

Buffering Borobudur for socio-economic development

An approach away from European values-based heritage management

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that there was a non-Eurocentric approach being attempted at Borobudur in the 1970s and 1980s. From the case of Borobudur, this research aims to provide lessons for better management practices by clarifying the development of the buffer zone concept and its potential impact on communities.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper will examine an empirical literature study using topographic maps, contracts between Governments of Indonesia and Japan, documents concerning the Park Project and local newspapers as well as a sequence of one-to-one and group interviews with the key persons who were involved in the Park Project including villagers at Borobudur.

Findings – The development of the Borobudur Archaeological Park began in 1979 and marks an important shift in thinking about buffer zones from a monument-centric approach to the consideration of the wider context and approaches to community participation in the context of international heritage management.

Originality/value – There has not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of the Borobudur Park establishment and implementation of the buffer zone concept *per se*, and its impact on local community members. Furthermore, crucial management planning documents for the establishment of the Borobudur Archaeological Park have yet to be analysed by scholars. One of the documents is entitled the Updated Former Plans and Schematic Design for Borobudur and Prambanan National Archaeological Parks Project (Updated Plan). The Updated Plan is in principle not disclosed to the public and can only be viewed with permission of the Indonesian authorities thereby lessening opportunities for research to be undertaken on how the Japan International Cooperation Agency Master Plan was modified and the Park Project was executed in the 1970s and 1980s. The author opportunely received permission to access to the Updated Plan by the authorities on 23 November 2012, which made this study possible to pursue.

Keywords Community participation, Cultural landscapes, Cultural resource management, Conservation planning, Heritage, Heritage preservation

Paper type Case study

Introduction

The early 1990s saw a move against European-dominated discourses of heritage such as the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) and the 1964 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter). There are clear cases where the European ideas of heritage and the Asian ideas have been contested with the development of the Nara Document, Hoi An Protocols and others. The paper argues the dichotomy between European monument-centred heritage approaches against Asian ideas of heritage concepts through the case study of Borobudur, Indonesia.

Built in the eighth century AD by the Buddhist Saliendra dynasty, the Borobudur Temple experienced a large-scale restoration intervention from 1907 to 1911 and more recently from 1973 to 1983 (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). The second intervention,



which was led by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Government of Indonesia and international heritage conservation practitioners, was the first and most extensive intervention in South East Asia during this period. At the same time, there was a significant attempt created by the Japanese expert team that used buffer zones to protect landscapes and surrounding areas of the Borobudur Temple, provide educational function and give benefits to people living around the heritage site through the smooth interaction between tourists and the local businesses. This plan, entitled Borobudur Prambanan National Archaeological Parks Final Report July 1979, hereafter referred to as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Master Plan, was created by the JICA. This approach 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 the time, this approach sought to define and manage the buffer zone of the Borobudur Temple with community participation.

Leitao (2011, p. 159) asserts that although the term buffer zone is relatively new, it has a long tradition in practice in the protection of a property. Kozłowski and Peterson (2005, p. 3) 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. Yet, Gillespie (2012, p. 194) 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 an optional requirement 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, p. 48). Stovel (2009, p. 23) outlines that buffer zones were therefore often established in a cursory or arbitrary fashion. Fejérdy (2009, p. 140) points out that even following 40 years of refinements of the definition and purpose of buffer zones within the World Heritage system, as evident in the changing definition within the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (OGs), buffer zones still remain a large and ongoing issue for State Parties, site managers and other concerned stakeholders. Stovel (2009, p. 23) 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 started to be discussed in the World Heritage system. Yet, the concept of buffer zones is still ambiguous and confusing, and there are many countries that have faced difficulties in defining buffer zones in ways appropriate for cultural heritage management in particular (UNESCO, 2009, p. 47). 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 wide scale at that time in international discourse, the JICA Master Plan published in 1979 was ahead of its time in international heritage management. It proposed a shift in thinking about heritage values through the practice of buffer zones from a monument-centric approach to a wider context and community participatory approach. The Plan underscores that wider landscapes and surrounding areas have to play a significant role equivalent to monuments. And therefore, a “core” heritage site and its buffer zones are inseparable parts of primary importance and both are reciprocally integral elements as heritage value. Given that European approaches of cultural landscapes concept builds up the cultural site instead of transcending the culture-nature binary (Byrne *et al.*, 2013, p. 4) and separating humans from their environments (Lilley, 2013, p. 15), the plan was in direct contrast to the European developed ideas of heritage management. Overall, the argument developed in this paper is that the

JICA Master Plan attempted to explore Asian ideas of heritage management which promoted recognition of buffer zones as a tool that protects wider values such as people's connection to the site through education and welfare, thus ensuring protection and sustaining heritage as a whole.

