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Masanori Nagaoka

Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia

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ISSN 1861-6623 ISSN 2192-4910 (electronic)
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology
ISBN 978-3-319-42045-5 ISBN 978-3-319-42046-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016946976

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface

Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a global heritage discourse of an enlarged value system emerged. This discourse embraced issues such as cultural landscape, living history, intangible values, vernacular heritage, and urban landscapes with community involvement. The early 1990s saw a move against the European-dominated discourse of heritage as well as the concept of authenticity in the World Heritage system and other European-oriented classifications. The Asian experience in heritage discourse has begun to have a significant impact on the European standard. For example, the 1994 Nara document articulated a developing Asian approach to authenticity, recognizing ways and means to preserve cultural heritage with community participation and various interpretations of heritage, many of which were contrasted to those existing in Europe. Additionally, in the 1990s, there was a gradual recognition of the concept of cultural landscape, which differed both within Asia and between Asia and Europe. These different ideas are evident in the case of the Borobudur Temple and its 1991 nomination to the World Heritage List.

During my assignment as Head of the Culture Unit at the UNESCO Office in Jakarta, from September 2008 to June 2014, I realized that the Borobudur management concept, and its implementation in the 1970s and 1980s, was an innovative approach in Indonesia's heritage discourse, representing a shift away from the colonial era material-centric approaches influenced by the Netherlands. Initiated by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in the 1970s, it was a large-scale program related to cultural heritage preservation and management coming out of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA).

The heritage management approach at Borobudur, in the 1970s and 1980s, was not necessarily contrary to European concepts. Rather, intricate factors became entangled in the creation and execution of the Borobudur heritage management; this involved a local value-based approach influenced by the concept of Japanese historical natural feature management, during the postcolonial period, with a conservation ethic strongly influenced by more than three and half centuries of Dutch colonization. Without thorough research into this historical account, and an analysis of the facts, a misleading interpretation of heritage management concepts at Borobudur would occur in the JICA Master Plan.

On 11 February 2009 I first met Yasuhiro Iwasaki, former director of Japan City Planning, at a coordination meeting in Jakarta. We spoke about the enhancement of effective management for the Borobudur Temple Compounds. This meeting was organized by the Indonesian authorities and UNESCO, with the goal of evaluating the then spontaneous development sprawl in and around the Borobudur Archeological Park.

One of the key items included in the meeting's agenda was a review of the 1979 JICA Master Plan. Yasuhiro Iwasaki, who was involved in the process of implementation of the 1979 JICA Master Plan between 1980 and 1988, was invited to the meeting. His elaboration of the JICA Plan, including the concept, vision, development, conservation methodology, policy, and strategy of preservation and conservation of the Borobudur Temple property—as well as its surrounding areas—surpassed my expectations. His clarification of the JICA Master Plan helped me to overcome my stereotyped view, shared by many critics, of the Borobudur JICA Master Plan.

During the meeting, I observed that the Indonesian national officials in attendance also had an inaccurate understanding on the recommendations of the JICA Master Plan. This may have been a chief reason why the JICA Plan gradually evolved into its current incarnation and that the change in management and administration in the heritage management at Borobudur occurred over the last 35 years.

The JICA Master Plan was prepared in the 1970s, based on the then existing condition surrounding the Borobudur Temple and wider landscapes of the region, including Central Java. Therefore, it may be inappropriate to apply the JICA Plan to the improvement of the site situation; however, it is important to understand the background of the JICA Plan, as well as its recommendation, for our reference.

Between 2009 and 2015, I had a number of meetings with Iwasaki, who resided in both Indonesia and Japan. This was a unique experience for me, listening to him speak not only about the concept, spirit, and nature of the JICA Plan, and the actions involved in the protection and management of the wider landscape surrounding the Borobudur Temple, but also about vibrant stories which have never been recorded or documented in the Plan. I realized that both phases of the creation of the JICA Master Plan, in the 1970s, as well as its implementation in the 1980s, played a significant role in illustrating a new approach to heritage management discourse at Borobudur. It also attempted to support communities' involvement in protective measures for the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding areas. Furthermore, while the JICA project was the first large-scale attempt regarding the preservation of cultural heritage in the history of Japan's ODA programs, it was also an extensive cultural heritage preservation project in Indonesia, occurring prior to the country's national legislation on the protection of cultural properties, including a management system to maintain wider natural settings and landscapes surrounding cultural heritage properties. Hence, I understood his interest in these factors, which should be recorded and raised in a scientific manner as relevant to an Indonesian historical account for further discussion among heritage conservation practitioners and academics.

Considering ongoing international debates on European and Asian approaches to heritage discourse, preceding heritage studies on Borobudur management as well as my experience in Indonesia between 2008 and 2014, the main question my research

sought to answer was: *How have the management of the Borobudur historical monument and its landscape developed since the 1970s, reaching current exclusive national legislative framework.*

Contrary to the monument-centric approach, the concept of the JICA Master Plan, published in 1979, attempts to preserve cultural landscape with community participation, arguing that the landscape with natural systems has formed a distinctive character and has impacted the interaction between individuals and their environment for some time. This concept sharply contrasts with that of the European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage.

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee—at its 16th session in Santa Fe, USA—acknowledged that cultural landscape represents the "combined works of nature and man [*sic*]," designated in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention. This Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognize and argue for protection of cultural landscape as a category on the World Heritage List through the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (OG). Prior to this movement, the JICA Master Plan proposed a re-conceptualization of heritage, with the idea of returning to local understanding and moving away from Eurocentric notions of cultural heritage. The Plan helped to expand the definition of heritage value from the monument to the wider landscape in Central Java, including the intrinsic linkage between nature and culture as well as local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement (Nagaoka, 2015). The JICA Plan also aimed to "refine the definition of cultural heritage in Indonesia as the Plan developed the concept emphasizing tangible and intangible heritage as an integral part of culture, giving heritage a function and meaning for the community" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 5). This concept can now be observed in the current heritage law of the Republic of Indonesia—*Law Number 11 of the Year 2010 concerning Cultural Property,* whose Article 82 of the Law highlights that the "revitalization of culture property shall provide benefit to improve quality of life of the community and to maintain the characteristic of local culture" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010).

My research had following objectives:

1. To elucidate a chronological account of the evolution of the Borobudur management plan and its system in the 1970s and 1980s through a detailed study of the JICA Plan, relating three other JICA Plan documents;
2. To examine how the World Heritage system has influenced the management concepts and practices at Borobudur in the 1980s and 1990s, the time of the site's nomination for inscription on the World Heritage List in 1991 and the country's heritage discourse from the 1990s onwards; and,
3. To identify the similarities and differences between the JICA Master Plan and the newly adopted Borobudur Presidential Regulation in 2014 and the country's first Spatial Plan at Borobudur, on which work began in 2007.

My research built on both an extensive literature review and quantitative data analysis for the identification of factors and elements affecting the country's policy on heritage management.

With respect to the literature review, the research consisted of five aspects:

1. Examination of previous and ongoing theoretical discussions and debates around the ideas of European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage. These can be found in numerous scientific publications and academic journals.
2. Review of the various Asian perceptions of heritage, which "may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture" (ICOMOS, 1994), while examining the Japanese national legislation on the protection of cultural properties. This was developed in the nineteenth century.
3. Examination of the historical account of Indonesian heritage discourse as well as a series of related documents and plans for the preservation of the Borobudur Temple and its landscape, created during the 1970s. An example of such documents includes contracts between the Governments of Indonesia and Japan, the Borobudur Park management authorities, and the international campaign for the safeguarding of Borobudur (Safeguarding Borobudur Project), unpublished documents from Japanese specialists involved in the Safeguarding Borobudur Project and the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s. Archives are stored at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo; this archive contains vast documentation concerning both projects.
4. Examination of a number of UNESCO's documents regarding the protection and management of the World Heritage Convention in order to identify existing inconsistencies.
5. Examination of extensive documentation generated both at the international level and under the World Heritage system. This documentation mostly comes from the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies, the World Heritage Centre, and the UNESCO office in Jakarta. This applies at the national level, under the Indonesian authorities (in particular the Presidential Decree), including Indonesia's national laws and charters and any official and unpublished documents concerning the Borobudur Temple management.

With regard to the quantitative data analysis, semi-structured questionnaires were distributed to the local community of Borobudur. Additionally, one-to-one interviews were conducted with key experts in Indonesia and Japan, as well as with representatives of the local community at Borobudur, who were involved in the planning and implementing phases of the JICA Master Plan. These interviews were used in order to support and clarify secondary data collected throughout this research.

UNESCO conducted research in all 20 subdistrict villages surrounding the Borobudur Temple in the Magelang regency in 2012 and 2013. This is due to each site having its own unique characteristics and the specific patterns of relationships that people establish with the place in which they live. Contextual research emphasizes understanding the point of view of local villagers regarding their social, cultural, economic, and political environment. Recognition of this study as a contextual one was essential in carrying out its first objective: investigating a shift in heritage and landscape management, at Borobudur, from a community point of view.

Furthermore, the research result included the integration of secondary source, such as analysis of data collected from visitors and the local community in 2012 (through surveys and focus group interviews) as well as knowledge from my work experience both *in situ* and in Indonesia. In addition, this marginalization of data analysis reflects interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies, which relate to the fields of heritage discourse, tourism, socioeconomics, and social-sciences. Consequently, the integrated approach embraced in this study enabled the community's view about the current heritage discourse at Borobudur to be presented.

There are a plethora of existing studies on the Borobudur Temple. These focus on restoration, archeology, architecture, conservation, art history, tourism and development, and the impact on local people as a result of the conservation intervention at the Borobudur Temple in the twentieth century (Errington, 1993; Chihara, 1986; Fatimah & Kanki, 2012; Kanki et al., 2015; Kausar, 2010; Soekmono, 1976, 1983; Tanudirjo, 2013; Wall & Black, 2004; Yasuda, et al. 2010). However, there had not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of landscape management at Borobudur. My work has attempted to fill this gap through a historical account and analysis of the Borobudur landscape plan and its implementation since the 1970s.

A number of scholars (Dahles, 2000; Hampton, 2005; Kausar, 2010; Timothy, 1999; Wall and Black, 2004; Wiffen, 2006) have offered criticisms of the process involved in the creation of the JICA Master Plan. Their principal critique is that the Plan adopted a top-down approach without knowledge of the area's values and culture and without the input of the local population. However, these studies did not thoroughly examine the four consecutive collections of Borobudur management plan documents—these were essential not only to the JICA Master Plan (1978–1979) but also to the contiguous three JICA study reports concerning a wider area management at Borobudur: the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Feasibility Study (1975–1976), as well as the implementation document entitled the Updated Former Plans and Schematic Design for Borobudur and Prambanan National Archeological Parks Project (1981–1983) (Fig. 1). Furthermore, although their critiques speak to the research results regarding restricting the community's voices with regard to the JICA Master Plan, none of these have reached the major players in the JICA Master Plan study team members or the Indonesian government officials who created and executed the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s and 1980s.

This research has primarily drawn on four series of documents and plans for the preservation of the Borobudur landscape created and implemented during the 1970s and 1980s. This study also draws on a sequence of one-to-one interviews with key Indonesian and Japanese experts involved in the planning and implementing process of the JICA Master Plan. Moreover, the study examined documents from Japanese specialists involved in the Safeguarding Borobudur Project and the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s. After these individuals' passing in 1997 and 2001 respectively, the families of Dr. Daigoro Chihara and Dr. Masaru Sekino, who both led the JICA Study Team in the 1970s, donated their personal archives to the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo. This archive contains their

entire documentation concerning both projects, including personal communication memos, unpublished reports, draft restoration plans, meeting minutes, correspondence with the Indonesian authorities and UNESCO, and references, photos and scientific papers delivered at a number of international symposia in the 1970s and 1980s. The study also introduces the unpublished personal document of Yasutaka Nagai, who led the JICA study team as its planning coordinator from 1973 to 1980, with a view to clarifying how the concept of an integrated zoning system was created and evolved throughout the four subsequent JICA Plans in the 1970s.

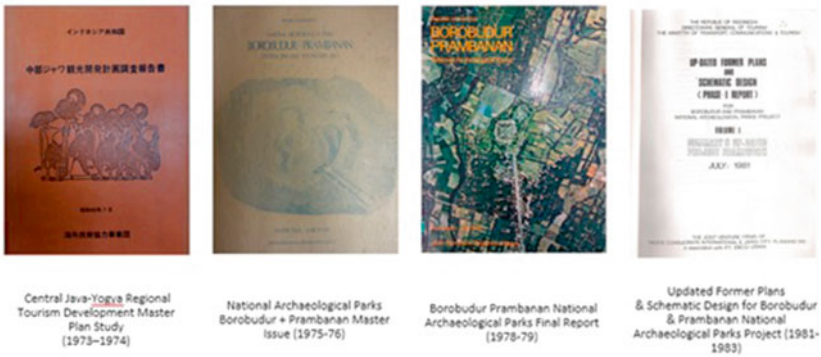

Fig. 1 A series of JICA Studies

This study aims to contribute to the growing literature about management concepts and practices surrounding spatial zoning approaches at Borobudur proposed by the JICA Plan, while providing a holistically detailed historical account of the evolution of the Borobudur management plan since the 1970s. While documentation of the cultural landscape approach in the Southeast Asian World Heritage setting has received a lot of attention recently, there has not been a lot of research into the World Heritage sites in the region in order to clarify how different cultural locations might shed light on improved management. This work aims to provide useful empirical material about the way in which World Heritage properties might be managed.

This book is organized in five chapters. Chapter 1 includes a general introduction to Borobudur and its surrounding areas, including historical setting, geographical features, its discovery in the 1900s, and restoration movements in the twentieth century A.D. The chapter will also include an overview of academic Borobudur studies conducted since the nineteenth century and information about the current condition of the Borobudur Temple.

Chapter 2 introduces the heritage management discourse of Borobudur in the 1970s. The three JICA Plans were consecutively created from 1973 to 1979. My research clarifies the differences between the European and Asian theoretical and

practical understanding of heritage, in particular regarding cultural landscape. The chapter also clarifies how the comprehensive legal framework in Japan, which aims to protect cultural properties and their wider settings, was developed through Japanese heritage laws. This Japanese heritage discourse has influenced the concept of the JICA Plan, which aimed to expand and reinforce the existing protection system at Borobudur and correspond to the society's requirements.

Chapter 3 provides a historical account of the implementation phase of the JICA Master Plan in the 1980s. This chapter analyzes ways in which the JICA Plan attempted to explore and refine heritage value and its management, promoting recognition of buffer zones as a tool not only to protect the property of historical monuments but also to interpret the values of the surrounding areas and strengthen the bond between people and heritage. This chapter also clarifies how the early World Heritage system has influenced the concepts, practices, and legislative measures of Indonesia's heritage management at Borobudur.

Chapter 4 discusses current heritage discourse in Indonesia approximately 35 years after the Park Project completion, which saw a change in the definition of "heritage value" as well as adoption of a wider cultural landscape concept with regard to Borobudur. This chapter attempts to elucidate the similarities and differences between the JICA Master Plan and the country's Spatial Plan at Borobudur. It also will attempt to identify the geographical change of land use within zone 3 of the JICA Master Plan, which measures approximately 10 km^2 (1000 ha.). This is achieved by comparing data from the 1979 JICA Plan to the survey results carried out by UNESCO in 2009. The chapter also clarifies how a move of community-driven heritage management in the beginning of the twenty-first century was reinforced and promoted by the Indonesian authorities; this concept was vital to the JICA Master Plan. A community-driven tourism initiative has been in place since the 1990s, with local businesses using natural and cultural resources, and authorities in the twenty-first century trying to include community members in heritage management. To explore the natural catastrophic disaster at Borobudur in 2010, analysis of semi-structured questionnaires was employed in 2012 and 2013 within the local community at Borobudur. This chapter aims to elucidate the notion that these factors contributed to an increased awareness of, and pride in, the environmental setting and culture, helping to promote community participation in heritage management and strengthening the bond between heritage and people. A fundamental power shift from the authority-driven heritage discourse to community participation, with regard to wider landscape preservation, was recommended in the JICA Master Plan in 1979.

Chapter 5 concludes with recommendations for the development of wider landscape protection with community-involved initiatives in heritage management for future action, thus helping to enhance community representation in the region.

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Acknowledgements

I am very grateful for the encouragement of Dr. Helaine Silverman, Professor in Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois, Dr. Douglas Comer, Principal, Cultural Site Research and Management, and Dr. Friedrich Lüth, German Archaeological Institute, in seeing the Borobudur manuscript to completion as this volume. I would also like to extend my sincerest appreciation to Ms. Teresa Krauss, the series editor at Springer, who encouraged me to publish this study.

This book is based on my Ph.D. dissertation (August 2015) written at the University of Tsukuba. I wish to thank Dr. Yasufumi Uekita, Professor in World Heritage Studies at the University of Tsukuba, for his support over many years. I also express my appreciation to my other thesis advisors: Dr. Nobuko Inaba, Chair of Master's Program in World Heritage Studies at the University of Tsukuba, Dr. Nobu Kuroda, Professor in the School of Art and Design at the University of Tsukuba, and Dr. Kunihiko Ono, Vice-Rector of Cyber University, for their valuable guidance and critiques.

I conducted fieldwork for some six years at Borobudur, Indonesia, during which time I obtained assistance from many people and institutions. My sincere thanks are also due to my colleagues at the UNESCO office in Jakarta, Indonesia, in particular Andrew Henderson, Consultant for the Culture Unit, as well as Wieske Sapardan, Diana Setiawati, Maria Anggita Kusalasari, and Martin Wills for their support and critical input. Robert Knox, former Keeper of the Department of Asia at the British Museum, has also been a tremendous source of encouragement in my work. I also would like to thank Yasuhiro Iwasaki, Yasutaka Nagai, Makine Kusano, and Kazunori Seki, former JICA Study team members, for all the inspiring discussions we had and for their support in my research and professional work as head of the Culture Unit at UNESCO Office in Jakarta from September 2008 to June 2014.

I would like to particularly thank Nur Rochmat, Hatta Muhammad, Jack Priyantna, Sucoro and Boedi of the Borobudur Community as well as Marsis Sutopo, Director of Borobudur Conservation Office of the Ministry of Education and Culture and his staff, as well as Sudhief Hartasa, Director of Industry, Trade, Cooperation and Small Medium Enterprises Office of Magelang Regency. I am grateful for all their support with the Borobudur case study.

My research perspective has also been sharpened by critiques on early versions of parts of this book from Dr. Laurajane Smith, the late Dr. Ron van Oers, and various colleagues who attended the ICOMOS Scientific Symposia in Paris, France, in 2011; in Beijing, China, in 2012; and in Florence, Italy, in 2014.

In addition, it is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge the support of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko, and National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, who gave me a permission to access to their archives, which made it possible to pursue this study.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents, Noriji and Hiroko Nagaoka, my wife, Masako Nagaoka, and my twin sons, Amon and Togo Nagaoka, who encouraged and supported me during this long journey.

I am most grateful to all of these people.

Masanori Nagaoka

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Abbreviations

BNPB	Indonesian National Disaster Management Agency
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MTCT	Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Tourism
NEDECO	Netherlands Engineering Consultants
OECF	Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund
PTW	PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko
TDC	Netherlands Institute of Tourism Development Consultants, Ltd.
UIS	UNESCO Institute of Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization
UGM	University of Gadjah Mada

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Chapter 1
Historical Setting of Borobudur

1.1 Introduction: Borobudur

The Borobudur Temple was built during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. by the Buddhist Sailendra dynasty (UNESCO, 2014). Founded by a king of the Sailendra dynasty, it was built to honor the glory of both the Buddha and the temple's founder, a Bodhisattva king. The name Borobudur is believed to have been derived from the Sanskrit words *vihara Buddha uhr*, meaning Buddhist monastery on a hill (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2001). The Borobudur Temple was designed in Javanese Buddhist architecture, which blends the Indonesian indigenous cult of ancestor worship and the Buddhist concept of Nirvana (UNESCO, 2014).

The temple is situated in Central Java, which was at the center of Indonesian history in the eighth to tenth centuries, when Hindu-oriented kingdoms were established and Hindu and Buddhist cultures flourished. In this regard, Indian influence can be seen in almost every field at Borobudur, including building, political structure, agriculture, building technology, and other industries (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

The temple also demonstrates the influences of Gupta art, reflecting India's influence on the region, yet there are enough indigenous scenes and elements incorporated, making Borobudur uniquely Indonesian (Phuoc, 2010). The temple consists of six square platforms topped by three circular platforms and is decorated with 2672 relief panels and 504 Buddha statues (Soekmono, 1976). The temple structure consists of three tiers: a pyramidal base with five concentric square terraces, the trunk of a cone with three circular platforms and, at the top, a monumental stupa. The walls and balustrades are decorated with fine low reliefs, illustrating the different phases of the soul's progression toward redemption as well as episodes from the life of Buddha. Around the circular platforms are 72 openwork stupas, each containing a statue of the Buddha (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2001).

The vertical division of the Borobudur Temple into base, body, and superstructure perfectly accords with the conception of the universe according to Buddhist

M. Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2_1

cosmology (UNESCO, 2014), which includes the idea that the universe is divided into three superimposing spheres: *kamadhatu, rupadhatu*, and *arupadhatu*, representing respectively *the sphere of desires, in which* we are bound to our desires, and *the sphere of forms* in which one abandons his desires but is still bound to name and form. The third is *the sphere of formlessness,* where neither name nor form exist. At the Borobudur Temple, the *kamadhatu* is represented by the base, the *rupadhatu* by the five square terraces, and the *arupadhatu* by the three circular platforms as well as the large stupa. The entire structure displays a unique blend of the central ideas of ancestor worship and the idea of a terraced mountain, combined with the Buddhist concept of attaining *Nirvana*.

The temple was used as a Buddhist place of worship from the point of its construction until sometime between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. It was ruled by the Sailendra dynasty and then abandoned (Soekmono, 1976). At the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., due to the political situation in Central Java, divine monuments in this area, including the Borobudur Temple, were neglected and given over to decay. The temple became exposed to volcanic eruptions and other ravages of nature.

1.2 Geographical Features of Borobudur and the Kedu Plains

The Borobudur Temple stands in the Magelang regency, which is the center of the fertile and richly watered Kedu Plains in the midst of the island of Java, flanked to the south by the jagged Menoreh Hills and to the east and north, from Mount Merapi, by a series of volcanic peaks linked by an undulating ridge. This is a bowl-like plain fenced by mountain ranges on practically all sides (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2001, 25). The area's extreme fertility and agricultural-industry related population explain why it is often called the "Garden of Java." The undulating plain is bordered on nearly all sides by rugged mountain ranges; "two sets of active volcanoes soar in the sky: Merapi (2911 m) and the Merbabu (3142 m) in the north-east and Sumbing (3371 m) and the Sindoro (3315 m) in the north-west" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 50). Taylor (2003) describes the whole setting of the Kedu Basin as being:

> … flanked to the south by the jagged Menoreh Hills and to the east and north from Mount Merapi by a series of volcanic peaks linked by an undulating ridge. The whole setting is a gigantic amphitheater with Borobudur standing in the middle on a low hill creating a memorable and evocative effect. The whole landscape of Candi Borobudur itself mirrors the volcanic peaks. The sight of the monument rising out of the landscape is awe-inspiring. Its presence in this landscape suggests an association between the monument and its setting that is palpable and rich in Buddhist meaning with Hindu overtones. (p. 51)

Another significant character of this geological setting is that the monument is situated in a major earthquake zone, which follows the Indian Ocean coasts of Sumatra and Java. Some of the earthquakes are purely local phenomena related to volcanic activity. Others, however, are associated with the major geological structures of the

Indonesian island archipelago and thus represent regional phenomena which may affect extensive areas. Voute (1973) asserts that "Such tectonic earthquakes can attain considerable intensity and may form a serious hazard for the stability of the monument" (p. 115). Historic records mention strong quakes "in 1006, 1549, and 1867 A.D. Since 1900 earthquakes, with an epicenter not far from Borobudur were observed on 15 May 1923, 12 November and 2 December 1924, 27 September 1936, 23 July 1943, and May 1961" (Voute, 1973, 115).

1.3 Discovery of the Borobudur Temple and Scientific Research

The nineteenth century marked the end of a prolonged silence for Borobudur. Its sublime significance attracted many individuals, some of whom made unveiling it the challenge of a lifetime. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles' *The History of Java* (1817), John Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1967), and the Borobudur Monograph by Dr. C. Leemans and J. F. G Brumund are particularly notable. Thanks to C. M. Pleyte, the reliefs of the upper series on the main wall of the first gallery have come to be known as the life of Buddha and conform to the text of the Lalitavistara. Dr. H. Kern's knowledge of the Old Javanese language proved invaluable to this work. A. Foucher should be mentioned for the contribution of better insight into the nature of the whole architecture, and the same applies to Dr. J. L. A Brandes, a well-known archeologist, for his detailed knowledge of Borobudur.

During the brief British administration, under Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Borobudur was re-discovered. In 1815, Raffles (1817) commissioned H.C. Cornelius, an officer of the Royal Engineers, to begin an investigation. According to *The History of Java* (Raffles, 1817), more than two hundred laborers were occupied for forty-five days, felling trees, burning undergrowth and brushwood, and removing the earth under which the Borobudur Temple was entirely buried and hidden. The structure of Borobudur was finally revealed in 1835. A German artist, A Shaefer, first photographed the temple. Later F. C. Wilson was tasked with drawings all the reliefs, which he carried out from 1849 to 1853 with the assistance of Schonberg Mulder (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 47).

An unexpected find was the discovery of the hidden base, by J. W. I Jzerman, in 1885. By partly dismantling the broad base of the monument, reliefs were laid bare (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 47). Between 1890 and 1891, this concealed section was entirely disclosed, photographed by Cephas for documentary purposes, and recovered—this entailed the removal and replacement of approximately 13,000m^3 of stone. This significant aspect of Borobudur, which had been thus far been hidden from view, reflected the sphere of *Desire*. These reliefs appeared to be unfinished, but the inscriptions included instructions for the sculptors. Thus, the period in which the temple was built could be ascertained (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010).

1.4 First and Second Restoration Works of the Borobudur Temple in the Twentieth Century

Neglected and abandoned for almost one thousand years, Borobudur was in ruinous condition when it was rediscovered. Since then, significant effort has been made to preserve it. Many parts of the walls and foundations, especially those of the four lower stages of the north-west, north, and north-eastern aspects were slanted and sagged. Small scale repairs were made on several occasions in the nineteenth century, and various proposals were formulated for conservation measures, such as over-roofing the monument or evacuating the bas-reliefs to a museum; some even suggested abandoning the monument itself (UNESCO, 2014).

Between 1907 and 1911, the first large-scale restoration was carried out by Theodor Van Erp. Although many aspects of the structure were not restored to their original positions, his preliminary restoration work contributed to the preservation of the upper terraces of the structure. Since then, there have been detailed examinations, in particular regular measurements of the walls carried out by the Indonesian Archeological Service, which had full reign of the preservation of historical monuments in Indonesia. The role and responsibility of this service was succeeded by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture in 1957, at which point serious structural instability was observed.

In the 1950s and 1960s, upon receipt of a request from the Indonesian Government, UNESCO organized several expert missions to identify ways to preserve the Borobudur Temple. UNESCO identified the complexity of the issues. The main issue concerned its natural setting and architectural aspect. The monument was built on an unfavorable foundation, which included sloping ground around and over the top of an artificial hill. This resulted in instability, causing stones to gradually slide downward. Furthermore, the monument is located in an earthquake-prone zone, and recurring shocks have dislodged stones and caused cracks and fissures in others. In addition, the edifice had been subject to the damaging rigors of the tropical climate and fluctuations of temperature, which ranges between 17 and 35 Centigrade in any 24-hour period (Leisen, Plehwe-Leisen, Wendler, & Warscheid, 2014). Moreover, the heavy rains had overwhelmed the inadequate drainage system, percolating down into the central core of the temple. The rainwater would wash away the earth and weaken the foundation. As a result, the floors sloped forward; the terrace walls, particularly the lower tier, sagged and tilted precariously, threatening collapse of the entire monument. Moisture on the stones had corroded many of the carved reliefs, cultivating damaging patches of moss and lichen.

At the request of the Government of Indonesia, two Indian archeologists conducted relevant research in 1948. In 1956, at the request of the Government of Indonesia, a Belgian expert came to Indonesia on a UNESCO mission, with a view to carrying out a general investigation of the monument. Further technical advice from C. Voute, a geologist, and B. Groslier, an archeologist, concluded that the only solution to avoiding further decay and preventing loss of the monument was to strengthen the foundations with reinforced concrete slabs and to drain all rain and surface water through underground pipes while preventing seepage of infiltrated

water by inserting filter layers (Voute, 1973). Preparatory work regarding physical conditions of the subsoil, prior to the actual restoration, commenced in 1963. The hill on which Borobudur was constructed, believed to be a natural hill, was in reality artificial, using loamy soil from immediate surroundings mixed with stone and stone chippings (Voute, 1973). Findings indicated that a much more large-scale restoration project and holistic interdisciplinary study would be required. Hence it was eventually decided that the earth-core of the monument would have to be hierologically isolated from the stone masonry. For this purpose, building a new foundation within the temple was proposed. Those specialists involved considered that adequate strengthening of these foundations could only be achieved by constructing concrete slabs, which would spread the weight of the walls and the balustrades over a wide surface. However, it was imperative that the monument maintained a certain amount of flexibility so that it could withstand seismic activity. It was therefore decided that independent ring-like foundations would be constructed under each of the galleries (UNESCO, 2014).

Relevant preparatory work commenced in 1968, in close cooperation with the national officials of the Archeological Institute of Indonesia, Gajah Mada University, the Institute of Technology in Bandung, and various foreign experts and institutes from the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Italy. A considerable range of preliminary research was carried out before the final design was adopted. The disciplines involved in these preparatory activities included: aerial photo analysis, archeology, architecture, chemistry, conservation techniques, engineering seismology, foundation engineering technology, landscape planning, meteorology, microbiology, petrography, physics, soil mechanics, surveying, and terrestrial photogrammetry. A project of such complexity and magnitude required special measures for its organization and management (Soekmono, 1976).

1.5 UNESCO International Campaign for the Safeguarding of Borobudur

The Government of Indonesia appealed for help to UNESCO in 1968, stating the outlines of the proposal (Soekmono, 1976). The General Conference of UNESCO gave full support to the Indonesian appeal and a resolution of the General Assembly of UNESCO authorized its Director General to raise funds for the safeguarding of the Borobudur Temple.

In January 1971, a panel meeting of Indonesian and international experts (from West Germany, Japan, USA, the Netherlands, France, and Italy) was convened by the Indonesian government, with UNESCO's support, in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The meeting addressed the results of the research, the proposals for a restoration project and the requirements of the works in terms of systematic and scientific observation. In June 1971, a body for the restoration of Borobudur, under the chairmanship of Ir. R. Roosseno, who was then dean of the Engineering Faculty of University of Indonesia, was formed. The Netherlands Engineering Consultants

(NEDECO), directed by Ir. C. C. T. de Beaufort, made a comprehensive report according to which this restoration would cost US $7,750,000 (see below) and the time required to complete it was estimated to be at least 6 years (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

On 6 December 1972, UNESCO launched a campaign to explore international support for the restoration of the Borobudur Temple. It was known that such a large scale campaign of archeological rescue operation was possible, following the successful international safeguarding operation of the threatened monuments of Abu Simbel in Nubia (Voute, 1973). In 1972, the International Safeguarding Campaign of Borobudur was launched by UNESCO, with financial support from Member States. In 1973, Belgium, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany became the first signatory States for UNESCO's international appeal for the safeguarding of Borobudur.

