirietoku Michinoeki road station in 2008 and 2009 and at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center from 2010.

In response to the question of how respondents learned about the exhibitions, participants selected from the following five answers: (1) by chance; (2) from a newspaper; (3) from a friend/acquaintance; (4) at an accommodation/public facility; (5) other. The results showed that just over 80 percent of respondents (156 people) had learned about it by chance in 2009, and the same percentage of respondents (166 people) also selected this answer in 2010.

In response to the question of what respondents thought of the exhibition in 2009, more than 80 percent answered that they had learned something from it. This suggests that exhibitions play a role in providing information on previously little-known aspects of regional history. Around 10 percent answered that they would like to learn more. Feedback provided by those who selected the *other* option highlighted their desire to know more about the distinctive characteristics of the Okhotsk people and their relationships with the Satsumon and Ainu cultures, and also indicated a keen interest in this new information on archaeological sites from the Okhotsk culture (Table 13).

Responses to a question in the 2010 questionnaire asking what respondents found the most interesting at the exhibition showed that a reconstructed bear ritual site was the most popular (64 people; 32%), followed by earthenware and stoneware. Other answers (lecture room, guide commentary, bear skull, and nothing in particular) were selected by one respondent each (Table 14). The reconstructed bear ritual site is made up of structural remnants excavated at the Casi–kot–etu B Site during a Hokkaido University survey in 2005. As the rituals it highlights and other aspects of the culture are considered similar to those of the Ainu *iomante* (a ritual for sending the spirit of bears to heaven), it can be seen as a valuable resource in consideration of the development of the Ainu culture and relationships with the Okhotsk culture.

Table 13 Feedback on the excavation news–flash exhibition of 2009 (unit: no. of people)

a. Learned something new	b. Already knew almost everything about the exhibits	c. Would like to learn more	d. Other	NA	Total
146	3	13	2	15	179

Table 14 Points of particular interest at the excavation news–flash exhibition of 2010 (unit: no. of people)

a. Reconstructed bear ritual site	b. Earthenware / stoneware	c. Bone or horn implements / bones	d. Commentary panels		
64	39	17	15		
e. Today's artifact	f. Excavation site photos	g. Other	NA	Total	
21	6	7	29	198	

7. Survey results (4): Participatory archaeology events

In response to the question of whether respondents knew about the parents–and–children hands–on archaeological excavation program and the excavation news–flash exhibition in Utoro, eight people answered positively both in 2009 (four respondents living in Hokkaido,⁸ two living elsewhere and two giving no response) and in 2010 (three respondents living in Hokkaido,⁹ three living elsewhere and two giving no response). In response to the question of how they found out about events held in previous years, the largest number of respondents (five people) said they had heard about them from newspapers and/or over the Internet in both 2009 and 2010. Three respondents in the 2009 survey said they had actually attended events, but none in the 2010 survey had.

In response to the question of whether they would like to take part in an archaeological dig, those who answered “Yes, absolutely” and “Probably” accounted for 50 percent of the total (88 people) in 2009 and 60 percent (161 people) in 2010. Those who replied in the affirmative to the question of whether they would like to take part in hands–on archaeological events (i.e., those who selected “Yes, absolutely” and “Probably”) selected general reasons such as an interest in archaeology and consideration of such events as rare valuable opportunities, in addition to their interest in Utoro archaeological sites (Table 15).

In regard to levels of interest in hands–on archaeological events among those who indicated that they knew about archaeological sites in Utoro, slightly less than 60 percent (26 of 47 people) in 2009 and around 80 percent (38 of 50 people) in 2010 chose “Yes, absolutely” or “Probably” in response to the question of whether they would like to take part in such events (Table 16). As inferred from the test results in Table 17, no correlation was found between the recognition of archaeological sites in Utoro and levels of interest in such events in 2009, but the 2010 survey results appear to demonstrate that those who knew about archaeological sites in Utoro were more positive about taking part in such events than those who did not.¹⁰

To identify possible differences in levels of interest in hands–on archaeological events among attributes, Mann–Whitney U testing was conducted in regard to places of residence and Steel–Dwass multiple comparison testing was implemented in regard to age groups. Further Mann–Whitney U testing was conducted to determine whether there were differences between respondents who knew about archaeological sites in Utoro (Q. 4) and those who did not.

⁸ Of the four respondents living in Hokkaido, two were from Shari, one was from Otaru and one was from Sapporo.

⁹ Of the three respondents living in Hokkaido, two were from Shari and one was from Abashiri.

¹⁰ Steel–Dwass multiple comparison testing for non–parametric data was conducted to identify differences between those who knew about archaeological sites in Utoro and those who did not. For the test, all data (except NA values) on levels of interest in hands–on archaeological events were expressed in five ranks. In the 2009 data, the absolute value of the difference between the rank sum and its expected value was smaller than the critical value, but was larger in the 2010 data. This result infers that respondents who knew about archaeological sites had higher levels of interest in such events in the 2010 data.

Table 15 Reasons for wanting to take part in hands-on archaeological events by degree of interest
(unit: no. of people)

	Interested in Utoro archaeological sites		Interested in archaeology		Such events are rare and valuable opportunities		Such events appear challenging		Uninterested in excavation		Other	
	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010
Yes, absolutely	10	12	13	22	5	19	1	0	0	2	1	1
Probably	9	6	16	26	19	34	2	1	1	0	2	3
Indifferent	2	2	3	3	8	12	8	11	1	2	16	3
Not much	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	13	1	10	6	1
Not at all	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0
Total	22	20	32	52	33	67	16	27	4	16	25	8

Table 16 Levels of interest in taking part in hands-on archaeological events by level of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro (unit: no. of people)

2009							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Know about archaeological sites	14	12	16	3	0	2	47
Don't know	19	42	45	12	3	8	129
2010							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Know about archaeological sites	20	18	6	3	2	1	50
Don't know	34	53	29	24	2	5	147

Table 17 Test results showing differences between levels of recognition for archaeological sites in Utoro and levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events

	Test groups	Test results						Significant difference at the 5% significance level
		Rank sum	Number of data in two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value	Critical value	
2009	Know/Don't know	3320	166	3757.5	68758.48193	-437.5	513.9371743	No
2010	Know/Don't know	3929	191	4704	102095.9477	-775	626.2549115	Yes

Place of residence (Tables 18 and 19)

Table 19 shows the results of Mann-Whitney U testing to identify possible differences among attributes. For the test, a null hypothesis stating that there was no correlation between levels of interest in hands-on archaeological sites and places of residence was formulated, and all data (except NA values) on levels of interest in such events were expressed in five ranks. Taking respondents living in Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in 2009, for example, the absolute value of Z corrected for ties ($= 0.233646831617158$) was smaller than the uncorrected value (0.975 ; $= 1.95996398454005$), which is the boundary value for the 5 percent significance level in a two-tailed test based on standard normal distribution. This means that the value of Z corrected for ties is not in a critical region for rejection of the null hypothesis. In regard to P, the value corrected for ties (two-sided probability) was 0.81525916745652 . As this is greater than the 5 percent significance level value (0.05), the null hypothesis is not rejected. Although a significant

difference was observed at the 5 percent significance level between those living in eastern Hokkaido and those living elsewhere in the 2009 data, no significant difference was observed among other attributes.

Table 18 Levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events by place of residence
(unit: no. of people)

2009							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Hokkaido	18	38	40	7	1	2	106
Elsewhere	16	16	18	8	1	3	62
Eastern Hokkaido	11	16	6	1	0	1	35
Elsewhere	7	21	32	5	1	1	67
2010							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Hokkaido	20	24	11	7	1	3	66
Elsewhere	34	47	25	20	2	1	129
Eastern Hokkaido	8	17	3	3	0	0	25
Elsewhere	12	7	6	4	1	3	39

Table 19 Test results showing differences in levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events by place of residence

2 test groups and number of data		Hokkaido (subtotal0104)	Eastern Hokkaido (subtotal034)	Hokkaido (subtotal063)	Eastern Hokkaido (subtotal031)
		Elsewhere (subtotal059)	Elsewhere (subtotal066)	Elsewhere (subtotal0128)	Elsewhere (subtotal030)
Test results	U value	3132.5	645	3687.5	458.5
	U' value	3003.5	1599	4376.5	471.5
	Z value	0.222733601	-3.47085834	-0.959078102	-0.093770593
	P value (two-sided probability)	0.823742849	0.000518798	0.337519401	0.925291392
	Z value corrected for ties	0.233646832	-3.682176	-1.001795776	-0.098877749
	P value corrected for ties (two-sided prob)	0.815259167	0.000231252	0.316442238	0.921235336
	Number of ties	5	4	5	4
	Z(0.975)	1.959963985	1.959963985	1.959963985	1.959963985
Significant difference at the 5% significance level		No	Yes	No	No

Age groups (Tables 20 and 21)

Table 21 shows the results of Steel-Dwass multiple comparison testing to identify differences between age groups. For the test, all data (except NA values) on levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events were expressed in five ranks. Taking the test results of respondents aged from 10 to 19 and those aged from 20 to 29 in the 2009 data as an example, the absolute value of the difference between the rank sum and its expected value was smaller than the critical value, indicating no significant difference between the two groups. As comparisons between other age group pairs also showed similar results, it can be concluded that there was no significant difference in levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events among age groups.