Since there has not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of the Borobudur Park establishment (hereafter referred to the Park Project) and the implementation of the buffer zone concept, this paper attempts to fill the gap through a historical account of the evolution of the Borobudur buffer zone system in the 1970s and 1980s. Focusing on the implementation phase of the JICA Master Plan in the 1980s, this paper argues there is a gap between the concept and its application in heritage management that caused a number of issues including negative socio-cultural impacts on the local community and separation of people from the site.

In doing so, this paper demonstrates that while the concept of the Borobudur buffer zone plan introduced a new approach to Indonesia, the Government of Indonesia continued an authority-driven monument-centred heritage management approach during the implementation phase of the Park Project. This held back the shift of heritage management to community involvement. In order to develop the argument of this paper, wider interdisciplinary debates in heritage studies, particularly with reference to the conceptual and practical issues of World Heritage management and local community participation will be introduced.

Crucial management planning documents for the establishment of the Borobudur Archaeological Park have yet to be analysed by scholars. These crucial documents include the JICA Master Plan and the linked implementation document entitled the Updated Former Plans and Schematic Design for Borobudur and Prambanan National Archaeological Parks Project (Updated Plan). This Updated Plan proposed a practical and tangible design for the establishment of the Borobudur Park, and therefore, it can be understood as an updated JICA Master Plan. One of the reasons why the Borobudur Park Project has not been examined in detail was due to the limited access to the Updated Plan. With the exception of a few individuals who dealt with the execution of the Park Project, only the Indonesian authorities and the Park Management Authority, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko (PTW), possess 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 lessening opportunities for research to be undertaken on how the JICA Master Plan was modified and the Park Project was executed in the 1980s. The author opportunely received permission to access to the Updated Plan by PTW on 23 November 2012, which made this study possible to pursue.

The evolution of buffer zones in the World Heritage system

Elliott (2008, p. 9) asserts that it was New York City which adopted the first major zoning ordinance in 1916. The aim was to achieve sustainable forms of urban development. Hence this zoning document introduced a narrative list of permitted uses and a list of setbacks and height limits, in order to avoid crowding their neighbours. In Europe, on the other hand, Draye (2006, p. 1) asserts even if many international conventions, dealing with the protection of immovable heritage, do not use the term buffer zone, they have paid great attention to the safeguarding of the surroundings of protected monuments, landscapes and archaeological assets. For instance, intergovernmental collaboration between European states established 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 Archaeological Heritage; 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 of heritage, these urge each party to undertake 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 programme, launched in 1971 (Kozłowski and Peterson, 2005, p. 79). This idea aimed to accommodate the multiple functions of biosphere reserves in a given area (UNESCO, 2009, p. 73), and function as a clear tool to delineate the site on the map in terms of what protections and or regulations exist within a given area. The 2013 version of the OGs of the World Heritage Convention defines the objective of buffer zones as proper protection of the World Heritage property, and it clearly calls for the effective protection of the nominated property with legal and or customary restrictions. Paragraph 104 of the OGs 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.

In the World Heritage system, the concept of buffer zones can be first traced to the 1977 version of the OGs, and have developed through subsequent OGs until contemporary times (Gillespie, 2012, pp. 196-197). Paragraph 25 of the 1978 OGs 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, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1988, 2013). The 1980 OGs synthesize this statement and replace 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). This buffer zone definition in 1980 remained principally unchanged within the OGs until 1988. According to the current version of the OGs, in particular paragraphs 103-107, the presence of buffer zones is strongly recommended for the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List, but is not mandatory. Paragraph 106 of the OGs states “where no buffer zone is proposed, the nomination should include a statement as to why a buffer zone is not required” (UNESCO, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1988, 2013). As specified in the paragraph 107 of the 2013 OGs, “any modifications to or creation of buffer zones [...] should be approved by the World Heritage Committee”. This paragraph shows that the notion of buffer zones has gained increasing importance over years within the World Heritage system (UNESCO, 2009, p. 61).