UNESCO further assisted Indonesia in its operations by appealing for international cooperation, thus mobilizing international assistance[1]. In response to this emergency appeal, India, Malaysia, and Singapore became members of the Executive Committee in 1973, after signing an agreement concerning voluntary contributions to the Safeguarding Project[2]. The mobilization of international resources became necessary for international solidarity. Eventually the total budget of US $7,750,000 was amassed from the international community; US $2,750,000 was raised by the Indonesian government (UNESCO, 1979).

Based on the conclusions and recommendations of the consecutive meetings, the Government of Indonesia prepared a detailed project appraisal which accepted the offer of the Government of the Netherlands to appoint the engineering firm NEDECO to the project.

[1] UNESCO's roles were to: (1) gather funds and channel the various contributions transparently, including channeling contributions (funds, assistance in kind, technical contributions) that would enable Borobudur to be saved, (2) assist the Indonesian Government in providing the necessary equipment and materials required for the project, and (3) ensuring Indonesia's cooperation with regard to qualified technical experts and advisors. In this regard, UNESCO signed an agreement with the Indonesian Government (in Paris in 1973) in order to designate the UNESCO coordinator and an International Consultative Committee.

[2] The following countries also began to contribute both financially and in other ways: Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cyprus, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mauritius, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Singapore, Spain, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Each country pledged or contributed financial assistance, bilaterally or multi-laterally, to the Trust Fund established for the operation, therefore becoming members of the Executive Committee. In addition, a number of private contributions were made to this campaign, including the American Committee for Borobudur, the Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO in Tokyo (ACCU), the Borobudur Restoration Group in Nagoya, the Japanese Association for the Restoration of Borobudur, the Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition, the Netherlands National Committee for Borobudur, the Netherlands General Lottery, the J.R.R 3rd Fund of New York, and a number of other private contributions.

In 1975, the actual work began. Over one million stones were dismantled and removed during the restoration and were set aside like pieces of a large jigsaw puzzle to be individually identified, cataloged, cleaned and treated for preservation (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). The foundation was stabilized, and all 1,460 panels were cleaned. The restoration involved the delicate and complex work of dismantling and re-assembling the balustrades and terraces[3] of the five square platforms, the improvement of drainage by embedding water channels into the monument, the building of a reinforced concrete substructure, and consolidation of the stones. This colossal project involved approximately 600 people (UNESCO, 1983).

By 1983, the work on stone conservation has been successfully carried out, particularly on the main walls, balustrade stones, and element stones on the west and east faces. Climatological data collection was executed in order to protect the monument from organic growth and other ill effects. To achieve this, over a million stone blocks had to be lifted by crane from the site, then numbered and cataloged by a computer in order to control the entire project and to help identify some ten thousand stones which had fallen from the structure, including heads of some of the Buddha statues (UNESCO, 1983). By July 1982, the amount of contributions received, as well as other income, totaled US $6,500,630; the Government of Indonesia spent more than US $13 million (UNESCO, 1983).

1.6 UNESCO Consultative Committee for the Safeguarding Borobudur Project and the Cultural Landscape Preservation Approach

During the Safeguarding Borobudur Project from 1972 to 1982, UNESCO's Consultative Committee for the Project (CC) was formed and met once a year, with a view to providing technical advice to the Indonesian authorities concerning the restoration works of the Borobudur Temple. The Consultative Committee's members included Dr. R. Roosseno (chairman, Indonesia), Dr. D. Chihara (Japan), Dr. R. Lemaire (Belgium), Dr. W. Brown Morton III (USA), and Dr. K.G. Siegler, West Germany (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

Although landscaping and site development was not initially a part of the restoration project, the project began to pay special attention to this. Chihara (1981) argues that "Borobudur is not only precious heritage of the illustrious Hindu-Javanese past but also an extremely valuable asset to the development of tourism in Indonesia, in particular to Central Java. Consequently, there is a need to establish a protective area around the monument, in which building and other activities would require special

[3] See Article 1, Agreement cosigned by Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, and Soepojo Padmodipoetro of the Government of Indonesia, on 29 January, 1973 concerning the Preservation of the Temple of Borobudur.

permission and should fit into an overall plan for the area" (p. 8). The preface to the JICA Master Plan Chihara (Japan International Cooperation Agency JICA, 1979) also argues that "Considering the fact that both the restoration program and the archeological park construction project have in common the goal of permanently preserving the historical legacy of the area, they are very much related to one another."

The second session of the Consultative Committee for the safeguarding of Borobudur was organized at the Ambarrukmo Palace hotel in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, on 3 July 1973. A meeting was organized with a view to discussing ideas for the conservation of the temple structure, landscape planning of the surroundings of Borobudur, and promotional activities for the protection of the landscape and environment of the temple. It is worth emphasizing that the Committee paid particular attention not only to the preservation of the monument itself but also to the integrity of its historic and artistic context for the safeguarding of the cultural value of Borobudur, i.e. to prevent scenery damage through inappropriate modernization and improper tourist promotion; landscaping is not only concerned with the provision of an explicit view toward the monuments but also with the scenic view from the monument toward the surrounding areas (UNESCO, 1973). The Committee also stressed that the surroundings of Borobudur should be in full harmony with monuments and should maintain its cultural values, respecting the serenity and tranquility of the surroundings. This is vital to spiritual enhancement, considering the nature of the monument and its environment. Hence, the Committee concluded that the area should be strongly protected against adverse impact which could result from mass tourism. It was also decided that there should be full integration of the present local population with regard to developing the surroundings of Borobudur. Special attention was given to full participation of the local government in the execution of the project, in particular with respect to the development of the Borobudur area. In addition, other intangible aspects of cultural development, such as performing arts, handicrafts, and others activities were also attended to as part of the planned development. Thus, the safeguarding operation focused not only on the material existence of the cultural heritage but also on the preservation of its environmental, social, cultural, and spiritual value (UNESCO, 1973; Priyana, 2015).

1.7 Chihara's Initiative for the Landscape Protection at Borobudur

Among the five members of the CCs was Dr. Daigoro Chihara, an advisor to the JICA Study Team and a UNESCO CC member, who raised the issue of the necessity of protecting not only the historical monuments but also the surrounding area. He was also committed to the design and implementation of the JICA Master Plan, acting as advisor and consultant until 1987 (Iwasaki, 2009).

During the fourth CC in June 1975, Chihara reaffirmed the importance of preservation of a wider area of landscape. According to his personal memo (1981), a plan

to promote tourism in the Borobudur area was raised by the Indonesian Committee members during the session. The plan was to establish a viewing platform with a restaurant on the top of Dagi hill, some 500 m away from the Borobudur Temple, toward the north-west. The Indonesian Committee members explained that this idea was proposed by a local private development industry. The plan also included the construction of a golf course requiring a large area of the hill. After this meeting, Chihara visited the governor of Central Java, urging him to halt the plan surrounding the Borobudur Temple and clarifying the ongoing Feasibility Study that the JICA team was then pursuing. The governor became convinced by Chihara that the plan would trigger loss and degradation of the landscape at Borobudur. Eventually, this tourism exploitation plan was stopped by the Indonesian authorities. A personal memo by Chihara notes that Indonesia should introduce legal instruments to protect not only historical monuments but also their surrounding landscape. He then referred the Indonesian authorities to related laws in Japan, former West Germany, and the USA, in order to urge the authorities to establish a consolidated national legal system which would protect the surrounding landscape (Chihara, 1981).

The CC members were unanimous in supporting Chihara's initiative and the landscape protection concept in the JICA Master Plan. The landscape preservation was strongly recommended by the CC members in its second (1973) to eighth (1978) sessions (UNESCO, 1973, 9; 1974, 5; 1975, Annex IV, items, 3, 4, 5, and 6; 1976, Annex V, item 3; 1977, Annex V, items 11, 12, and 13; and 1978, Annex V, item 10). The CC outlined that the planning should not be restricted to the preservation of the monument as such, but the interrelationships between monument and environment be given full weight (UNESCO, 1975). The CC therefore urged that the Indonesian authorities mainstream the protection measures of the surrounding area into a national legal system including protective zoning, architectural style, access routes to Borobudur, and landscaping. In turn, as the Indonesian authorities outlined during the eighth session in 1979, "the government would take into account the CC's recommendation with regard to the JICA Master Plan" (UNESCO, 1979). This approach became the linchpin of the JICA Master Plan, which will be further clarified in the following chapter.

1.8 Outstanding Universal Value of Borobudur

In 1991, eight years after the end of the safeguarding campaign, the Borobudur Temple Compounds, as it was called in the nomination dossier, was inscribed in the World Heritage List as an outstanding example of a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). The three criteria (UNESCO, 2014) chosen for inscription were:

> **Criterion (i):** Borobudur Temple Compounds with its stepped, unroofed pyramid consisting of ten superimposing terraces, crowned by a large bell-shaped dome is a harmonious marriage of stupas, temple and mountain that is a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts.

Criterion (ii): Borobudur Temple Compounds is an outstanding example of Indonesia's art and architecture from the early eighth and late ninth centuries that exerted considerable influence on an architectural revival between the mid-thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Criterion (vi): Laid out in the form of a lotus, the sacred flower of Buddha, Borobudur Temple Compounds is an exceptional reflection of a blending of the very central idea of indigenous ancestor worship and the Buddhist concept of attaining Nirvana. The ten mounting terraces of the entire structure correspond to the successive stages that the Bodhisattva has to achieve before attaining Buddhahood [*sic*].

1.9 Conclusion: Buddhist Heritage in a Predominantly Islamic Region

The Borobudur Temple is currently surrounded predominantly by Muslim communities[4] and is thus not used as a place of worship on a daily basis by most villagers. The religious link between the Buddhist temples of Borobudur, Mendut, and Pawon can only be observed in the *Vesak* day, the celebration of the birth of Buddha, which is the largest annual event held in these temples, occurring during the full moon in May or June.[5] On the other hand, the local Muslim people also gather at the Borobudur Temple to celebrate *Idul Fitri*, the end of the Muslim fasting season; often, they also provide offerings to the monument. Tanudirjo (2013) highlights the idea that these actions became part of their lives and cultural identities, engendering a feeling of ownership among the locals. Thus, many people consider themselves guardians of this cultural complex. Kausar (2010) and Rahmi (2015) argue that, although the Borobudur Temple is surrounded by Muslim communities, the area should be seen as a place for collective identity and memory of Javanese villages, where the monument cannot be seen as separated from its natural and cultural landscape nor from local perspectives.

The Borobudur Temple was constructed for Buddhist worship in the eighth and ninth centuries. Its use is no longer the same as it was in the past. The protection of this setting is crucial not only for the preservation of the heritage property per se, and maintaining its availability for Buddhist worship, but also for the long-term sustainable development of the local community. Preservation of the region's

[4] During interviews with the author, on 13 and 14 May 2014, Zaenal Arifin, Regent of Magelang, clarified that there is no official census with regard to religious information in the Magelang regency. However, there are two Buddhists within the subdistrict of Borobudur, who respectively manage *Vihara*, Buddhist monasteries near the Mundut Temple. Sucoro explained there are a few Buddhists residing in the vicinity of the Borobudur Temple, apart from two keepers of the *Viharas*.

[5] Involved individuals, including monks, reside both within the area and in other parts of the province or in other countries. A procession of Buddhist monks begins in the Mendut Temple, passes through the Pawon Temple, and ends at the Borobudur Temple.

ancient heritage is directly linked with the livelihoods of local communities as well as those of the future. Economic sustainability in this area, particularly from tourism, and the community's sense of belonging, rely on conservation of these sites and their environment. Their character and unique assets contribute to the cultural and economic well-being of the local populations.

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Chapter 2
Concept of Landscape Management at Borobudur in the 1970s

2.1 Introduction

The Borobudur Temple experienced a large-scale restoration intervention between 1907 and 1911 and again from 1973 to 1983 (UNESCO 2014). The latter intervention at Borobudur occurred at the time of the new World Heritage movement, which also saw large-scale work on the Abu Simbel Temple in Egypt (from 1959), Mohenjo-daro in Pakistan (from 1974), Venice in Italy (from 1966), Fez in Morocco (from 1976), the Kathmandu valley in Nepal (from 1979), the Acropolis in Greece (from 1977), and many others. The restoration of the Borobudur Temple, led by UNESCO, the Indonesian authorities, and international heritage conservation experts, was the first and most extensive intervention in Southeast Asia during this time period.

Inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1991, the site of the Borobudur Temple Compounds was nominated as an outstanding example of a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). Prior to its inscription, there was a significant attempt, in the 1970s, to preserve not only the architectural features of the temple, but also the wider surrounding landscape. Contrary to the European-dominated discourse of heritage at the time, this approach sought to define and manage the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur with community participation. The plan was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners and was entitled *Borobudur Prambanan National Archeological Parks Final Report July 1979*, hereafter referred to as the JICA Master Plan. While the JICA project was the first large-scale attempt related to the preservation of cultural heritage in the history of Japan's ODA programs, it was also an extensive cultural heritage preservation project in Indonesia, when its national legislation on the protection of cultural properties had not yet set a management system to maintain wider natural settings and landscape surrounding the country's cultural heritage properties.

The JICA plan was influenced by the Japanese cultural heritage conservation laws and practices related to artifacts, monuments, historic places, natural heritage

M. Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2_2

sites, and other forms of heritage. As the basis for their intervention, the JICA study team acknowledged the similarities with regard to landscape contexts between central Java and the cities of Nara prefecture in Japan, such as Asuka and Ikaruga, an ancient capital in the 8th century that is linked with Buddhist temples. Similarities include the natural environment, strong indigenous traditions of nature veneration, and highly developed mountain worship. Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that, in Asia, mountains play a significant role in the landscape and as such also with indigenous religious beliefs, for example as subjects of prayer or reverence. The JICA study team sought to use their knowledge of the preservation approach of historic climate linking with surrounding natural environments and cultural landscape, along with existing and living Javanese ideas of landscape, and integrate this into a management system for the wider area surrounding the Borobudur Temple.

Since there has not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of the Borobudur landscape management concept, this chapter attempts to fill this gap through a historical account and analysis of the Borobudur landscape protection plan in the 1970s. In doing so, this chapter demonstrates that, while Indonesia had followed a monument-centered heritage approach strongly influenced by the Netherlands, the concept of cultural landscape at Borobudur, in the 1970s, introduced a new approach with regard to understanding non-European heritage management discourse.

2.2 European and Asian Approaches to Heritage and Cultural Landscape

Critiques of Eurocentric notions of cultural heritage and its practices have been voiced in recent years (Butland, 2012; Byrne, 2008a, 2008b; Daly, 2012; Deegan, 2012; Gillespie, 2013; Lennon, 2012; Peleggi, 2012; Silverman & Ruggles, 2009; Smith, 2006; Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Taylor, 2012a, 2012b; Winter & Daly, 2012). Byrne (2009) asserts that the European interest resided in cultural continuity, leading to an appreciation of the material culture of past times. Lloyd (2012) argues that, in the tradition of Western philosophy, heritage was often perceived in terms of sites, monuments, and objects. Butland (2012) and Boniface (2000) argue that Western theoretical and practical understanding of heritage in the modern world can be seen as a dichotomy between the valued and the valueless and between heritage and non-heritage. Wang (2012) argues that preservation efforts came to be dominated by those with institutional access to heritage resources and who focused primarily on the restoration of ancient monuments and buildings rather than the needs of local residents.

Lloyd (2012, 140) asserts that conservation philosophy, within which heritage was perceived in terms of sites, monuments, and objects, often reflects a narrow Western concept as defined in heritage charters such as the Athens Charter and the Venice Charter. Concerns have also been expressed about the core concept of World Heritage. The idea of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) reflects a Western theoretical and practical understanding of heritage through international conventions such as the World Heritage Convention. Daly (2012) argues that these

European-developed, material-centric views of heritage were applied globally and thus often thought of as "official" heritage discourse and practice.

In recent decades, the concept of cultural heritage has shifted away from a focus on monumental and physical heritage or cultural property and now also encompasses notions of living heritage, traditional knowledge, language, cultural diversity, and performing arts (Daly, 2012; Lloyd, 2012; Winter & Daly, 2012). Peleggi (2012) argues that under the influence of the idea of cultural diversity, championed by UNESCO, the principles underlying the Venice Charter have come under review. Intangible culture has become one of the major topics for discussion within heritage studies, resulting in numerous publications and an academic journal dedicated to intangible heritage (Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Silverman & Ruggles, 2009; Daly, 2012). This builds on critiques of the material-centric view of heritage as well as Western hegemony over "official" heritage discourse and practice. Taylor (2004) argues that heritage in Asian contexts, for instance, differs from the European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage. Lloyd (2012) also stresses that heritage in Asian contexts often differs from the commonly perceived heritage forms of historic monuments and "high culture." Taylor (2004) asserts that:

> Asian cultures have a spiritual view of what is culturally valuable from the past; the past lives on in memory of people, of events and of places through time rather than concentrating on the material fabric which can change or be replaced. (p. 423)

Indeed, there are clear cases in which European and Asian ideas of heritage have clashed, such as: the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity; the 1998 China Principles; the 2002 Shanghai Charter; the 2004 Yamato Declaration; the 2005 Hoi An Protocols; the 2005 Xi'an Declaration; and the 2007 Seoul Declaration (Fong, Winter, Rii, Khanjanusthiti, & Tandon, 2012).

The Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994) is an important example of the aforementioned clash. It first articulated an evolving approach and a distinctively Asian perspective on authenticity, recognizing that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage are themselves culturally dependent. Paragraph 11 of the Nara Document states that:

> All judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. (ICOMOS, 1994, p. 3)

There are other declarations and charters articulating an evolving approach and a distinctively Asian way of achieving authenticity, recognizing that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent.

> The value of a heritage site derives from … the site illustrates the material production, lifestyle, thought, customs and traditions or social practices of a particular historical period. (Conservation Principles for Sites in China, ICOMOS, 2002, p. 71)

> … affirming the significance of creativity, adaptability and the distinctiveness of peoples, places and communities as the framework in which the voices, values, traditions, languages, oral history, folk life and so on are recognized and promoted in all … heritage practices … (Shanghai Charter, ICOM, 2002, p. 1)

The Hoi An Protocols declared in 2001, revised periodically and published in 2009, provides another example:

> The immaterial dimension of authenticity (e.g. artistic expression, values, spirit, emotional impact, religious context, historical associations … and creative process) and sources of information about them are particularly important in regard to maintaining authenticity of cultural heritage in Asia. (Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia, UNESCO UNESCO, Bangkok, 2009, p. 12)

These Protocols clarify that an Asian understanding of heritage value includes, "for example, a continuous craft tradition handed down generation by generation, an unbroken oral tradition, a ritual of which the practice is in the hands of hereditary specialists" (Engelhardt, 2012, p. 312). The Protocols state that "Authentic cultural assets are passed through time and communities by un-interrupted transmission, evolving but retaining the essential qualities that make them authentic" (UNESCO, Bangkok, 2009, 13).

The 2005 ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration also reflects the disparities between Western and Eastern ideas. The Declaration stipulates that:

> Beyond the physical and visual aspects, the setting includes interaction with the natural environment; past or present social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge, use or activities and other forms of intangible cultural heritage aspects that created and form the space as well as the current and dynamic cultural, social and economic context. (ICOMOS 2005)

These were in sharp contrast to the definition of OUV of the World Heritage Convention. These arguments clearly demonstrate that the Asian view of heritage value is different from the European view. The Asian experience has begun to significantly impact the European standard of heritage value. Introduced for the first time in 2005, Paragraph 79 of the *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, and its Annex 4, refers to the application of concepts of the Nara document within the definition of authenticity of World Heritage properties (UNESCO 2005).

While the debate around the idea of authenticity has been well documented (Holtorf, 2008; Lennon, 2012; Mitchell & Melnick, 2012; Peleggi, 2012; Sirisrisak & Akagawa, 2012; Taylor, 2012b), another significant point of difference between the World Heritage system and other Asian heritage perspectives can be seen in the understanding of cultural landscape.

The European term *landscape* dates back to 500 A.D. in the European region (Taylor, 2009). However, cultural landscape planning and management is a relatively new professional field of study with regard to land use and site management (UNESCO 2009). Inaba (2012) asserts that, by the late 1980s, there were international moves to bridge the gap between cultural and natural heritage. These were separately developed areas within the World Heritage system. For example, in 1992, the United Nations Environment Programme adopted the Convention on Biological Diversity. In 1995, the European Environment ministers also adopted the Pan-European Strategy for Biological and Landscape Diversity on a Europe-wide level (UNESCO 2009). Bandarin (2009, 3) argues that "the breakthrough came in 1992 at the World Heritage Committee level with the Earth Summit, the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, which influenced the heritage debate." These events

and related debates paved the way for new thinking about people's relationships with their environment, linking culture and nature and aiding the acceptance of cultural landscape to become a category within the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2009).

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee at its 16th session in Santa Fe, USA, acknowledged that cultural landscape represents the "combined works of nature and man [*sic*]"; this is designated in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention. It adopted cultural landscape as a category on the World Heritage list through its incorporation in the *Operational Guidelines*. This Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscape with the declaration of three categories of cultural landscape of OUV (Outstanding Universal Value) for World Heritage purposes. Today, more than a hundred cultural landscapes have been inscribed in the World Heritage List. However, despite this shift, many World Heritage properties listed during the early stages of the World Heritage system, such as Borobudur, were defined by what was then the criteria of the *Operational Guidelines*. This led to the concerned Member States to the World Heritage Convention nominating the site not as a cultural landscape but as monuments or historical buildings in accordance with European ideas of heritage value.

Much like the case of the Nara, Hoi An, and Xi'an documents, which indicate differing ideas of authenticity in Asian contexts, the concept of cultural landscape also differs within Asia and between Asian and European conceptualizations.

Contrary to the European dominated discourse of heritage, an innovative approach to defining and managing this, including community participation, is available regarding the protection of the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur in Central Java. This was extensively explored in the 1970s. The plan was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners and was known as the *Borobudur Prambanan National Archeological Parks Final Report July 1979* (JICA Master Plan). This approach was influenced by Japanese cultural heritage conservation laws and practices related to artifacts, monuments, historic places, natural heritage sites, and other forms of heritage and represented a concept developed in Japan, beginning in the early 1900s.

2.3 Heritage Discourse in Japan for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Natural Monuments, and Cultural Landscape

Akagawa (2014) assets that:

> Japan is one of the countries in Asia that has been consciously working on the protection of art works and monuments under national legislation since the nineteenth century and this has been the result of its own national initiative. .. (L)aws related to the conservation of the arts and monuments have been added and amended to present and protect what authorities at that time believed constituted national culture. (p. 9)

In Japan, research on cultural landscape had already existed to some extent even before the Second World War, when pastoral landscapes were gradually disappearing

from large cities, and suburban areas, to the extent the public began to be concerned (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2003). Inaba (2012) asserts that the natural monuments and landscape protection movement began in the mid-nineteenth century following the disappearance of important celebrated trees and the necessity to keep such trees from further damage. The Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan further clarifies that:

> Not only the destruction of the natural environment but also the active development of suburban areas caused continuous decrease of agricultural lands, natural sciences recognized that lands associated with agriculture, forestry and fisheries play an important role in maintaining ecosystems by providing habitats for diverse species and began to pay more attention to "cultural landscape" than ever before. Their findings in this regard included in particular the positive role of human interventions that are repeatedly made through agricultural, forestry and fishery activities on lands in light of a certain degree of disturbance to ecosystems contributing to the maintenance of diverse species and their habitats in an adequate condition and the extremely important roles of water surfaces such as rice paddies and agricultural water channels which provide passages to animals. Animals and plants of high academic value which inhabit, breed, stop over or naturally grow in such areas have been designated as Natural Monuments. (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2003, p. 3)

In 1911 a public system was adopted by the Japanese parliament for the protection of a wider setting involving cultural heritage properties. This was initiated by *the Recommendation for the Historic Sites and Natural Monuments*. Furthermore, the three categories of historic sites, including places of scenic beauty and natural monuments, coexisted as a trio and were included in the first culture/nature conservation law in Japan, in 1919, which was known as *the Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites*, *Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments* (Inaba, 2012).

"The destruction by fire of mural paintings in the main hall *Kondo* of the Temple *Horyu-ji* in 1949 gave impetus to the enactment of *the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* in 1950" (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4). Since the enactment of this first comprehensive legal framework for the protection of cultural properties in Japan, the concept of heritage, definition, and categories were developed in Japanese heritage laws with a view to expanding and reinforcing the existing protection system and ensuring compliance with society's requirements (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4).

Due to the rich and diverse cultural heritage in each local region of Japan, the expanded definition and scope of cultural heritage was explored in order to cover wider cultural elements of historic value. Hence, in 1954, the system for the designation of important intangible cultural properties and tangible folk materials was integrated into the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, with a view to documenting selected intangible cultural properties and important folk-cultural heritage (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4).

The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

> various activities to operate, maintain and manage these tangible elements or to pray for and celebrate an abundant harvest or a large catch of fish and other activities repeatedly carried out by the humankind upon the land through traditional industries and lives constitute the important intangible elements that compose "cultural landscape." (p. 49)

Ito (2003) explains that "the essence of the protection of intangible cultural heritage in Japan is not only about the heritage itself but also efforts to hand intangible culture down to posterity." Akagawa (2014) also asserts that:

> Japan's approach and conventional 'Western' international practice in the field of heritage conservation differed on two key issues: the concepts of and the practices related to authenticity and intangible heritage. It was in addressing these concepts, both central to its long tradition in heritage conservation, that Japan was able to institute major changes in the global heritage system. (p. 11)

Composed of various types of tangible and intangible elements, national cultural properties—including areas of historical natural feature—came to be acknowledged as important by the Japanese legislative system.

Nishimura (2005) outlines that, in the 1960s and 1970s, massive construction and large-scale developments were rife, and people began to be more aware of the loss of traditional structures and townscapes. The movement to protect a wider setting, including cultural properties, led to adopting *the Law Concerning Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Natural Features in Ancient Cities* in 1966. The Law was aimed at the conservation of entire environments inseparably united with cultural properties. Under this law, the cities of Kyoto, Nara, Kamakura, and others were designated as containing areas of historical value, serving as political or cultural centers in the history of Japan. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

> although the scope of the law is limited to "Historical Natural Features" that exist around tangible cultural properties, historic sites, etc. of "Ancient Cities" designated by the national government, they contain rice paddies, farmlands and *Satoyama* areas in most case; in this regard, the Ancient Cities Preservation Law plays a significantly large role in the protection of "cultural landscape" in the "Ancient Cities" of Japan. (p. 13)

Inaba (2012) argues that from this period onward, the heritage discourse was "expanded from spot conservation to area conservation to cover the larger area including the surrounding landscape … This became the second largest landscape protection movement after the one first seen in the early nineteenth century" (p. 118).

Adopted in 1975, *the System of Preservation Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings* was established in order to help the community's initiative to promote preservation measures of historic landscapes of villages and towns (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2008). The emphasis was on townscape over single buildings. As Japanese people have built villages and towns at various locations on the Japanese islands, including mountainsides, riversides, basins, and seashores, and the livelihoods of people in local communities have been formed alongside the local geo-cultural features, individuals have refined the culture of their daily lives while displaying a physical and/or spiritual relationship to their natural environments and improving their lives by preserving such landscapes.

Motonaka (UNESCO, 2002) asserts that:

> The Japanese Government implements the conservation of cultural landscape using two approaches. The first is the designation of the relevant land, landscape or its components as one of the several types of cultural property under domestic law. Specifically, sacred mountains with historic or academic values are to be designated as Historic Sites; mountains or terraced rice fields with artistic or scenic values are to be designated as Places of Scenic

> Beauty… On the other hand, buildings and other human-made structures such as shrines or temples in the sacred mountains and works of craftsmanship of high historic/artistic value such as statues of Buddha are to be protected as Tangible Cultural Properties, whereas various forms of local customs or folk art that have been inherited through the ages can be protected as Tangible or Intangible Folk-Cultural Properties, as appropriate, as an essential source of information on the development of relevant agricultural or religious lifestyles and practices. (p. 128)

In this regard, the Japanese law for landscape protection acknowledged the linkage between cultural monuments and landscape; thus heritage value was not limited to ruined and isolated monuments preserved as heritage sites (Sirisrisak & Akagawa, 2012). Inaba (2012) argues that the nature of the Japanese landscape concept can be explained by the long accumulated history of the Japanese people's relationship with nature and their keen appreciation of it as an elemental part of their cultural identity. Akagawa (2014) also asserts that "the concepts of *machizukuri* (town making) and *furusato* (hometown) used by the Japanese government in utilizing heritage landscape to influence people's sense of identity" (p. 47). This understanding of cultural landscape was in direct contrast with the early World Heritage system and European ideas of heritage. These different understandings are evident in the case of the Borobudur Temple and its eventual nomination as a World Heritage site.

2.4 Context of Javanese Cultural landscape

Engelhardt et al. (2003) assert that Borobudur is the central point of a larger landscape *mandala* consisting of hills, streams, and other landscape features and made sacred by the presence of many small temples. The landscape as a whole is intended to replicate on earth the universal *mandala* of the cosmos, with Mount Merapi at its center. Engelhardt et al. (2003) further explains that:

> *Mandala* are abstract representations of the universe understood as having both physical and metaphysical manifestation. *Mandala* are intended as aids to guide meditation on the *dharma* – or laws determining existence. Both their architectural form and the didactic sculpture of the bas-reliefs is meant to educate the student/worshipper. Therefore, not only is every Buddhist temple conceived of in the form of a *mandala*, but these same principles of architecture and land-use planning – being considered universal and absolute – were also used to construct homes, design cities, and lay out roads, canals and other works of landscape engineering. (p. 39)

According to Amin (2012), Adishakti (2015), and Rahmi (2015) natural elements such as mountains, trees, and water were and still are important symbols within Javanese belief, including an ideal worldview influencing how landscapes are made and how they manifest in their particular forms. Amin (2012) and Rahmi (2015) also outline the idea that many people's concepts of nature and the landscape in Java are an amalgam of beliefs, rituals, and myths. Indeed, Java's cultural landscape exemplifies this point: the hills contain numerous archeological sites and meditation spots still used today as part of the living cultural landscape, and these landscapes represent a particular way of living and can be viewed as an example of

a continuous living history (Amin, 2012). The 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Report argues that the integrity of the wider landscaping of the Borobudur Temple is of extraordinary importance because of its spiritual character, sense of sacredness, and its unity with nature typical of a Buddhist religious site (Boccardi, Brooks, & Gurung, 2006).

Sacred landscapes encompassing natural features are a deeply rooted fundamental cultural ethos, encompassing people's interaction with the landscape, which is bound by associations and belief, where the intangible assumes a greater significance than do physical manifestations (Lennon & Taylor, 2012). The Javanese notion of nature is:

> … poetic expression of thinking about the unity of the cosmos and the interrelatedness of everything in it. Cosmology and mysticism are at the heart of the traditional Javanese beliefs and concepts of earth, land and landscape, which often appear in the forms of symbols and rituals shared by both *priyayi* (the nobility) and *wong cilik* (the common people). (Amin, 2012, p. 75)

Engelhardt et al. (2003) underline that:

> the sacred volcano of Mt. Merapi is conceived of in local knowledge systems as the central point of a sacred and magical landscape representing the creative forces of the universe. This is the place where what is divine and eternal is revealed as human and temporal. A volcano, with its simultaneous demonstration of both destruction and creation, is an obvious revelation in the landscape of these concepts. (p. 39)

The aforementioned authors further outline the importance of reinforcement of the interpretation of the monument as part of a larger sacred landscape:

> The finding is revealed in a mapping of all of the archeological remains of Buddhist and Hindu temples from the 5–10th centuries in the Kedu Valley. What emerges is a pattern of more than 40 temples or ritual sites in the catchment area between Borobudur and Mt. Merapi. These temples are located along water courses in a pattern that is reminiscent of the area around Mt. Besaki in Bali, suggesting that the ritual pattern of a cultural landscape centered on Borobudur has even more ancient pre-Buddhist roots based on indigenous philosophical traditions based on a mountain-water…Water is crucial to this landscape interpretation, because water is poured as libation to the gods; a sacred landscape must therefore have flowing water across it as a perpetual offering to the divine. (p. 39)

Kausar and Nishikawa (2012) and Lennon and Taylor (2012b) follow Amin and Engelhardt's argument by contending that the view of Borobudur as part of a wider cultural landscape is supported by long-lasting intangible cultural enactment, such as local knowledge in performing arts, rituals, crafts, and food from traditional villages. Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that a cultural landscape containing a sacred mountain should be justified not only in terms of "authenticity" but also in terms of "integrity." Tanudirjo (2013) underscores the idea that these factors engendered a feeling of ownership of the Borobudur Temple among the local people, who consider themselves the guardians of the cultural complex.