Table 20 Levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events by age group (unit: no. of people)

2009							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Under 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10s	2	1	5	0	1	0	9
20s	8	12	9	2	0	0	31
30s	8	17	11	5	0	0	41
40s	3	8	16	3	0	1	31
50s	5	8	12	3	0	2	30
60s	8	8	8	2	2	2	30
70 or over	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
NA	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Total	34	54	61	15	3	12	179
2010							
	a. Yes, absolutely	b. Probably	c. Indifferent	d. Not much	e. Not at all	NA	Total
Under 10	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
10s	4	6	2	1	2	0	15
20s	13	14	0	3	1	0	31
30s	9	16	5	6	0	1	37
40s	13	14	9	3	0	0	39
50s	8	13	9	6	0	2	38
60s	4	7	8	6	0	1	26
70 or over	1	1	2	1	0	1	6
NA	0	1	1	1	1	0	4
Total	54	72	36	27	4	5	198

Table 21 Test results showing differences in levels of interest in hands-on archaeological events by age group

2009							
Test groups	Test results						Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data in two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value	Critical value	
10s, 20s	180.5	40	164	793.8461538	16.5	80.29139384	No
10s, 30s	213	49	200	1238.785714	13	100.2995348	No
10s, 40s	141	38	156	636.2731152	-15	71.88240703	No
10s, 50s	145	36	148	602.1333333	-3	69.92736438	No
10s, 60s	156	36	148	632.8	8	71.68595247	No
20s, 30s	1150.5	73	1184	7326.082192	-33.5	243.9139942	No
20s, 40s	882	62	1008	4510.756214	-126	191.3927589	No
20s, 50s	908	60	976	4142.861017	-68	183.4218235	No
20s, 60s	961	60	976	4195.254237	-15	184.5780133	No
30s, 40s	1343.5	71	1476	6615.27163	-132.5	231.7793099	No
30s, 50s	1375.5	69	1435	6076.179028	-59.5	222.1345464	No
30s, 60s	1442	69	1435	6148.968883	7	223.4611206	No
40s, 50s	928	58	885	3564.283122	43	170.1323582	No
40s, 60s	968	58	885	3720.798548	83	173.8276677	No
50s, 60s	837	56	798	3419.181818	39	166.6333488	No

2010							
Test groups	Test results						Significant difference at the 5% significance level
	Rank sum	Number of data in two groups	Expected value	Variance	Rank sum - expected value	Critical value	
Under 10, 10s	7	17	18	41.02941176	-11	19.41400833	No
Under 10, 20s	16	33	34	145.7528409	-18	36.59115183	No
Under 10, 30s	12	38	39	209.5476529	-27	43.87417537	No
Under 10, 40s	16	41	42	245.9140244	-26	47.52905888	No
Under 10, 50s	11	38	39	216.4864865	-28	44.59467081	No
Under 10, 60s	7	27	28	109.1880342	-21	31.6705124	No
Under 10, 70s or over	4	7	8	6.071428571	-4	7.468149641	No
10s, 20s	409.5	46	352.5	1578.528986	57	120.4186757	No
10s, 30s	400	51	390	2101.976471	10	138.9573398	No
10s, 40s	444.5	54	412.5	2438.31761	32	149.6623995	No
10s, 50s	379	51	390	2159.682353	-11	140.851834	No
10s, 60s	275	40	307.5	1200.721154	-32.5	105.0240223	No
10s, 70s or over	151.5	20	157.5	122.5657895	-6	33.55461034	No
20s, 30s	927.5	67	1054	5515.644505	-126.5	225.0949232	No
20s, 40s	1012	70	1100.5	6310.454348	-88.5	240.7675098	No
20s, 50s	886	67	1054	5685.997286	-168	228.5445611	No
20s, 60s	718	56	883.5	3359.217208	-165.5	175.6643739	No
20s, 70s or over	542	36	573.5	414.8095238	-31.5	61.72938155	No
30s, 40s	1427	75	1368	8026.705946	59	271.5415189	No
30s, 50s	1259.5	72	1314	7171.985915	-54.5	256.6771925	No
30s, 60s	1011	61	1116	4276.47541	-105	198.2031516	No
30s, 70s or over	736.5	41	756	570.0182927	-19.5	72.36223346	No
40s, 50s	1363.5	75	1482	8145.097297	-118.5	273.5367639	No
40s, 60s	1112	64	1267.5	4883.221726	-155.5	211.79748	No
40s, 70s or over	848	44	877.5	667.0917019	-29.5	78.28171571	No
50s, 60s	1046.5	61	1116	4315.819672	-69.5	199.1128146	No
50s, 70s or over	743.5	41	756	583.2987805	-12.5	73.2003404	No
60s, 70s or over	388.5	30	387.5	299.5689655	1	52.45851305	No

8. Summary

The conclusions drawn from questionnaire result analysis can be summarized as follows:

- (1) The general impression of the Shiretoko area, including Utoro, was that of a World Natural Heritage site with beautiful natural landscapes and a wealth of flora and fauna. The recognition of Utoro as part of the World Natural Heritage site is not affected by differences in attributes, such as places of residence and age groups.
- (2) Today there are around 120 archaeological sites in the towns of Rausu and Shari, including Utoro. However, less than 30 percent of people surveyed knew about these sites. Although the corresponding figure was slightly higher for those living in Hokkaido or eastern Hokkaido than for those living elsewhere, levels of recognition for archaeological sites in Shiretoko remain low.
- (3) In regard to excavation news–flash exhibitions, over 80 percent of people surveyed said they had learned something new from the exhibits on display, indicating that the events helped to provide information on previously unknown historical and cultural aspects of the region. The reconstructed bear ritual site (the most popular exhibit in 2010) probably helped visitors to realize that fascinating aspects of history could be learned by looking at objects rather than only by reading books because it was valuable in the context of the Ainu cultural development and relationships with the Okhotsk culture, and also because it was an actual reproduction of an excavated site.
- (4) Between 50 and 60 percent of people surveyed expressed an interest in hands–on archaeological events. The 2010 questionnaire results indicated that people who knew about archaeological sites in Utoro might be more positive about taking part in hands–on archaeological events than those who did not.

These conclusions highlight challenges to be addressed in the development of mutual relationships between archaeological sites and host communities/tourism with the former used as cultural resources. In this context, providing opportunities for people in host communities to be closely involved with local archaeological sites is considered highly important.

As stated in (2) of the survey result summary, overall levels of recognition for archaeological sites remain low. A lack of publicity from local governments may be a contributing factor, but it is difficult to preserve dilapidated archaeological sites and ensure their generational continuity without the understanding and cooperation of host communities (Tashiro 2011, 30). The preservation and generational continuity of such sites, cultural properties and historic landscapes as organic cultural resources for local residents and people involved in their formation require sustainability not only in physical terms but also in the society and human resources that created and cultivated them (Yamamura 2008, 50). In the establishment of social systems in which archaeological sites, cultural properties and historic landscapes are recognized and protected as heritage resources of host communities, interpreters who can connect these

resources and communities have an important role to play (Yasufuku 2001, 147). Interpreters convey the significance of things to visitors (i.e., people in host communities and tourists), enhance their understanding and ultimately encourage them to participate in cultural heritage conservation. The roles of interpreters should be assumed by archaeologists, historians and other researchers and experts based on the effective methods of public archaeology and community archaeology.

As stated in (3) and (4) of the survey result summary, excavation news–flash exhibitions held as part of public archaeology initiatives helped to provide information on previously unknown historical and cultural aspects of the region. There is a high possibility that the continued dissemination of such information and the active provision of opportunities for people to be involved in archaeological activities will enhance the recognition of local cultural heritage resources in host communities.

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5. Sharing Research Results with Host Communities through Exhibitions

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1. Casi–kot Project Overview

The Casi–kot Project was launched jointly by Hokkaido University and *sipetru* (the Shiretoko Indigenous People Eco Tourism Research Union; the term *sipetru* means “mainstream” in the Ainu language). Since 2008, staff on the project have also worked collaboratively as part of the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group at the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies.

Since FY 2005, Hokkaido University has implemented scientific investigation on the archaeological Casi–kot–etu B Site located in the Utoro area of Shari Town. The purpose of the investigation is to clarify settlement structures and specific environmental adaptation behavior in the Okhotsk culture period² on the Shiretoko Peninsula. In the seven years leading up to FY 2011, the investigation involved the excavation of dwelling ruins from the Okhotsk culture period and remnants of a unique bear ritual site from the Tobinitai phase of the later part of this period. The Casi–kot Project promotes the practice of community archaeology to enhance public understanding of the field and encourage host community members to learn more about local cultural heritage resources. To achieve these goals, excavation results and sites are made easily accessible to the general public. Project staff have provided results to locals and tourists alike through excavation news–flash exhibitions at a facility near the Casi–kot–etu B site. This site has also been opened to members of the general public for hands–on excavation programs and tours among other opportunities.

The excavation news–flash exhibition has been held in collaboration with the local NPO Shinra during the summer excavation survey every year since 2008. The event was held at the Utoro Shirietoku Michinoeki road station in 2008 and 2009, and at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center in 2010 and 2011. Visitor numbers totaled 1,747 over the 11–day period in

¹ Master’s degree program at the Hokkaido University Graduate School of Letters (at that time)

² Doctoral degree program at the Hokkaido University Graduate School of Science.

³ Doctoral degree program at the Keio University Graduate School of Letters.

⁴ This culture thrived in northern and eastern Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin and the Okhotsk coastal area of the Kuril Islands from the 5th century to the 10th century. Particular characteristics include pottery, sea mammal hunting and animal rituals.

2008, 652 over the 9-day period in 2009, 400 over the 8-day period in 2010 and 418 over the six-day period in 2011. It is presumed that the exhibitions held at the road station attracted more visitors because exhibits could be arranged to facilitate the flow of people arriving.

The exhibits were 1) archaeological resources excavated from the Casi-kot-etu B Site where the excavation survey had been under way since 2005 (including earthenware, stoneware and bone/horn implements) and 2) panels with information on the Okhotsk culture, the Casi-kot-etu B Site and other matters. Exhibit commentary was provided by students participating in the excavation survey. Additionally, an article excavated the previous day was displayed with the theme of *Today's artifact*, and slides of excavation site photos were shown on a PC monitor.

The details of the events held in each year are discussed below.

The first excavation news-flash exhibition was held in 2008, and featured exhibits centered on materials unearthed from dwelling ruins along with panels giving information on Okhotsk culture and the Casi-kot-etu B Site (resources created for another exhibition held before the launch of the Casi-kot Project). As the exhibition was held at a road station, a large proportion of the visitors were tourists. As a result, the number of rudimentary questions (such as “What is the Okhotsk culture?” and “How is it different from the Ainu culture or Ainu people?”) was high.

Based on the lessons learned the previous year, efforts were made in 2009 to hold an easy-to-understand exhibition for tourists from outside Hokkaido by providing extra information including detailed outlines of exhibits and a chronological table of Okhotsk culture to supplement the commentary. To make optimal use of the fruits of the excavation survey being carried out in conjunction with the exhibition, the display of *Today's artifact* was introduced as a staple of the event. As a result, visitors asked more questions about archaeological sites and artifacts than in the previous year.

In 2010, the exhibition took place at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center adjacent to the road station where the exhibition had been held for the previous two years. Thanks to the inclusion of information on the excavation news-flash exhibition in a pamphlet on the Amazing Heritage Okhotsk Campaign promoted by the Hokkaido Tourism Organization and other bodies, the number of people coming to the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation site especially to see the exhibition was higher than in previous years despite a decrease in overall exhibition visitor numbers. The exhibits were completely changed from those displayed previously; the panels had less text and simpler expressions were used, a chronological table outlining the history of Hokkaido along with that of Japan's Honshu mainland for comparison purposes was provided, leaflets were distributed, and a reconstructed animal ritual site was displayed among other exhibits. A variety of specialist questions were asked about theories on Ainu culture/people and their origins, probably due to enhanced public interest in Ainu culture stemming from the Japanese Diet's 2008 passage of a resolution urging the government to officially recognize the Ainu as an indigenous people. There were also unexpected developments, such as an increased number of visitors due to attendees tweeting about the exhibition.