Despite refinements of the definition and purpose of buffer zones within the World Heritage system as evident in the OGs, buffer zones remain a major and ongoing issue for State Parties, site managers, and other concerned stakeholders. For instance, on the second cycle of the Periodic Reporting exercise in the Asia and the Pacific region, out of 198 World Heritage properties in Asia and Pacific, 62 properties (31.3 per cent) do not have buffer zones (UNESCO, 2012b, p. 92). In addition, 21 per cent of the respondents to the questionnaire (site managers and focal point national officials) felt that the

boundaries of the buffer zone are inappropriate (UNESCO, 2012b, p. 92). The UNESCO (2003, p. 35) African Periodic Reporting outlines that the respondents felt more than half of the site boundaries of World Heritage sites in Africa are inappropriate, and two-thirds of the State Parties in Africa would like to see the buffer zone redefined. The UNESCO (2006, p. 24) Periodic Report in Latin America and the Caribbean region suggests that 34.4 per cent of respondents do not deem the borders and buffer zones of their sites adequate to ensure the protection of the World Heritage sites and 47.5 per cent of them consider that site boundaries and buffer zones should be revised. The UNESCO (2007, p. 57) Periodic Report in the Europe and North America region clarifies that the properties inscribed on the World Heritage List up to 1998, 42 per cent of the properties did not have a buffer zone. These results clearly show that issues related to buffer zones are on-going issues at World Heritage sites.

Fejérdy (2009, p. 140) 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 (the core zone) but this tool is not always effective and many do not exist in many cases”. In his study of buffer zones, Stovel (2009, p. 24) has 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 to 1980, the time the JICA Master Plan was produced – 65 sites were inscribed as cultural heritage sites[1]. Among them, only two sites had defined buffer zones, leaving 97 per cent of cultural heritage sites inscribed during these years with no identifiable buffer zones. Even to these two sites, Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines in Poland and Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay in France, the World Heritage Committee expressed concerns concerning inadequate delineation of buffer zones and an increasing threat to the properties, and hence recommended re-examination of alteration of such boundaries respectively (UNESCO, 1990, 2008). In this regard, during the early years of the implementation the World Heritage Convention buffer zones received little attention.

While the World Heritage Convention has the merit of embracing a broad spectrum of heritage categories (Bandarin, 2012, p. 217), 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, p. 46) asserts that most State Parties put buffer zones around a site whether it is necessary or not, just to ensure that they do not have trouble in the evaluation and decision-making processes of the World Heritage system. Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, p. 84) 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 centre. Indeed, the World Heritage system requires defined spaces for the identification of buffer zones which negatively impacted to capture the integrity of heritage value. Gillespie (2012, p. 198) 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”.

European and Asian views of heritage

In recent years there has been a growing academic movement that has criticized European developed ideas of monument-centric views of heritage such as the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the Venice Charter. A number of academics have argued these charters and discourse of heritage impose hegemonic European

heritage practices and universalize western values and systems on the nature of heritage significance (Gillespie, 2013; Taylor, 2012b; Deegan, 2012; Lennon, 2012; Daly, 2012; Butland, 2012; Peleggi, 2012; Winter and Daly, 2012; Smith and Akagawa, 2009; Silverman and Ruggles, 2009; Byrne, 2008a; Smith, 2006). Byrne (2009, p. 231) asserts that the European interest resided in cultural continuity which led to an appreciation of the material culture of times past. Lloyd (2012, p. 140) argues that in the western philosophy heritage was therefore perceived as sites, monuments and objects. Butland (2012) and Boniface (2000) argue that western theoretical and practical understandings of heritage in the modern world can be seen as a dichotomy between the valued and valueless: between heritage and non-heritage. As a consequence, Wang (2012, p. 2) outlines that preservation efforts came to be dominated by those with institutional access to heritage resources, who focused primarily on the restoration of ancient monuments and buildings rather than the needs of local residents.

Peleggi (2012, p. 61) argues that lately under the influence of the idea of cultural diversity championed by UNESCO, the principles underlying the Venice Charter have come under review. Lloyd (2012, p. 140) asserts that heritage in Asian contexts often differs from the commonly perceived heritage forms of historic monuments and “high culture”. Indeed, there are clear cases where the western ideas of heritage and the eastern ideas have been contested; 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 are among the initiatives that advanced such claims (Fong *et al.*, 2012, p. 40). These articulated an evolving approach and a distinctively Asian way of authenticity, recognizing that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent:

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 (Nara document 1994).