Some Javanese villagers consider each of their villages to be a complete cosmos in which people, animals, vegetation, rivers, mountains, rice fields, and spirits are inseparable elements in sustaining harmony (Priyana, 2015). These cultural landscapes, consisting of archeological remnants and their specific relationship to their

surroundings, demonstrate how the dynamic landscape of Java evoked awe in its earlier inhabitants, who regarded the mountains and rivers as the abode of supernatural powers or the spirits of their ancestors (Amin, 2012).

Acknowledging the intrinsic link between nature and culture, as well as the importance of local practices, rituals and beliefs associated with community involvement in the preservation of Borobudur's living cultural landscape, the JICA study team aimed to conceptualize the complexity of heritage values in Central Java and to draw in public perception through management of cultural and natural resources (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). Created in 1979, the JICA Master Plan attempted to forge such diverse factors into one integrated zoning system for the protection and management of Borobudur's cultural landscape, advocating it as a means of systematic land and scenery control for the overall protection and development of the areas surrounding the Borobudur Temple, which cover 114.6 km^2 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

2.5 Management Concept of Landscape Protection in the JICA Master Plan

As one of the early large-scale models for the preservation of archeological monuments and natural climate of Central Java, the JICA Master Plan was created (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). This approach sought to define and manage the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur and to include community participation.

The JICA Master Plan was developed based on the two preceding studies: the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Feasibility Study (1975–76). Both studies were jointly produced by Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning, on behalf of the JICA, under the direction of a Work Supervision Committee consisting of representatives from the Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Tourism (MTCT), the Ministry of Culture, regional government, and the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM). The aim of the establishment of the JICA Master Plan was preservation of the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding environment with the idea that "archeological monuments do exist under particular historical social and natural conditions" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 17).

2.5.1 The Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974)

At the request of Indonesian Government, the Japanese government provided technical assistance, from 1973 to 1974, with respect to the national archeological parks project at Borobudur and Prambanan, which involved tourism development in Central Java and preservation as well as improvement of cultural heritage and its surrounding environments (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

The first Regional Master Plan entitled "*Central Java and Yogyakarta Area Tourism Development*" was drawn up in 1974. It proposed a tourism and social development plan for Central Java (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1974). Given the overall goal, the plan focused on the preservation of the monument, identification of protective geographical scope through archeological survey, and enhancement of the community's livelihood through tourism development. The specific aims of the first Regional Master Plan included:

1. Reviewing the feasibility study of infrastructure for tourism development of Central Java and Yogyakarta, undertaken by the Netherlands Institute of Tourism Development Consultants (TDC), from 1971 to 1972, with the technical assistance of the Netherlands Government;
2. Establishing a special tourism development area in the region and preparation of a 20-year long-term development plan and a 10-year implementation plan;
3. Studying the economic and technical feasibility of the aforementioned implementation plan.

Through this approach, the proposed plan included a broad scenery zoning diagram covering three concentric protective zones ranging from 5000 ha (for the Borobudur Temple): *zone 1* for the protection of the monuments and their immediate surroundings, defined as a "sanctuary" from the destruction of the physical environment; *zone 2* for preservation of the historical environment, primarily for the undiscovered archeological remains underground; *zone 3* for regulation of land use while controlling development in areas outside of zone 2 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1974) (Fig. 2.1). This study also attempts to establish a macro-frame for tourism development in the region, with the application of integrity for cultural heritage and surrounding natural environmental settings (Fig. 2.2).

As the Plan focused on proposing a conceptual model of the integration of different objectives, i.e., protection of monuments, enhancement of the community's livelihood through tourism development, and natural environmental protection, the proposed concept required further study prior to implementation. For instance, the Archeological Park was still conceptual, requiring focus on its function and the networks of each facility, including the behavior of visitors, researchers, and villagers (Fig. 2.3).

The Borobudur and Prambanan archeological parks were leading projects for tourism development in Central Java and were also socially development projects based on the policy of the five-year plan. The Indonesian authorities requested that the Japanese government continue the economic and technical feasibility studies on the premise of implementation of the projects, as one of many national projects (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

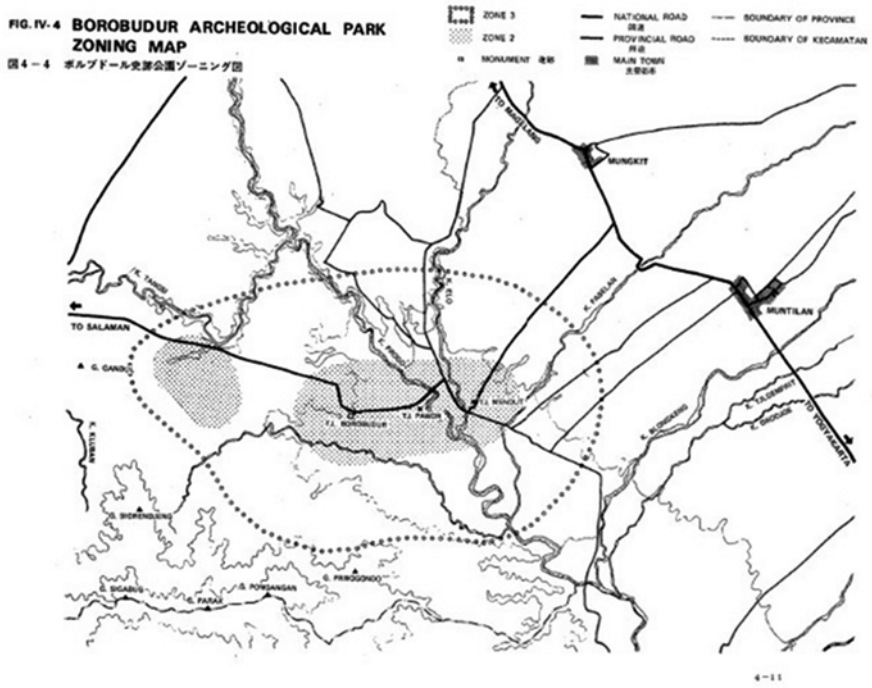


Fig. 2.1 Three concentric conceptual zoning plans (source: JICA Regional Master Plan)

2.5.2 Project Feasibility Study (1975–1976)

Following a 3-year technical study beginning in 1973, the subsequent 1976 Project Feasibility Study entitled '*National Archeological Parks Project: Borobudur and Prambanan*' is a result of a series of surveys and consultation meetings in central Java, jointly carried out by the members of the Indonesian Government Steering Committee and the Japanese Government Supervisory Committee for 14 months, from February 1975 until March 1976. This involved the planning of specialists and advisors, and 24 individuals participated in the study[1] (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

[1] From February to March of 1975, a field survey was conducted and an interim report with three complementary Progress Reports was presented in April of the same year. In July, a supplementary field survey was constructed and, after careful review in Japan, a final draft was presented in December. Based on suggestions made by the Indonesian government, the draft was revised and the final study was presented in March of the following year. The conclusions and recommendations were established and agreed through step-by-step discussions with the two aforementioned ccommittees, following a detailed study of the project (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976).

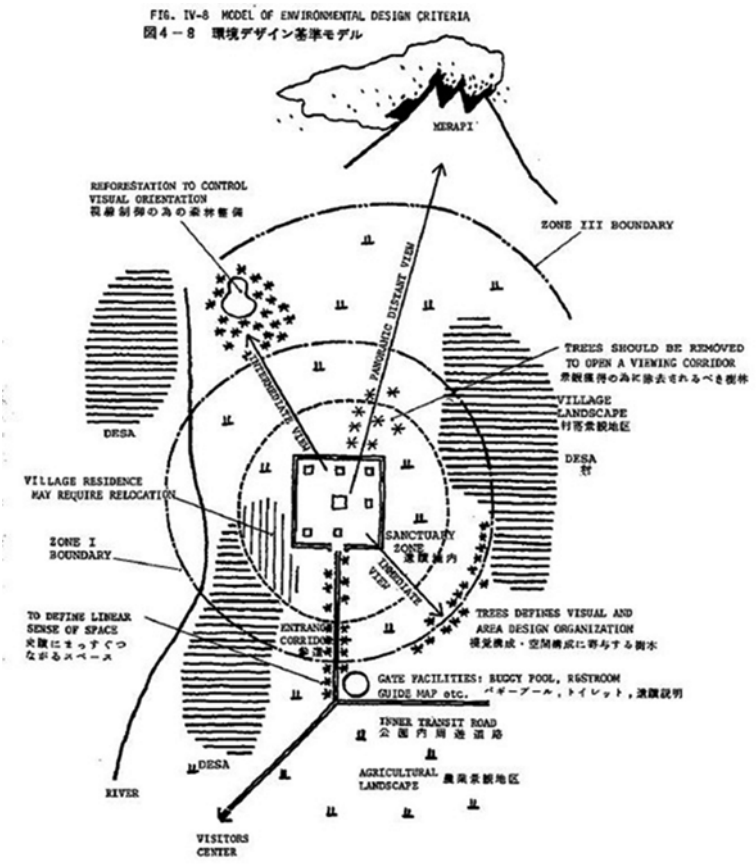


Fig. 2.2 Interface between monument protection, tourism development, and environmental preservation (source: JICA Regional Master Plan)

The Study (1976) explains that the overall goal of the project is the revitalization and permanent protection of the monuments' cultural legacy of Indonesia's history with regard to the Kedu Basin and the Kewu Plain, often known as the "Garden of Java." In order to realize this aim, the Study set the following objectives:

1. The conservation and preservation of Indonesia's cultural historical heritage;
2. The development of archeological parks to promote the expansion of domestic and international tourism;
3. Improvement of the living condition of local communities

With a view to realizing these aims, the Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) examined the following supplemental studies:

– Economic studies, including market analysis, financial analysis, and development effect analysis;

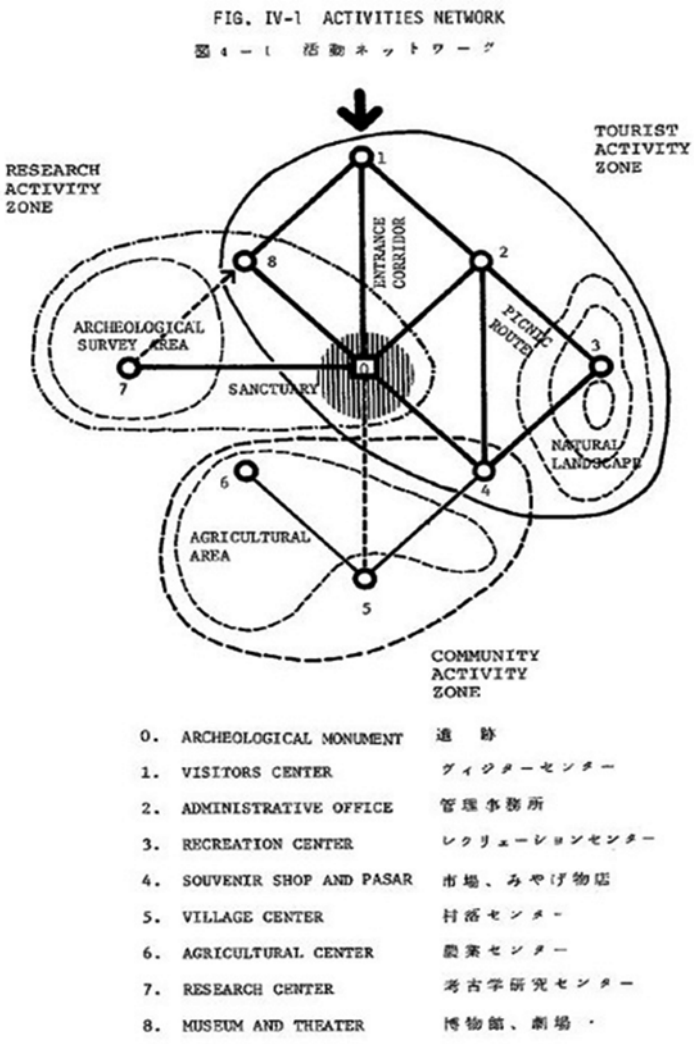


Fig. 2.3 Conceptual disposition of facilities in the Borobudur Archeological Park (source: JICA Regional Master Plan)

- Site evaluation study with computer for the purpose of determining appropriate land use;
- Design standards (technical manuals) with the intent of working on future design and engineering;
- Review of the existing master plan for the Dieng area;
- Policies for the preservation of historical relics in the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta;
- Policies for the provision of tourist accommodation facilities required for the development of archeological parks (p. 1)

During the examination of the study, between 1975 and 1976, the following works were carried out: preparatory work from January 15 to February 8 of 1975; field investigation and data collection from February 9 to March 10 of 1975; fact-finding and frame-making from March 11 to March 28 of 1975; general planning from March 29 to April 30 of 1975; revision of preparatory work based on the comments and input of the Indonesian Steering Committee on the Interim Report from June 15 to November 30 of 1975; additional field investigation and data collection from July 1 to July 15 of 1975; detailed planning and design from July 16 to September 25 of 1975; and final report work from October 1 to November 30 of 1975 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976). In order to keep up with progress made through the study, and to reflect the Indonesian view toward the study results, six interim reports and two final reports were submitted to the Indonesian authorities throughout 1975. These reports were the outcome of seven joint meetings[2] between the Indonesian Steering Committee, the Japanese Work Supervision Committee, and the study team (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

Given the results of these studies, the JICA study urged the authorities to take urgent legislative action to meet the aforementioned objectives. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) requests that the President and/or the ministers implement the following items with due haste, believing them to be prerequisites for the national archeological park projects of Borobudur and Prambanan:

1. Enactment of a law concerning the preservation and development of national archeological parks;
2. Designation of the Borobudur and Prambanan areas as National Archeological Parks and establishing legal administrative procedures for regional zoning and land use regulations;
3. A detailed scientific survey for the purpose of unearthing archeological monuments before the commencement of construction work;
4. Budget measures for the project;
5. Establishment of an implementation body[3] on legislation, including financial, development, and other aspects of the project.

Furthermore, with a view to coping with adverse land use changes, development activities, and changes in the price of the land during the preparatory phase of the project, the study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) proposed that all development activities leading to land use modification be halted within the proposed zoning areas during the preparatory period for the project. This was intended as a temporary measure and took into consideration sanctuary improvement (23.0 ha.), park development (85.0 ha.), and village relocation (10.5 ha.).

[2] First meeting on February 11 and 13 of 1975, second meeting on March 5 and 6 of 1975, third meeting on May 9 and 10 of 1975, fourth meeting on July 1, 2, and 10 of 1975, fifth meeting on September 29 and October 4 of 1975, sixth meeting from October 26 to November 8 of 1975, seventh meeting on December 22 and 24 of 1975 (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976).

[3] The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976) notes that 'A Park Authority will be established by Presidential order for the execution of the project. A special Council to be established by the final decision making body is to support the activities of the Park Authority. Certain subordinate organizations to the Park Authority in the different stages of the Project should also be provided' (p. x).

Keeping in mind the religious meaning and historical climate of the areas, and the fact that the monuments of Borobudur and Prambanan were created by Hindu and Mahayana Buddhist craftsmen, the study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) divided areas, including the historical remains, into three categories:

1. Archeological remains and nearby surroundings
   Including the Candi, the gardens formed by cathedral placement, and the immediate vicinity, this is an archeological sanctuary with a recognizably religious atmosphere. This area is to be the core of the archeological park.
2. Archeological domain
   This is the area which may have once been a cultural center, and even now there are numerous clusters of relics there. In the Borobudur case, this is set as having a radius of about 2.5 km as proposed by the Consultative Committee for the Restoration of Candi Borobudur.
3. Archeological ecosphere
   This area, extending to a radius of approximately 30 km from the monuments, is the environmental sphere of the area's ecological range and encompasses the edges of the panoramic view. The preservation of this setting is essential to the historic and archeological climate of the area.

Based on the above understanding, the team set a hypothetical model in order to develop a conceptual zoning plan. This model was founded upon the background of ecological, archeological, visual, social, psychological and religious factors and was established as a guideline, or as planological system components, in order to determine actual solutions (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976). The conceptual zoning plan was introduced in terms of three categorized functions—archeological preservation, park development, and village improvement within four zones (Fig. 2.4).

The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) describes zone classification as following:

– Archeological Monument Special Preservation Zones (category 1)
  Public acquisition of the land around the archeological monuments, the making of environmental improvements therein, and control not only of the monuments but also of cultural assets on the basis of the Cultural Assets Protection regulation[4].
– Voluntary Control Zone (category 2)
  These zones will be appropriately developed on the basis of voluntary control on the part of the development entities.
– Land use Zoning Regulation (Zone 3)
  In this zone, which encompasses the villages outside of the special development zones, the environment will be maintained through the use of zoning regulation.
– Scenic Conservation Zone (Zone 4)
  In this zone, which represents the remainder of the park-designated area, the scenery will be maintained through scenic regulation.

[4] The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976) refers to the Monument Act for the permanent protection of historical monuments.

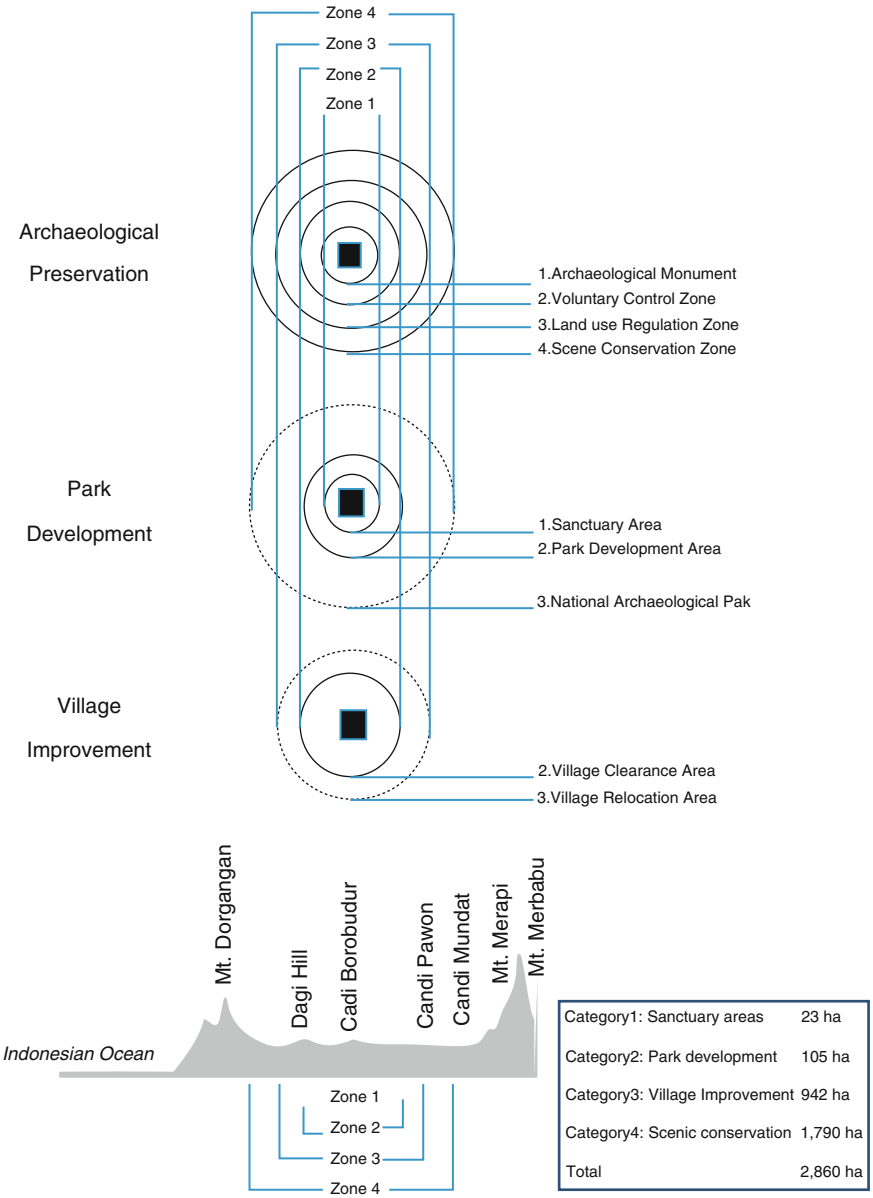


Fig. 2.4 Three categorized functions with four conceptual zoning systems at Borobudur area (source: 1974 JICA Project Feasibility Study)

In determining the geographical zoning setting, the Study made visual analysis to find optimum boundaries; analysis of physical distance from the historical monuments; analysis of visibility of the historical remains; and qualitative analysis of the view of the monuments (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976, 23). The Study (1976, 23) explains that this is to secure an adequate space proportion to the size and height considering the particular volume and form of the archeological remains.

The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also focused on the natural environment and the landscape surrounding the monument (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) clarifying that:

> Archeological remains do not exist independently, but rather in the context of historical, social and natural conditions, and only on the basis of an integrated awareness of these conditions can understand their essential value. It is therefore important that there be not only provision of facilities to help in understanding and appreciating such conditions but also measures for the maintenance and preservation of the natural environment of the remains and of the surrounding land. (p. 26)

For the first time within the two aforementioned studies (the 1973 Regional Master Plan Study and 1976 Project Feasibility Study), the significance of environmental control not only for the archeological remains themselves but also for the surrounding area were attended to equally. The Project Feasibility Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) henceforth identifies the following categorized main scenic components for preservation:

1. Volcanic mountain landscape
   Prominent among the landscape factors of the area are Merapi, Merbabu, Sambing, and other active volcanoes exceeding 3000 m.
2. Agricultural landscape
   Located respectively in the Kedu Basin and the Kewu Plain, Borobudur and Prambanan have such beautiful scenery that these are sometimes referred to as the garden of Java.
3. Village landscape
   The village structure of this region is a series of hamlets geographically located nearly equidistantly from one another. The bulk of these villages is heavily wooded, giving the appearance of woods or groves standing in attractive contrast to the surrounding fields and paddies.
4. Archeological landscape
   The most distinctive element of the Borobudur and Prambanan areas is the vast number of historic remains there. Set against a natural background, these archeological remains evoke a vivid sense of history stretching back over the millennia. This archeological landscape lays the very foundations for park development, and it is vital that the plan be formulated and implemented with attention to the area. (p. 22)

In addition, the following studies were carried out in order to analyze the visual structure of the various landscape elements constituting the environment of the

monuments; this was done in order to preserve distinctive resources in the historic climate and utilize them for the visual experience of visitors (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

- Extraction of mountainous skylines which form the visual edges of the parks.
- Regional thorough section study to analyze the parks' visual positions.
- Detailed study of archeological landscape features and impact area in order to determine the scope of the sanctuaries. (p. 22)

Working through these studies, the 1976 Feasibility Study proposed, qualitatively and quantitatively, the visual identities of the national archeological park and its surrounding areas. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) emphasizes that

> The new development must be planned in such a way as not to give rise to any environmental destruction, taking into careful account the existing ecological system and particularly the agricultural ecological system and the regional social structure as well as the preservation of the archeological climate. (p. 30)

Developed from the 1974 Regional Master Plan Study, the 1976 Project Feasibility Study focused on the preservation of both historical monuments and their surrounding environment. With a view to ensuring this concept, the 1976 study urges authorities to set a legal framework for regulating developmental activities in each categorized area in order to preserve the environment of the archeological parks and to deter urbanization within set zoning areas (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976):

- Agricultural fields
  In areas where the land title designation is that of "agricultural fields," all development activities, except those for agricultural production, are to be prohibited in order to prevent urban sprawl.
- Residential areas
  In areas designated as residential, all commercial and industrial activities, except those neighborhood service facilities specified by the land use plan, are to be prohibited. Conversion to agricultural land shall be permitted.
- Community facility areas
  General development activities not requiring large-scale landscaping shall be permitted within this area. Examples include public service facilities, commercial facilities, and small-scale industrial activities.
- Road areas
  The area for the rights of way for roads, provided for under the plan, shall be reserved under law.
- River areas
  The major river areas, as well as riverbank greenery areas, are to be designated as natural conservation areas and development activities will be therein prohibited. (p. 30)

The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also asserts that:

> Because these land use regulations may restrict the private rights of residents within the target area, the plan shall be formulated with the popular participation of residents, including holding of preliminary hearings and other means to obtain popular understanding and cooperation. (p. 30)

This is also the first time that the study notes the importance of community involvement in environment preservation. In this regard, the study urges authorities to attend to and modify the law not only for the preservation of historical monuments but also for the appropriate use of agricultural land and the levy of customs, which are directly associated with community life (Rahmi, 2015). The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) notes that:

> The target area is currently under the jurisdiction of the old *Adat* (Customs) Law regarding land use. In formulating the land use plan, it is important that consideration be given to compatibility within the *Adat* Law and the Agrarian Law. (p. 30)

The study further stresses the importance of long-term improvement of the rural village infrastructure and the importance of identifying components for immediate development. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also clarifies that:

> It is imperative that the area be promoted, even as productive agricultural land use is protected, as a model area for rural community development in Central Java to advance modernization in parallel with park development. (p. 60)

Given these conditions and approaches, the 1976 Project Feasibility Study refers to the Japanese legislative system as one of the legislative models for the Indonesian authorities, stating:

> Based upon the Japanese *Law Concerning Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals*, the Council for Historical Features in Ancient Capitals, located within the Prime Minister's Office, surveys and deliberates important matters relating to the protection of historical features, as well as giving opinions when the Prime Minister designates or alters historical features and conservation areas, decides or alters plans for the protection of historical features, or takes such other actions. (p. 80)

Referring to the Japanese *Law for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals*, this study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) proposed that Indonesia pursue a broad scenery-zoning diagram with a community-involved approach, covering the geographical scope of "mountainous skylines which form the visual edges from the Borobudur Park" (p. 22).

2.5.3 JICA Master Plan (1978–1979)

Following the Regional Master Plan Study of 1973–1974, and the Project Feasibility Study of 1975–1976, the JICA Master Plan was jointly produced in 1979 by the Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning, on behalf of the JICA. This was under the direction of a Work Supervision Committee consisting of

representatives from the Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Tourism (MTCT), the Ministry of Culture, regional government and the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM). The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) clarifies that:

> the goals of this project are (i) the permanent preservation of a common cultural legacy of all mankind, (ii) formation of a symbol of national unity, and (iii) construction of national archeological parks. Through achievement of this significant project it will be possible to revive at this beautiful spot, "the garden of Java", after a period of more than a thousand years a symbolic monument of Indonesia's long history as an eternal message to future generations. (p. 9)

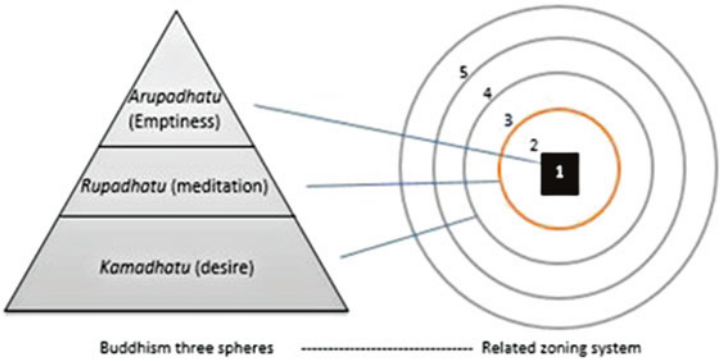
The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) also explains that:

> The Borobudur and Prambanan monuments are located at the Kedu Basin and the Kewu Plain, Java's most plentiful grain producing area, on the skirts of the volcanic Mt. Merapi. One of the most beautiful locations in Java, this area has long been known as 'Java's garden'… This historical climate and the Javan scenery are largely man-made products which change with the times. Nor are the natural conditions surrounding them absolute and eternal. Rather they are bound to change as the times require. Our obligation is therefore to devise means of maintaining the historical climate with as few restrictions as possible on people's lives so that in the future as well visitors will be as impressed with it as we are now. Maintenance of the historical climate does not mean leaving things just as they are. Rather, it will be necessary to add a new lustre to environmental elements and life styles, which have been formed in harmony with and making use of nature, in the context of efforts to modernize villages in the area. (p. 9)

Buddhist philosophy was a central component of landscape management in the JICA Master Plan. Borobudur's shape combines the idea of a Buddhist Stupa with the concept of Meru—the holy world mountain—a representative symbol (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). The vertical division of the Borobudur Temple into a base, body, and superstructure perfectly accords with the concept of the Universe in Buddhist cosmology. This represents the seat of the gods using a mandala, the geometrically designed ritual incorporated into the JICA Master Plan as a symbolic expression of the three spheres: *Kamadhatu*—desires; *rupadhatu*—meditation; and *arupadhatu*—formlessness or emptiness. This was used for both plans as well as the three-dimensional form of temple and shrine architecture; each different architectural aspect was designed as a partial world and was devoted to the god designated to it (Fig. 2.5).