In 2011, the exhibition was again held at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center. The panel presentations were improved with the addition of specific themes, and the display of the reconstructed animal ritual site was replaced by one with tools used for the excavation survey. As levels of visitor recognition for the Okhotsk culture were enhanced, questions on details of the culture and its links with the Ainu culture were frequently asked.

2. Excavation news–flash exhibitions in 2010 and 2011

This section discusses the greatly improved excavation news–flash exhibitions held in 2010 and 2011. It should be noted that since the authors were still establishing the objectives and methods of questionnaire surveys during this two–year period of exhibition activities, questionnaire items lacked uniformity.

2–1. Excavation news–flash exhibition in 2010

As no questionnaire survey on exhibits was conducted in 2010, the authors here outline activities based on student guide observations made during their provision of commentary and on visitor questions and comments recorded in notebooks.

The exhibition in 2010 centered on a reconstructed animal ritual site with the two additional pillars of the Okhotsk culture and the excavation site. The exhibits were arranged in a way that gave a feeling of freedom to suit a linear flow of visitors from the entrance to the exit. With a few exceptions, all the exhibits were housed in just two display cases; only the reconstructed animal ritual site was displayed without a case near the exit. In regard to the flow of visitors, the reconstructed animal ritual site proved very



Photo 1 Exhibition in 2010

popular as the centerpiece of the exhibition. This could perhaps have been considered more carefully in light of the event’s theme and the flow of visitors.

Efforts to improve the panel exhibition generally appeared to bear fruit, as indicated by a greater ratio of positive visitor feedback on panel information and design, with comments such as, “The panels were visually appealing” and “They were easy to understand.” The display of *Today’s artifact* was very well received because people were allowed to touch them freely. These artifacts played important roles in supporting communication between visitors and guides by acting as topics of conversation. Feedback on the student guides was also positive, with comments including, “They answered my questions promptly. Their commentary was easy to understand, and I appreciated their efforts” and “It was fun because ordinary museums don’t have services like that.”

2-2. Excavation news–flash exhibition in 2011
In 2011, a questionnaire survey on the exhibits was conducted. Although only 38 completed questionnaires were collected (a number too small to establish statistical significance), the authors hope the information will be retrospectively useful.



Photo 2 Exhibition in 2011

The themes of the exhibition in 2011 were hunting, fishing and gathering, and its main objective was to introduce the Okhotsk culture as in the previous year. Additionally, as part of efforts to promote monitoring tours developed by the Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism Working Group, a map of cultural heritage sites in Utoro was also displayed. As part of a large-scale exhibit, tools actually used at the exhibition site were displayed in the central part of the venue. In contrast to the previous year, exhibits were arranged to create a U-shaped flow with the entrance and exit at the same point. This solved the visitor flow problems observed in the previous year.

In addition to the *Today's artifact* exhibit, which had proven very popular in 2010, there were also more artifacts that visitors could touch. These opportunities were clearly appreciated, as shown by questionnaire comments such as, “It was great to be able to touch excavated artifacts because we usually don’t have this kind of opportunity.”

iPad technology was also used to introduce excavation site photos in 2011, although this was not reflected in the questionnaire survey. This technology was particularly useful because guides could add materials not appearing in the panels to their commentary. iPads were also popular among children as exhibition tools they could operate themselves.



Photo 3 Map of cultural heritage sites in Utoro

The exhibition further highlighted the major characteristics of monitoring tours via a large map of cultural heritage sites in Utoro, handouts and information sheets. The map was notably well received by tourists who had nowhere to go due to rain and bikers who happened to drop by.

3. Achievements based on questionnaire results and related challenges

3-1. Excavation news–flash exhibition in 2010

As mentioned previously, no questionnaire survey was conducted in 2010. This section discusses the trends of questions asked by visitors and challenges to be considered for future exhibitions based on questionnaire responses.

The questions asked by visitors were divided into four categories regarding I) exhibits, II) terms used, III) locations of archaeological sites, and IV) technical matters. Specific examples of questions are given below.

I) Exhibits

- (1) What's this? What is it made of?
- (2) Were these all excavated at the Casi-kot-etu B Site?
- (3) How did people use stone weights?
- (4) What part of the bear did this bone come from?
- (5) Where was the obsidian brought from?
- (6) How old is the reconstructed animal ritual site?
- (7) How were dented stone tools used?

II) Terms used

- (8) What is *iomante*?
- (9) What are flakes?

III) Locations of archaeological sites

- (10) Where is Turtle Rock?

Questions I) to III) were directly related to exhibits and panels, and were frequently asked by visitors viewing them. The promotion of exchanges between exhibitors and people visiting is considered one of the main achievements of the exhibition, as new questions were asked based on commentary from guides. Two types of commentary were provided by students participating in the excavation survey: in one, guides provided commentary to supplement panel information based on cues in the displays; in the other, the panels included no commentary cues, and input was based on guides answering questions from their own pool of knowledge. As the latter type highlighted differences in guiding ability, it was considered necessary to standardize knowledge based on measures such as workshops in advance.

As this special exhibition was held on the premise that guides would be stationed there throughout its duration, only the minimum information necessary was provided. However, if the exhibition is to be held on a permanent basis, further improvements are required for the wording of panels, exhibition methods, captions/design and the map of cultural heritage sites in Utoro.

IV) Technical matters

- (11) How do you know how old the artifacts are?
- (12) How is the history of Hokkaido different from that of the Honshu mainland?
- (13) When did ethnic Japanese people settle in Hokkaido?
- (14) Is the Okhotsk culture different from the Ainu culture?
- (15) Where did the Okhotsk people come from?
- (16) Are the Ainu people descended from those in the Okhotsk/Tobinitai culture periods?
- (17) What's the relationship between the Emishi and Ainu peoples?

The questions in IV require higher levels of expert knowledge than those in I to III. Question (12) was asked by visitors both from Hokkaido and from elsewhere. Some guides said they were embarrassed because they could not answer question (17) properly. In future work, the issue of how to answer these difficult inquiries and questions requiring high levels of expertise needs to be considered.

3-2. Excavation news-flash exhibition in 2011

Related challenges and achievements are discussed below with reference to the results of the questionnaire survey conducted.

Tables 1 and 2 show levels of visitor satisfaction with the exhibits and levels of exhibit-friendliness to visitors, and indicate high or highish evaluations. This is considered attributable to the well-received student commentary (as seen in the previous year) and the provision of even more opportunities for visitors to touch exhibits. The majority of respondents indicated an appropriate level of exhibit-friendliness.

However, a significant number of visitors said the level of exhibit-friendliness was lowish or low. As analysis is difficult with such a small data sample, the questionnaire items need to be improved and more data need to be collected in the future.

In response to the free-answer question on impressions of the exhibits and feedback, many respondents wrote about things they had learned from the exhibition and their impressions of the exhibits and commentary. Examples of answers given are provided below.

I. Knowledge gained from the exhibition

- I've learned a little about the history of Shiretoko.
- I've learned that there was a culture older than the Ainu culture on the Okhotsk coast of

Table 1 Levels of visitor satisfaction

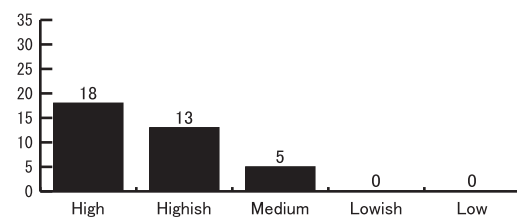
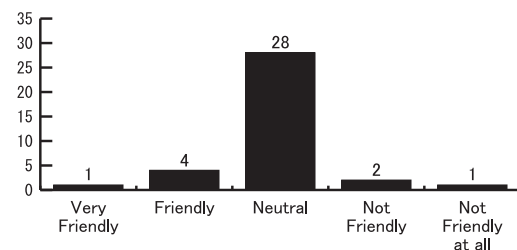


Table 2 Levels of exhibit-friendliness to visitors



Hokkaido.

- I'd heard the term the *Okhotsk culture* before, and today I learned more about it.
- I'm glad that I had a chance to learn about the Okhotsk culture.
- It was interesting to find out about the Okhotsk culture. I also learned about the characteristics of dwellings from those days.
- It was good to learn about the history of Shiretoko.

One of the aims of the exhibition was to help visitors learn about the Okhotsk culture. Questionnaire replies indicated that the culture at least made an impression.

II. Impressions of exhibits and commentary

- An artifact excavated on the same day was on display, and I felt an affinity with archaeology thanks to the student commentary.
- It was great to be able to touch artifacts because we usually don't have that kind of opportunity.
- I had fun because I felt closer to archaeology.
- I'm interested in bones, so it was good to see Goro (the nickname of the bear skull specimen). It was great to be able to actually touch it.
- I loved the delicate sparkle of the obsidian.
- I found the detailed sketches interesting.
- The commentary was easy to understand and increased my interest in the exhibits.
- I think the exhibits were arranged well within the limited space available.
- The exhibits were displayed in an easy-to-understand way with some handwritten text.

The key concepts here seem to be *touchable exhibits*, *handmade exhibition* and *student commentary*. In particular, a number of touchable exhibits were introduced in 2011, and visitors seem to have enjoyed interacting with them and were interested in them. The obsidian flint arrowhead and animal bones on display appear to have had a strong impression on visitors because it is not usually possible to touch such items at museums. Many respondents identified these two artifacts as having made a strong impression.

The exhibit commentary provided by students actually involved in the excavation survey was well received as in the previous year, and the importance of communication between researchers and visitors was again highlighted. Visitor feedback indicated that the commentary helped visitors to feel closer to archaeology. The fact that people who usually had no connection with archaeology felt this way about research results was perhaps the greatest achievement of the exhibition.

4. Roles of excavation news–flash exhibitions

Archaeological resources excavated in Shari Town are housed at the municipal Shiretoko Museum and the Shari House at Hokkaido University's Faculty of Letters, both located in central Shari. Artifacts excavated in the Utoro area are also housed in central Shari, and tourists who come to visit the World Natural Heritage site tend to concentrate in the Utoro area, which is closer to the site. This means that tourists have to travel approximately 40 kilometers from Utoro to central Shari to look closely at archaeological artifacts and other cultural heritage resources. The excavation news–flash exhibition is held at a facility near the excavation site to allow visitors to see results from the ongoing dig while they are in Utoro. It was also introduced to provide different communities with learning opportunities. The target groups and the related impacts are discussed below.