The value of a heritage site derives from [...] the site illustrates the material production, life-style, thought, customs and traditions or social practices of a particular historical period (Conservation Principles for Sites in China 1998).

[...] 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 Carter 2002).

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 2005).

These arguments clearly demonstrate that the Asian view of heritage value is far different from that of the European view. And the Asian experience has begun to have a significant impact onto the European standard of heritage value. Paragraph 79 of the OGs and their Annex 4 introduce the application of the concepts of the Nara document within the definition of authenticity of World Heritage properties (UNESCO, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1988, 2013).

Community participation in heritage management

Clark (2008, p. 91) argues that while these have advanced the discussion and broadened the issue and understanding of authenticity, 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 was the addition of “Communities” to the Strategic Objectives under the 1972 World Heritage Convention at the 31st World Heritage Committee in 2007 (UNESCO, 2012a, p. 27). The inclusion of a fifth “C” – Community – among the other four “Cs” of Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-Building and Communication 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 the activities undertaken in the implementation of the Convention (World Heritage Committee, 2007, p. 4). Today, involvement of community is more clearly stated in the OGs with paragraph 12 of the OGs in 2013 (UNESCO, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1988, 2013, p. 3) stating that:

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.

However, a central concern is that even community participation in heritage management is framed and legitimized by a set of principles within the World Heritage Convention; it is the Member States to the Convention who define what heritage is, how and why it is significant and how it should be managed and used. Stovel (2004, p. 16) underlines that the requirement for World Heritage sites to be protected by a documented management system resulted in the form of a government-driven procedures. Deegan (2012, p. 79) clarifies that adding difficulty to this process is the fact that the criteria for assessing the outstanding universal value of sites for nomination to the World Heritage List, as well as the concept of authenticity, have been conceptualized, explained and understood from a European viewpoint and thus come into conflict with non-European conceptualizations of authenticity, aesthetics and social values. Logan (2012, p. 115) underscores that it is important to minimize top-down approaches to governance in the World Heritage system and to try to incorporate local and regional conceptions of cultural heritage and conservation practice. Taylor (2012a, p. 275) also argues that it is fundamentally important to listen to communities and learn how to communicate findings to planners, politicians and developers who will be influential in making land-use policy and decisions. Bandarin (2012, p. 218) argues that the aforementioned declarations and charters in Asia recognized cultural diversity as one of the fundamental dimensions for the understanding of the significance of heritage. The Nara Document, for instance, advocates a community-centred approach in heritage management. It underlines 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). Merode *et al.* (2004, p. 9) assert that it is imperative that traditional values and practices of local communities are respected, encouraged and accommodated for the sustainable management of World Heritage sites.

Buffer zones as a management tool

Along with the debate around community participation in heritage management, there have also been a number of discussions within the World Heritage system to address

the issues of buffer zones and to evolve buffer zones away from a purely protective measure for cultural heritage to a much wider approach (UNESCO, 2009, p. 60). Significant debate and developments on this issue have 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, 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 the environment for the object must be properly recognized to be able to define a suitable perimeter as well as required protective measures; therefore buffer zones as a management tool should be protected by a legal framework. Given this, the adequate planning and implementation process involving all levels of stakeholders for the management of a property with a buffer zone is of paramount significance, in particular the effective integration of local perspectives into the administrative process.

Yet, the OGs of the World Heritage Convention still encourage its Member States to adopt top-down legal and regulatory systems (Clark, 2008, p. 91). Issues in heritage management in World Heritage systems, in particular the zoning approach and community involvement, are still undetermined and need to be addressed. These different understandings are evident in the case of Borobudur Temple, in particular at the time of the progression of the Borobudur Park establishment 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 valuable to preserve, the JICA Master Plan attempted to introduce the role of buffer zones for the application of integrity for cultural heritage and its protection with community involvement. This approach was in direct contrast to the early World Heritage System and European developed ideas of heritage management.