Accordingly, the extremely diverse architectural expression can be considered symbolic of a total world made up of different aspects; this is achieved by merging the aspects into one another in order to form a harmonious entity. The JICA Plan clarifies that they "have incorporated this cosmographic arrangement in our planning of the zoning system" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 8). The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) emphasizes that:

> It is self-evident that these monuments should be preserved as a part of historical climate formed by them and the surrounding natural environment in order to maintain their true value… and they are bound to change as the times require. (p. 9)



Zones					Cosmos of Buddhism	Cosmos of Hinduism	Zoning system
1	2	3	4	5			
●					Arupadhatu - emptiness	Svarloka	Sanctuary area
	●				Rupadhatu - meditation	Bhuvaloka	Park development area
		●	●	●	Kamadhatu - desire	Bhurkoka	Scenic conservation zone

three spheres	Arupadhatu	Rupadhatu	Kamadhatu
Zone	1	2	3, 4,5
View point from	top of the Temple	vicinity of the Temple	surrounding area

Fig. 2.5 Buddhism world incorporated in three spheres and its integration within zoning system for the management of Borobudur landscape (source: Nagaoka)

This demonstrates that the JICA Plan was respectful of environmental elements as well as people's lifestyles, which were considered harmonious with nature. The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) further underscores that:

> … conservation of the area's value cannot be achieved merely by planning efforts and administrative compulsion. Indispensable is the understanding and participation of the people living there, for they are proud of their traditions and surroundings and have an active interest in maintaining their value. (p. 9)

One of the inventive approaches of the JICA Master Plan was accounting for diverse factors such as nature, culture, and these factors' interactions with communities. The plan synthesized these into one integrated zoning system as a means of systematic land and scenery control for the overall development and management of the surrounding areas at the Borobudur Temple, covering 114.6 km^2 (Fig. 2.6). Hence, the JICA Plan called for the establishment of a zoning system consisting of five types of circular preservation zones with the center at the main Temple, in order to manage and maintain its surroundings and to control development in a systematic

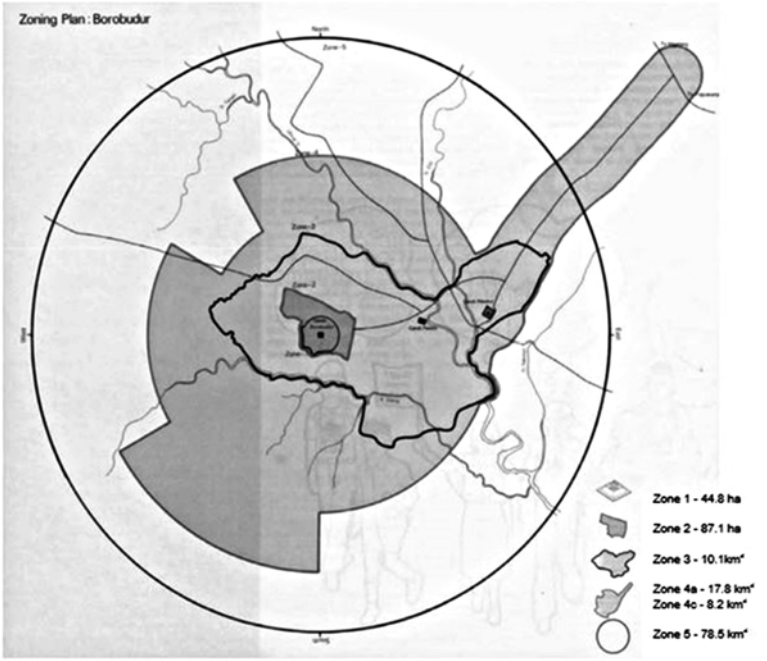


Fig. 2.6 Integrated zoning system (source: JICA Master Plan 1979, 19)

manner. The Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) proposed a five-part integrated zoning system with the following respective purposes:

> zone 1 for protection and prevention of destruction of the physical environment; zone 2 for provision of park facilities for the convenience of visitors and preservation of the historical environment; zone 3 for regulation of land use around the parks and preservation of the environment while controlling development in areas surrounding the parks; zone 4 for maintenance of the historical scenery and prevention of destruction of the scenery; zone 5 for undertaking archeological surveys over a wide area and prevention of destruction of undiscovered archeological monuments. (p. 19)

2.6 Evolution of the Zoning Concept and Geographical Scope from 1974 Regional Study, 1976 Feasibility Study to 1979 JICA Master Plan

The zoning structure of the JICA Plans from 1974 to 1979 was gradually developed. It involved a triplex arrangement in the first 1974 Regional Master Plan Study, which evolved to a quadruple organization in the 1976 Project Feasibility Study. This ended as a quintuple structure in the 1979 JICA Master Plan (Fig. 2.7).

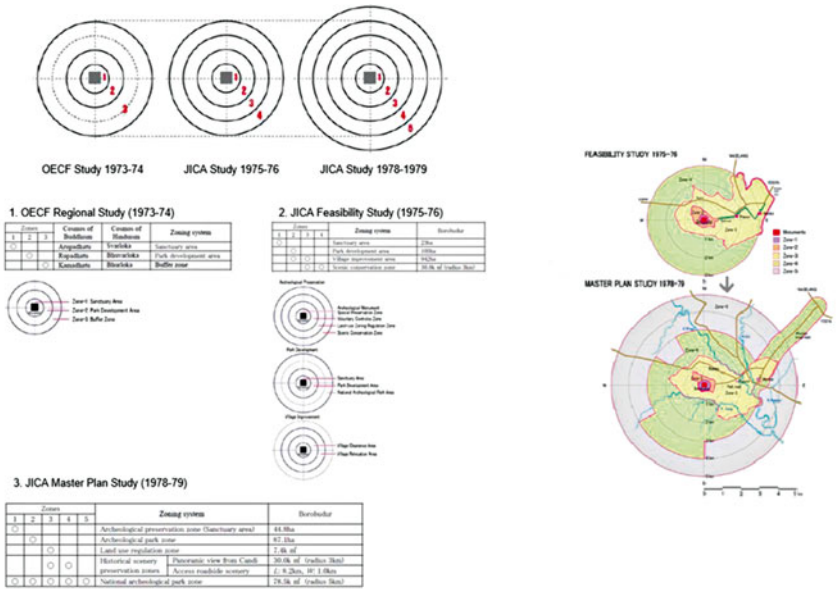


Fig. 2.7 Development of zoning system from a series of JICA documents concerning *Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Natural Features* (source: Japan International Cooperation Agency and Yasutaka Nagai (2013))

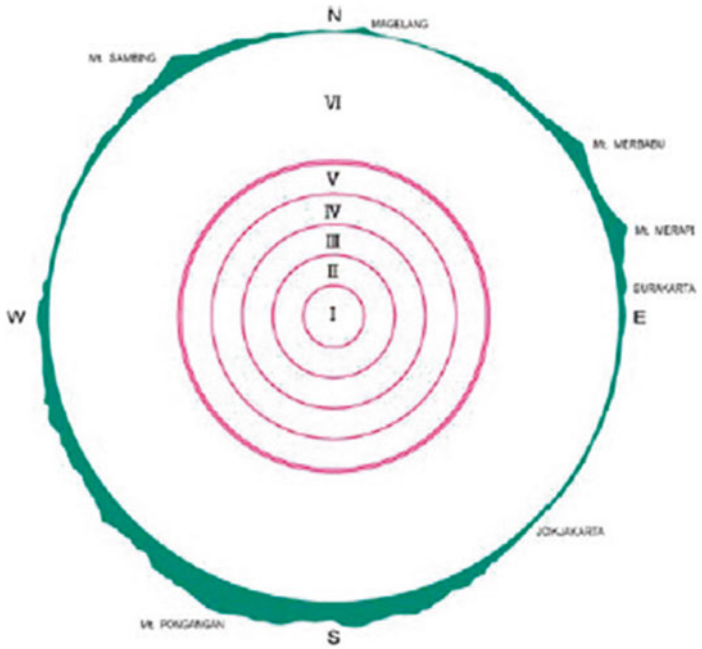


Fig. 2.8 Six integrated zoning plan in Nagai's unpublicized notes (source: Nagai 2013, 46)

Yasutaka Nagai, who led the JICA study team as its planning coordinator from 1973 to 1980 (2013), explained in his unpublished personal notes that:

> The rudimentary zoning concept was set during the JICA team's third mission to Indonesia in October 1978, which is based on the results of the 1974 Regional Master Plan Study and the 1976 Project Feasibility Study. It required a time-consuming 'trial and error' process. The distinction and function of the first three-zonal system in the 1974 Regional Plan was a conceptual basis and was not clear, but the 1976 Feasibility Study made clear each role and boundaries of four zones – the fourth zone is to ensure historic scenery value. Eventually the 1979 JICA Plan succeeded in adding the fifth element outside of the fourth scenic preservation zone – a protective zone of unexcavated monuments and remains in order not to damage such undiscovered cultural properties underground from the development activity. Although we did not include the sixth zone, it is obvious that the final zone covers whole five zones is the Kedu Basin in Central Java. (p. 47) (Fig. 2.8)

2.7 Derivation of the Legislative Aspect of the JICA Zoning Concept from the 1966 Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law

The JICA Plan (1979) states that the idea of the five integrated zoning systems in the JICA Master Plan stems from the approach of *Japanese Law in Ancient Cities*. Enacted in 1966, this Japanese law (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013) was made in order to ensure the preservation of the overall specific areas called "Ancient Cities." This had the intention of conserving the entire environment, which was recognized as inseparable from cultural properties. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

> Although the scope of the law is limited to "Historical Natural Features" that exist around tangible cultural properties, historic sites, etc. of "Ancient Cities" designated by the national government, they contain rice paddies, farmlands, and *Satoyama* areas in most case; in this regard, the Ancient Cities Preservation Law plays a significantly large role in the protection of "cultural landscape" in the "Ancient Cities" of Japan and therefore is expected to provide the basis for future discussion for a wider framework of the protection of "cultural landscape." (p. 13)

The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) also clarifies that:

> In order to ensure the protection of "cultural landscape" of high value, it is necessary, for example, through the relevant local governments' ordinances to set up overall conservation measures covering the surrounding agriculture, forestry and fishery areas under the soft control measures based upon the notification/registration system. (p. 55)

According to this Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, any development activities—such as the construction of new buildings and other structures in historic preservation areas—are subject to permission from prefectural governors as well as the authorities. The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) clearly states the same idea as the Ancient Cities Preservation Law was adopted for the preservation of historical monuments and scenery surrounding

cultural properties of Borobudur. During my interview on 23 July 2013, Yasutaka Nagai reconfirmed that the JICA study team had adopted the approach of the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law for the preservation of the wider Borobudur scenery and in particular for the management of historical scenery and the panoramic preservation of the scenery around monuments and roadside scenery. The Feasibility Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also states that the zoning plan and its management at Borobudur referred to the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law (Fig. 2.9). This paper argues that the management of the cultural landscape at Borobudur, proposed by the JICA Plan, which was referred to the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, was integrated into the larger landscape administration context.

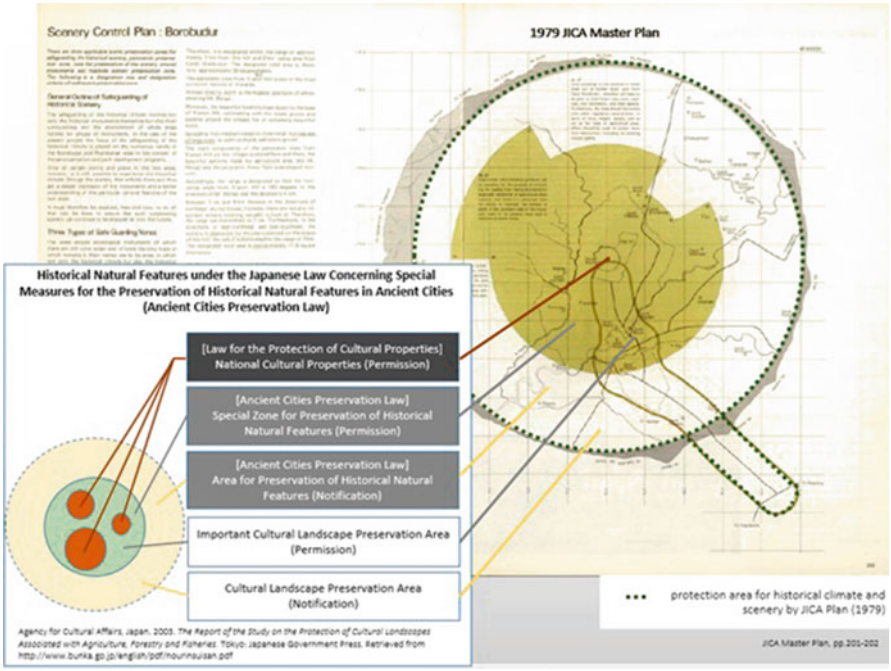


Fig. 2.9 The Borobudur integrated zoning system stemmed from the approach of *the Japanese Laws on Cultural Properties Protection and Ancient Cities Preservation* (source: Nagaoka's original diagram with information from Japan International Cooperation Agency and Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. 200)

2.8 Influence of Japanese Cultural Perception Approach in the JICA Master Plan

Yasutaka Nagai had perceived a requirement to establish a landscaping concept for the preservation of the Borobudur area when he first visited Borobudur in 1973 (Nagai, 1977). Nagai was impressed by the similarities between the Japanese and Javanese beliefs and rituals as well as the myths of Central Java (Figure 2.10).

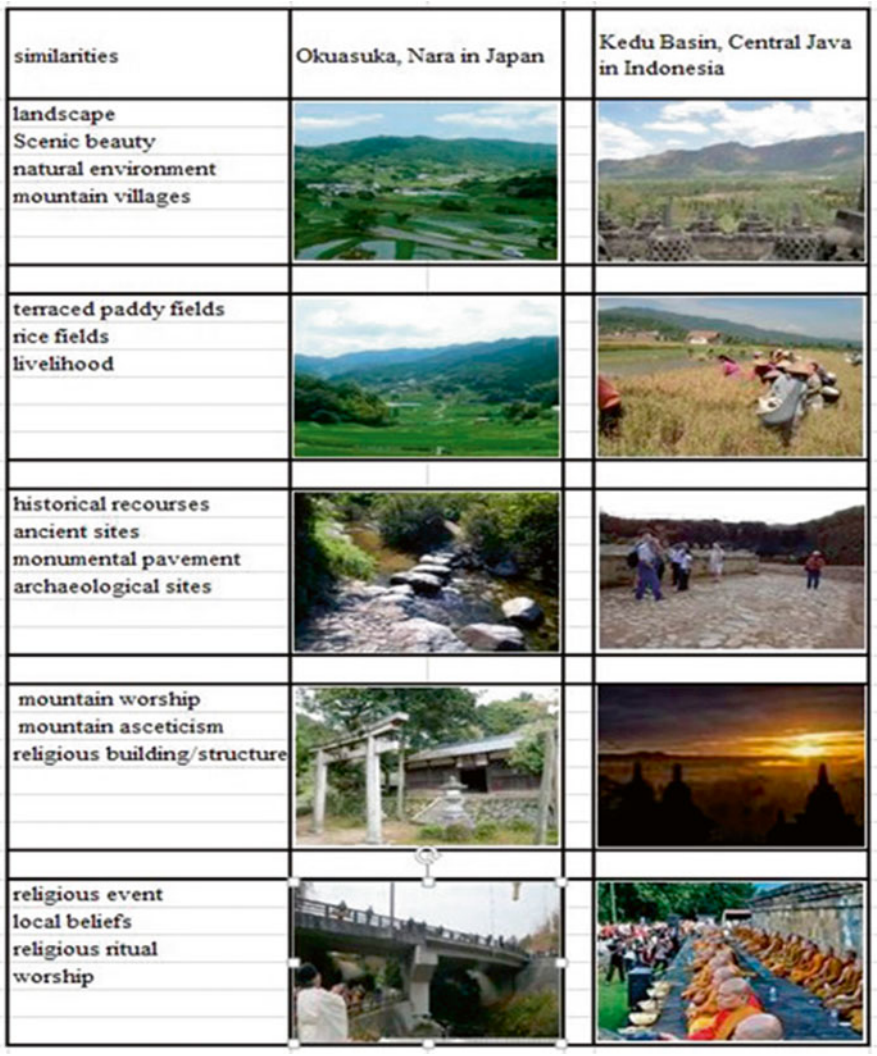


Fig. 2.10 Similarities between Nara in Japan and Central Java in Indonesia (photo source: Cultural landscape of Okuasuka, retrieved from http://www.asukamura.jp/bunkatekikeikan/imgs/pamphlet.pdf and Borobudur pictures taken by Nagaoka)

During my interview on 10 October 2013, one similarity Nagai noted was the terminology perception of *Mahoroba* (an archaic Japanese word), which is introduced in the *Kojiki*, one of the two primary sources for *Shinto*, the Japanese national religion. *Mahoroba* means a far-off land surrounded by mountains and full of bliss, peace, tranquility, and harmony. Nagai argues that the features of the natural climate of the Kedu Basin in Central Java are similar to one of Japan's geographical characteristics, the "Akitsushima Yamato type." Higuchi (1975) categorized Japan's landscape into seven geographical features.

Nagai further argued that the concept of *Mahoroba* in Japanese can be equated with *kejawen* in Javanese. The term *kejawen* embodies not only the geographical climate but also the cultural climate, including the long-held practices, rituals, and beliefs of the Javanese people. The living Borobudur landscape in Central Java can be understood in terms of the *kejawen* philosophy, which is linked to nature worship, mountain asceticism, and the Buddhism and Hinduism incorporated into local beliefs (Fig. 2.11). Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that:

> The Japanese view of nature worship which holds that deities dwell in natural objects throughout the universe has been at the foundation of religious beliefs since ancient times. Thus mountains, islands, forests, trees, ponds, swamps and other such elements of nature

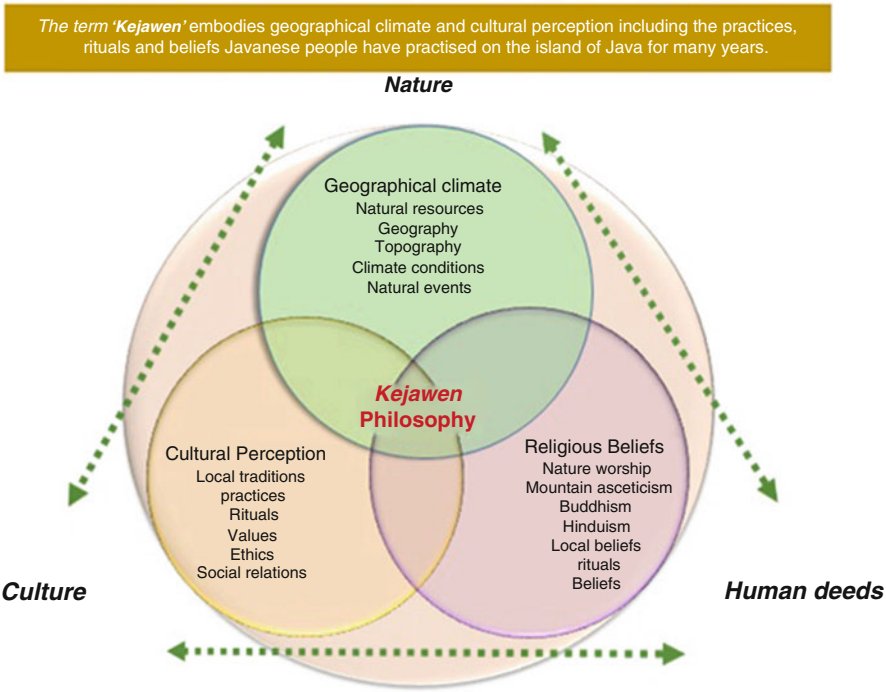


Fig. 2.11 Cultural landscape and sustainable development interfaces based on Kejawen philosophy (source: Nagaoka)

> are considered to be sacred objects or places where deities dwell; rivers and seas are viewed as holy entrances which lead to the paradise where deities dwell. Among these sacred places, mountains have been closely associated with the world after death, and there is a belief that the soul of a dead person climbs a mountain on its way up to heaven. At the same time, mountains have been thought to be divine homes where gods of wealth and agriculture dwell, probably because they are the places closest to heaven – places to which the gods could easily descend. (p. 28)

Having observed the natural climate and cultural values in Central Java, Nagai was convinced that the varieties in Javanese character and philosophy contributed to the maintenance of the unique nature–culture landscape in Central Java. He became convinced that local communities should play a major role in the landscape management process and incorporated this idea into a landscape management approach, with community participation as the heart of the JICA Master Plan (Nagai, 1977).

2.9 Scholars' Criticisms of the JICA Master Plan and Counterarguments from Nagai

It has been argued that some of the conflicts surrounding Borobudur stemmed from the planning process itself, specifically the approach proposed by the JICA team and taken on by the authorities. Several scholars have offered criticisms of the procedure concerning the creation phase of the JICA Master Plan. Wall and Black (2004) argue that:

> the master plan was prepared without the knowledge or input of local people … A top-down approach to planning was adopted in which government officials and international consultants imposed what they considered best on an unsuspecting local population. Furthermore, the planners, who lived in very different circumstances, tried to anticipate the needs of local people rather than to consult with them about their hopes and fears. As a consequence, the spiritual value of the monuments to local people was underestimated for they and their families had grown up in the shadows of the monuments and had a close affinity with them… it is suggested that heritage professionals have been slow to learn from the rural development community concerning the merits of public participation, equitable resource distribution and local involvement in decision making and in the distribution of benefits. (p. 438)

Additionally, Hampton (2005) underlines this position by asserting that "a management plan was jointly formulated by the Gadjah Mada University and JCIP (Japan City Planning) consultants without local consultation" (p. 739). Kausar & Nishikawa (2012) also asserts that:

> The Master Plan, drafted without residents' knowledge, outlines village improvement policies – policies which concentrated largely on the process of removing people and their homes which were clustered near the monument … A zoning plan insisted on the need for the move and for subsequent controls to be placed on the development outside the park as well … there was a general misunderstanding, reinforced by the presence of the Japanese

> experts, that this project was a private venture and that businessmen stood to benefit from great profits at the villagers' expense. This reason indicates that somehow in the process of park development, there was lack of communication between villagers and people in the project, hence this misunderstanding occurred … The author's survey also found a lack of local government's participation in the process of recreation park development. (pages 53-55)

Taylor (2004) also asserts:

> Site planning is a process often not well understood in heritage management and calls for expertise able to respond to the genius loci of a site or place as well as an understanding of cultural heritage management issues. Many sites around Asia, for example Borobudur quoted above, are compromised by poor site planning where such ancillary facilities as car parks, visitor centers and facilities are sited incorrectly and where visual and physical intrusion from adjacent land uses may be abrupt and distracting to the setting and enjoyment of the heritage place (p. 429).

Nagai explained, during my aforementioned interview, that the JICA team had been strictly instructed by the authorities not to interact with local communities, especially during field surveys. The reasons given for this position are unknown. Given this state of affairs, the JICA team was obliged to discuss their draft plans only with the Indonesian counterpart team members, most of whom were from the UGM and were not locals. These Indonesian team members were then left to communicate issues raised in the JICA Plan to the local people in the Borobudur area. Nagai (1977) outlines that, from 1973 to 1976, there were four field surveys, ten comprehensive discussions with their Indonesian counterparts, and nine interim report submissions to the Indonesian authorities. In addition, according to the JICA Master Plan (1979), there were six joint meetings with the Indonesian government and five field surveys between 1978 and 1979. A number of revisions of the draft plan were prepared after the receipt of comments and issues raised by the Indonesian counterparts, who had received feedback on the draft plan from the local Borobudur community. Kompas, a national newspaper which includes a local edition for each region of the country, reports (1979a and 1979b) that there were community consultation meetings on the subject provided by the authorities in March and October of 1979.

According to Kompas (1979), Dr. Haryati Soebadio, Director General of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture, and Dr. Achmad Tirtosudiro, Director General of Tourism at the Ministry of Communications and Chair of the Indonesian Steering Committee of the JICA Master Plan, explained the draft JICA Master Plan and the planned regulations to the locals and received a number of questions from community members. Nagai further argues that the JICA Plan was based on results from two research projects conducted by the Research Center of Architecture at the UGM in 1973 and 1977–1978. This process consisted of a series of in-depth community meetings with the goal of evaluating the status of the community environment in order to define the socio-economy of all twenty villages at Borobudur in the context of the project and to review the plans prepared earlier by the JICA team. In this

regard, Nagai emphasizes that the JICA Plan indeed adopted a community-based approach to its work. Iwasaki (2009) clarifies that:

> It is important to know that JICA study 1973–1974, 1975–1976 and 1978–1979 have been carried out with consultation to and coordination with the Consultative Committee of UNESCO for restoration project implemented since 1973 and completed in 1983. Besides, the series of JICA study had been well integrated with the studies of socio-economic, community and village improvement, mostly done by University of Gajah Mada commissioned by governments off and on since 1973 to 1979. Therefore, JICA Master Plan 1979 is a product of consolidated and integrated wisdom given by all concerned government decision makers, notable archeologists, intellectuals, professionals and community members. (p. 5)

2.10 Japanese Heritage Practitioners to Support the Landscape Concept in the JICA Master Plan

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the CC members were unanimous in supporting Chihara's initiative and the landscape protection concept aspect of the JICA Master Plan. Dr. Masaru Sekino, a Japanese Steering Committee member of the JICA study team, played a supporting role to Nagai and Chihara. When visiting Indonesia between 24 January and 4 February 1979, he met Achmad Tirtosudiro. Sekino (1979) claimed that zoning was the most pivotal principle for long-term preservation of historical monuments and landscape. Sekino further referred to an example adopted in Japan, the Heijo Palace in Nara, the imperial palace during most of the Nara period (710–784 A.D.), showcasing how historical monuments could be legally protected and noting the requirement of and commitment to a long term process. This site, with a 1 km^2 protection zone, took more than 50 years to be officially recognized as a national historical site; this finally happened in 1952. Sekino (1979) further suggested that the Indonesian authorities adopt a zoning system for the protection of historical monuments and landscape, of which designation should be achieved as clearly and as early as possible.

The JICA Master Plan referred to *kejawen* philosophy, proposed by Nagai and CC's recommendations and initiated by Chihara, along with support of Sekino. These were based on Japanese-influenced landscape concepts and legislation and attempted to introduce a management system to maintain the wider landscape of Central Java surrounding the Borobudur Temple. The JICA Master Plan, adopted by the Indonesian authorities in 1979, encompassed diverse features with the historic and natural environment surrounding Borobudur. The JICA Plan clarifies that "It is our duty now in the latter part of the twentieth century to ensure that these landscapes continue to be passed on to future generations" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 10). In April 1980, the Indonesian government agreed to implement the JICA Master Plan through a financial loan known as the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF), along with the Japanese government.

2.11 Conclusion

Considering the diverse and living cultural landscape of Borobudur, the JICA Master Plan, based on the results of preliminary studies—the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Regional Feasibility Study (1975–1976)—attempted to conceptualize the complexity of heritage values and to draw public involvement through management of cultural and natural resources, considering that both are reciprocally integral elements in terms of heritage value. This was attempted in the 1970s and sought to acknowledge the intrinsic link between nature and culture as well as the importance of local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement in the preservation of Borobudur's cultural landscape (Nagaoka 2015b). I assert that the JICA Plan attempted to introduce an innovative concept of heritage value that differed from the then current material-centric concept; it emphasized tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture and gave heritage a function and meaning for the community.

The JICA Plan also proposed to protect a wider historical climate and the natural environment surrounding the Borobudur Temple. By adopting the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, I argue that the JICA Plan introduced the concept of an integrated zoning system for the preservation of historical monuments and the scenery around cultural properties.

Although a number of scholars have critiqued the procedure concerning the creation phase of the JICA Master Plan, the majority of their critiques of the JICA Plan center on the idea that the plan was created without the knowledge of the nature of Java's unique culture and was done so in a hasty manner, without the input of local people and with a top-down approach to planning. These critiques believe that relevant government officials and international consultants imposed what they considered best in order to preserve the area. I assert that these researchers have not studied the three-consecutive series of JICA Plans in the 1970s, nor have they reached out to any of the Japanese planners involved in the creation process of the JICA Plan. Therefore, their critiques are flawed. In contrast, I argue that the proposal of the JICA Plan adopted a community-based approach to its work despite restricted conditions. The plan took place over seven years, between 1973 and 1979, before reaching a final proposal. Meanwhile, a series of missions to the site were executed, and they proceeded along with a number of consultation processes between the committee members of Japan and Indonesia. In addition, a number of revisions of the draft plans were recurrently prepared after the receipt of comments and issues raised by Indonesian counterparts who had received feedback on the draft plan from the local community at Borobudur.

Recognizing that working with communities enables identification of a broader range of heritage values, which had previously been undermined by official policies, the JICA Master Plan precociously attempted to help develop this approach in the 1970s. The JICA Master Plan attempted to introduce an innovative concept of heritage value, emphasizing tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture and giving heritage a function and a meaning for the community. I thus

assert that the JICA Plan explored a pioneering heritage management approach in the 1970s: the concept of cultural heritage was to move away from the focus on monumental and physical heritage or cultural property and to conceptualize heritage by widening landscaping as an integral part of heritage value representing the combined work of nature and man. In order to realize this concept and approach, the JICA Plan urged that the government and communities ought to have a joint stake in creating a new concept of heritage value, including listening to others in order to maintain a meaningful future for the region.

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Chapter 3
Buffering Borobudur for Socioeconomic Development in the 1980s: An Approach Distinct from European Value-Based Heritage Management

3.1 Introduction

There was a significant attempt created by the Japanese expert team, in the 1970s, to protect the landscape and surrounding areas of the Borobudur Temple. This plan, known as the JICA Master Plan, was influenced by cultural landscape management concepts and practices that had been developed in Japan since the early 1900s. Contrary to European-dominated discourse of heritage at that time, this approach sought to define and manage the wider cultural landscape in Central Java, as well as the buffer zone of the Borobudur Temple, with the inclusion of community participation.

However, the entire JICA Master Plan, including the concept of diversified Borobudur value protection and a wider setting in terms of cultural landscape and community participation, was not realized until the 1990s. Rather, the authorities focused on the protection of the Borobudur Temple and the establishment of the Borobudur Archeological Park. Nevertheless the JICA Plan, with the intention of smooth interaction between tourists and local businesses, attempted to use the Park as a buffer zone to provide an educational function and to benefit individuals living near the heritage site.

Leitao (2011) asserts that although the term "buffer zone" is relatively new, the concept has a long tradition in the practice of property protection. Kozlowski and Pterson (2005) argue that buffers are increasingly being used by planners and landscape managers as a valuable planning tool to conserve the values of protected areas and other remnant habitats. However, Gillespie (2012) asserts that there is still a lack of data about the evolution, use, and effectiveness of this approach. When buffer zones began to be introduced in the World Heritage system as optional requirements, in the 1970s, their primary aim was limited to the geographical protection measurement of "core" heritage sites in accordance with European ideas of heritage value (UNESCO, 2009). Stovel (2009) outlines the idea that buffer zones were therefore often established in a cursory or arbitrary fashion. Fejérdy (2009) points

M. Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2_3

out that, even following 40 years of refinement in the definition and purpose of buffer zones within the World Heritage system, as evident in the changing definition within the World Heritage Convention's *Operational Guidelines*, buffer zones remain a major ongoing issue for state parties, site managers, and other concerned stakeholders. Stovel (2009) underscores that it was only in the 1990s that the supplementary use of buffer zones to reinforce the protection measurement for the properties in relation to World Heritage practice began to be discussed within the World Heritage system. Yet the concept of buffer zones remains ambiguous and confusing, and many countries have faced difficulties in defining buffer zones in a manner appropriate to cultural heritage management (UNESCO, 2009). In addition, in the course of spatial planning and practice, community members have often been excluded from decision making for the management of sites.

Considering that discussions of a wider potential use and interpretation of buffer zones had not yet commenced on a large scale in the 1970s and 1980s, the JICA Master Plan—published in 1979—was ahead of its time in terms of heritage management. The plan proposed a shift in thinking about heritage values through the practice of buffer zones from a monument-centric approach to a wider context and a community participation approach. The JICA Plan underscores the idea that the wider landscape and surrounding areas ought to play a significant role, equivalent to that of monuments. Therefore, a "core" heritage site and its buffer zones are considered inseparable aspects of primary importance and both ought to be considered reciprocally integral elements in terms of heritage value (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). European approaches to cultural landscape concept tends to build up the cultural site rather than transcending the culture–nature binary (Brockwell, O'Connor, & Byrne, 2013), and this tends to separate humans from their environments (Lilley, 2013). Meanwhile, the JICA Plan was developed in direct contrast to the European ideas of heritage management. The argument developed in this chapter addresses the idea that the JICA Master Plan attempted to explore a new approach to heritage management discourse at Borobudur, in the 1980s, which promoted recognition of buffer zones as a tool protecting and promoting wider values such as people's connection to the site through education and welfare; the idea was that this would help to ensure the protection of heritage as a whole.

There has not been a detailed study concerning the buffer zone concept at Borobudur. This chapter therefore undertakes a historical account of the evolution of the Borobudur buffer zone system in the 1980s. Focusing on the implementation phase of the JICA Master Plan in the 1980s, this chapter argues that there exists a gap between the concept and its application in heritage management, causing a number of issues such as negative sociocultural impact on the local community and separation of individuals from the site. This study demonstrates that while the concept of the Borobudur buffer zone plan introduced a new approach within Indonesia, the government of Indonesia continued an authority-driven monument-centered heritage management approach during the implementation phase of the Park Project, whose process of establishment is itself important to understand. Indeed, scholars have yet to analyze crucial management planning documents for the establishment

of the Borobudur Archeological Park. These documents include the JICA Master Plan, the linked implementation document entitled "Updated Former Plans and the Schematic Design for Borobudur and the Prambanan National Archeological Parks Project" (updated plan). The aforementioned updated plan proposed a practical and exhaustive design for the establishment of the Borobudur Park and therefore can be viewed as an updated JICA Master Plan.