- (1) All preparations for the exhibition (including the production of exhibits) are made exclusively by students. This production phase helps them to explore and learn who should benefit from archaeology.
- (2) At least one student is stationed at the exhibition venue as a guide to supplement information on information panels and answer questions from visitors. This experience helps them to gain an in–depth understanding of the amount of information and the level of exhibit–friendliness visitors seek.
- (3) Based on experience and results obtained from (1) and (2) above, students substantiate information for the production of exhibits for the next year.
- (4) As most exhibition visitors until 2011 visited Utoro to see the World Natural Heritage site, many did not know that people had lived in Shiretoko before the Ainu culture period. However, the cultural heritage resources excavated from the natural heritage site and information from the students involved in digging provided opportunities to learn about prehistoric and Okhotsk cultures in Utoro. This type of knowledge and experience is provided only by excavation news–flash exhibitions.
- (5) Hands–on excavation programs (discussed in 7 below) were implemented from 2008 to 2010 in conjunction with the excavation news–flash exhibitions. As a result, artifacts excavated by Utoro locals were shown in order to highlight the fruits of their efforts to tourists from Hokkaido and elsewhere and to other community members. This in turn increased the number of opportunities for local residents to actively engage in the management of cultural heritage resources and provide information to communities outside their own.
- (6) The presence of touchable exhibits is the major difference between this event and conventional displays of archaeological resources at museums and elsewhere. Visitors also learn about textures and weight from the opportunity for tactile contact with real animal bones, stoneware, earthenware and other excavated artifacts rather than with

replicas and models.



Fig. 1 2011 excavation news-flash exhibition student poster
(c) Mariko Ishioka



Fig. 2 2011 excavation news-flash exhibition student panel

As shown from (1) to (6) above, excavation news-flash exhibitions provide a forum for students (in their roles as exhibit producers), local community members and tourists to relate to each other based on cultural heritage resources.

Discussion of the exhibitions' provision of learning opportunities is omitted here, as it is covered in the section on visitor questionnaire analysis.

5. Position of cultural heritage in the Utoro area to date

The Utoro area has a number of archaeological sites, including *Casi* (an Ainu word meaning a palisade or a palisaded compound) from the Ainu culture period and ruins from the Okhotsk culture period. However, these cultural heritage resources have not been utilized effectively. Following the 2005 designation of Shiretoko as a World Natural Heritage site, as many as 1,732,029 tourists visited the region to see its completely unspoiled natural environment in 2006 (an increase of 11.3 percent on the corresponding figure for the pre-designation year of 2004 (Shari Town Office, 2006)). Due partly to World Natural Heritage designation and the subsequent increased inflow of visitors, the Utoro area is thriving as a tourist destination known for its beautiful natural landscapes and nature appreciation opportunities (2006). In 2006, the Commercial, Industry and Tourism Section of Shari Town Office identified Shiretoko's main tourist resource as nature itself, and suggested that tourists visit Shiretoko for its unexplored primeval side (2006). As a result, the presence of archaeological sites and a museum exhibiting archaeological resources in the town was known to some, but cultural heritage was not positioned as an important local resource. The Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center,

the Shiretoko National Park Nature Center and other indoor facilities also specialize in providing information on nature, but the Utoro area has no one-stop indoor facility that provides historical and cultural information and materials.

Although the Shiretoko region has promoted tourism based on its natural landscapes, the Shiretoko Sightseeing Zone Development Plan formulated in FY 2009 (involving the towns of Rausu, Shibetsu, Kiyosato and Shari) suggests that the inflow of group visitors through mass tourism during the boom in Shiretoko's popularity from the 1960s to the 1970s was viewed as a thing of the past, and that the region's administrators plan to develop small-scale experience-based tourist resources for individual visitors. However, such resources also focus on activities in natural surroundings (such as tours with nature guides and eco-tours) with little connection to cultural heritage.

In this way, specific relationships linking cultural heritage, local residents and visitors have not yet been established for the World Natural Heritage-designated Shiretoko Peninsula and neighboring areas. Against this background, the authors examined ways of sharing information on the prehistoric culture of Utoro to enable its use by local residents and visitors. Specifically, the aims of 1) raising public awareness of cultural heritage resources at the World Natural Heritage site, 2) providing opportunities to learn about the relationships linking the Okhotsk culture (which remains relatively unknown throughout the country) and nature, and 3) educating people on how archaeologists excavate artifacts were established by engaging the general public in hands-on excavation at the Caki-kot-etu B Site in Utoro (Shari Town) and holding exhibitions showcasing artifacts from the site.

6. Efforts to utilize cultural heritage as a tourism resource

The authors contemplated the question of what constitutes cultural heritage as a tourism resource. Needless to say, the value and significance of tourism resources depend significantly on the people and groups using them. Who will utilize cultural heritage in Utoro as a tourism resource, and how? These questions are discussed here based on the conceptual representation shown below.

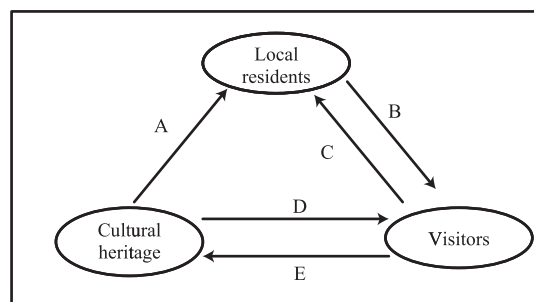


Fig. 3 Relationships linking cultural heritage and the Utoro host community

Fig. 3 A

- Cultural heritage in Utoro can be recognized by local community members as consisting of resources left behind by the area's original inhabitants, and acts as a resource for learning about local history.
- In this tourism-dependent area, cultural heritage also has high value as something to be presented to visitors.

Fig. 3 B

- Local residents provide hands-on programs, facilities and services to encourage visitors to stay for extended periods.

Fig. 3 C

- Visitors pay for the provisions in B.
- Statistical data on the length of visitor stays and how much they spend on services can be seen as a tool to support the development of new tourism resources.

Fig. 3 D

- Cultural heritage gives visitors a sense of satisfaction because they learn about Utoro's unique culture.
- Hands-on experience opportunities related to cultural heritage are provided as activities exclusive to Utoro.

Fig. 3 E

- Based on enhanced interest in cultural heritage through B, C and D, the utilization of cultural resources increases due to more frequent utilization by visitors.
- Hands-on cultural experience programs can replace nature appreciation programs relating to natural heritage.

Figure 3 highlights how cultural heritage can be used as a tourism resource by Utoro locals, visitors and people who work in the field of such heritage. No specific utilization methods have yet been established because the recognition of cultural heritage as a resource is a relatively recent development. Given this situation, the authors made efforts to raise awareness of cultural heritage at the World Natural Heritage site among locals and visitors through hands-on archeological excavation programs and excavation news-flash exhibitions at an indoor facility.

7. Hands-on archaeological excavation programs and cultural heritage recognition

This section discusses hands-on excavation programs, as excavation news-flash exhibitions are covered in sections 1 to 4. These programs were implemented over a three-year period from FY

2008 to FY 2010, and involved students and teachers from Utoro Elementary School, Utoro Junior High School and Shari Junior High School as well as local residents and visitors who happened to drop by the venue. The objective was to raise local awareness of cultural heritage in the region in a way that creates a sense of familiarity. Text and images are one-sided forms of information based on visual perception, and it is impossible to add commentary to them or change their degree of visitor-friendliness without guides. However, interaction with archeologists and other forms of experience gained during hands-on excavation work are considered to support the recognition of cultural heritage based on individual levels of understanding. Digging up a prehistoric habitation site and considering the artifacts and structural remnants unearthed (rather than simply looking at artifacts and images) help people to create their own evaluations. Ian Hodder, who studies the relationships between communities and archaeologists (as discussed here in the Chapter 2 Section 2 paper *Cultural Heritage and Archaeology at the Shiretoko World Natural Heritage Site*) argues that archaeological digs and interpretation should not be the realm of archaeologists alone; there should be opportunities for the involvement of a variety of stakeholders with different cultural backgrounds in such work (Hodder 2003). These stakeholders may include locals, indigenous people and other host community members, and people with an interest in history. The important point here is that these individuals from different communities should have chances to view archaeological digs based on diverse perspectives and experiences. Tim Copeland argues that placing emphasis on the personal experiences, observations, views and evaluations of visitors to archaeological sites will help to enhance learning and satisfaction (Copeland 2004). The essential point made by Hodder and Copeland is that archaeological sites should not be the exclusive domain of single communities (such as archaeologists or other researchers), that they should be viewed by everybody with a range of perspectives, and that the sharing of interpretations among different groups should be respected.

Some archaeologists express concern that having the public actively involved in archaeological digs will lead to the destruction of excavation sites and the loss of artifacts. However, no such issues were seen in the heavily attended public digs discussed here. Rather, the care with which novice excavators worked led to error-free implementation.

It can therefore be concluded that the three-year hands-on excavation programs implemented at the Cusi-kot-etu B Site helped Utoro locals to develop new ideas and value regarding archaeological digs. However, efforts for the establishment of a structure to extend the availability of these programs to visitors from Hokkaido and elsewhere remain ongoing. To support the utilization of archaeological dig sites as cultural resources, a system is needed in which Utoro locals can take the initiative in hosting visitors as excavation participants. This is a challenge to be addressed in future work.



Photo 4 Hands-on archeological excavation

If excavation news-flash exhibitions are to become events that truly link cultural heritage and community members, locals and Ainu people with ancestors from the Utoro area must act as exhibition organizers because Ainu landscapes and place names are part of the region's cultural heritage. For example, the Utoro landmark known as Godzilla Rock was named by ethnic Japanese people, and also has the Ainu name *uturu-ci-kus-i* (meaning "space for a path"). In this way, multiple communities with varying cultural backgrounds gave different names to elements of the same natural landscapes. This highlights the diversity of value and perspectives in Utoro's cultural heritage.

The ultimate form of exhibition pursued by the authors involves members of different communities providing cultural heritage information and working together on displays that reflect their values and history. Yoshida (2000) maintains that exhibitions focusing on people's own culture have gained popularity globally, not least in Japan, in contrast to conventional exhibitions presenting the cultures of other groups. Exhibitions highlighting people's own culture help to enhance community identity, and the value provided in this way supports recognition of cultural



Photo 5 Godzilla Rock (front center). There is a passable space between the rock and the one immediately behind it. Godzilla Rock is called *uturu-ci-kus-i* (meaning “space for a path”) in the Ainu language.

heritage’s value as a tourism resource (2000).

If multiple communities with different cultural backgrounds interpret Utoro’s cultural heritage resources and organize exhibitions to provide information and value to visitors, the region will serve as a place where people can experience the exceptional mixed heritage produced by Utoro’s unique and complex history and interact with locals and the natural environment.

8. Conclusion

The excavation news-flash exhibitions held from 2008 to 2011 and the hands-on excavation programs implemented from 2008 to 2010 were short-term activities timed to coincide with the summer archaeological dig season. As these events have not yet developed into ongoing initiatives to utilize cultural heritage and provide related information, the promotion of permanent exhibitions is required. The challenges involved in organizing such events include the need for participation by various Utoro communities, the need for multilingual commentary for visitors from overseas, and the need for expansion of participatory archaeological digs and other hands-on educational programs for visitors.

The Museum of London mounts archaeological displays in places such as office buildings, pubs, airports and shopping centers, and these traveling exhibitions help people who rarely visit museums to see artifacts (Merriman 2004). In the Utoro area too, promoting initiatives in collaboration with local residents to increase the number of opportunities for people to see archaeological displays, regardless of scale, will help to raise awareness of cultural heritage at the World Natural Heritage site in a realistic way.

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6. Implementation of a Workshop-style Interactive Exhibition

– Stone tool-making workshop in 2011 –

Yu Hirasawa¹

The 2011 Cusi-kot-etu B Site Excavation News-flash Exhibition was held over a six-day period from September 14 to 19. At a stone tool-making workshop held as part of the event on September 18, Prof. Joe Watkins from the University of Oklahoma made a tool from local obsidian and outlined the production method and related techniques. The workshop was held in the space used for the excavation news-flash exhibition at the Shiretoko World Heritage Conservation Center, and visitors were able to enter and leave freely.

The purpose of the workshop was to provide opportunities for visitors to find out how tools were manually produced from obsidian (a material still found in Hokkaido) rather than simply learning about excavated stoneware from exhibits and commentary.

In response to the 2011 questionnaire's Q. 12 asking which exhibits had made a strong impression, many respondents specified the flint arrowhead and obsidian, suggesting high levels of interest in stoneware. Feedback also included comments based on aesthetics, with respondents mentioning the delicate sparkle of obsidian and the beauty of the arrowhead. As the visitors making these comments did not observe the workshop, they must have gained these impressions from viewing the finished stone tools.



Photo 1 Prof. Joe Watkins demonstrates stone tool making

¹ Doctoral degree program at the Keio University Graduate School of Letters

At ordinary exhibitions, commentary is generally provided via one-way communication in text form. Although information on the stone tool-making process was provided, this display was also static. The workshop seems to have been a valuable opportunity for visitors to learn more about stone tools not only by seeing finished items but also by closely observing how they were made. For example, sensory information that is hard to communicate in text form (such as how the arm is raised, how force is applied, and the sound of stone being hit and breaking) was linked with the knowledge visitors gained from information panels to create a new interpretation of stone tools and foster interest in them. In this way, knowledge gained through personal experience (as opposed to simple quasi-factual information provided by archaeologists and students specializing in the field) contributes greatly to enhancing awareness of the Okhotsk culture and archaeology on an individual level.

The thing that made the greatest impression on the author at the workshop was an elementary school boy who was transfixed by Prof. Watkins' stone tool-making display, staring intently as if he had forgotten to blink. When Prof. Watkins handed him a finished stone tool, the boy looked at it on his palm in delight. What did this display mean to him? The panels and commentary for adults were probably of little interest to the boy. The main thing he gained from the workshop may have been not information on archaeology and culture but a keen awareness that some people can make arrowheads from stone, and that such production is interesting.

Although the specific effects of hands-on workshops remain unknown, workshop-style exhibitions are popular around the world today. The Archaeological Resource Centre (ARC) in York provides visitors with opportunities for hands-on experience in sorting archaeological finds from sites into categories such as pottery and bone (Merriman 2004). It also teaches people how to handle archaeological artifacts and gives them rare chances to touch items with staff on hand to guide visitors through the processes and answer questions (Ibid.). The Museum of London held an exhibition called *The Dig* in 2001 at which children participated in a mock excavation over 24 "trenches" using trowels and brushes to uncover replica objects (Ibid.). Based on such practical examples, Merriman highlights the important role played by tactile interaction with objects in grasping unknown or difficult concepts (2004). In Japan too, the Kita-Kogane Shell Mound (a nationally designated historic site in Hokkaido's Date City) has a hands-on facility with artificial trenches where children can uncover artifacts in mock excavations. The site is focused on experience-based learning, as shown by the various hands-on Jomon culture programs offered for individuals, including sessions on fish-hook making, bow and arrow making, careful washing of excavated archaeological artifacts and reconstruction of pottery pieces (<http://www.city.date.hokkaido.jp/shisetu/kanko/n96bln000000fswa.html>).

The workshop did not offer opportunities for visitors to experience stone tool making due to the risk of injury from the sharp obsidian used and a lack of space and teaching staff. A leaflet entitled *Shari cho no kanko* (lit. "Tourism in Shari Town") issued by Shari Town Office in 2006 stated that the town would shift its objective in regard to tourism (the town's key industry) from

conventional sightseeing to actual experiences. This form of tourism involves nature appreciation to leverage the value of the globally known World Natural Heritage brand. Combining hands-on cultural heritage programs like the stone tool-making workshop with nature appreciation programs is expected to provide visitors with more opportunities to experience the appeal of Shiretoko. The development of experience-based tourism relating to cultural heritage seems relatively simple as long as the places, people and economic infrastructure required can be realistically secured. Stimulating exhibition spaces where visitors can touch exhibits and reconstruct archaeological artifacts, for example, will help to link cultural heritage, locales and people.

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Chapter 4

International Symposium

“Indigenous Heritage and Tourism –Potential in Hokkaido–”

1. Overview of International Symposium “Indigenous Heritage and Tourism –Potential in Hokkaido–”

Mayumi Okada¹

An international symposium, “Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Potential in Hokkaido” was held at Saturday, 13th of Oct. and Sunday, 14th of Oct., in Hokkaido University Conference Hall. This symposium was organized by Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, co-organized by Hokkaido University Center for Advanced Tourism Studies, and under the auspices of Sapporo City, Hokkaido Government Board of Education and Sapporo City Board of Education.

The symposium focused on cultural heritage and the communities that related to it. Recently, greater importance has been placed on the relationship between cultural heritage, especially indigenous ones, and its stakeholders. This increasing significance is based on a growing recognition that such heritage should be preserved through its relationship with organizations that support it and local communities that will hand it down to future generations. Amid increasing awareness regarding the public nature of efforts for the sustainable preservation of cultural heritage resources, the situations of indigenous people and their cultural heritage are today attracting more and more attention. This symposium described community efforts using Ainu and other indigenous cultural heritage resources for tourism with an aim to preserve and hand these resources down to the future generations.

On the Day 1, keynote speeches were given by two specialists in Public Archaeology and Indigenous Archaeology. Prof. Schadla-Hall, a reader of Institute of Archaeology, University College of London, provides a speech about “Public Archaeology in the 21st Century.” As the second keynote speaker, prof. Watkins, a director of Native American Studies, University of Oklahoma at that time, gave a speech about “Why Indigenous Archaeology is Important as a Means of Changing Relationships between Archaeologists and Indigenous Communities.” Both are leading scholars of applied archaeology on considering relationship among archaeology, heritage and communities. After instructive and suggestive speeches, we had the panel discussion that followed covered issues relating to public archaeology, indigenous archaeology and the conservation of Ainu cultural heritage in Hokkaido.

¹ Post Doctoral Fellow, the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies

On the Day 2 featured presentations by speakers involved in the protection of indigenous cultural heritage and tourism capitalizing on the cultural heritage of Ainu people in Japan. Some of the presentations reported previous activities of the Indigenous Heritage and Tourism Working Group from 2008 to 2012. A chair of the morning session, Ms. Ellick who has involved in education through archaeology with local community as well as Native American shared her comment on the presentation papers and referred comparison between Public Archaeology in the States and one in Japan.

The symposium attracted 160 attendees, including Hokkaido University students, faculty members, local residents and Ainu people. The event served as a valuable opportunity to introduce a range of examples from Japan and elsewhere highlighting cultural heritage management that involves collaboration with local residents and indigenous people.



Photo 1 Participants of the Symposium 2012

Hokkaido University Sustainability Week 2012 International Symposium
Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Tourism
— Potential in Hokkaido —

DATE: October 13th & 14th **VENUE:** Hokkaido University Conference Hall

OUTLINE

Recently, greater importance has been placed on the relationship between cultural heritage and the communities that relate to it. This increasing significance is based on a growing recognition that such heritage should be preserved through its relationship with organizations that support it and local communities that will hand it down to future generations. Amid increasing awareness regarding the public nature of efforts for the sustainable preservation of cultural heritage resources, the situations of indigenous people and their cultural heritage are today attracting more and more attention. This symposium will describe community efforts using Ainu and other indigenous cultural heritage resources for tourism with an aim to preserve and hand these resources down to the future generations.