One of the reasons that the Borobudur Park Project has not yet been examined in detail is limited access to this updated plan. With the exception of a few individuals and institutes who dealt with the execution of the Park Project in the 1980s, only the Indonesian authorities, the Park Management Authority, and PTW have access to the updated plan. The updated plan is, in principle, not disclosed to the public and can only be viewed with the permission of the Indonesian authorities, thereby reducing opportunities for research to be undertaken on the ways in which the JICA Master Plan was modified and the manner in which the Park Project was executed in the 1980s. I opportunely received permission from the PTW to have access to the updated plan on 23 November 2012, thereby making this study possible to pursue.

I argue that the government's approach held back the shift of heritage management to community involvement. In order to develop this argument, wider interdisciplinary debates in heritage studies, and particularly with reference to the conceptual and practical issues of World Heritage management and local community participation, are introduced in this chapter.

3.2 The Evolution of Buffer Zones in the European-Dominated Heritage Discourse and World Heritage System

Elliott (2008) asserts that New York City adopted the first major zoning ordinance in 1916 with the aim of achieving sustainable forms of urban development. This zoning document introduced a narrative list of permitted uses, as well as a list of setbacks and height limits, in order to avoid crowding their neighbors. With regard to Europe, Draye (2006) asserts that although many international conventions pay attention to the protection of immovable heritage and safeguarding surroundings of protected monuments, landscapes, and archeological assets, they do not use the term "buffer zone." For example, inter-governmental collaboration existed between European states, established in order to develop new international frameworks and principles for the protection of heritage and the immediate surroundings of protected properties since the 1960s. The 1969 European Convention on the protection of the Archeological Heritage is another example, as is the 1985 Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe and the 2000 European Landscape Convention. Although these conventions do not explicitly introduce concrete measures for the protection of surrounding areas with regard to heritage, they urge each party to promote measures for the general enhancement of the environment.

Within these international heritage principles, the term "buffer zone" was first applied to natural areas and came to prominence as a result of the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere program, which was launched in 1971 (Kozlowski & Pterson, 2005). This idea aimed to accommodate the multiple functions of biosphere reserves in a given area (UNESCO, 2009), functioning as a clear tool to delineate the site on the map in terms of what protection and/or regulations existed within a given area. The 2013 version of the *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* defines the objective of buffer zones as proper protection of the World Heritage property, clearly calling for the effective protection of the nominated property with legal and or customary restrictions. Paragraph 104 of the *Operational Guidelines* states:

> For the purposes of effective protection of the nominated property, a buffer zone is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. This should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection (UNESCO, 2013, p. 26).

In the World Heritage system, the concept of buffer zones can first be traced to the 1977 version of the *Operational Guidelines* and have developed through subsequent versions through to contemporary times (Gillespie, 2012). Paragraph 25 of the 1978 version states that "when setting the boundary of a property to be nominated to the List, the concept of a buffer zone around the property may be applied where appropriate and feasible" (UNESCO, 1978, p. 11). The 1980 *Operational Guidelines* synthesize this statement, replacing an optional requirement with a vital obligation: "whenever necessary for the proper conservation of a cultural or natural property nominated, an adequate buffer zone around a property should be foreseen and should be afforded the necessary protection" (UNESCO, 1980, p. 4). This buffer zone definition from 1980 remained principally unchanged until 1988. According to the current version of the *Operational Guidelines*, especially paragraphs 103–107, the presence of buffer zones is strongly recommended but not mandatory for the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List. Paragraph 106 of the *Operational Guidelines* states "where no buffer zone is proposed, the nomination should include a statement as to why a buffer zone is not required" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 26). As specified in paragraph 107 of the 2013 version, "any modifications to or creation of buffer zones … should be approved by the World Heritage Committee" (p. 26). This paragraph shows that the notion of buffer zones has gained increasing importance over the years, within the World Heritage system (UNESCO, 2009).

Despite refinements of the definition and purpose of buffer zones within the World Heritage system, as evident in the *Operational Guidelines*, buffer zones remain a significant ongoing issue for state parties, site managers, and other concerned stakeholders. For example, on the second cycle of the Periodic Reporting exercise in Asia and the Pacific region, 62 properties (31.3 %) out of 198 World Heritage properties in Asia and the Pacific do not have buffer zones (UNESCO, 2012b). In addition, 21 % of the respondents to the questionnaire (site managers and focal point national officials) felt the boundaries of the buffer zone to be inappropriate

(UNESCO, 2012b). The UNESCO African Periodic Reporting (2003) outlines that respondents felt more than half of the site boundaries of World Heritage sites in Africa were inappropriate, and two thirds of the state parties in Africa deemed that buffer zone ought to be redelineated. The UNESCO Periodic Report in Latin America and the Caribbean region (2006) suggests that 34.4 % of respondents do not consider the borders and buffer zones of their sites adequate to ensure protection of the World Heritage sites, and 47.5 % of them responded that site boundaries and buffer zones should be revised. The UNESCO Periodic Report in Europe and North America (2007b) clarifies that, with regard to properties inscribed on the World Heritage List until 1998, 42 % of the properties did not have a buffer zone. This study argues that these results show that issues related to buffer zones represent ongoing challenges at World Heritage sites (Nagaoka, 2015a).

Fejérdy (2009) argues that "it is true that we have the tool of buffer zones to reduce the impact of those uses on the World Heritage property, but this tool is not always effective and many do not exist in many cases" (p. 140). In his study on buffer zones, Stovel (2009) found that early nominations of the World Heritage List buffer zone requirements appeared less stringent. Indeed, according to the nomination dossiers in the very early days of World Heritage List inscription, from 1978 until 1980 (the time the JICA Master Plan was produced), 65 sites were inscribed as cultural heritage sites[1]. Among these, only two had defined buffer zones, leaving 97 % of cultural heritage sites inscribed during these early years with no identifiable buffer zones. Even with regard to the two sites which did have buffer zones, Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines in Poland and Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay in France, the World Heritage Committee expressed strong concerns about inadequate delineation of buffer zones as well as an increasing threat to the properties, and hence recommended a reexamination and possible alteration of such boundaries (UNESCO, 2008, 1990). In this regard, during the early years of the implementation the World Heritage Convention, buffer zones received little attention from the Member States within the World Heritage Convention (Nagaoka, Masanori, 2015b).

While the World Heritage Convention has the merit of embracing a broad spectrum of heritage categories (Bandarin, 2012), the concept of buffer zones is becoming an issue of concern. The confusion may stem from the fact that buffer zones are not part of the World Heritage site. Paragraph 107 of the 2013 OGs clearly states that "buffer zones are not part of the nominated property" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 26). For this reason, Stovel (2009) asserts that most state parties place buffer zones around a site, whether it is necessary or not, to ensure that they do not have any trouble with the evaluation and decision making processes of the World Heritage system.

Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) argue that the use of zones to limit uses in defined spaces can be contrary to the cultural richness and social diversity of a thriving historic center. Indeed, the World Heritage system requires defined spaces for the iden-

[1] In 1978, 12 sites were inscribed on the WH List; eight sites were cultural heritage sites. In 1979, 38 were inscribed as cultural heritage sites out of 44 sites were inscribed on the WH List. (Note: Two sites are listed as a mixed site). In 1980, 23 cultural heritage sites out of 28 properties were inscribed on the WH List.

tification of buffer zones, which negatively impact the integrity of heritage value. The setting of buffer zones can be concerned with more than the physical and visual aspects; emphasis also should be given to the importance of social and cultural context, and to maintenance of intangible traditional practices and knowledge which have shaped the historic development of heritage places and continue to sustain their significant values. In this regard, the buffer zone should define a suitable perimeter as well as play required protective measures for the integrity and/or wholeness of the value of World Heritage properties. Gillespie (2012) underscores that "the tensions and potentially significant impacts that the inclusion or exclusion of buffer zones for World Heritage properties creates has led to calls for a review of the use of buffer zones in the World Heritage management" (p. 198).

3.3 Community Participation in Heritage Management

Clark (2008) argues that while the debates of the definition and purposes of buffer zones in the World Heritage system have advanced the discussion and broadened the issue and the understanding of cultural properties and the World Heritage system, heritage experts and conservation practitioners are beginning to recognize the importance of greater public participation. One significant development in contemporary World Heritage concepts and approaches to communities and World Heritage has been the addition in 2007, at the 31st World Heritage Committee meeting, of "Communities" to the Strategic Objectives, (UNESCO, 2012a). The inclusion of this fifth "C"—Community—among the other four "C's" of Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-Building, and Communication, has marked a turning point at the national level and in the World Heritage system. It underlines that the enhancement of the role of communities in the conservation of heritage is of primary importance and must be taken into account in all activities undertaken in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2007a). Today, involvement of community is more clearly stated in paragraph 12 of the 2013 version of the *Operational Guidelines*:

> States Parties to the Convention are encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of World Heritage properties (UNESCO, 2013, p. 3).

Yet a central concern of the World Heritage system with community involvement still remains because even community participation within heritage management is framed and legitimized by a set of principles within the World Heritage Convention: the Member States to the Convention define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used. Stovel (2009) underlines that the requirement for World Heritage sites to be protected by a documented management system resulted in the form of government-driven procedures. Deegan (2012) clarifies that making this process more difficult is the fact that the criteria for assess-

ing the Outstanding Universal Value of sites for nomination to the World Heritage List, as well as the concept of authenticity, has been conceptualized, explained, and understood from a European viewpoint and thus conflicts with non-European conceptualizations of authenticity, aesthetics, and social values. Logan (2012) underscores the importance of minimizing top-down approaches to governance in the World Heritage system and trying to incorporate local and regional conceptions of cultural heritage and conservation practice. Taylor (2012) also argues that it is fundamentally important to listen to communities and learn how to communicate findings to planners, politicians, and developers who could be influential in making land-use policy and decisions. Bandarin (2012) argues that the aforementioned declarations and charters in Asia recognized cultural diversity as one of the fundamental dimensions in the understanding of the significance of heritage. The Nara Document, for example, advocates a community-centered approach to heritage management, underlining that "Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently, to that which cares for it" (ICOMOS, 1994, p. 2). Merode, Smeets, and Westrik (2004) assert that it is imperative that the traditional values and practices of local communities are respected, encouraged, and accommodated so as to achieve sustainable management of World Heritage sites.

3.4 Buffer Zones as Management Tools

Along with the debate surrounding community participation in heritage management, there have also been a number of discussions within the World Heritage system addressing issues of buffer zones, specifically evolving buffer zones away from a purely protective measure for cultural heritage to a much wider approach (UNESCO, 2009). Significant debate and developments around this issue occurred at the 2005 ICOMOS General Assembly in Xian (China), the 2005 Vienna Conference on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture, the 2006 ICOMOS meeting on buffer zones in Hiroshima (Japan), the 2006 Periodic Reporting Follow-up Meeting in Warsaw (Poland), and the 2008 International Expert Meeting on World Heritage and Buffer Zones in Davos (Switzerland). Some of the key findings from these discussions regarding buffer zones reaffirmed the importance of integral aspects of cultural heritage and the surrounding environment being properly recognized as well as the ability to define a suitable perimeter and the necessary protective measures. Therefore, buffer zones, when used as management tools, ought to be protected by a legal framework.

Because buffer zones are aimed to ensure effective protection of only nominated property as World Heritage sites, the *Operational Guidelines* do not refer to the buffer zones' functional, visual, and structural relationship between buffer zones and beyond them; the *Operational Guidelines* do not prescribe the issue of harmonization of visual integrity of skyline or landscapes between inside and outside of buffer zones. It is clear that the environment of World Heritage properties and buffer

zones may have a direct impact, to include even larger distances. Consequently, the importance of a zone of influence—above and beyond the actual buffer zone—was hotly discussed since the early 2000s as a reaction to specific challenges facing World Heritage sites (UNESCO, 2009). The delineation of buffer zones on the map and the accompanying regulations should make it clear to all interested parties what is allowed, what is not allowed, and where. Given this, the adequate planning and implementation process involving all levels of stakeholders for the management of a property with a buffer zone is paramount; particularly important is effective integration of local perspectives into the administrative process.

The *Operational Guidelines* of the World Heritage Convention continue to encourage its member states to adopt top-down legal and regulatory systems (Clark, 2008). Issues in heritage management in World Heritage systems, in particular zoning approach and community involvement, are still undetermined and must be addressed. These different understandings are evident in the case of the Borobudur Temple, in particular at the time of the establishment of the Borobudur Park and implementation of the buffer zone concept in the 1980s. While the Indonesian authorities pursued a historic monument preservation approach following European perspectives on what was deemed worth preserving, the JICA Master Plan attempted to introduce the role of buffer zones for the application of integrity for cultural heritage and wider cultural landscapes and the involvement of communities in the protection of the landscape. This approach was in direct contrast to the early World Heritage system and the European-developed ideas of heritage management.

3.5 The Borobudur Archeological Park Concept in the 1979 JICA Master Plan

In the 1950s and 1960s, the worldwide movement of a number of safeguarding monument campaigns was initiated by UNESCO. Examples include the Abu Simbel Temples in Egypt, Mohenjo-daro in Pakistan, and Venice and its Lagoon in Italy. The restoration of the Borobudur Temple was one of the early large-scale models for the preservation of archeological monuments. After a plan for the restoration of the Borobudur Temple was adopted in Paris, France on 29 January 1973, Indonesian authorities, UNESCO, and international heritage conservation experts launched the international campaign for the safeguarding of Borobudur in 1973 (UNESCO, 1973). During this period, there was a unique initiative to utilize the Borobudur Archeological Park as a buffer zone; this had been proposed by the JICA Master Plan. This plan introduced an important shift by proposing heritage value away from the monument-centric concept to a wider context including a community participation approach. This was one of the first operations to not only preserve a country's significant ancient monument but also to develop a social-economic infrastructure to sustain the Borobudur area as a heritage and tourist destination.

The plan also aimed to promote practices between people and heritage through creative aspects within buffer zones.

Jointly produced by the Committee of the Indonesian and Japanese, one of the aims of the JICA Master Plan was to establish an archeological park of 87.1 ha around the Borobudur Temple in order to enable the people of Indonesia and of other countries to become better acquainted with the academic, historical, and educational value of such cultural assets (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). In addition to park construction per se, the complex project also aimed to contribute to the socioeconomic development of the region with the excavation and restoration of archeological ruins, reorganization of the surrounding areas, and large-scale provision of roads and other infrastructure.

3.6 Advocacy of the JICA Master Plan: Community Participation in the Safeguarding of Borobudur

The JICA Master Plan was produced in 1979 during the time of the centralized and military-dominated presidency of Suharto; this period of authoritarianism made it difficult for the public to criticize the authorities. In contrast, the JICA Master Plan was innovative and democratic, emphasizing community participation and sustainable development of the area in the process of the Park Project. The JICA Master Plan (1979) stresses that "it is essential to implement the plan with smooth relations between the agencies concerned in the national and provincial administration and the inhabitants" (p. 193). The Plan (1979) further underscores that "in order to foster such an attitude on the part of local residents, it is necessary that their wishes and the collective decisions made by them be given priority consideration with efforts of the kind so as to ensure that their interests are not prejudiced" (p. 200). The JICA Plan also refers to an example adopted in Japan, outlining how the local community can be involved in the official administrative decision-making process (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). The spirit of the JICA Master Plan included local residents playing a central role in ensuring the preservation of the area concerned. This was in sharp contrast to the then Indonesian government's management discourse.

Cultural properties in Indonesia have been protected since 1931, when the colonial government of The Netherlands passed Ordinance Number 19 of 1931 regarding monuments; this was amended by another ordinance in 1934 (The Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Indonesia's heritage policy and management was thus strongly influenced by that of the Netherlands, due to the Dutch colonization to Indonesia. The Indonesian authorities followed colonial conservation policies focusing on the preservation of the physical colonial buildings and archeological remains, which were exclusively managed by conservation experts. Eickhoff and Bloembergen (2011) argue that, in Indonesia, this Western hegemony over "official heritage discourse continued until the post-colonial period and beyond" (p. 431). The JICA

Master Plan provided a novel approach for the country to introduce ways and means of preserving cultural heritage with community participation and different understandings of heritage management.

The Indonesian authorities adopted the JICA proposal when the Indonesian government agreed to implement the JICA Master Plan through a financial loan known as the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) with the Japanese government In April 1980.

One of the most important actions espoused by the authorities at this time appointing Boediardjo as the first President of PTW. Boediardjo belonged to a family that had lived in the Borobudur village for eight generations and whose members had long served as local village chiefs. Moreover, Boediardjo was a former Indonesian Minister of Information, an Indonesian Ambassador to Spain, the President of the Indonesian Orchid Association, and a Wayang puppet theater player. Running a presidency of PTW from 1980 to 1985, and maintaining strong ties to the regime, he was appointed by the authorities to promote a dialogue as a mediator between the Indonesian authorities and the local community at Borobudur, and thereby to "reflect the voices of villagers in official administrative measures" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 200). The JICA Master Plan served as guidance to the authorities to explore joint and harmonious cooperation with the local community to realize the Park Project (Nagaoka, 2015a).

3.7 Outline of the Updated Plan

The MTCT found the need to amend the JICA Master Plan from a basic conceptual plan into a practical and exhaustive design when it came to the implementation phase of the Park Project (Ministry of Transport Communications and Tourism, the Republic of Indonesia, 1981). Given this, a joint team of Indonesian and Japanese experts was formed in order to complete various studies and surveys. As a result, the updated plan was produced in July 1981 and included an amended plan of the park areas and facilities, the development of a budget and detailed construction costs, an implementation schedule, and the operational scheme of the park authorities.

The JICA Master Plan proposed not only a preservation plan for the Borobudur Temple but also a vision for the overall development and control of the surrounding areas covering 114.6 km^2. This is in contrast to the updated plan, which concentrated predominantly on the realization of the park establishment in the immediate surroundings of the temple rather than the wider area surrounding the park. The Indonesian authorities began implementing the Park Project after taking custody of the project in accordance with an agreement with the Government of Japan in April 1980; this agreement included a financial loan from the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF). Concerning the management of the wider surrounding areas, the updated plan (Joint Venture Firms, 1981a) only mentions the role of the government as "tourism promotion, development of tourism infrastructure in the regions, and regional development, particularly the development of village improve-

ment program" (p. 3). The implementation of the preservation and development of the wider areas, especially zones 3, 4, and 5[2], came to be under the responsibility of the Indonesian authorities, whereas zones 1 and 2[3] were to be executed by the Indonesian authorities under the assistance of the JICA team, who had initiated the elaboration of the updated plan[4].

Although the basic concepts of the Park Project in the updated plan are the same as in the JICA Master Plan, there are also some significant modifications which helped reinforce and improve the function of the Borobudur archeological Park. One of the most significant changes involved the Park buffer zone, which was used to fulfill the roles of educational and socioeconomic development in unison with the conservation of the temple. As argued previously in this chapter, during the 1970s and 1980s buffer zones were treated as zones of lesser importance in comparison to the "core" areas of cultural properties. However, the 1979 JICA Master Plan and the 1981 updated plan recognized the importance of a buffer zone with different purposes and roles adjacent to the temple, with the plans identifying that core and buffer zones should be designed together and considered indispensable and integral elements.

3.8 The Educational Function of Buffer Zones

The JICA Master Plan proposed to establish a Borobudur Archeological Conservation Center within the park to give the buffer zone an educational function. However, the responsible owner and beneficiaries of the premises were not explicitly stated in the JICA Plan; hence, the updated plan proposed two premises for the park and specified their roles, objectives, and functions. One of these was an Archeological

[2] Zone 3 for regulation of land use around the parks and preservation of the environment while controlling development in areas surrounding the parks; zone 4 for maintenance of the historical scenery and prevention of destruction of the scenery; zone 5 for undertaking archeological surveys over a wide area and prevention of destruction of undiscovered archeological monuments (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 19).

[3] Zone 1 for protection and prevention of destruction of the physical environment; zone 2 for provision of park facilities for the convenience of visitors and preservation of the historical environment (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 19).

[4] Iwasaki (2009, p. 6) clarifies that "Land acquisition, relocation of villages and sub-district center, by-pass construction, and the construction of the entrance area (parking, souvenir shops, and entrance gate) of the park were out of scope of financial and technical assistance of OECF. Those were implemented by newly established (in 1980) PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur and Prambanan, and Ministry of Public Works with local government in 1980–1986. The construction of the Borobudur Park (Zones 1 and 2) except the entrance area was carried out in 1986–1988 after the international tender process (in 1984–1985) for selection of contractors. The existing park is as constructed by 1988 excepting the additional Ship Museum as well as additional enormous number of souvenir shops. The comparison by the Consultant between the existing situation and JICA Master Plan is practically the comparison between the existing situation and the development in 1988 which was based on JICA Master Plan 1979."

Conservation Centre for the national officials under the custody of the Ministry of Education and Culture, with a view to conducting a comprehensive research in all scientific aspects of restoration work, including petrography, chemistry, microbiology, archeological surveys, research, excavations, etc. (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

The other was the Center for Borobudur Study, a place of research where both experts and students could pursue heritage studies and promote cultural exchange (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). In addition to these educational facilities, it was planned that an archeological museum would be constructed within the park, with a view to introducing the history of Borobudur, the restoration works completed in the twentieth century, and archeological discoveries to visitors. In order to harmonize these educational facilities with a scenic view within the park, the height of their architecture was limited to one-story, and indigenous trees were planted around these buildings (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979), with the aim that when the area was seen from the temple, it would appear as if the entire area was blanketed by green vegetation (Joint Venture Firms, 1981b). These ideas originally stemmed from the JICA Master Plan, which proposed the establishment of three educational facilities within the buffer zone to be the "Mecca of research on archeological monuments in Indonesia" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 42).

3.9 Strategic Use of Social, Cultural, and Economic Factors of the Buffer Zone

The JICA Master Plan and the updated plan also proposed that a social and economic strategy should be included in the buffer zone plan. The plans encouraged development that would be beneficial to the site and surrounding communities by providing an opportunity to gain maximum revenue from visitors and promote smooth interaction between tourists and local businesses. The plans also proposed that souvenir shops and a parking lot be established at the entrance area of the park, with a view to maintaining attractive conditions for tourists entering the park while providing substitute premises to local individuals who had been requested to relocate to new areas. The JICA Master Plan (1979) envisaged 15 souvenir shops within a 450 m^2 area, whereas the updated plan (Joint Venture Firms, 1981b) proposed to increase the number of shops to 100, with a total floor space of 1000 m^2. By 1984, an area for 120 kiosks was secured (PTW, 2011). The JICA Master Plan (1979) stipulates that "these plans will serve as guidelines for community development in the archeological park areas on the basis of a spirit of participation and cooperation on the part of the local government and the local residents" (p. 182). Thus, the Park Project attempted to benefit the rural population through the generation of sustainable and dependable income from tourism.

Table 3.1 Visitor numbers to the Borobudur Archeological Park

Year	Domestic	Foreign	Total number
1985	1,005,802	70,050	1,075,852
1986	1,087,694	81,610	1,169,304
1987	995,181	92,797	1,087,978
1988	902,693	113,805	1,016,498
1989	1,025,313	122,964	1,148,277
1990	1,602,359	219,645	1,822,004
1991	1,613,023	227,676	1,800,699
1992	1,677,489	312,525	1,990,014
1993	1,743,022	342,283	2,085,305
1994	1,814,097	340,372	2,154,469
1995	2,053,488	325,149	2,378,637
1996	1,980,949	311,315	2,292,264
1997	1,991,404	283,818	2,275,222
1998	1,279,460	115,309	1,394,769
1999	1,764,934	86,258	1,351,192
2000	2,559,527	114,440	2,673,967
2001	2,470,647	111,136	2,581,783
2002	1,998,355	107,972	2,106,327
2003	2,008,949	61,744	2,070,693
2004	1,935,918	90,524	2,026,442
2005	1,903,582	89,144	1,992,726
2006	1,182,212	60,850	1,243,062
2007	1,681,122	91,898	1,773,020
2008	2,108,331	129,383	2,237,714
2009	2,381,070	153,248	2,534,318
2010	2,283,818	155,961	2,439,779
2011	1,949,817	168,028	2,117,845
2012	2,830,230	193,982	3,024,212
2013	2,845,167	530538	3,375,705

Figure source: Data Pengunjung Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Tahun 1985–2013, PTW

One result of the implementation of this zoning approach and creation of the park was a significant increase in visitors to the Borobudur Park when it was officially opened in 1989 (Table 3.1). Visitor data from this period illustrates that the completion of the Park Project helped to boost tourism considerably (Fig. 3.1).

3.10 Limitations of the Park Project

While implementation of the Park Project achieved several positive outcomes, a number of negative aspects detracted from its accomplishments. The most negative result was the estrangement of PTW/the authorities and the local community

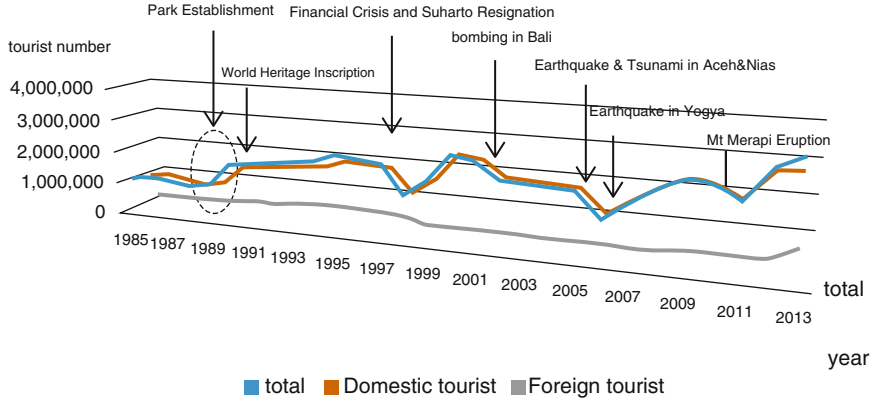

Fig. 3.1 Progression of visitor numbers to the Borobudur archeological park (source: Data Pengunjung Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Tahun 1985–2012, PTW) (Table data: Nagaoka)

due to the land acquisition process within the planned park area. The Indonesian authorities owned only 17.8 ha within the planned park in 1979, with another 27 ha of private property needing to be acquired in order to complete it. Of this, 8.4 ha represented privately owned farmland and 4.7 ha residential land holding of 273 households, with a total population of 1329 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). In order to secure a buffer zone for the Borobudur Archeological Park, the farming fields and residential building areas within the buffer zone were to be leveled and replanted with vegetation. Given these plans, inhabitants' cooperation with the buffer zone was crucial for the realization of the Park Project.

According to the JICA Plan (1979), inflation of land price at the project site in 1978 had already become high due to the realization of the Park Project. In order to best handle this situation, it became urgent to launch a proper assessment program of land prices while publicizing a relocation plan so that the Park Project would not cause the need to resettle at unnecessary loss or disadvantage. During my interview on 11 November 2012, Yasuhiro Iwasaki, former Director of the Japan City Planning who assisted the Indonesian authorities in implementing the Park Project from 1980 to 1988, explained that a survey team was refused entry to one of the villages by the residents; the team had been hoping to complete a topographical survey. Iwasaki recalled settlers, rather than community villagers, came from outside the Borobudur village area to within the planned park; they may have heard that the land price in the vicinity of the Borobudur Temple would increase due to the Park Project. The increasing cost/inflation of prices posed problems for the authorities, who decided to purchase, transfer ownership, substitute land, and reserve parkland as quickly as possible.

Although the JICA Plan (1979) proposed that the villagers be fairly compensated with suitable substitute land, after an appropriate assessment of real estate value, the

actual land acquisition process executed by the authorities distressed local inhabitants. There were three main aspects to how residents suffered during the procedure:

3.10.1 Breaches of Fair Indemnity to the Land Owners

The national budget of 1979–1981 was secured by the Indonesian authorities for compensation to local residents within the park. According to the Operation Plan (Joint Venture Firms, 1982), Rp. 3,800 million was utilized in 1980 and Rp. 2600 million in 1981 for acquiring the land, with a further estimate of Rp. 7600 million required for the remaining necessary land. However, Jack Priyana, one of the residents of a Kenayan village living in the immediate vicinity of the Borobudur Temple, stated during my group interview on 10 February 2013 that "the price of the new location the government proposed to us was ten times higher than the reparation cost. How can we purchase the proposed land and build our houses under this condition?" Sucoro, who was the last resident relocated from the Kenayan village to outside of the Borobudur Archeological Park, said "to express our disagreement, some of them joined in a demonstration against the authorities." Indeed, residents conducted a number of protest mobilization actions against the authorities. During one of the largest demonstrations, 20 Borobudur villagers marched to the head of the Regional Parliament of Central Java on 24 February 1981, carrying a petition signed by 123 villagers to express their complaints (Kompas, 1981c).

3.10.2 Non-involvement of the Community in the Decision-Making on Resettlement

The authorities gave local residents limited opportunities with respect to information sharing on the relocation plan and indemnity. There were several meetings inviting local residents so that the relocation plan could be explained. This included meetings on 25 January 1981, 9 February 1981, and 25 August 1982 (Kompas, 1981a, 1982b). Kompas (1982a), a national paper with a local section specific to each region, reported that not only were the relocation plan and indemnity issues causing problems but also that "the social program has never been explained to the community in order to provide a more positive description on the project (p. 1)." Furthermore, according to Sucoro and Priyana, the authorities prohibited local residents from organizing meetings among themselves, resulting in clandestine meetings at the local cemetery.

Fig. 3.2 Concrete blockages setting (source: Sucoro)

3.10.3 Forced Displacement

In the midst of the land acquisition process, the authorities took action to accelerate residents' displacement. Kompas (1983) reported that "since 1 April, the State Electricity Company have disconnected the power supply to inhabitants' houses left in Ngaran, Kenayan and Krajan villages, all of which are located around Borobudur Temple, at the location planned as the tourism park" (p. 8). The border of people's homes, and roads heading to the Borobudur Temple were segregated, without notice to villagers (Kompas, 1981b), with bamboo fences set to stake out the boundary of the residential area and the access road to the Temple blocked by concrete obstacles placed on the road (Fig. 3.2). One result of these changes was that local sellers, who had previously operated food stalls and merchandise stores from their homes, were forced to interact with visitors through fences (Fig. 3.3). In addition, the local people were quarantined from various public services, electrical supplies, networks of public roads, and visitors; instead, they were left inside fences. While 1329 people resided in zone 2 between 1977 and 1979, all residents had moved out by March 1984, purchasing new land with compensation received from the authorities. Eventually, the Park Project was completed in 1988, resulting in residents' displacement. The final result may have been nearly total separation of the site from the surrounding local community (Hampton, 2005).

Despite the issues delineated above, some villagers were sympathetic to the concept of the JICA Plan despite opposing the process of land acquisition implemented by the authorities. During my interview, Sucoro, Priyana, Atta, and Nurrohmat—

Fig. 3.3 Local sellers interacting with visitors through fences (source: Sucoro)

villagers who were displaced to outside of the Park—stated that the place should be open for the public to learn about Borobudur and that the local community should be responsible for protecting the temple, acting as civil guardians. According to these individuals, this commitment should be inherited, and considered a pivotal communal role, by the next generation. Furthermore, they underlined that if these individuals were involved in the process in a more constructive way, they may be more willing to provide their land and be more prepared to adjust their respective architecture styles alongside the surrounding situation of the park by, for example, making it fit with the traditional Javanese architectural style.