PROGRAM

DAY 1 October 13th Doors open at 12:30pm

13:00	Opening Remarks Prof. T. Tsunemoto (Director, Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies)
13:05	Intention of the Symposium Prof. H. Kato (Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies)
13:25-14:10	1st Keynote Speech "Public Archaeology in the 21st Century" Prof. T. Schadla-Hall (Reader, Institute of Archaeology, University College of London)
14:15-15:00	2nd Keynote Speech "Why Indigenous Archaeology is Important as a Means of Changing Relationships between Archaeologists and Indigenous Communities" Prof. J. Watkins (Director, Native American Studies, University of Oklahoma)
15:00-15:15	Break
15:15-15:45	Ainu Mythology Storytelling "Fox in Shichigoroza" K. Yuki (Ainu Art Project)
15:45-16:50	Panel Discussion Panelists: T. Schadla-Hall, J. Watkins, K. Yuki, M. Okada (Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies) Moderator: H. Kato, Prof. T. Yamamura (Asso. Prof., Hokkaido University Center for Advanced Tourism Studies)

DAY 2 October 14th Doors open at 9:30am

10:00	Intention of the Sessions T. Yamamura
10:20-12:20	Session 1 "Potential of Public Archaeology" Chair: Lecturer C. Ellick (Native American Studies, University of Oklahoma)
	1. "Challenge for Public Archaeology in <i>Shiretoko</i> , the World Natural Heritage Site, Japan" R. Iwanami (Hokkaido University Graduate School of Letters)
	2. "Past and Present, People and Material, the Future of Heritage Management" Y. Hirasawa (Hokkaido University Graduate School of Letters)
	3. "Heritage and Tourism as 'Community' Resource" H. Yoshihara (Biratori Ainu Policy Promotion section, Cultural Environment Conservation Research Office)
	4. "Conducting Heritage Tour based on the Cultural Environment Conservation Research" T. Nagano, M. Kimura, S. Kawashima (Biratori Ainu Policy Promotion section, Cultural Environment Conservation Research Office)
	Summary of the Session 1
12:20-13:30	Lunch Break
13:30-16:25	Session 2 "Challenge for Heritage Tourism" Chair: T. Yamamura
	1. "Heritage in <i>Sapporo</i> : a Case-study on <i>Hiragishi</i> Heritage Trail" K. Kadowaki (Sapporo Branch, The Ainu Association of Hokkaido)
	2. "My Approach to Ainu Heritage Tourism" K. Harada (Member of Team Nikaop, Hunpe Sisters)
	3. "Trial Heritage Trail in <i>Asahikawa</i> " T. Nakai (Technical assistant of Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies)
	4. "Toward Making Heritage Trial in <i>Mashike</i> Region" K. Kadowaki (The Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture)
	5. "What we should aim at in the Heritage Tourism? : Study from Okinawan Practices" Y. Takasaki (Hokkaido University Graduate School of Letters)
	Summary of the Session 2 and Panel Discussion Panelists: K. Kadowaki, K. Harada, T. Nakai Moderator: T. Yamamura, Y. Takasaki
16:30-16:45	Overview of the Symposium "Synergism among Public Archaeology, Indigenous Archaeology and Heritage Tourism" M. Okada
16:45	Closing Remarks H. Kato

Organizer: Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies

Co-Organizer: Hokkaido University Center for Advanced Tourism Studies

Under the Auspices of: Sapporo City, Hokkaido Government Board of Education,
Sapporo City Board of Education



北海道大学サステナビリティ・ウィーク 2012
Hokkaido University Sustainability Weeks 2012

2. Why Indigenous Archaeology is Important as a Means of Changing Relationships between Archaeologists and Indigenous Communities

Joe Watkins¹, George Nicholas²

1. Introduction

“Indigenous archaeology” is an alternate means of conducting archaeology. It can be conceived of as a response to traditional Western scientific approaches and the impact of colonialism in archaeology, as well as to the interests and needs of Indigenous peoples themselves. Indigenous archaeology reflects a broadening and restructuring of existing theory and practice, to make the discipline more relevant and satisfying to descendant communities. As a discipline, Indigenous archaeology examines issues relating to identity and ethnicity, the nature of knowledge, the flow of benefits derived from archaeological research, the indivisibility of tangible and intangible heritage, and different ways of knowing the world. Depending upon who is involved and in what context, Indigenous archaeology may be as much about the recovery of objects and information about past lifeways as it is about the sociopolitics of archaeology. It can also be as much about community involvement as it is about the decisions and choices of the people involved. As such, it is very much a multi-faceted and reflexive endeavor in which Indigenous epistemologies intersect with archaeological practice in sometimes controversial, frequently challenging, but always enlightening ways.

2. Historical Background

The concept of Indigenous archaeology is relatively recent, although there is some overlap with long-standing attempts towards archaeology’s more open engagement with its various publics and constituents. The earliest known use of the term referred simply to the Indigenous (vs. European) component of a North American archaeological site (Dewhirst 1980), which is coincidentally the primary way the term is still used in Australia. The term was not used with some consistency in its modern connotations until the late 1990s, with George Nicholas and Thomas Andrews’ reference to “archaeology with, for, and by Indigenous peoples” in 1997. It was subsequently popularized by the publication of Watkins’ book *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice* in 2000, which critically explored late 20th

¹ Director at Native American Studies, University of Oklahoma (at the time)

² Professor at Simon Fraser University, Director of IPinCH (Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage)

century relations between archaeologists and Native Americans, particularly in the context of reburial, repatriation and cultural resource management. More recently, in 2008, George Nicholas offered the first full definition, which is (in part) “Indigenous archaeology is an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community–originated or –directed projects, and related critical perspectives.” Indigenous archaeology has now become a common–enough practice to warrant frequent mention in archaeology textbooks, despite the fact that some critics, Indigenous or otherwise, dismiss it as political posturing (e.g. McGhee 2008).

The question of “who is Indigenous” is always situational, necessarily framed in opposition to another entity, which historically has most often been a more dominant, colonizing society. “Indigenous” thus generally refers to the disempowered, disenfranchised or colonized peoples. Arguments can be made that the people of Ireland, China or India, for example, are “Indigenous,” but this falls outside of the realm of Indigenous archaeology as the term is employed here. Interested readers should see Watkins (2005, 430–432) for a more in–depth discussion of this topic.

Indigenous archaeology generally refers to projects and initiatives associated with, and especially those initiated by Aboriginal peoples in the United States, Canada, and Australia, but it also may include others (e.g., African Americans) who might be classified as “descendant communities.” Expressions of Indigenous archaeology also appear widely elsewhere, including in parts of Africa (e.g., South Africa, Kenya), New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, northern Europe, Siberia, and Central and South America (e.g., Gnecco and Ayala 2011; Nicholas 2010). This has created discussion around “Who is ‘Indigenous’?” and why some individuals do not consider themselves as such. In Central America, for example, only a small percentage of the native–born population currently self–identifies as “Indigenous,” clearly reflecting important political and social issues regarding identity and self–representation.

The history of anthropology has been intertwined with the West’s interest/fascination with the “Other,” and foremost here were Indigenous peoples, especially in Africa, the Americas and the Pacific. Many of the first “modern” anthropologists such as Franz Boas, John Wesley Powell, and Frank Cushing, were also directly involved with archaeological pursuits, which led them to work closely with members of American Indian communities in the late 19th through early–to–mid 20th century. Much of the impetus for these studies was aligned with the notion of procuring information before traditional lifeways were lost to “progress” and the ethnographic, archaeological, linguistic and biological data obtained have proved to be of immense value to anthropology. At that time, the community members who helped anthropologists and archaeologists did so primarily as paid or volunteer guides, laborers and so forth. The information from these studies only came to have value to those communities to restore or augment traditional knowledge that no longer flowed from generation to generation by oral histories and

traditional storytelling much later. Nonetheless, Indigenous communities have generally not benefitted very much from these interactions. Furthermore, there was little, if any, opportunity for Indigenous groups to comment on the type of research being conducted on their cultural heritage, or for their involvement in decisions regarding the objects and information obtained. Indeed, throughout the 20th century increasing complaints were raised that anthropology and archaeology were continuing the colonial legacy of earlier times, and that these disciplines were harmful and disturbing to many, and were of little relevance or value to contemporary Indigenous populations.

By the 1960s, the increasing move toward cultural revitalization and politicization, coupled with a rapidly approaching postcolonial, postmodern world order and changing public attitudes, contributed to the emergence of Indigenous archaeology in North America. Indigenous peoples not only demanded restoration of their lands and their rights, but also more control over their own affairs, including those relating to archaeological sites and other aspects of their cultural heritage.

Major changes took place in the relationships between Indigenous peoples and the dominant society within which they existed. In the Americas, demands for tribal recognition, land rights, national sovereignty and/or acceptance of ethnic identity and values were often as much inspired by cultural heritage issues as they were by calls for civil rights, social justice and restitution. In the United States, Vine Deloria, Jr.'s ground-breaking volume *Custer died for your sins* (1969) clearly articulated aspects of Native American dissatisfaction with the way things were, questioning the legitimacy and practice of anthropology and archaeology and the callous treatment of ancient human remains by scholars and museums. Following a decade of growing social and political dissatisfaction, the emergence of the American Indian Movement in the early 1970s brought national attention to many of the concerns of Native Americans, which ranged from issues of poverty, unemployment and living conditions to what was seen as the desecration of ancestral remains and places of cultural significance by both archaeologists and land developers. Increasing political clout and support from a sympathetic public resulted in the passage of federal legislation such as the *American Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* (1975) and the *American Indian Religious Freedom Act* (1978) in the United States. In other parts of the world, comparably significant federal legislation or court rulings on Indigenous rights were passed, such as the 1975 *Treaty of Waitangi Act* in New Zealand, the 1992 *Mabo v Queensland* decision in Australia, and the 1997 *Delgamuukw v Regina* decision in Canada.

3. Major Themes

There have been numerous themes which have arisen in Indigenous Archaeology, but three themes have figured prominently in its emergence: 1) The treatment of ancestral remains (and sacred objects and places); 2) Participation (or not) in archaeological/heritage management; and

3) Cultural heritage and legislative concerns about the ownership of cultural and intellectual property. The discussion that follows only illustrates some examples and is not comprehensive.

3–1. Proper Care of Ancestors and Ancestral Remains

Perhaps the most contentious aspect of archaeology in the view of many Indigenous peoples has been the treatment of human remains and burial sites. In the 1970s, the American Indian Movement and various groups and individuals took direct action against archaeologists investigating human remains, but with little lasting effect. Reburial and repatriation issues subsequently rose to national and international prominence in the 1990s in response to the highly publicized looting of the Slack Farm site in Kentucky (1988) and similar events. The adoption of the Vermillion Accord on Human Remains by the World Archaeological Congress in 1989, and the passage of the *National Museum of the American Indian Act* (1989) and in 1990 of the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA) in the United States directly addressed Indigenous concerns about the treatment of the dead, with scientific values no longer being the primary point of reference.

For perhaps the majority of archaeologists, the reburial and repatriation “controversy” was largely unexpected and caused great consternation and confusion within the discipline. Some very vocally wondered if NAGPRA marked the end of archaeology at the expense of political correctness, while others seemed oblivious to it. In the years following the passage of NAGPRA there was (and continues to be) widespread discussion about the goals and benefits of the scientific quest for knowledge relative to the need of descendant populations to have at least some control of their own heritage. This debate rose to international prominence with the Kennewick Man (the “Ancient One”) court case (1995–2005), which was significant not so much for revealing differences in attitude towards research involving human remains between scholars and descendant communities, but especially so within each of those groups. Over the last decade, much of the rhetoric has softened as cooperative, and in some cases, collaborative projects with Indigenous communities have developed that involve ancestral sites and human remains (and which may include radiocarbon dating and ancient DNA analysis). No less important has been the increased dialogue between archaeologists, between Indigenous peoples and archaeologists, and within Native communities concerning the nature of archaeological research and the questions of “What constitutes ‘heritage’?” and “Who benefits from research?” –an often–challenging discourse but one that always yields valuable (if often unexpected) outcomes.

3–2. Heritage–Related Developments

The care of ancestral sites has figured prominently in both the origins of and goals of Indigenous archaeology. By the mid–1960s, the preservation of archaeological sites was an increasing focus within heritage legislation in North America and elsewhere. Such legislation was a result of broad public values primarily of the dominant culture. It did not address the concerns or desires of the

Indigenous peoples whose ancestors created the vast majority of archaeological sites and who lacked the authority to make decisions about the preservation and management of what they perceived to be their own heritage.

Formal tribal involvement in archaeology in the United States began with the creation of the Zuni Archaeology Program (in 1975) and the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (in 1978). The efforts of these two programs were the first major initiatives to address specific concerns of Indigenous peoples relating to historic preservation and also to provide archaeological training to Native Americans who could be responsible for their own archaeology on their own lands. During the 1980s and 1990s, state government agencies and Indigenous organizations began to establish programs to train community members to monitor archaeology projects. College and university-level archaeology programs provided new opportunities for Indigenous people to gain access to important tools.

In recent years, changes in heritage legislation in North America now require that on some types of projects archaeologists must consult with Indigenous governments and organizations, and to adhere to established protocols and permitting systems for field and research projects in their territory, or for studying human remains. While well-meaning, this consultation is sometimes severely hampered by the limited ability of Indigenous groups to respond to multiple requests to review reports, comment on actions, or even to answer information requests owing to limited human resources and other priorities confronting the community (e.g., inadequate housing, unemployment).

3–3. Access to and Control over Tangible and Intangible Heritage

Throughout the early parts of the 21st century, Indigenous peoples have been able to achieve greater and more meaningful control over tangible and intangible cultural heritage through various avenues, although there have been regular setbacks when legislation has been changed or legal precedents overturned. New or broadened legislation has ensured greater direct Indigenous involvement, such as the requirement set forth by the 1996 *Heritage Conservation Act* to allow First Nations in British Columbia, Canada, to review archaeological permit applications. In the United States, a 1992 amendment to the *National Historic Preservation Act* allowed tribes to establish their own Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, enabling direct tribal involvement in heritage preservation on tribal lands. In 1996 there were only 12 tribes who managed to take advantage of this law; currently there are more than 130.

A larger question involves who has access to, controls, and benefits from information derived from archaeological research and the control of traditional knowledge, especially for Indigenous peoples and other heritage-based communities who have historically had limited control over their heritage. The appropriation, commodification and unwelcome or inappropriate use of objects, images and information relating to artifacts, sites, rock art and other iconography is of great concern to Indigenous peoples, especially those who often do not distinguish between

tangible and intangible heritage, or even between cultural and biophysical heritage. Issues such as the loss of control over proper care of heritage, diminished respect for the sacred, the commercialization of cultural distinctiveness, improper/dangerous uses of special or sacred symbols by the uninitiated, may cause extreme discomfort to individuals, clans and communities. Efforts to exercise control over tangible items define these conflicts less so than divergent views concerning the validity and appropriate applications of knowledge. In the context of evaluating and protecting archaeological and heritage sites, Indigenous archaeology proponents may thus seek criteria for “site significance” different from those of more traditional archaeology policy and practice.

4. Key Issues and Current Debates

Some aspects of Indigenous archaeologies remain controversial, even in jurisdictions (such as the United States, Canada and Australia) where real progress has been made in some sectors. A recent exchange in *American Antiquity* between Robert McGhee (2008, 2010) and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010) and others (e.g., Wilcox 2010) explored issues related to archaeologist’s access to sites, objects and human remains, but focused on McGhee’s arguments about two core issues: 1) Indigenous communities’ power to control access; and 2) The basis on which Indigenous peoples were accorded rights not held by other members of society. McGhee’s concern was that such power could be used against science and, as a result, that society as a whole would be diminished because accounts different from those advanced by Indigenous communities would be suppressed.

This issue concerning access and control of the information will continue to be at the forefront of the discussion of Indigenous Archaeology. Quite often academics feel the desire to maintain control of the information that the public receives about the archaeological past. Many also feel the need to control who tells the story as well as whose story gets told. Additionally, some academicians feel that to allow people whose qualifications are based solely on ethnic or cultural background to set the agenda or to tell the story lessens the academic integrity or threatens the “scientific” aspects of the discipline.

These are important issues with no easy answers, but it appears likely that both groups will struggle for the control of the right to tell a story of the past. What is unfortunate is that these groups often fail to understand that there is no single story of the past, but that multiple stories and multiple perspectives might be equally valid.

A second issue, relating to this, concerns the recognition of descendant communities in the codes of ethics of the main archaeological organizations in North America. The Canadian Archaeological Association’s Principles of Ethical Responsibility, in addition to its ideas of Stewardship, Professional Responsibilities and Public Education and Outreach, explicitly recognizes the need to involve the Indigenous populations of Canada. It recognizes in its “Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples” that consultation

and the involvement of Canada's aboriginal population is necessary for ethical practice. The World Archaeological Congress's Code goes even farther in foregrounding acknowledgement of the rights of Indigenous peoples, and protection for their heritage in the conduct of archaeology. The Society for American Archaeology's Code of Ethics, on the other hand, does not explicitly mention Native American populations (except in relation to Public Outreach and Education) in any principles relating to ethical conduct. Only in its Accountability principle is there an implied relationship relating to Indigenous peoples and the sites of their ancestors. The recognition (or not) of the historical connections of descendant communities to the archaeological record, and the rights and responsibilities embedded in those connections, continues to much debated in the context of Indigenous archaeology.

5. Changing Relationships

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's 1999 landmark *Decolonizing Methodologies* book raised more awareness among academics – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike – about the agendas that have underlain the discipline of anthropology and its relationships with the Indigenous populations of the world. Her argument is that the Western way of teaching instills Western concepts of knowledge as the only “valid” way of knowing. This creates a situation where individuals without connections to materials are privileged over those with alternative backgrounds of understanding merely because seemingly “objective” ways of approaching research are viewed as somehow better than other ways of approaching research.

The rise of Indigenous studies programs in North America and other formerly colonized nations has also increased the reach of programs such as Indigenous Archaeology. The availability of college-educated individuals provides not so much “experts” on Indigenous ideas and issues as much as it provides individuals who possess the sorts of credentials recognized by administrators outside or the community. In this regard, the development of Indigenous Studies programs provide more nuanced perspectives that can influence a wider body of students than previously; the individuals from Indigenous backgrounds who attend such programs are exposed to role models and ideas that expand upon Western concepts and integrate alternative means of understanding and talking about things under discussion.

6. Conclusions and Future Directions

Sonya Atalay has written: “Stated simply, archaeology is one of many tools utilized for understanding the past. However, when placed in its proper historical context, it is clear that the discipline of archaeology was built around and relies upon Western knowledge systems and methodologies, and its practice has a strongly colonial history” (2006, 280).

There is the outstanding question of whether Indigenous archaeology should be distinct from “mainstream” archaeology or part of a more inclusive, less balkanized archaeology. Indigenous archaeology is today recognized as a distinct entity, even though it remains on the margins of

“mainstream” archaeology. It offers a safe haven for those who promote strategies and perspectives influenced by Indigenous epistemologies and largely postprocessual methodologies. However, this positioning serves to lessen the contributions of Indigenous archaeology to the discipline, and ghettoizes it, so that its practitioners frequently feel that the majority of archaeologists pay no attention to their concerns or conclusions. Indigenous archaeology will likely continue to have a dualistic presence.

Indigenous archaeology grew out of efforts by marginalized peoples worldwide to challenge the imposition of archaeology on their lives and heritage. It has in a relatively short time developed into a distinct body of methods and theory(ies) designed to promote ethical and inclusive practices that will further broaden and democratize the discipline, and stimulate new ideas that will significantly increase the scope of archaeology as a socially relevant, responsible, satisfying and still scientifically sound discipline.

A growing number of archaeologists now make concerted efforts to include Indigenous perspectives within archaeological practice and interpretation. Initial volumes that tried to include Indigenous voices such as Nicholas and Andrews (1997), Swidler, et al. (1997), and Dongoske, et al. (2000) were generally collections of individual perspectives. More recent publications such as volumes edited by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008), Kerber (2006), and Silliman (2008) describe interactions between archaeologists and Indigenous groups and offer examples of active collaboration between archaeologists and under-represented Indigenous populations indicative of the expanding approach to involving communities at the very heart of archaeological practice.

More recently, there have been a growing number of practitioners of Indigenous archaeology who are reaching out to others as a means of influencing the direction that archaeology is taking. While not all those who practice Indigenous archaeology are themselves Indigenous, the increase in the number of Indigenous people attaining training in archaeology (experiential as well as academic) has led to a growing number of individuals who are trained to be able to integrate Western scientific methodologies with an understanding of Indigenous concepts about the natural world and humanity’s place within it. These people are now aided by the immediacy of contact and knowledge exchange through the internet and electronic listservs that allow knowledge and experiences to be shared on a previously-unknown global scale and with previously unknown speed of information dissemination.

The participation of Native American and First Nations peoples in the process of archaeology and increasingly in setting its direction has been a crucial step in helping archaeology move beyond the legacy of colonialism by ensuring that the participation of descendant communities in meaningful and satisfying ways. As a result of what has now been achieved, we can no longer refer to “Indigenous peoples and archaeologists” without acknowledging that the latter category now includes a growing number of Indigenous archaeologists and archaeologists of Indigenous heritage in North America and elsewhere.

In addition, others are contributing to alleviating some of the problems related to Indigenous intellectual property (IP) issues inherent in archaeology and the study of the past. Interdisciplinary groups such as the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH online at <http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/>) are working with Indigenous groups to document the diversity of principles, interpretations, and actions arising in response to IP issues in cultural heritage worldwide; to analyze the many implications of these situations; to generate more robust theoretical understandings, and good practices; and to make these findings available to stakeholders—from Indigenous communities to professional organizations to government agencies—to develop and refine their own theories, principles, policies and practices. IPinCH working groups are addressing numerous issues concerning cultural heritage relating to such things as access to and protection of petroglyphs, cultural tourism, and the access to and the control of the records which have been collected about culture heritage, for example.