In the course of the establishment of the Borobudur buffer zone system, the primary aim of the project changed, becoming limited by the geographical protection measurement of the heritage site itself. Unfortunately, community members were excluded from the decision-making process of the creation and management of the Borobudur Park. Although the JICA Master Plan proposed a community-centered approach in creating buffer zones and surrounding areas of the Borobudur Temple, the application of the concept executed by the Indonesian government followed an authority-driven heritage discourse. As Long (1993) argues, if local people are not involved in the planning process, the implementation of even the most well-planned, well-meaning mitigating programs will be altered by those individuals. In order for community members to feel a shared responsibility in the maintenance of the historical monument and its surrounding landscape, they should have participated in the consultation process and their voices should have been reflected in any decision made with regard to the Park Project.

3.11 Conclusion

The concept of the Borobudur Archeological Park, created in 1979, marked a significant development in international heritage management by seeking to define and introduce a non-European hegemonic approach to heritage management. It is important to note that the plan attempted to explore the wider definition of heritage value and its management, promoting recognition of buffer zones and surrounding areas of the Borobudur Temple as tools by which to strengthen the bond between individuals and heritage. In this regard, the JICA Master Plan attempted to give functional importance to buffer zones by enhancing the value for the surrounding areas of a historical monument and benefitting those living around the site.

Considering that the supplementary use of buffer zones to reinforce the protection measurement for the properties had not yet commenced in the World Heritage system in the 1970s, the JICA Master Plan explored a pioneering, integrated approach to buffer zones in order to evolve these from a pure layer of geographical protection for a monument to a much wider concept, including holistic contribution of educational, social, and economic development. This aimed to utilize the monuments and their surrounding areas as cultural and educational assets for all citizens while facilitating smooth interaction between tourists and local sellers in order for the latter to fairly gain from the benefit of tourism under this arrangement. The concept of the JICA Plan was based on a community participatory approach, proposing that collective decisions made by the Indonesian authorities and the community be prioritized as a consideration in order to ensure the preservation of Borobudur and surrounding areas (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). In this regard, the JICA Master Plan and the updated plan proposed a new approach to international heritage management by creating an important shift in thinking about buffer zones, from the monument-centric approach to a wider context and community participatory approach, reinforcing heritage protection measurement. This is a clear case in which the concept and understanding of buffer zones at Borobudur was in sharp contrast to European ideas existing in the 1970s and 1980s.

The implementation of the concept itself, in the 1980s, was problematic largely due to authorities' enforced displacement of inhabitants in the Borobudur Archeological Park during the creating of the buffer zone system. Contrary to the new approach of the JICA Master Plan, the Indonesian government continued an authority-driven monument-centered heritage management when the authorities began to implement the Park Project after taking custody of the project in accordance with a financial loan agreement with the government of Japan, made in April 1980. While concentrating predominantly on the realization of the park establishment in the immediate surroundings of the temple, rather than focusing on the protection and management of the wider surrounding areas covering 114 km^2, the government did not pursue the social and cultural impacts of preservation and development policies on the local community during the development process of the Park Project.

The aforementioned neglect of the relationship between the local community and historical heritage has become a significant issue at Borobudur. This study asserts the

existence of a gap between the concept and its application with regard to heritage management at Borobudur in the 1980s. While adopting a new approach proposed by the JICA Plan, the Indonesian government focused on the preservation of heritage of its immediate surroundings but did so without the participation of local settlers, which held back the shift of heritage management to community involvement.

Although the Park Project succeeded in interpreting Borobudur as a representation of the nation, it led to complete disconnection between the local community and heritage; the community's relationship with heritage, not only in the present but also from the past and into the future, was undermined. This generated severe distrust of the authorities among the local community, which unfortunately continues today. The implementation phase of the Park Project highlights that heritage preservation efforts were dominated by those with institutional access to heritage resources, who focused on the importance of maintaining the historical and physical context of a site and monument building rather than the needs of local residents.

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Chapter 4
Evolution of Heritage Discourse and Community Involvement at Borobudur: Post-Implementation Phase of JICA Master Plan from the 1990s Until the Twenty First Century

4.1 Introduction

As the Indonesian authorities were focusing on the Park Project in close cooperation with JICA in the 1980s, they also began to prepare the Borobudur nomination for the World Heritage List in the late 1980s. The Indonesian authorities nominated the site not as a cultural landscape but as a historical monument because this was necessary for the nominated site to fit into the then-segregated criteria of the OUV of the World Heritage Convention in the 1980s. Accordingly, the cultural landscape protection plan proposed by the JICA Master Plan had at that point been compromised by the World Heritage system. Hence, the description of Borobudur included in the nomination dossier was selective, focusing on the monument's tangible elements rather than on the intangible culture and nature settings embedded in local life. This was similar to postcolonial heritage practices in Indonesia, and the concept of the preservation of a wider setting of cultural landscape became lost in the nomination dossier. Indeed, the Borobudur Temple Compounds, as it is referred to in the 1991 World Heritage List designation, is inscribed as an outstanding example of a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). In order to follow the requirements of the *Operational Guidelines*, the Indonesian authorities prepared the Presidential Decree in 1992, the year following the site's inscription into the World Heritage List. This decree aimed to strengthen the legal management and control the mechanisms for the protection of the nominated monuments and the immediate surrounding area of 26 ha (0.26 km^2).

Approximately thirty years after the completion of the Borobudur Archeological Park, the legislative measures in heritage discourse in Indonesia evolved from the monument-centric approach to spatial management, including scenery control for the protection of the wider area of Borobudur. These are clearly stipulated in Spatial Management Law No.26/2007, Government Spatial Regulation No.26/2008, Law for the Protection of Cultural Property No.11 /2010, and Presidential Regulation on the Spatial Plan of the Borobudur Temple Compounds No. 58/2014.

M. Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*,
SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2_4

This chapter explores the move in Indonesia's heritage management discourse at Borobudur, which shifted from an authority-driven and monument-centric approach in the 1980s and 1990s to a community-based approach for wider landscape preservation in the early twenty first century. This research also examines a chronological account of the refinement of the national legislative policy and framework since the late twentieth century. By doing so, this chapter attempts to classify the influences of the JICA Master Plan on the current management of Borobudur while attempting to identify similarities and differences between the JICA Master Plan and the newly adopted Borobudur Presidential Regulation of 2014 and other Indonesian heritage related laws. Given these research results, this study argues that the Indonesian heritage discourse has currently evolved away from the conservation ethics that were strongly influenced by the Netherlands and by Japanese heritage conservation practitioners. An Indonesian heritage conservation approach, policy, and legal frameworks have commenced exploring the original heritage discourse.

This chapter also clarifies how a move toward community-driven heritage management was reinforced and promoted by the Indonesian authorities and community members at Borobudur. Four cases of this movement at Borobudur are explored: (1) the community-driven tourism initiative present since the 1990s; (2) local businesses using rich natural and traditional resources; (3) authorities' initiatives in heritage management involving the community in the early twenty first century; and (4) the natural disaster at Borobudur in 2010. This chapter explores how these factors contributed to an increased awareness of and pride in the environmental setting and culture, promoting community participation in heritage management. In doing so, the study refers to the results of my analysis of UNESCO's semistructured questionnaires that were administered among the local community at Borobudur in 2012 and 2013.

This chapter concludes with recommendations for further development of community-involved initiatives in heritage management for future action, thus helping to instill among the community a sense of ownership in managing and promoting cultural heritage resources and attempting to boost local pride.

4.2 Concentration of the Park Project in the 1980s and Segregation of the Community from the Management of Heritage and Wider Cultural Landscape

Although the Indonesian authorities adopted the pioneering JICA proposal and commenced the Park Project in 1981, the concept of a diversified Borobudur value protection—including a wider setting of cultural landscape with a community-centered approach proposed by the JICA Master Plan—was not realized. Nagaoka (2015) argues that, by focusing on the Park Project, the Indonesian authorities followed European value-based heritage discourse and practice, which was reinforced

when the authorities achieved inscription of Borobudur on the World Heritage List in 1991. These factors were intricately entangled with the process of preparation for the site's inscription in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

When the governments of Indonesia and Japan made an OECF agreement in April 1980, the Indonesian authorities focused extensively on the construction of the Borobudur Archeological Park—zones 1 and 2 of the JICA Master Plan. The updated plan (Ministry of Transport Communications and Tourism, 1981) states that:

> This national archeological parks project is for nationalization of approximately 100 hectare each around the world-famous Borobudur (Buddhist) and Prambanan (Hindu) temples in Mid-Java, and restoration of them to their original form to be preserved as well as for the creation of archeological parks around them through the use of which the people of Indonesia and of other countries can be better acquainted with the academic, historical, and educational values of such cultural assets … The integrated comprehensive development contributes to the nation's unity and identifying the total image of the nation's history and culture. This archeological parks development is the first experience in the world in its magnitude and significance. The Government of Indonesia has been executed this project development nearly for 10 years and now desires to realize the final state of the development, namely the construction of the national archeological parks [*sic*] (p. 5).

Given this objective, the Indonesian authorities requested that the Japanese government elaborate the JICA Master Plan in order to include a detailed design of the Borobudur Archeological Park and to assist the Indonesian government in executing the Park Project, specifically Zones 1 and 2, areas under full custody of the authorities. The management of the wider surrounding areas involving the local community stipulated in the JICA Master Plan was not pursued in the updated plan nor did the Indonesian authorities execute them[1]. This was one focus of the preservation of the monument and its immediate surroundings, and little attention was paid to the intangible aspects of heritage value, the wider area of the Central Java, or community involvement in heritage management.

Tanudirjo (2013) asserts that the Indonesian government employs a centralized management policy in which local people are marginalized and allowed no role in heritage management. In order for community members to feel a shared responsibility in the preservation and maintenance of the historical monument and its surrounding landscape, the JICA Plan advocated "collective decisions made by the Indonesian authorities and community be given priority consideration to ensure the preservation of Borobudur and surrounding areas" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 200). This led to a significant gap between the concept of the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s and its application in the 1980s, with respect to the heritage management of Borobudur. This caused major issues at Borobudur, including negative sociocultural impact on the local community as well as separation of people from the monument lasting until this date (Nagaoka, 2015).

[1] Concerning the management of the wider surrounding areas, the updated plan (Joint Venture Firms, 1981) only mentions the role of the government as 'tourism promotion, development of tourism infrastructure in the regions, and regional development, particularly the development of village improvement programs' (p. 3).

4.3 Influence of the World Heritage System on the Legal Framework for Borobudur Management

At the time of the preparation of a nomination dossier of Borobudur for the World Heritage List in the 1980s and early 1990s, there was a clear disconnection between cultural and natural heritage conservation in the World Heritage system[2]. These criteria were only merged in 2005 (UNESCO 2005); the concept of cultural landscape had not yet been introduced into the World Heritage system. In preparing the nomination dossier in the 1980s, the time at which the Borobudur Archeological Park was under construction by authorities, the Indonesian authorities had to follow a strict interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) as defined in the *Operational Guidelines* of the World Heritage Convention in the 1980s (see Appendix A). Nagaoka (2015) argues that this led the Indonesian authorities to propose the site not as a cultural landscape but rather as serial forms of historical monuments coinciding with European ideas of heritage value. This had similarities with postcolonial heritage practices in Indonesia.

The concept of wider cultural landscape protection, proposed by the JICA Master Plan, was compromised by the implementation of the updated plan and, later, the World Heritage system. The World Heritage List of Borobudur defines its value as simply "a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts" (UNESCO, 2014a, p. 1). Hence, the description of Borobudur included in the nomination dossier was selective, focusing on the monument's tangible attributes and overlooking essential aspects of intangible culture and the natural setting embedded within local life.

The situation described above gave rise to another critical issue concerning the legal protection of the Borobudur area. Because the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) requires nominated sites to be legitimately protected, Indonesian authorities focused on the protection of the historical monuments and the immediate surrounding areas by promulgating the 1992 Presidential Decree (The Republic of Indonesia, 1992) in order to strengthen the legal management and control mechanisms protecting the nominated monuments, including the Borobudur Temple and its 87.95 ha (0.87 km^2) archeological park.

The 1992 Presidential Decree gave full custody of the management of the established three zones to the authorities. Zone 1 consists of the three temples inscribed on the World Heritage List, to be managed by the central government; Zone 2 refers to the area surrounding the Borobudur Archeological Park and is to be managed by park authorities (PTW); Zone 3 consists of 932 ha (9.32 km^2), established to control negative development surrounding zone 2, which was managed by local authorities (The Republic of Indonesia, 1992). While the JICA Plan proposed to cover 11,460 ha (114.6 km^2) to broadly manage the wider area in Central Java, the 1992 Presidential Decree concentrated on the protection of the temples and their immediate surroundings.

[2] OG 1988, 5, 8

In this regard, the approaches that integrates five zones covering wider landscapes at Borobudur, proposed by the JICA Master Plan in 1979 and approved by the Indonesian authorities in 1980, has never been legally adopted or formally recognized by either the 1992 Presidential Regulation or any other legislation in Indonesia. The 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission (Boccardi, Brooks, & Gurung, 2006) states that this segregation of the site from the concept of local value-based cultural landscape, without involvement from the local community in terms of heritage management, caused a number of issues, including separating people from the sites, lack of awareness of the landscape concept, and loss of meaning in connection with historical monuments, nature, religion, and ongoing Javanese philosophy and cultural practices existing until this day. Accordingly, the protection of a wider setting of cultural landscape in Central Java was lost in the national legislative measures.

4.4 Legislative Issues in the Heritage Management of Borobudur in the 1990s

Among these challenges, three critical issues concerned the 1992 Presidential Regulation: the management authorities issue; confusion of the protective site boundary; and the lack of community involvement in heritage management. The central and local authorities, in addition to the park authorities, mandated the protection of each zone; objectives were exclusively defined in the 1992 Presidential Regulation. The 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission (Boccardi et al., 2006) points out the lack of a common vision and clear mechanisms in coordinating these parties: "their respective objectives appear to be conflicting, and no formal regulatory and planning framework exists to reconcile these different mandates within a single agreed vision and policy"(p. 11).

Another major concern is the confusion of the site boundary regarding the protection and management of the area (Fig. 4.1). When the Government of Indonesia submitted a nomination dossier of the Borobudur Temple Compounds to the World Heritage Committee for inscription on the World Heritage List, the dossier refers to the 1972 JICA Master plan as a technical management tool for the preservation of the site (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). Moreover, when the government of Indonesia continued to report its state of conservation to the World Heritage Committee in 1995, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2009 (after its inscription in 1991), the zoning system described in the reports continually refers to five zones demarcated by the JICA Master plan, which has never been officially adopted by any legislation in Indonesia. Even the delineated areas within the JICA Master Plan are different from those in the 1992 Presidential Regulation and the nomination dossier of the World Heritage List (Table 4.1).

A serious issue among these challenges is the lack of clear, official inclusion of the local community in achieving the heritage preservation and protection of

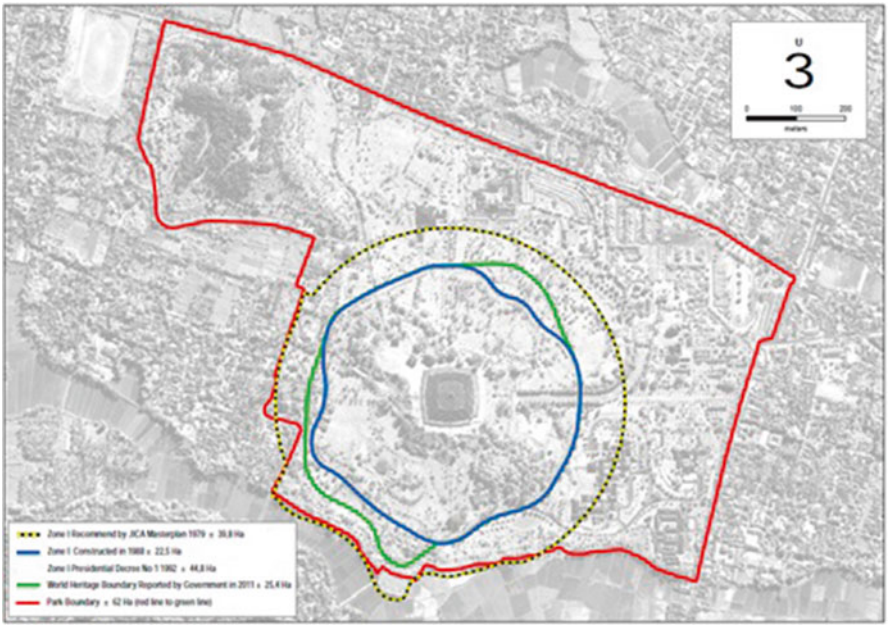

Fig. 4.1 Comparison of delineated areas between the JICA Master Plan, 1992 Presidential Decree, and 1991 World Heritage Nomination dossier (source: PTW 2011)

surrounding areas. The 1992 Presidential Decree entrusts such management to the central and local governments and park authorities but not to local communities. This occurred despite the goal of the JICA Master Plan, which stressed that "collective decisions made by the Indonesian authorities and community be given priority consideration to ensure the preservation of Borobudur and surrounding areas" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 200). Referring to this Presidential Decree, Tanudirjo (2013) asserts that "the one thing all management bodies have in common is that they barely involve local people in their planning or implementation" (p. 72). The authorities justified lack of community inclusion in heritage management by focusing on monument preservation, referring to the *Monuments Act* of 1931, which incorporates a colonial conservation ethic strongly influenced by the Netherlands.

Influenced by the heritage policy of the Netherlands, the main focus of Indonesia's heritage policy and management in the 1931 *Monument Act* was the preservation of the physical colonial heritage and archeological remains. Eickhoff and Bloembergen (2011) assert that this heritage discourse continued until 1957, at which point the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture fully took over its mandate from the Indonesian Archeological Service and higher posts were filled by the Dutch. Even after this, Dutch specialists' teaching and writing were formative for the first and second generations of Indonesian archeologists, and the authority-driven monument-centric approach to heritage management continued until the postcolonial period (Eickhoff & Bloembergen, 2011).

Table 4.1 Comparison of delineated areas between the JICA Master Plan, 1992 Presidential Decree, and 1991 World Heritage Nomination dossier (original table)

Zone	Premises	Area defined by JICA Plan	Area defined by 1992 Presidential Decree	Area defined by 1991 World Heritage Nomination File	Land use objectives	Responsible authorities
1	Temples of Borobudur, Mundur and Pawan	44.8 ha	44.8 ha	*Total: 25.51* ha Borobudur: 25.38 ha Mendut: 0.11 ha Pawon: 0.02 ha	Preservation and maintenance of physical state of the temples	Ministry of Education and Culture
2	Archeological Park Zone	87.1 ha	42.3 ha	(Buffer zone) *Total: 64.31* ha Borobudur: 62.57 ha Mendut: 1.67 ha Pawon: 0.07 ha	Development for tourism, research, culture and conservation activities within the temples' environment	PT Taman Wisata under auspicious of the Ministry of State-owned Liability Enterprises
3	Land Use Regulation Zone	10.1 km^2	932 ha	–	Aerial control and land use restriction for development	Regional government
4	Historical Scenery Zone	26 km^2	–	–	Maintenance of the historical scenery and prevention of destruction of the scenery	
5	National Archeological Park Zone	78.5 km^2	–	–	Prevention of destruction of undiscovered archeological monuments	

Anderson (1990) asserts that during the colonial and postcolonial time there was the intention to transform ruins into monuments with the backing of the *Monuments Act*. Eickhoff and Bloembergen (2011) argue that, through their endless display and restoration, these monuments became symbols that would legitimize the Dutch's colonial state, by being caretakers of the previously neglected ruins. For this reason, the Archeological Service focused on the conservation and restoration of archeological remains. This influence can be seen in the 1970s and 1980s, at which point there was a debate among Indonesian academics and the general public concerning categorizing heritage as either "living" or "dead." Dr Soekmono, the first Indonesian head of the Indonesian Archeological Service, explained during an expert meeting on the Protection of Cultural Properties in Asia (Tokyo) in 1972 that:

> According to the current law, living heritage such as mosques, churches, temples, traditional private houses, public buildings and others are practically under full control of the community, whereas ancient monuments of more than 50 years old are considered as dead monuments which protection are under full custody of the government. (Soekmono, 1972, p. 10)

Dr Haryati Soebadio, Director General of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture, also explained during the International Symposium on the Study and Preservation of Cultural Heritage of south-east Asia at Sophia University (Tokyo) in 1985 that:

> … cultural heritage that was no longer used according to the original function as meant by the builders are considered as dead monuments. Obviously Borobudur falls in the category of dead monuments, and therefore the management of the Temple should be executed solely by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Soebadio, 1985, p. 3).

The implementation of the Updated Plan and nomination of the Borobudur Temple Compounds to the World Heritage List have preserved their physical form but have nonetheless exemplified a complete lack of social and cultural context. The 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission requests that the "authorities ensure consistency between the Presidential Decree (referring to only three management zones) and the five-zone system indicated in the World Heritage nomination documentation" (Boccardi et al., 2006, p. 14). It notes that:

> … the original JICA site Master Plan layouts are considered to still be generally valid; there is still an urgent need to strengthen the management system to ensure the protection of its wider setting and increase the benefits for the local community (Boccardi et al., 2006, p. 6).

The 2003 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Report also suggests that "conservation should provide responsible and well-managed opportunities for members of the host community to experience and understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand" (Engelhardt, Brooks, & Schorlemer, 2003, p. 32). Lloyd (2012) argues that this requires a fundamental power shift away from state-based legislation as the sole means of communities' involvement in safeguarding measures. It also requires a reconceptualization of heritage back to local understanding and away from Eurocentric notions.

4.5 The Shift in Legal Framework from Authority-Driven Heritage Discourse to Community-Participation for Wider Landscape Preservation

The twenty first century in Indonesia saw a move to involve community in heritage management. Jointly drawn up by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture and Indonesian practitioners of heritage conservation in 2003, the Indonesian Charter for Heritage Conservation (Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia, 2003, p. 3) states that:

> We, the advocates and practitioners of Indonesian heritage conservation, are determined to work hard together in healthy partnerships for holistic, systematic, and sustainable heritage conservation through fair, democratic, and harmonious processes and mechanisms supported by clear and consistent laws,.. and appeal to..:
>
> - Raise the awareness of all parties (government, professional, private sector, and community, including youth) on the importance of heritage conservation, through education (both formal and nonformal), training, public campaign, and other persuasive approaches;
> - Raise institutional capacity, develop management systems, as well as role-sharing and responsibility that are fair and inclusive of all people, so that conservation efforts can be carried out effectively with synergy. Since the creation of this Indonesian Charter in 2003, the Indonesian authorities began to modify heritage policies and strategies from an authority-driven monument-centric discourse to a community-based approach for wider landscape preservation while attempting to improve the quality of life of the community. This trend was accelerated from the latter half of the twenty first century.

Following the vision of this charter, the Indonesian Ministry of Culture developed (in 2010) a new law concerning cultural properties. This law emphasizes both tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture that provide heritage with a function and meaning for the community (Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, 2010). The preamble of *The Law of the Republic of Indonesia—Number 11 of the Year 2010 concerning Cultural Property* underlines that "community participation to protect, develop, and utilize cultural property is of utmost importance" (Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, 2010, p. 2). Article 82 of the law highlights that "revitalization of culture property shall provide benefit to improve quality of life of the community and to maintain the characteristic of local culture" (Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, 2010, p. 31). With a view to promoting community participation in heritage management, Article 97 of the law further proposes that the government "form a management board which may consist of (central) government and/or Regional Government, and community" (Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia, 2010,p. 36). In this respect, the 2003 Indonesian Charter for Heritage Conservation played a pivotal role in influencing Indonesian heritage management.

4.6 Influence of the 1979 JICA Master Plan on the 2014 Presidential Regulation Concerning the Borobudur Spatial Plan

To legislatively protect the wider area surrounding the Borobudur Temple, the central government—led by a Spatial Planning Division of the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works—made the Spatial Management Law No.26/2007 and Government Regulation No.26/2008 respectively. In accordance with these laws, the Ministry of Public Works created the Borobudur Spatial Plan, which introduced spatial management and land use control guidelines together with scenery control policy for the protection of the wider area of Borobudur. With a view to legalizing spatial management for the heritage protection for the first time, the authorities adopted the National Spatial Plan at Borobudur within the new Presidential Regulation in 2014 (Adishakti, 2015). The concept and vision for the protection measure of the 2014 Borobudur Presidential Regulation are substantially developed compared to those of the 1992 Presidential Decree.

A number of similarities exist between the 1979 JICA Master Plan and the 2014 Borobudur Presidential Regulation. One is a wider area covered under the new regulation: the protection area stipulated by the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) covers a 5 km extent of concentric circles (7850 ha) from the Borobudur temple—exactly the same geographical extent recommended by the JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). This represents a significant change in the geographical scope of the protection area from the 1992 Presidential Decree (The Republic of Indonesia, 1992), which focused on the historical monuments and immediate surrounding areas—only 1019 ha (10.19 km^2).

The second similarity between the 2014 Borobudur Presidential Regulation and the 1979 JICA Master Plan is the attribute of heritage value, focusing on not only monuments and historic places but also on natural heritage sites and other forms of heritage defined as an integral aspect of heritage value (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). This represents a significant shift from the 1992 Presidential Decree to the 2014 Presidential Regulation.

Article 1. 16 of the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) clarifies that one reason to extend the value of cultural heritage is to "protect living environment which includes natural and cultural resources" (p. 2). Indeed, the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) defines the protection area as not only the temples of Borobudur, Pawon, and Mendut but also all the natural surroundings as "a result of human activity or evidence of the past" (p. 3).

The JICA Plan also stresses the importance of the wider landscape setting as an integral aspect of the heritage value at Borobudur. The JICA Plan (1979) states that "the historical climate and the Javanese scenery are largely man-made products which change with the times" (p. 9). The JICA Plan also (1979) explains that the temples at Borobudur "cannot exist in isolation but can only evince their full value as a part of their surroundings, the "Garden of Java'" (p. 5). Article 7.b of the regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014, p. 7) states that "The Spatial Management Policy of the Borobudur Temple Area includes improvement on the coordination,

integration, and synchronization between stakeholders in order to implement the spatial utilization and spatial control of the Borobudur Temple Area." The new Presidential Regulation of 2014 makes clear that the concept of cultural heritage has moved away from a focus on monumental and physical heritage and cultural property and instead has reconceptualized "heritage" to include the wider landscape settings representing the combined works of nature and man.

The third important similarity between the 2014 Presidential Regulation and the JICA Plan is an acknowledgement of the importance of the preservation of historical objects underground. This was not mentioned in the 1992 Presidential Decree, and the 2014 Presidential Regulation covers not only the control of management of natural and historic scenery and landscape view in the entire area but also the protection of unexcavated historical artifacts underground. Article 5 of the Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014, p. 7) stresses that the entire protection area, under the new regulation, is considered a "spread of the unexcavated historical and ancient sites." Article 38 of the regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014, p. 24) also urges individuals to "safeguard the historical and ancient unexcavated sites … at the natural park area, public forest area, agricultural designated area including the rice field from an ancient lake, public forest and settlement designated area." The JICA Master Plan (1979) points out the necessity of protection of historical properties underground with the areas in a radius of 5 km of Borobudur Temple (zone 5), calling for a special protective measure. The JICA Plan (1979) urges that "all necessary steps will be taken to ensure that development activity does not lead to the destruction or damage of such unexcavated monuments" (p. 20). Considering that the 1992 Presidential Decree and the Park Project conducted in the 1980s concentrated predominantly on the immediate surroundings of the Borobudur Temple rather than on the wider area including the archeological remains underground, the 2014 Presidential Regulation included a vision for the overall management of attributes of integrity covering 114.6 km^2, as the JICA Plan recommended (Fig. 4.2).

The exploration and prospecting for development activities within or around ancient heritage sites in the Borobudur area is both a challenge and an opportunity for balanced approaches to development. While large-scale development projects can provide opportunities for investment in infrastructure and social services, create local jobs, and spur demand for locally produced goods and services, supporting livelihoods and stimulating economic growth, there are important sites scattered across areas where the evidence of ancient mining and past sociocultural development can be witnessed in the archeological record. In this respect, the 2014 Presidential Regulation and the 1979 JICA Master Plan have the same vision of establishing a protective framework for the government to effectively meet the challenge of merging both the development and heritage sectors in the country in the long-term economic, social, and cultural interest of the nation. Article 44 of the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) stipulates that:

1. The railway network system, oil and natural gas pipeline transmission network, and electricity power plant can only be developed outside of the Borobudur Temple Area in order to ensure the protection of the Borobudur Temple Area as a national Cultural Preservation Area and in terms of world cultural heritage.

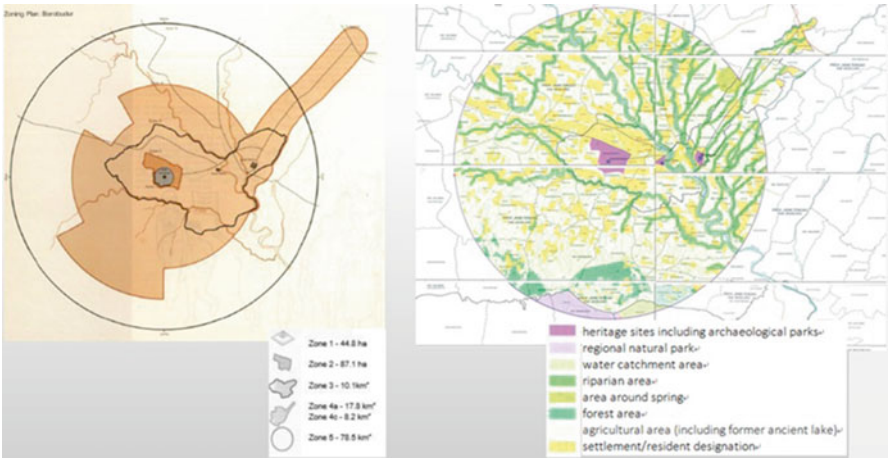

Fig. 4.2 Development of Zoning Plan from 1979 JICA Master Plan to 2014 Borobudur Spatial Plan in the Borobudur Presidential Regulation (source: 1919 JICA Plan/2014 Presidential Regulation)

2. The telecommunication network system electricity power transmission network system, drinking water system, waste system, waste water management system, and drainage system can be developed at the Borobudur Temple Area while ensuring the conservation of Borobudur Temple Area as a national Cultural Preservation Area and in terms of world cultural heritage (pp. 21–22).

The fourth similarity is the concept of community involvement in heritage management. The new Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) mentions an implementation strategy to improve coordination between every level of stakeholder while giving local people a communal role in the preservation and development of the Borobudur Strategic Area. In order to attain this objective, the 2014 Presidential Regulation urges the improvement of the community's living conditions. The Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) stresses the necessity of improving traffic and road transport services for the development of the community's social and economic activities. Hence, local communities are expected to play a major role in the management of heritage and the surrounding environment. The spirit of the 1979 JICA Master Plan included the idea that local residents should play a central role in ensuring the preservation of the area and the cultural climate. This was in sharp contrast to the Indonesian government's heritage management discourse at the time, which continued until the early 1990s.

According to my interview (11 November 2013) with Firman Napitupulu, head of Sub-directorate of Regional Development of the Directorate of Spatial Planning for Area II of the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works, the Borobudur National Strategic Plan introduced in the 2014 Presidential Regulation follows the 1972 JICA Master Plan. He clarifies that:

> Community is a key player who should feel a shared responsibility for the maintenance of the historical monument and its surrounding landscape because the functional, structural

> and visual integrity of the whole Borobudur area can be regarded as living cultural landscape. This is a creation with arduous and dedicated works conducted by people in interacting with their cultural and natural environment. It was surprising to learn that this was well introduced and explained by the 1979 JICA Master Plan in the 1970s. Hence the team of the Borobudur National Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Public Works firstly studied the JICA Plan thoroughly from the outset of the creation of a new Borobudur Spatial Plan (p. 2).

Melva Eryani Marpaung, head of Planning and Programs Division of the Directorate General of Spatial Planning at the Indonesian Ministry of Public Works (2014), also clarifies that the Borobudur National Strategic Plan was created after a thorough examination of the 1979 JICA Master Plan of the Borobudur Temple. According to Napitupulu and Marpaung, the JICA Master Plan was a major source of inspiration for the current movement of the Borobudur Spatial Plan for the protection and development of the wider area of Borobudur. Although the 1979 JICA Master Plan has not been legally adopted thus far, this reveals that the JICA Plan influenced the new 2014 Presidential Regulation by creating an important shift in thinking about heritage discourse, from the monument-centric approach toward a wider context inclusive of community participation, hence reinforcing heritage protection management.

4.7 Differences Between the 1979 JICA Master Plan and the 2014 Presidential Regulation Concerning the Borobudur Spatial Plan

Several important differences exist between the 1979 JICA Master Plan and the 2004 Presidential Regulation, especially in the way that the zoning system concept shifted. The spatial arrangement of the JICA Master Plan stemmed from the Buddhism cosmographic arrangement whereas the arrangement of the 2014 new Presidential Regulation relies on the development of social and economic aspects that defines the geographical protective arrangement. The very reason for this shift in focus, from the incorporation of the Buddhist cosmographic arrangement of the zoning system in the JICA Pan to the infrastructure management for the protection of heritage and its surrounding area in the 2014 Presidential Regulation, is a change in the leading ministry within the Indonesian authorities with regard to spatial management at cultural heritage sites around the country. As the Spatial Regulation was initiated by the Ministry of Public Works, which set the Spatial Management Law No.26/2007 and Government Regulation No.26/2008 respectively, the mandate of the Ministry of Public Works focuses on the infrastructure development and the management of living conditions for the people of Indonesia.

Since the community is the key stakeholder protecting and maintaining cultural heritage and its surrounding environment, as well as local cultural diversity, the effective spatial arrangement of the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) depends on the “improvement of living circumstances for community members who are to ensure the protection of the Borobudur area designated

as cultural preservation area and the World Heritages site" (p. 19). With this rationale in mind, the Indonesian national government promotes policies aimed at maintaining and improving favorable environments for local communities.

There exist a number of clauses promoting improvement of physical infrastructure, tourism, and protection and revitalization of historic areas and their environments for communities[3]. These statements testify that public access, along with infrastructure maintenance, is a pivotal element for the improvement of community life and plays a role in the central government, provincial government, regency government, and/or community in supporting and improving such environments (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014). Based on this vision, spatial management and land use control guidelines, together with scenery control policy, were proposed in the 2014 Presidential Regulation with a view to protecting a larger area of Borobudur.

4.8 Cultural Landscape Setting as a Possible Extension of the World Heritage Nomination

The cultural landscaping extension for Borobudur on the World Heritage List is open to questions. While some Indonesian officials and conservation experts have been interested in this, the question remains as to whether the site of Borobudur, inscribed on the World Heritage List, can be extended to include the wider landscape. There have been eight occasions since the early twenty first century on which a possible extension of the Borobudur World Heritage nomination was discussed[4]. One of the key findings from these discussions has been a reaffirmation of the

[3] Article 13 of the 2014 Presidential Regulation (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) stipulates the necessity of improvement of the transportation network system for the support of the community in social and economic activities; Article 15 (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) mentions the importance of maintenance of traffic and road transport for the safety, order, smoothness, and integrity with other types of road transport for the community's social and economic activities; Article 17 (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) referrers to the development of transport terminals for the smooth movement of people and/or goods; Article 21 (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) raises the proper management of the water resource network system, including the irrigation and flood control system for the protection and utilization of water resources and control of the system's disruptive potentiality at the concerned area; Article 38 (The Republic of Indonesia, 2014) raises the control of agricultural land use and river and the management of its tributaries.

[4] The 2003 UNESCO Fourth Experts meeting at Borobudur; the 2003 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission; the 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission; the 2008 National Training workshop on the Management of World Heritage Sites in Indonesia at Borobudur; the 2009 Coordination Meeting for Enhancing Effective Management for Borobudur Temple Compounds in Jakarta; the 2010 UNESCO sub-regional Workshop on the Second Cycle of the Periodic Reporting for Asia and the Pacific in Taiyuan, China; the 2012 World Heritage and Sustainable Development seminar in Jakarta; and the 2013 Sixth International Experts Meeting on Borobudur in Magelang, Indonesia.

importance of redefining the boundaries of the Borobudur World Heritage site and the modifications to the listing criteria in the nomination document.

Article 165 of the OGs stipulates that "If a State Party wishes to significantly modify the boundary of a property already on the World Heritage List, the State Party shall submit this proposal as if it were a new nomination" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 43). There are two clauses concerning modifications to the boundaries, including both "minor" and "significant" changes. Minor modifications mean that the evaluation does not require a complex process. However, the World Heritage system does not allow Indonesia to decide if a proposed modification is "minor" or "significant" and the difference can only be ascertained by the Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Committee, which will evaluate the impact on an overall OUV that such modification may or may not engender. Article 166 of the OGs also states that "Where a State Party wishes to have the property inscribed under additional, fewer or different criteria other than those used for the original inscription, it shall submit this request as if it were a new nomination" (UNESCO, 2013). As the attribute of cultural landscape rests on the criterion (iv) of the OGs, and the current statement of OUV of the Borobudur World Heritage site is limited to the artistic and architectural value which the criteria fall under (i), (ii), and (vi), the Indonesian authorities need to renominate the Borobudur cultural landscape. Article 167 of the OGs further states that in the case of modification to the name of a World Heritage property, "A State Party may request that the Committee authorize a modification to the name of a property already inscribed on the World Heritage List" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 43). This complex and time-consuming process has prevented the Indonesian authorities from attempting to include the wider landscapes as integral aspects of the heritage value at Borobudur. Of particular importance is the adoption of new legal management and control mechanisms that ensure protection and maintenance of the cultural landscape at Borobudur. The inclusion of the cultural landscape scenery of Borobudur on the World Heritage List requires modification of not only the nomination dossier but also national legislative measures to protect a wider area of the Borobudur landscape.

Its renomination into the World Heritage List, as a cultural landscape under cultural criteria, would help to reconceptualize the nominated property to the wider landscape settings as an integral aspect of heritage value. This will also help to demonstrate the fact that the value of the site resides in the interaction between individuals, monuments, the natural environment, and traditional actions as combined works of nature and man. As Priyana (2015) asserts, these are the integral attributes of the living Borobudur landscape.

4.9 Comparison of Land-Use Area at Borobudur between the 1970s and 2000s

Some 35 years after the creation of the JICA Master Plan, the study attempts to identify the change of land use within zone 3 of the JICA Master Plan by comparing data from the 1979 JICA Plan with the 2009 survey result carried out by UNESCO.

The JICA Master Plan designated three *desas* or villages (Borobudur, Wanurejo, and Mendut) as Zone 3. The total area is approximately 10 km^2 (1000 ha) and is adjacent to Zones 1 and 2. The area had immense potential to either develop/conserve or destroy the historical environment near the temples, i.e., Borobudur, Pawon, and Mendut. Therefore, the JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) strongly recommended that the authorities set land use control regulations and guidelines especially for the purpose of safeguarding the historical environment.

The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) explains that zone 3, with a total of 1,009.6 ha, was divided into four subzones, including: sanctuary and park preservation (archeological site); agricultural greenery preservation; nature preservation (river and river bed); and urbanely developed area preservation (residential area). Each zone has the following purposes (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 177):

1. Sanctuary and Park Preservation—Archeological site (90.8 ha: 8 %)
   for the promotion of the smooth implementation of the sanctuary and park projects in Zones 1 and 2;
2. Agricultural Greenery Preservation (507.6 ha, 50.2 %)
   Protection in Zone 3 of outstanding farmland with high productivity and farmland of high scenic value around the parks as a major constituent element of the Javanese landscape from disorderly development and improvement of it as the basic element in the main industry of the area, agriculture;
3. Nature Preservation—River and river bed (83.9 ha, 8.3 %)
   Prohibition of farming or residential use of land in Zone 3 areas susceptible to damage from natural disasters and promotion of works for prevention of such damage;
4. Urbanely Developed Area Preservation—Residential area (327.6 ha, 32.4 %)
   Maintenance of scenery in residential areas, public facility areas, and urban developed areas of Zone 3 and promotion of village improvement works for guided settlement of natural population increase within the zone.

The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 1979) clarifies that 9 % of the entire land of zone 3 was occupied by an archeological site, 50 % greenery/agriculture, and 9 % river and riverbed; 33 % was used as a residential area (Table 4.2, Fig. 4.3). The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 1979) also explains that, in order to harmonize the archeological site with a scenic view, the height of their architecture within the Borobudur Archeological Park should be limited to one-story and indigenous trees should be planted around these buildings. The aim of this was that, when the area was seen from the temple, it appeared to be blanketed by green vegetation. Fifty-eight percent of zone 3 was covered by green vegetation and river, which was located in the center of Kedu basin and had long been known as the "the Garden of Java"; this area had substantial natural and historic scenic value at the time (1979). Therefore, the JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 1979) aimed to;

> introduce a system of land use regulation zoning for some restriction of regional development and partial freezing of the present state of land use as well as of taking measures for

Table 4.2 Four designated land use areas in the 1979 JICA Master Plan (source: Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979)

Land-use	Area (ha)	Percentage
Archeological site	90.8	8.99
Agriculture greenery area	507.6	50.28
River and river bed	83.9	8.31
Residential area[a]	327.6	32.42
Total	1009.6	100.00

[a]Note: urban area is mostly residential area and mixed area

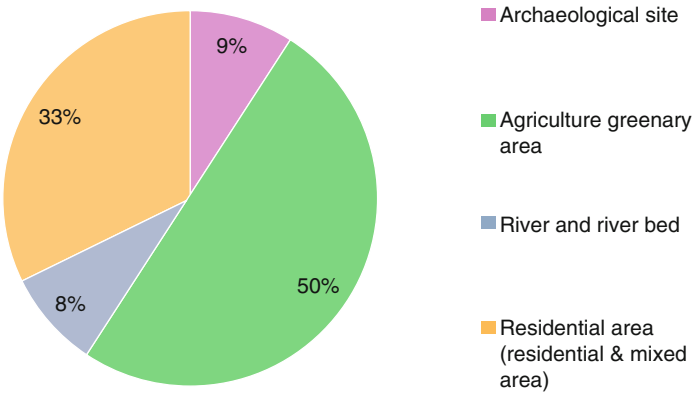

Fig. 4.3 Four designated land use areas in the 1979 JICA Master Plan (source: Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 1979)

> environmental preservation over a wider range as means of passing on the present desirable country side environment to future generations (p. 20)

UNESCO undertook a field survey in 2009, referring to satellite imagery taken by the Ministry of Public Works in 2006 (Fig. 4.4). This survey aimed to identify any change land use within zone 3, an area totaling 940,197 ha. The survey (Iwasaki, 2009) reveals that Borobudur Archeological Park measured 90,912 ha (9.67 %). This was made up of agricultural areas including paddy fields, which totaled 330,794 ha (35.18 %), greenery areas including the riverbed, which were 176,538 ha (18.78 %), human settlement was 256,932 ha (27.33 %), and mixed-use land with settlement was 57.98 ha (6.17 %) (Table 4.3, Fig. 4.5).

It is apparent from the data comparison of land use within zone 3 in 1979 and 2009 that the general trend of natural greenery with agricultural land use is well maintained; urban development and adverse impact on land use, against environmental preservation, is not seen at Borobudur; the ratio of land use of natural and agricultural areas remains almost 57–58 percentage within Zone 3 (this figure was

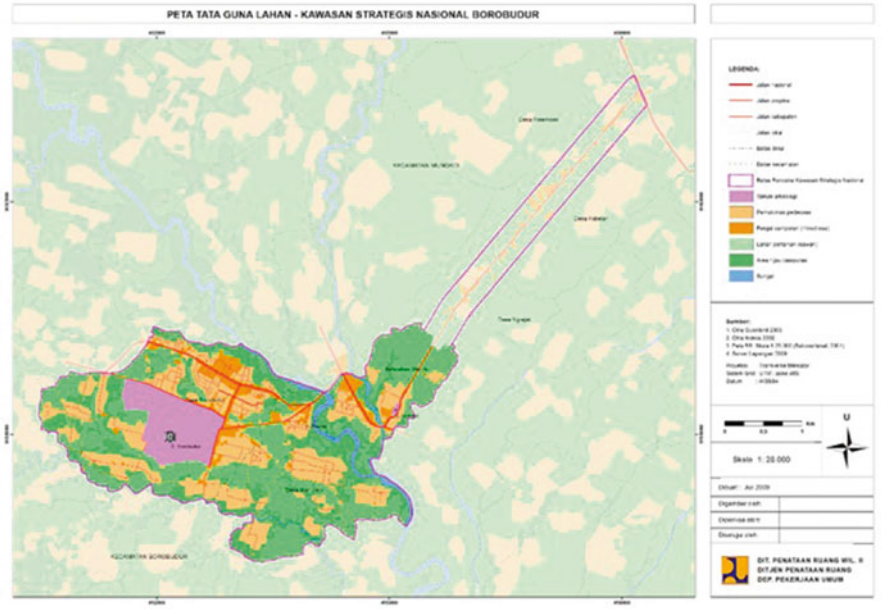

Fig. 4.4 Ministry of Public Works' satellite imaginary of land use of zone 3 in 2009 (source: Ministry of Public Works)

Table 4.3 Six designated land use areas surveyed by UNESCO in 2009 (source: Iwasaki, 2009)

Criteria	Area (ha)	Percentage
Archeological park	90.912	9.67
Agriculture (paddy field)	330.794	35.18
Greenery area mix (including river bed)	176.538	18.78
River	27.042	2.88
Settlement	256.931	27.33
Mixed-use	57.980	6.17
Total	940.197[a]	100.00

[a]Note: The total area of three villages in 2006 was reduce from that of 1978 due to different administration boundaries

58 % in 1979 and 57 % in 2009), with the residential area being the same ration of 38 % in both 1979 and 2009. There was no difference in land use ratio of expansion or contraction of green areas between 1979 and 2009.

However, undesirable spontaneous developments currently exist; most of these are likely derived from the lack of recommended land use control regulations and misconduct of management of conservation of historical environment by relevant authorities and administrations. Such developments were already observed by the WHC-ICOMOS Joint Mission in 2006. The Report (Boccardi et al., 2006) states that:

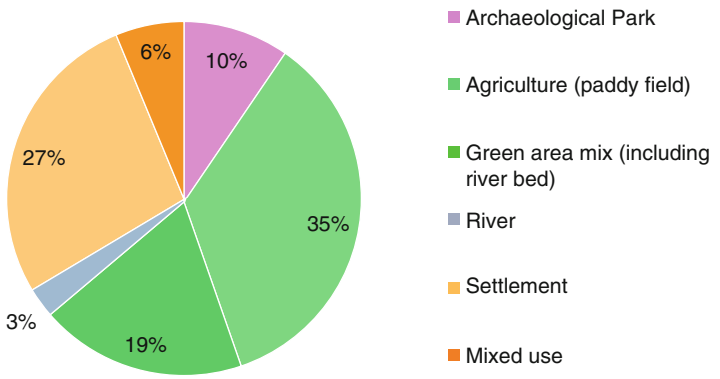

Fig. 4.5 Six designated land use areas surveyed by UNESCO in 2009 (source: Iwasaki, 2009)

> The World Heritage Committee reviewed responses by the State Party regarding the state of conservation of Borobudur three times between 2003 and 2005, making specific recommendations for mitigating the negative impact of individual development proposals. More importantly, at the site by reinforcing coordination among the various management institutions concerned and establishing the necessary regulatory framework, possibly considering an amendment to the zone boundaries around the site (p. 6).

Additional developments are currently being observed within zone 3. Iwasaki (2009) clarifies that these are "newly opened restaurants and handicraft/souvenir shops or other retail stalls with their colorful signboard with less decency, a Buddhist building exposing to Borobudur Temple located south-east of the park, and the tall cellular-phone antenna-towers in red and white stripes, etc" (p. 10) (Fig. 4.6). Soekmono (cited in Iwasaki, 2009) claims that:

> on the occasion of the commencement of the park planning, you can see Borobudur Temple from anywhere you want. It is maybe from a restaurant, parking, or highway. However, if you are standing on the Temple and look around, any of those structures should not be seen. You can see only mountains, forests, and rural area's landscape. That is the concept of scenery control set in JICA Master Plan. However, the tall cellular-phone antenna-towers at the sub-district center (market, bus terminal, etc) are very much affecting the panoramic view. The simulation of Mandala universe is fatally spoiled by those unexpected eyesores (p. 10).

The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) argues that:

> It is necessary to safeguard and maintain to the future not only the remains but also the surrounding sceneries, as the constructed buildings themselves are not enough to satisfy for making out the sanctity of Candi in case of a number of remains. The remains can be maintained with the lives of inhabitants in the provinces. However, as a number of remains in each area have the characteristics fitting the national historical monument in its scale, structure, historical and artistic point of view, it is required to maintain them as an object that every mankind can enjoy for a long period of time… The national historical environment area is the property of all people and therefore a satisfactory state of area will be formed with the safeguarding and a smooth relation between the agencies concerned in the national and provincial administration, and the inhabitants (p. 183).

One cannot control scenery preservation through administrative regulation alone. On the other hand, such activities should be pursued so as not to disturb the lives of inhabit-

Fig. 4.6 Spontaneous developments in discord with historic landscape (source: Nagaoka)

ants. Accordingly, it is necessary to adopt a preferred treatment system for ideal harmonization between legislation plans and administrative plans, together with active cooperation and participation of local residents, while considering the balance of historical and scenic maintenance as well as development activities (Nagaoka, 2011b).

4.10 Challenges of Poverty at the Borobudur World Heritage Site

The Borobudur area faces difficulties in improving the welfare for the communities (Fatimah & Kanki, 2012; Fatimah & Kanki, 2006; Taylor, 2003; Wall & Black, 2004). As seen in many countries, tourists visiting cultural heritage sites generate significant foreign exchange earnings and fuel local investment in tourism related

services and infrastructure, creating jobs and providing ordinary citizens with an opportunity to interact with domestic and foreign visitors. However, this trend is not so evident at Borobudur although the annual number of visitors to the Borobudur Archeological Park exceeds three million in 2013 (PT Taman Wisata, 2013). According to a survey conducted by the UNESCO Office in Jakarta in February 2012, which 254 community members from all 20 subdistrict villagers of Borobudur, 231 people (90.9 %) earn less than IRP 1,500,000 monthly basis which is equivalent to some USD 150 (Fig. 4.7). An official Government statistic shows that Borobudur is the poorest district in Magelang Residency (Biro Pusat Statistik, 2006). This testifies that the local community does not receive the benefits from the current resources underpinning the tourism industry at Borobudur.

Visitors who come to Borobudur often return to Yogyakarta, the second largest city in Indonesia, in the same day without visiting any other place in the area, therefore not spending any money locally. The most popular means of travel to the site is from the nearby city of Yogyakarta, by either bus or car, and mostly in groups. According to the survey made by Martin Wills (2012), then consultant for Culture at the UNESCO Office in Jakarta from 17 to 24 March, 2012[5], 59 % of visitors spend less than three hours at the Borobudur Temple, and 91 % of visitors' accommodation is outside of the Magelang regency area (74 % of these lodgings are in Yogyakarta), and 77 % of visitors come straight to the temple from their hotel and 98 % leave the Borobudur Archeological Park immediately after they observe the

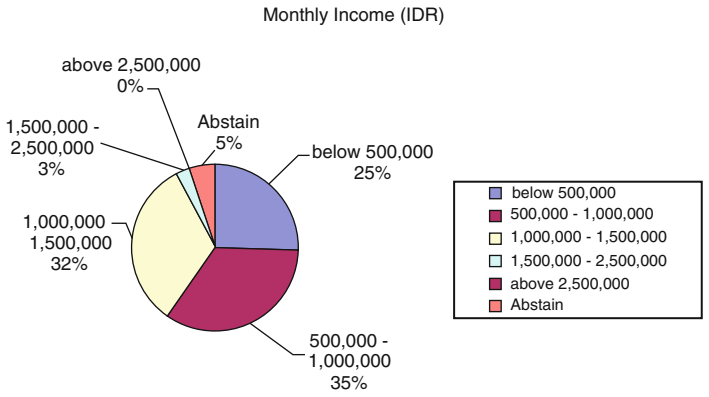

Fig. 4.7 Monthly income at the subdistrict of Magelang regency (source: UNESCO Office Jakarta)

[5] Wills (2012) made a survey at the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding communities from 7 to 14 January and from 17 to 24 March, 2012, in order to conduct interviews with representatives from the managing authority of the Borobudur Archeological Park, members from the local Magelang Regency government, community members, leaders and activists, staff from the Borobudur Museum and Temple Compounds, staff from the national government's Ministry of Education and Culture, and other relevant experts. In addition, 120 questionnaires were completed between 17 and 24 March, 2012 by visitors of the Borobudur Temple.

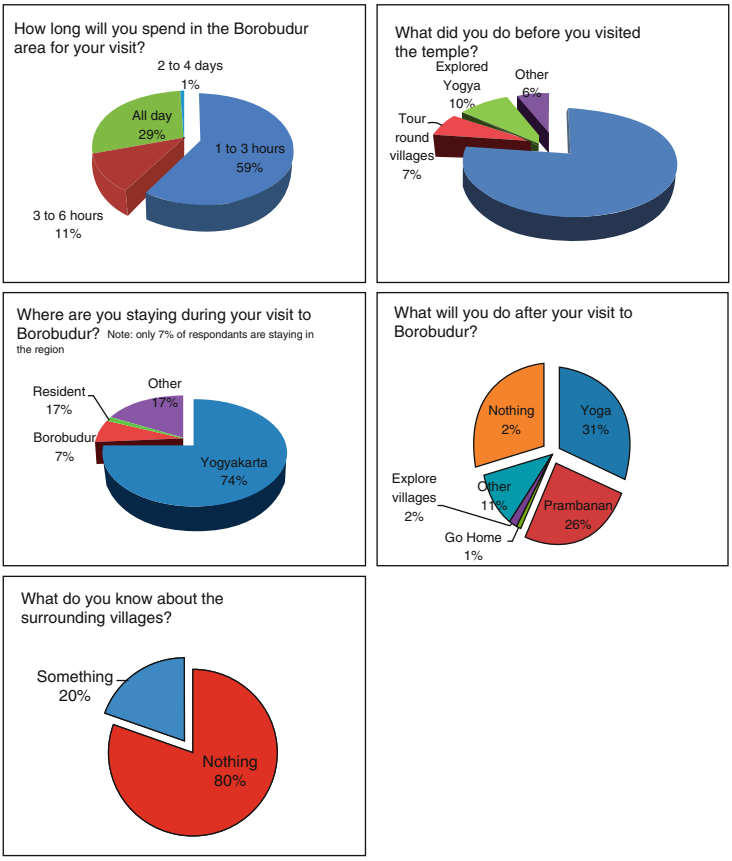

Fig. 4.8 Behavior of visitors of the Borobudur Park (source: Wills)

Temple: Only 2 % of visitors explores the villages surrounding the Borobudur Temple (Fig. 4.8). Wills (2012) argues that:

> It is apparent that the general trend of the World Heritage site to boost local income generation, encourage interaction between the local communities and the visitors and promote the surrounding culture of the area is not in common at Borobudur, with most tourists' time and money spent outside of the Borobudur sub-district.

Another reason why the visitors do not explore surrounding areas is that there is a lack of awareness among visitors about what the Borobudur area can offer. Indeed, 80 % of visitors interviewed by Wills (2012) could not give any information about the attractions or any cultural aspects of the surrounding villages. As a result, members of the surrounding community and, more specifically vendors from elsewhere, must try to get some income by selling souvenirs near the parking lot of the Borobudur Archeological Park-only an interaction point between the visitors and local businesses, thus creating the congestion and unpleasant situation for the tourists (Fig. 4.9).

Fig. 4.9 Local sellers interacting with visitors at the entrance gate of the Borobudur Park (source: Nagaoka)

4.11 Community-Driven Tourism Initiative outside the Borobudur Archeological Park Since the 1990s

Considering the attempts at income generation in the immediate vicinity of the Archeological Park, Tanudirjo (2013) argues that some of the "local people pursued a different strategy … They shifted from a focus on access to the monuments to building greater integrity among the local communities" (p. 73). A central aspect was the Borobudur cultural landscape, which makes up an intrinsic link between nature, culture, historical record, local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement. Tanudirjo (2013) also argues that:

> (The community) revitalized their traditional culture by more intensively performing their traditional ceremonies and art festivals outside the protected area. … Interestingly, the local people then started to identify themselves not only with Borobudur, but also with the broader landscape surrounding it. … They fostered a new awareness among the wider communities that the Borobudur landscape covers not only the Borobudur-Pawon-Mendut temples and the nearby villages but the entire area encircled by the seven mountains and extended their cultural landscape (p. 73).

Tanudirjo (2013) asserts that the local community at Borobudur attempted to take a wider landscape approach in several ways. For instance, the attractiveness of the villages and their potential for tourism formed part of landscape dynamics; this strengthens the argument made by Fatima and Kanki in 2010. According to Fatimah and Kanki (2012), nine-village tour routes existed in 2010, and 10 villages around the Borobudur temple were involved. Some community parties, such as local guides and local NPOs, took tourists to the villages surrounding the Borobudur Temple in order to reduce the overcrowding problem at the temple and in order to promote various village tours that began to emerge in the early twenty first century (Fatimah & Kanki, 2012). According to my interview on 13 May, 2014, with the local guides, Nur Rochmat, Hatta Muhammad, and Jack Priyantna, there are currently 61 individual local guides within the Borobudur Archeological Park, which are managed by seven local NGOs[6] working to introduce the Borobudur Temple to visitors. Acknowledging

[6] Jaringan Kerja Kepariwisataan Borobudur (JAKER Borobudur); Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Kerakyatan (LePEK); Forum Rembug Klaster Pariwisata Borobudur; Warung Info Jagad

that the local community living around Borobudur has been at a disadvantage, with tourists rarely visiting the villages in the Temple's surroundings, village tourism began to be developed outside of the Borobudur Temple and the Archeological Park with the goal of introducing visitors to the village livelihoods and the landscape and scenery flourishing from the arable land. It was also important to display the local traditional culture to visitors (Murwanto & Purwoarminta, 2015). Local community members that I interviewed felt that their actions would help promote interaction between the villagers and tourists; the enhancement of welfare of the local people, through the development of tourism around Borobudur, was paramount.

In order to promote their concept, they used a unique local transportation system, *Andong*—a horse-carriage—as a means of transportation within the villages (Nagaoka, 2014). Collaborating with the *Andong* association since the year 2000, guided tours explored serene village settings surrounded by paddy fields, natural resources, and local cultural activities in the Borobudur villages; they did so while riding *Andogn* in order to observe the Borobudur Temple from different angles from surrounding villages. During the village tour, tourists were able to enjoy the rural atmosphere, e.g., they could try to make pottery and bamboo crafts, observe traditional art performances, make traditional tofu and *mie* (noodle), and participate in other activities. Prior to and after these tours, local NGOs coordinate with the local villagers to encourage them to maintain their cultural and village resources through daily activities in order to keep their environment clean and to be economically independent. Fatimah and Kanki (2012) assert that these rural tourism initiatives helped reduce mass tourism, which had been concentrated on the Borobudur Temple, giving an important role to environmental conservation surrounding the temple.

4.12 A Variety of Traditional Artifacts in the 20 Villages at Borobudur

Unique cultural traditions and natural and human resources are assets to the Borobudur subdistrict area. The fertility of the land provides a robust agricultural sector, while the terrain facilitates easy access for the collection of raw materials for local artisan communities. Diverse natural and cultivated vegetation of fruits, trees, food crops and plants—such as papaya, coconut, cassava, bamboo, and white wood—can be easily found and cultivated in this area. Traditional cultural ceremonies and local indigenous traditions are still practiced today.

With a view to collecting credible primary data or first-hand information of the cultural and natural resources, cultural-based industries, income, and challenges at Borobudur, UNESCO conducted a community-based cultural mapping and artisan

Cleguk; Yayasan Kuncup Mekar; Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia (Indonesia Tour Guide Association, Borobudur Chapter); and Tim Anti Kekerasan Borobudur (Tanker Borobudur)

baseline survey from April until October of 2013[7] (UNESCO, 2014a). The survey (UNESCO, 2014a) revealed that;

> In general, artisans' annual income is higher than local average income (IDR 7,146,624/ USD 729). Bamboo artisans have the lowest annual income averaging at IDR 17,289,000 or US$ 1,764; yet this is 2.4 times higher than average local income IDR 7,146,624 (US$ 729). Batik artisans' annual income is even higher at IDR 64,200,000 (US$ 6,551) or about nine times higher than the local average income. As most craft industries are informal, artisans' income is varied among different craft types and areas. For example, the producers of *Gethuk Asli* Magelang (Magelang cassava snack) earn nine times higher than the average annual income of the other cassava snacks producers. On the other hand, the producers of bamboo basket earn six times lower than the average of the annual income of the other bamboo artisans. Different values and appreciation given to the products highly affect the income generation of the producers (p. 36).

This survey (UNESCO, 2014a) also highlights the basic situation of craft production within the region. Results indicate that a vast majority of respondents were content, finding their work fulfilling. Responses indicated that 46.4 % of individuals attributed this to an increase in income and an improvement in the standard of living after participating in the craft industry. The survey also indicated that 20.4 % of individuals were involved in the craft industry because they wanted to help others; 11.2 % stated that crafts were part of their traditional culture and livelihood. Another reason given for contentment included pride in the culture (2.6 %). Some also noted the response to a high market demand (9.2 %), and others cited that they were in the industry because it provided a convenient way to obtain raw material. The survey (UNESCO, 2014a) concludes that:

> Out of the 96 %, most of them hope that by transmitting their knowledge to the next generation, 42.2 % reasoned that by doing so, they are able to extend and preserve their cultural traditions. 20.6 % felt that transmission of skills to others is an important means of assistance while 10.5 % said that sharing of skills will help in the development of traditional crafts. 10 % cited that transmission of skills will help improve the economic situation in the area and 9 % of artisans interviewed stated that transmitting their skills will help them promote their handicraft products. In addition, 1.1 % of the respondents stated that they would transmit their skills to others only if it is ordered by the government while 2.6 % did not mention any specific reasons for their interest to share their skills (p. 46).

The survey result shows the basic state of craft production within the region. The result indicates that artisans' annual incomes, through the use of rich natural and traditional resources, is higher than that of the local average income, and artisans

[7] The questionnaire was developed by Joseph Lo, UNESCO Consultant for Culture, in consultation with the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS). This was conducted in the area surrounding the Borobudur sub-district of Magelang, in Central Java. This exercise involved 20 villages in the Borobudur Sub-district and 100 community members. Based on initial survey results, the questionnaire was fine-tuned to better represent local situations and perspectives. The execution of the survey involved one-to-one interviews with artisans; interviews were based on a questionnaire. A total of 100 artisans participated in the survey, of which 76 % were male and the remaining 24 % were female. Respondents' ages spanned from under 30 to over 60. Most respondents were between the ages of 31 and 45, and those over 60 accounted for only 8 % and those below 30 years only 9 %.

are generally interested in sharing their craft skills and knowledge as a means to preserve their cultural heritage, natural resources, and traditions. However, it must be noted that there still exists very little in terms of a formal system allowing artisans to undertake the transmission of skills and resources to others.