As more and more anthropologists and archaeologists become involved in endeavors such as this, more of the gulfs between researchers and Indigenous populations will lessen. Until then, approaches to interpreting the past such as those practiced within Indigenous Archaeology will continue to expand the perspectives of archaeology.

Authors note: This paper was presented by Watkins at the *Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Potential in Hokkaido* International Symposium at Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan, in October 2012. Portions of this article are based upon several earlier publications by the authors. We encourage readers to consult the sources listed in the References.

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3. Public Archaeology: Cross Comparisons of Growth and Recommendations for the Future

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1. Public Archaeology in the United States

The origins of public archaeology (archaeological education and public outreach) vary by country and continent, its inspiration conceived based on local need and interest. In the United States, the public outreach and education movement began in the late 1980s in response to a need to find a solution to stem looting and vandalism on archaeological sites. While legislation such as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended in Section 1(b) part (4) states that “the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, esthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans”, it is the through the dedication of individual archaeologists and cultural resource managers that public outreach actually happens (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2009).

The archaeological education uprising in the U.S. has taken place at governmental, professional organization, and cultural resource management levels. At the federal level, agencies within the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior have developed programs such as the USDA Forest Service program Passport in Time (<http://www.passportintime.com>) and DOI Bureau of Land Management program Project Archaeology (<http://projectarchaeology.org/>) to involve and educate the public about the archaeological process, cultural history, and the importance of preservation. Federal, state, and municipal governmental agencies such as individual state Departments of Transportation regularly require cultural resource management (CRM) companies to include public outreach within their proposals and scopes of work. State-based agencies, like State Historic Preservation Offices, sponsor archaeology day, week, and month-long events, and professional archaeological organizations and societies maintain public education committees that cross-cut the boundaries of individual employers.

Also in the U.S., state-based and national professional archaeological organizations established education committees that developed educational materials and workshops for teachers, created guidelines for the creation of archaeological education materials, developed a Boy Scouts of America Merit Badge in archaeology, and worked with state and municipal governmental organizations, CRM professionals, and others to provide information to the public.

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In 2011, the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), an avocational archaeological association, established a National Archaeology Day. This year, to cross-cut the international border with Canada, the AIA has deemed October 13, 2013, International Archaeology Day (Archaeological Institute of America 2013).

2. Public Archaeology in Hokkaido

One of the Characteristics (mission objectives) of the Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies (CAIS) at Hokkaido University is public outreach (Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies N/D). Since its start, CAIS has attempted to satisfy its commitment to public outreach and public involvement in a number of ways. As part of its programming, I participated in the first public oriented symposium, “The Ainu Culture Promotion Law: Its Past, Present, and Future” in December 2007. Since that first presentation, CAIS’s efforts geared to the public have grown exponentially including additional public symposia, the development of international archaeology field programs, archaeological displays and presentations in the Shiretoko National Park visitor center, community participation days on-site, Ainu-led Caisi site tours, the participation and cooperation with the heritage tour program, children’s programming, and Ainu community involvement in the towns in which archaeological work is being conducted.

On an individual basis, CAIS’s dedication to public inclusion, public information sharing, and public outreach program development from a University program seems unparalleled. However, this is only one program. For public archaeology, as defined here, to become firmly embedded in the field of archaeology and for a change in the understanding of the multi-cultural heritage of Japan to take place, archaeologists in Japan will need to find a way to further integrate public outreach and education into their professional ethics.

Individual archaeologists, as scientists, should not do this on their own, but should take a more inclusive approach to interpreting culture, especially in the case of working with descendent communities such as the Ainu. As archaeologists, we are able to understand the past from a particular perspective, one that is told from material culture and data. To broaden the picture, one must have an understanding of the stories behind the objects, how they were made, the importance of the material they were made from, and the traditions behind their production and their use. This information is not readily available from the archaeological record, but it is available from ethnographic information and from the descendants themselves. This inclusionary approach has also been initiated at CAIS.

During the summer of 2008, I began teaching a workshop for Hokkaido University archaeological field school students, which then became the base of a workshop hosted for the public at Hokkaido University. The workshop introduces a program I created entitled, “Parallel Perspectives” which provides a mechanism for incorporating archaeological knowledge and traditional cultural knowledge in the interpretation of the past. In Parallel Perspectives, archaeologists, anthropologists, and descendants of the cultures being interpreted each have an

individual voice in that interpretation. Stories are presented side-by-side, not retold from a scientific perspective or by the dominant society. One example of how Parallel Perspectives has had an effect took place during the 2008 workshop for educators hosted at Hokkaido University. While participants experimented with making cordage and saw slides of several ways that cordage was traditionally used by Ainu peoples, a discussion took place between archaeologists, educators, museum specialists, and Ainu participants not only about using this teaching technique in classrooms and museums, but about other ways that cordage was used and the stories relating to the objects.

3. Platform for Growth

Support for public archaeology and the increased awareness of archaeology, cultural history, and preservation in the U.S. has been growing and strengthening for over 20 years. While no formal survey was conducted prior to initiating new programming, in 1999, Harris Interactive was contracted through joint sponsorship of Federal agencies and professional archaeological organizations to conduct a survey of the public's impressions of archaeology (Ramos and Duganne 2000). Much of the direction that has occurred has been shaped by this survey.

Prior to increasing public archaeology efforts, a regional or national survey of the Japanese people to establish a base-line of understanding regarding the public's understanding of indigenous people's history, life and modern issues, should be undertaken. This could be designed as a longitudinal study that could measure the effect of increased public outreach efforts at intervals of specified number of years.

4. Additional Recommendations

Drawing from what has been developed by CAIS to date, the following ideas are submitted as potential mechanisms for increasing public outreach and community-based archaeological programs:

1. Increase communication beyond the boundaries of a university setting by hosting symposia in locations where the public is most likely to attend.
2. Further incorporate Parallel Perspectives as a mechanism for including the archaeological and traditional cultural voice in the interpretation of the past.
3. Host symposia or training workshops at Japanese archaeological society meetings that teach how to do indigenous and community based archaeology and public outreach.
4. Establish a National Japanese Archaeology Day or participate in the International Archaeology Day established by the AIA to encourage professional archaeologists to participate in and host

public archaeology programs.

5. Increase the inclusion of public outreach and education on, or related to, current archaeological projects by having the professional archaeological organizations in Japan examine the possibility of adding an ethics statement relating to sharing knowledge with the public to any existing codes of ethics.
6. Encourage the development of indigenous and community-based archaeology research models, by encouraging the professional archaeological organizations in Japan to add an ethics statement relating to indigenous and community-based archaeology to their code of ethics.
7. Increase community interest and involvement by encouraging high school-aged Ainu students to become involved. Develop an archaeological internship training program or an archaeological certificate program developed by the professional archaeological society that would provide basic training and understanding of the fields of archaeology and community approaches to, and potential benefits of, archaeology.

5. Conclusions

The history of public archaeology and indigenous/community-based archaeology in Japan is brief, but due to the efforts of CAIS, in many ways, it has gained momentum much more quickly than through any U.S. university-based program. Currently, much of the public outreach and work with the Ainu within Japan is undertaken by CAIS. If public archaeology and indigenous and community-based archaeology are to increase within Japan, additional efforts on the part of professional archaeologists, agencies, and organizations will need to be made. That said, if CAIS continues to maintain its dedication to public outreach at the same rate that it has since its inception, change within the discipline of archaeology within Japan will soon surpass the efforts elsewhere in the archaeological profession.

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Summary: Turning Monuments into Discourse Spaces

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Two main challenges were faced during the four-year period of the project: 1) the development of a program featuring the involvement of the Ainu and other communities, and 2) the creation of resources from aspects of historical and cultural heritage.

The project mainly involved the use of local historical and cultural heritage in the forms of conventional historical and archaeological resources. As this heritage is part of the history of Hokkaido's long-term Ainu residents, we wanted to avoid adding color to it with conventional researcher evaluation/interpretation and sending out one-sided information to people in local communities to be handed down to future generations. This was a shared understanding among the members of the project team when the initiative was launched. One of the things Hokkaido is known for is the coexistence of various communities, as pointed out in this report's papers. Accordingly, the preservation and utilization of the Ainu historical and cultural heritage require collaboration with local non-Ainu communities in addition to liaison with Ainu people. In particular, in order to preserve and utilize historical and cultural heritage, local communities must have a common understanding of it and a shared recognition of its value. In this context, the development of a method to achieve such shared understanding and recognition was needed.

We selected heritage tourism and community archaeology for the creation of cultural resources from historical and cultural heritage. Both fields are relatively young and require strong ties with local communities.

As the project proceeded, experience highlighted the importance of turning monuments into discourse spaces in order to change how the value of historical and cultural heritage is conveyed (i.e., the method of accessing value) in the fields of heritage tourism and community archaeology so that tourists and other related parties can share this value. This has also been a topic of discussion in heritage tourism at UNESCO and ICOMOS. That is, if tourists are to truly understand the essence and importance of historical and cultural heritage through tourism, and if they are to appreciate the significance of preserving and handing it down to future generations, then mere access to monuments (constituting the physical outermost surface of heritage) and

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intellectual information (through guidebooks and other media) is clearly insufficient. Tourists must gain a detailed understanding of the history, lifestyles and worldviews associated with cultural heritage from information provided by related parties and develop a sense of respect, closeness and empathy for such considerations. That is, if the spaces and monuments viewed by tourists are themselves seen as media, the stories told there will take on added significance and the content presented there will become an essential part of travel packages.

Academic discussions based on book knowledge alone often fail to incorporate this point. However, the project's extensive work at historical and cultural heritage sites highlighted the issue as a practical consideration and provided general pointers for the direction of future efforts. This can be seen as the greatest contribution of the project.

This report outlines the efforts of young project participants based on less mature methods, and highlights the results obtained. The achievements are still in their early stages and room for sophistication remains, but the personal connections developed through the project are expected to serve as a stepping stone toward the next stage.

Although people are naturally attracted by the magnetic draw of historical and cultural heritage sites, discourse filled with a tranquil strength is needed for more effective utilization of such locations. The deep resonance found in tales told by cultural raconteurs such as Tlingit storyteller Bob Sam is also felt in many Hokkaido monuments. In future work, our hope is to secure the involvement of all parties concerned as we continue our efforts to turn monuments into discourse spaces.

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Ainu Motif

Traditional Ainu clothes and other artifacts to be worn have Ainu motif that were embroidered and patched cloth. The Ainu have believed that patterns on the cuffs and hems of clothes prevent evil spirits from entering through those openings so that Ainu women embroidered clothes for entire family.

(Cover motif designed and expounded by Kozue Kadowaki)