Considering the benefit of artisans' businesses, and the use of cultural and natural resources in the wider area of Borobudur, there is a clear link between these survey results and the concept of the JICA Master Plan. The plan proposed a reconceptualization of heritage back to local understanding and aimed for a widening of the concept of heritage value, moving away from defining it by the monument to including the wider landscape in Central Java, which constituted an intrinsic link between nature and culture, local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement. The JICA Plan attempted to refine the definition of cultural heritage in Indonesia, developing a concept emphasizing tangible and intangible heritage as an integral aspect of culture and giving heritage a function and a meaning within the community. The local community clearly benefits not only from the Borobudur Temple but also from the integral features of cultural and natural resources existing in the wider area of the Kedu basin.

4.13 Authorities' Initiative for Sustainable Tourism Development for Community Life

The Indonesian government began to take concrete action in the early twenty first century, with the goal of the local community at Borobudur playing a major role in the tourism and heritage management for the development of economic benefits to larger communities. This was also meant to increase the tourism contribution of Borobudur toward the preservation and protection of historical and cultural assets of the Borobudur Temple.

A number of workshops inviting local community participation were organized by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and the Culture and Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy; this was done in the early twenty first century with the goal of tourism development in the Borobudur area. On 16 occasions[8] between 2008 and

[8] National Training Workshop on the Management of World Heritage Sites in Indonesia at Borobudur from 27 October until 3 November, 2008; an Indonesian youth World Heritage campaign from 5 to 15 May, 2008; International Coordination Meeting for Safeguarding Borobudur and Prambanan World Heritage Sites in Yogyakarta from 3 to 6 November, 2009; Coordination Meeting for Enhancing Effective Management for Borobudur Temple Compounds—National Coordination Meeting in response to the World Heritage Committee Decisions 30 COM 7B.65 and 31 COM 7B.84 from 18 to 19 February, 2009; International Seminar on Cultural Heritage and Tourism in Solo on 20 July, 2009; Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Workshop at Borobudur from 10 to 15 August 2009; International Coordination Meeting for Safeguarding Borobudur and Prambnan, World Heritage Sites in Yogyakarta on 3–6 November, 2009; Borobudur and Prambanan UNESCO World Culture Heritage—Million looks, one location in Jakarta on 20 January 2010; Formulation of Draft Presidential Regulation for the Management of National Strategic Area of

2014, the authorities invited community members to raise issues concerning the Borobudur World Heritage management. Among these, a significant result was produced at a workshop[9] on tourism management on 9 and 10 November 2011 at the Borobudur Archeological Park. This was organized by the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the local governments of Central Java and the Magelang Regency as well as PTW. Approximately 50 representatives from the local government—from all 20 villages in Borobudur subdistrict, local NGOs, and hoteliers in Borobudur area—all gathered together. At the end of the workshop, a joint declaration for the integrated and sustainable tourism development was unanimously agreed upon and signed by all participants (see Appendix B). The joint declaration (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2011) stipulates that participants of the stakeholder meeting:

- Stress the commitment to improving the livelihoods of local communities while empowering them to generate income through tourism, agricultural and cultural industries through promoting cooperative and frequent dialogue between all relevant stakeholders;
- Promote transparency in each stakeholder's activities and projects in order to create collaborations and synergy between relevant parties (p. 3).

The International Coordination Meeting for Safeguarding Borobudur and Prambanan World Heritage Sites, organized by the former Ministry of Culture and Tourism from 3 to 6 November 2009 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, represented another breakthrough. The meeting adopted consolidated recommendations[10] (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009a):

Borobudur in Sumarang on 15 June 2010; a seminar entitled 'Save World Heritage Borobudur and Local Community Development' in Depok on 3 December, 2010; Seminar on the World Cultural Heritage Management in Indonesia in Jakarta on 19 October, 2010; Sharing Art & Religiosity, Art & Archaeology, Art & Mythos at Borobudur Temple in Central Java at Borobudur on 20–29 April, 2012; Worlds of Culture at Borobudur on 6 November, 2013; 6th International Experts Meeting on Borobudur at Magerang 11 November 2012; Training of Trainers Workshop for the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Programme at Borobudur, 21–25 April, 2014; and National Training Workshop on Disaster Risk Preparedness and Management for Cultural Heritage in Borobudur, Central Java on 9–13 June, 2014.

[9] This aimed to increase the tourism contribution of Borobudur toward the preservation and protection of historical and cultural assets of the Borobudur Temple, the protection of the natural resources of the Menoreh Highlands Area, the distribution of economic benefits to larger communities, the improvement of the community role of Borobudur tourism managers, and the accomplishment of development program integration for the Borobudur Region. With a view to reaching set objectives, the authorities made an integrated and sustainable tourism destination management plan.

[10] The participants in the International Coordination Meeting discussed ways to improve the management of the sites of Borobudur and the Prambanan Temple Compounds, including a legal framework for effective management, a strategy for tourism, visitor management for community empowerment and economic sustainability, stone and structural conservation and rehabilitation, and museum development. Participants attending the meeting were from the Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Public Works, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko (PT Taman Wisata), the Office of

> All participants recommended that PT Taman Wisata, in conjunction with relevant Indonesian government ministries and agencies with the support of NGOs, support training and capacity development programmes to improve the employment prospects of local community members in the conservation and tourism sectors (p. 6).

The Borobudur Conservation Office (BCO), under the Ministry of Education and Culture, also commenced to organize periodic training workshops for cultural heritage specialist guides in the early twenty first century. The BCO invited participants, including local tourist guides, representatives of local NGOs, and local hoteliers, to these training sessions. Among these, there was a noteworthy workshop entitled the Training-of-Trainers Workshop for the Cultural Heritage Specialist Guides Program, which was held at Manohara, Borobudur Temple Compounds, from 10 to 14 August, 2009. The authorities attempted to establish a formal system to provide an official certification for cultural heritage specialist guides at the national level while attempting to fit in with the regional standards. This requires close and continued coordination with existing training and certification systems in order to ensure coherence and continuity.

During my interview on 3 October 2011 with Sudhief Hartasa, head of Industry, Trade, Cooperation and Small Medium Enterprises Office of Magelang Regency, he stressed that a more sustainable nature and culture-based tourism industry, as well as community-based cultural industries at Borobudur, should be prioritized in order to assist them in economic development and poverty alleviation in the Borobudur area. Marsis Sutopo, director of BCO of the Ministry of Education and Culture for the Government of Indonesia (interview, 7 October 2011), clarified that the "Indonesian government came to interact with the community because the government staff comes to be aware of the integral value of Borobudur landscape and the importance of involvement of local community in Borobudur landscape management."

The coordination meeting for Enhancing Effective Management for the Borobudur Temple Compounds, organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta, from 18 to 19 February 2009, discussed methods by which to improve the management system of the Borobudur Temple Compounds. The meeting highlighted continuing efforts toward a revision of the legal and institutional framework for the protection and management of the property and its surrounding area.

Some 35 years after the adoption of the JICA Master Plan, twenty first century saw a move in Indonesia to preserve and promote cultural heritage and its wider setting through the use of community participation. There were a number of remarkable

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Borobudur Heritage Conservation, Magelang Regency Development and Planning Board, Central Java Province Development and Planning Board, Special Region of Yogyakarta Development and Planning Board, the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO, Gadjah Mada University, Centre for Geological Survey, ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Committee, BP3 (Archeological Heritage Preservation Office) of Central Java, BP3 of Yogyakarta, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Japan, Istituto Centrale per il Restauro-Ministero per I Beni e le Attivita Culturali, Italy, University of Tsukuba, Mie University, National Research Institute for Earth Science and Disaster Prevention, Japan, and the UNESCO Office, Jakarta.

opportunities in that all stakeholders—central, provincial and regency governments, NGOs, local representatives, academic institutes, local hotel association—attended consultancy meetings and promoted their dialogue on community participation strategy in heritage management (Wijayanto, 2015). The study argues that this is a clear case of a fundamental power shift and a move away from state-based legislation as the sole means of community involvement in safeguarding measures and reconceptualizing heritage back to local understanding.

4.14 The Eruption of Mount Merapi and Emergency Response

The end of 2010 saw new challenges for the Borobudur Temple Compounds. On 26 October, 2010, the active volcano Mt. Merapi displayed its seismic activity and lava spewed from the volcano and surged down the mountain slopes at a cataclysmic and unprecedented speed, on the Kedu plain. This culminated in the largest, most destructive eruption on 5 November, 2010 (Guardian, 2011). By 23 November, 2010, the Indonesian National Disaster Management Agency reported 322 people dead, 776 people injured, and 136,585 displaced (cited in IOM 2010, p. 2). The inhabitants, who had greatly benefited from their verdant and arable landscape, were now the recipients of the catastrophic influence of nature, not only from the lava flow but also from the seemingly endless amounts of ash generated by the eruption (National Post, 2010).

Located only 25 km away from Mt. Merapi, the Borobudur Temple was shrouded with this destructive ash, blocking its drainage system and penetrating the temple through cracks and gaps in the stones, infiltrating its inner foundations. The Ministry of Education and Culture also feared that the ash was corrosive and that the longer it stayed on the temple the more it would harm the intricate reliefs and drainage system within the extensive structure (Meucci, 2011, p. 4). Emergency action was therefore needed in order to limit the effects of natural disaster, both in terms of the temple itself and the livelihoods of the surrounding community.

In order to protect the Borobudur Temple and community livelihoods from further damage, a drastic and swift intervention was required. The step undertaken by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture and the PTW, the managing authority for the Borobudur Archeological Park, was to clean the volcanic ash from the surface of the monuments in order to prevent the deterioration of its stonework. Thirdly, while securing a national budget for this initial cleaning work, the Ministry of Education and Culture analyzed the ash at their laboratory, finding it to be slightly acidic (pH 5 to 7) and noting that it contained *hyaline* (a glass-like substance) structures, which would be extremely damaging to the carved reliefs (Meucci, 2011).

The successive eruption on 5 November, 2010, was the largest eruption at Merapi since the 1870s (Mei, Lavigne, Picquout, & Grancher, 2011). Borobudur was once again blanketed in destructive ash, 45 mm thick (Kawakami & Weise, 2010). This blanket of corrosive ash settling on the monument would not only cause an immense

threat to the unique carved reliefs, the Buddha statues within the stupas, and the facades and balustrades at the temple, but it would also trigger serious damage to the temple's structure (Meucci, 2011). Any ash left on the temple would be forced beneath the surface by rainwater, entering the pores of the rock and into the gaps between the stones, consequently blocking the monument's drainage system and leading to severe damage of the Temple's architectural structure (Nagaoka, 2012).

The UNESCO Office in Jakarta, in close consultation with the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, developed a participatory preservation model at the Borobudur World Heritage site in order to involve local community members in volunteer-driven preservation projects to save Borobudur. Local NGOs based in Borobudur have served to mobilize and manage a number of local communities involved with the cleaning operation. Selected local community workers were guided on a daily basis by the Borobudur Conservation Office (Fig. 4.10). Some 600 local community members from various local NGOs were involved in the cleaning operation from January to November 2011; this helped to meet the demands of the enormous amount of cleaning works required not only at the surface of the monument but also inside the stones' pores, the drainage systems, the unique carved reliefs covering its walls and Buddha statues within stupas, facades, and balustrades (Nagaoka, 2011a).

The cleaning operation was performed manually and was completed carefully enough to avoid stress and damage to the stones. Cleaning the ash from the drainage system is arduous work requiring patience and rigorous labor; the intricate shape of the heavy floor stones, which weigh some 30 kg each, must be removed individually in order to reach the drainage system floor. Once the stones are removed and the drainage system open, the workers have to remove muddy ash stuck within the system, replacing the stones in their original position. In order to re-lay the stones efficiently and correctly, the workers were trained to mark with chalk on the joint parts of the stone surface with a variety of different kinds of shapes (such as hearts, keys, crowns, diamonds, triangles, stars and trapezoids) so that the joint could be easily recognized once the stones were replaced in their original positions.

When I had the opportunity to talk to Nur, one of the local workers, during a monitoring mission in March 2011, he expressed his appreciation of his involvement in the preservation work (Nagaoka, 2011a). He explained that his work reminded him of his childhood, when his house had been located at the foot of the Borobudur Temple prior to its relocation during the establishment of the Borobudur Archeological Park in 1983. At that time, he had studied on the monument, played with his friends on the monument, and slept on the monument when he was tired. Borobudur was not only a monument for him but represented a part of his everyday environment with which he was able to interact. He looked back on these days with great happiness and expressed his new-found awareness of the importance of taking care of this historical monument, while joining the cleaning operations by physically interacting with the stone.

After the completion of the cleaning operations at the Borobudur Temple Compounds in February 2012, the UNESCO Office in Jakarta conducted a survey by providing each community member involved with a questionnaire sheet written in *Bahasa* Indonesia, in order to ascertain workers' views toward the cleaning operations

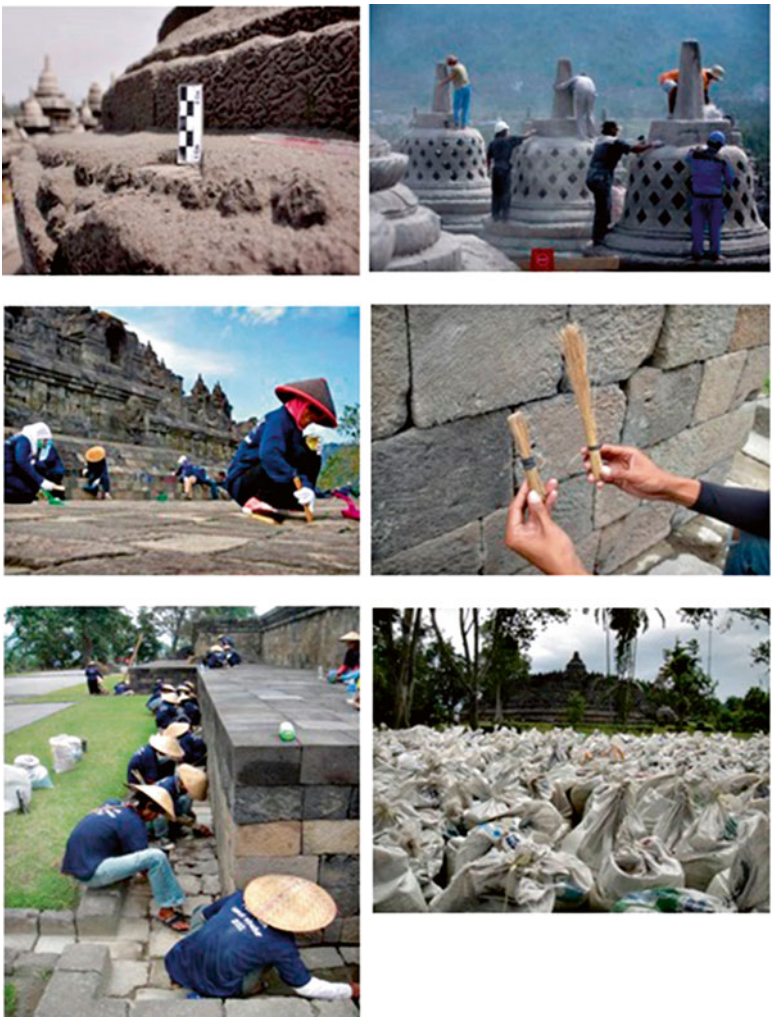

Fig. 4.10 Local community cleaning ash (source: *left upper* photo by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, *right upper* photo by National Geographic Indonesia/UNESCO, others by Nagaoka)

and to find out how the community-based conservation operation worked in the event of natural disaster. Over 200 community members who had participated in the cleaning operation joined the survey, giving an account of workers' experiences at the temple.

The survey results indicate that 88 % of participants were satisfied with the cleaning operation, while 66 % of participants have never been engaged in any preservation work at Borobudur prior to the cleaning operation in 2011. Nearly 80 % of participants replied that the knowledge they acquired through cleaning Borobudur had the potential to be useful in the future. While 61.9 % of the local community

was in agreement that Borobudur needs to be more prepared for future disasters, 93 % expressed their willingness to participate in such future safeguarding operations if Mount Merapi were to erupt again; not one of the participants expressed regret over being involved with the cleaning efforts.

Community involvement in the protection at Borobudur, in the event of disaster, had not been strategically considered thus far, nor were current disaster management strategies entailing local community participation of those expressing their readiness to preserve the Temple from natural disaster. Integrating community involvement into disaster management preparation became crucial. Community participation in disaster situations is key to mitigating the adverse impact of disasters. This should help local communities enhance their knowledge of protection, conservation, management of the cultural resources, and should increase the sense of ownership in safeguarding and promoting cultural heritage resources and boosting local pride.

4.15 Conclusion

Considering the diversified factors of Borobudur, the JICA Master Plan sought to acknowledge the intrinsic link between nature and culture as well as the importance of local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement in the preservation and maintenance of Borobudur's cultural landscape. Therefore, the JICA Plan in the 1970s explored the preservation not only of the architectural features of the temples but also of the connected landscape surrounding them. Focusing on monument preservation with the *Monuments Act* of 1931, the government of Indonesia adopted (in 1980) an innovative concept of heritage value introduced by the JICA Plan. This emphasized tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture, providing heritage a function and meaning for the community.

However, the entire concept of the JICA Plan was not implemented in the 1980s, at which point the authorities focused on the construction of the Borobudur Archeological Park in the 1980s—zones 1 and 2 of the JICA Master Plan. In preparing the nomination of Borobudur into the World Heritage List, the Indonesian authorities had to follow a strict interpretation of OUV as defined in the OGs of the World Heritage Convention. The nomination process of the Borobudur site for World Heritage Listing in the late 1980s also led the Indonesian authorities to be selective and to concentrate on the monument's tangible elements rather than its intangible culture and nature settings embedded in the local life. The Indonesian authorities nominated the site not as a cultural landscape, but rather as a monument. The concept of wider cultural landscape protection, proposed by the JICA Master Plan, was compromised by the implementation of the updated plan and the former World Heritage system. This definition of value concerning the temple remains in the World Heritage List until today.

Some 30 years after the completion of the Borobudur Archeological Park project, however, the Indonesian legislative measures in heritage discourse evolved to adopt spatial management and land use control guidelines together with scenery

control policy for the protection of the wider area of Borobudur since the early twenty first century. For instance, the authorities adopted the National Spatial Plan at Borobudur within the new Presidential Regulation in 2014, with a view to legalizing spatial management for the heritage protection for the first time. This new legislative system and measures were influenced by the concept of the JICA Master Plan. This chapter argues that the national policy framework has increased the credibility of landscape recognition and has provided guidance in conservation with community participation since the early twenty first century. Working with communities has enabled identification of a broader range of heritage sites and benefits that had previously been undermined by official policies; this also means the recognition of a growing enthusiasm for community development of democratic and participatory engagements with heritage management.

The Indonesian government also began to take concrete actions since the twenty first century in order for the local community at Borobudur to play a major role in the tourism management for the development of economic benefits to larger communities. The results of the authorities' attempts testify that the Indonesian government came to interact with the community by gaining awareness of the integral value of the Borobudur landscape and the importance of the involvement of the community in the Borobudur landscape management.

The Mount Merapi eruption disaster in October, 2010, caused devastation, casualties, deaths, and displacement; however, this disaster also provided an opportunity to unite people. Such disasters can give people a sense of unity, joining them in the goal of overcoming challenges caused by the catastrophe, such as damage to infrastructure, agriculture, tourism, the local economy, and monuments of local pride.

By examining a chronological account of the refinement of national legislative policy and the framework of heritage management with community participation for the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding environment, since the late twentieth century, this chapter argues that the management system for the preservation of the Borobudur area has evolved away from both colonial conservation ethic strongly influenced by the Netherlands and the JICA Master Plan initiated by the Japanese conservation practitioners; the Indonesian authorities have commenced to explore its original heritage discourse and practical measures.

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Chapter 5
Conclusions

The aim of this research was to examine how the heritage discourse at Borobudur, in particular landscape management in the area, has developed since the 1970s and how it has reached its current exclusive national legislative framework. I indicate that an important milestone in the Indonesian heritage discourse was the introduction of the Borobudur management plan to Indonesia in the 1970s. This concept was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners and was entitled *Borobudur Prambanan National Archeological Parks Final Report July 1979*. This plan attempted to preserve not only the architectural features of the temples but also the wider landscape surrounding the temples. Community participation was key to the plan. The concept of the JICA Master Plan was diversified Borobudur value protection with a community-centered approach. But this was not realized in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the JICA Plan was influential in the development of the management of the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding area since the beginning of the new millennium. The plan was particular important to the newly adopted National Spatial Plan at Borobudur within the new Presidential Regulation of 2014.

With a view to demonstrating how the heritage discourse at Borobudur was developed and the influence of Japanese heritage on its management policy, this study examined the progression of the management of the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding area, Japanese heritage conservation laws and practices, its eventual nomination to the World Heritage List, and a current consolidated Indonesian legal system in cultural heritage management. Cases of community-driven tourism initiatives since the 1990s were taken up, and the status of local businesses was explored. Rich natural and traditional resources were utilized, as were authorities' initiatives toward community participation in heritage management in the early twenty-first century. The natural disaster at Borobudur in 2010 was noted. Community-driven heritage management was explored, with the resulting wider cultural landscape protection at Borobudur, which was reinforced and promoted by the Indonesian authorities and community members. This approach was a linchpin of the JICA Master Plan. My conclusion is that Indonesian heritage discourse has evolved exclusively

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SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2_5

away from both the colonial conservation ethic, which is strongly influenced by the Netherlands, and the Japanese heritage discourse.

The early twenty-first century saw a move in community-driven initiatives at Borobudur, significantly influencing the heritage management of the Indonesian authorities. While the national policy framework increased the credibility of landscape recognition and provided guidance in conservation with community participation, what is now emerging is the integration of social interests and community aspirations into cultural landscape concept and its management. Working with communities has enabled identification of a broader range of heritage sites, which had previously been undermined by official policies, and we can recognize a growing enthusiasm for communities to develop more democratic and participatory engagement with heritage.

It is important to maintain the specific and unique character of not only monuments' remains but also of the wider landscape scenery and people's livelihoods. All of these are integral attributes in the cultural and economic well-being of future generations of local people. The Borobudur cultural heritage site holds tremendous potential for regaining economic benefits in this particular area and beyond. Historic preservation and economic development can be achieved in a sustainable manner, for example through efforts that revitalize the historical monument and increase the economic benefits for the entire community.

In order to ensure long-term preservation of the historical monument and its surroundings, and to help local communities that have been marginalized in the heritage discourse, there is still more work to be done. With a view to tackling these issues, an integral approach between heritage and all levels of stakeholders can be effectively formed, including the goal of empowering local communities and strengthening community resilience in heritage management.

The research at Borobudur has much larger implications. Among World Heritage properties listed during the early stage of the World Heritage system, and those defined by the criteria of the *Operational Guidelines* at the time, there are a plethora of properties clearly demonstrating the maintenance of values and the integrity of the cultural landscape. However, due to the complex and time-consuming World Heritage nomination process, these sites have not yet had the opportunity to be reconsidered as cultural landscapes, as is the case of Borobudur. This means that they lose the opportunity to be reconceptualized in terms of the wider landscape scenery and as integral aspects of heritage value. Furthermore, while these sites retain their OUV as monuments or historical buildings in accordance with what were then European ideas of heritage value, each authority maintains national legislation over the protection and management of physical-focused heritage or cultural properties, following the requirements of the *Operational Guidelines* and thus retaining the legal management and control mechanisms protecting only the nominated properties. This undermines the importance of management to a wider context of heritage value, including historical climate and natural environment. Hence, it is of utmost importance on a national level to identify the wider integral value of cultural heritage and to adopt a management system to explore harmonization between the legislation plans and administrative plans alongside active cooperation and participation of local residents, while considering the balance of

historical monuments, intangible culture, scenic maintenance, and the wider cultural landscape—aspects embedded in local life.

The discussions at the ICOMOS 18th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium in Florence in, November 2014 proposed:

> to consider the task of evaluating a site—be it cultural or natural—and intangible values, in the World Heritage context, as a "humanist task" aiming at the safeguarding and enhancement of those human "values" that guarantee the spirit of place, people's identity and, hopefully, will improve the quality of life of those who live in it (ICOMOS, 2014, p. 2)

This statement indicates a move toward a broad discussion with the aim of providing insight into placing human being at the center of the debate over heritage management, where heritage and landscape values are synthesized.

The ICOMOS 2014 Florence Declaration encourages an in-depth reflection on the ethics and processes of heritage management and a shared concern regarding the challenges that current and future generations will need to cope with in order to facilitate the inclusion and participation of perspectives from varied cultural backgrounds in the debate on how to develop a new approach to safeguarding and protecting human rights and cultural heritage.

Clearly, there is more work to be done not just at Borobudur but across the globe. I hope that this study will serve as one example of the way that research focused on communities and heritage value can be accomplished.

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Appendix A: Changes to the Criteria as Presented in the Operational Guidelines from 1977 to 2005

	1977	1980	1984	1994	1997	2005
i	Represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius.	Represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius.	No change	Represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of creative genius.	No change	No change
ii	Have exerted considerable influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, town-planning or human settlements.	Have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town planning and landscaping.	No change	Have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or townplanning and landscape design.	Exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.	No change
iii	Be unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity.	Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared.	Be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history	Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization or cultural tradition which has disappeared.	Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.	No change
iv	Be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development.	Be an outstanding example of a type of structure which illustrates a significant stage in history.	No change	Be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.	Be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.	No change
v	Be a characteristic example of a significant style of architecture, method of construction or form of town-planning or traditional human settlement that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change.	Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a culture and which has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.	No change	Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.	No change	Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.
vi	Be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance.	Be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considered that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria).		Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria.)	Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural).	Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)

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Appendix B: Adopted Declaration of Commitment at the 'Stakeholders Consultative Meeting on Heritage Tourism Promotion and Revitalization of Local Community Livelihood in Cultural Industries at the Borobudur World Heritage Site' at Borobudur, Manohara Centre of Borobudur Study, 9–10 November 2011

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SpringerBriefs in Archaeology, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-42046-2

English Version - Annex

Stakeholders Consultative Meeting on Heritage Tourism Promotion and Revitalisation of Local Community Livelihood in Cultural Industries at the Borobudur World Heritage Site

Borobudur, Manohara Centre of Borobudur Study, 9th -10th November 2011

Organised by

Ministry of National Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia
Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of the Republic of Indonesia
Friends of Borobudur
The Government of Central Java Province
The Government of Magelang Regency
PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko
and
UNESCO Office, Jakarta

Adopted Declaration of Commitment

Introduction

The Stakeholders Consultative Meeting on Heritage Tourism Promotion and Revitalisation of Local Community Livelihood in Cultural Industries at the Borobudur World Heritage Site was held within the Borobudur Compounds in the Manohara Centre of Borobudur Study, Indonesia, on 9th November – 10th November 2011. The participants of this consultative meeting consisted of representatives from the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko, the Government of Central Java Province, the Government of Magelang Regency, Friends of Borobudur, NGOs, such as *Forum Rembug Klaster Pariwisata Borobudur, Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Kerakyatan, Warung Info Jagad Cleguk, Jaringan Kerja Pariwisata Borobudur, Paguyuban Masyarakat*

Mandiri, Jaringan Masyarakat Pariwisata Borobudur, hotels Amanjiwo, Manohara Centre of Borobudur Study, Rumah Boedi and Saraswati and UNESCO Office in Jakarta.

The meeting aimed to promote dialogue between stakeholders to achieve a consensus on Declaration of Commitment for the long-term improvement of local communities' livelihoods, sustainable income generation and the empowerment for those surrounding the Borobudur Temple Compounds.

Specific objectives of the Consultative Meeting

This meeting aims to:

i) Discuss ways to enhance regional capacities for ensuring that the local communities benefit from the Borobudur World Heritage site;

ii) Strengthen cooperation among government officials, local community members, relevant stakeholders and individuals to synergise activities relating to local community empowerment and income generation;

In order to achieve these objectives, the relevant parties met over the course of one and a half days. At the end of the meeting, the following Declaration of Commitment was unanimously agreed by all participants.

Declaration of Commitment

The Participants of the Stakeholders Meeting:

1. Stress stakeholders' commitment to the preservation of the Borobudur Temple Compounds and its surrounding environment;

English Version - Annex

2. Further stress the commitment to improve the livelihoods of the local communities whilst empowering them to generate income through tourism, agricultural and cultural industries through promoting cooperative and frequent dialogue between all relevant stakeholders;

3. Encourage the promotion and expansion of markets through improving the quality of locally produced products, making them available to regional, national and international audiences;

4. Endeavour to improve the quality of tourist attractions and sites through maximising the human and natural resources within Borobudur's wider geographical area.

5. Promote transparency in each stakeholder's activities and projects in order to create collaborations and synergies between relevant parties.

6. Engage in disaster mitigation, preparedness, recovery and preparation activities under the assistance of the National Agency for Disaster Management (BNPB) and the Regional Agency for Disaster Management (BPBD).

7. Promote the monitoring and controlling of adverse area development in the Borobudur Temple Compounds amongst all stakeholders;

8. Welcome UNESCO's assistance to authorities and stakeholders in safeguarding the preservation of the Borobudur Temple Compounds and its surrounding area and revitalising local community livelihood, and request UNESCO to continue its assistance in raising funds and implementing activities to ensure the protection of the value of the Borobudur site and to empower the local communities for the enhancement of their livelihoods.

Borobudur, 10th November 2011

Pertemuan Konsultasi Para Pihak Mengenai *Promosi Pariwisata Warisan Budaya dan Revitalisasi Mata Pencaharian Penduduk Setempat dalam bidang Industri Pariwisata di Situs Warisan Dunia Borobudur*
***Declaration of Commitment,* 10 November 2011**

Nama: Marsis Sutopo
Balai Konservasi Peninggalan Borobudur
Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan

Nama: Lokot Ahmad Enda
Ditjen Pengembangan Destinasi
Pariwisata Kementerian Pariwisata
dan Ekonomi Kreatif

Nama: Agung Satrio Prakosa
Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata
Provinsi Jawa Tengah

Nama: Susilo
Ketua DPRD Kabupaten Magelang

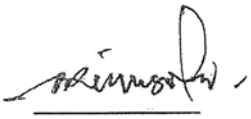
Nama: Sudhief Hartasa
Dinas Perindustrian, Koperasi dan UMKM
Kabupaten Magelang

Nama: Rohadi Pratoto
Bappeda Kabupaten Magelang

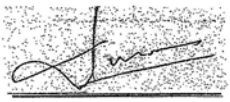
Nama: Sherly Lantang
Komisi Nasional Indonesia
Untuk UNESCO

Nama: Dian Setia Dharma
Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata
Kabupaten Magelang

Pertemuan Konsultasi Para Pihak Mengenai *Promosi Pariwisata Warisan Budaya dan Revitalisasi Mata Pencaharian Penduduk Setempat dalam bidang Industri Pariwisata di Situs Warisan Dunia Borobudur*
***Declaration of Commitment*, 10 November 2011**



Nama :Ari Widi Nugroho
Kecamatan Borobudur



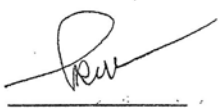
Nama: Warwick Purser
Friends of Borobudur

Nama: Sucoro
Warung Info Jagad Cleguk

Nama: Wito Prasetyo
Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Kerakyatar

Nama: Jack Priyana
Jaringan Kerja Kepariwisataan Borobudur

Nama: Wahyoko
Paguyuban Masyarakat Mandiri



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Nama: Kirno Prasojo
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Pertemuan Konsultasi Para Pihak Mengenai *Promosi Pariwisata Warisan Budaya dan Revitalisasi Mata Pencaharian Penduduk Setempat dalam bidang Industri Pariwisata di Situs Warisan Dunia Borobudur*
***Declaration of Commitment*, 10 November 2011**

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Nama: Susilo Sudarman
Amanjiwo

Nama: Masanori Nagaoka
UNESCO Office Jakarta

Nama: Yasuhiro Iwasaki

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