The Borobudur Archaeological Park and outline of the 1979 JICA Master Plan

It was in the 1950s and 1960s that the worldwide movement of a number of safeguarding monuments campaigns were initiated by UNESCO such as the Abu Simbel temples in Egypt, Mohenjo-daro in Pakistan, Venice and its Lagoon in Italy and so forth. The restoration of the Borobudur Temple was one of the early large-scale models for the preservation of archaeological monuments. After the adaptation of a plan for the restoration of the Borobudur Temple in Paris, France on 29 January 1973, the Indonesian authorities, UNESCO and international heritage conservation experts launched the international campaign for the safeguarding of Borobudur in 1973 (UNESCO, 1973, 2005, p. 67). During the same period, there was a unique initiative of utilizing the Borobudur Archaeological Park as a buffer zone which was 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 and community participatory approach. This was one of the first operations not only to 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. In addition, the Plan was aimed to promote practices between people and heritage through creative aspects within buffer zones.

The JICA Master Plan was jointly produced in 1979 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. The aim of the establishment of an archaeological park of 87.1 ha around the Borobudur Temple was 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 (JICA), 1979). Besides park construction, the complex project also aimed to contribute to the socio-economic development of the region with the excavation and restoration of archaeological ruins, re-organization of the surrounding areas and provision of roads and other infrastructures on a large scale.

Advocacy of the JICA Master Plan – community participation in the safeguarding of Borobudur

When the JICA Master Plan was produced in 1979, it was 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. Yet the JICA Master Plan was very innovative and democratic, contrary to that era, emphasizing community’s participation and sustainable development of the area in the process of the Park Project. The JICA (1979, p. 193) Master Plan (JICA, 1979, p. 193) 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”. The Plan (JICA, 1979, p. 200) 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”. The Plan also refers to an example adopted in Japan that outlined how the local community can be involved in the official administrative decision-making process (JICA, 1979, p. 200). It was certainly the spirit of the JICA Master Plan that local residents should play a central role to ensure the preservation of the area concerned. This was in sharp contrast to the Indonesian government’s then heritage management discourse.

Indonesia’s heritage policy and management was strongly influenced by that of the Netherlands due to its colonization. The authorities followed colonial conservation ethics, such as the Monument Act of 1931, which focused on the preservation of the physical colonial buildings and archaeological remains which were exclusively managed by conservation experts. Bloembergen and Eickhoff (2011, p. 431) argue that in Indonesia this western hegemony over “official heritage discourse continued until the post-colonial period and beyond”. The JICA Master Plan was a new approach for the country to introduce the ways and means to preserve cultural heritage with community participation and different understandings of heritage management.

The Indonesian authorities adopted the JICA proposal in the process of planning the Park Project. One of the prominent actions which the authorities espoused was to appoint Boediardjo as the first President of PTW. Boediardjo was part of a family that had lived in the Borobudur village for eight generations and had served as local village chiefs continuously. 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 theatre player. Running a presidency of PTW from 1980 to 1985 and having 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, and thereby to “reflect the voices of villagers in official administrative measures” (JICA, 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.

Outline of the Updated Plan

The MTCT found the need to amend the JICA Master Plan from a basic conceptual plan to a practical design when it came to the implementation phase of the Park Project (Ministry of Transport Communications and Tourism (MTCT), the Republic of Indonesia, 1981). Given this, a joint team of Indonesian and Japanese experts was formed 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 km². 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, and not the wider area surrounding the park. The Indonesian authorities began implementing the Park Project after taking entire custody of the project in accordance with an agreement with the Government of Japan in April 1980 for a financial loan – the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund. Concerning the management of the wider surrounding areas, the Updated Plan (Joint Venture Firms of Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning Inc. in association with PT. IDECO UTAMAN, 1981a, p. 3) 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”.

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 park. One of the most significant changes was in the park buffer zone which was used to fulfil the roles of educational and socio-economic development in unison with the conservation of the temple. As argued previously in this paper, buffer zones during the 1980s and 1990s were treated as a zone of lesser importance in comparison to the core area 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 as indispensable and integral elements reciprocally.

An educational function of a buffer zone

The JICA Master Plan proposed to establish a Borobudur Archaeological Conservation Centre 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 was an Archaeological 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, and microbiology, and archaeological surveys, research, excavations, etc. (JICA, 1979, p. 134). The other was the Centre for Borobudur Study, a place of research for both experts and students to pursue heritage studies and to promote cultural exchange (JICA, 1979, p. 51). In addition to these educational facilities, an archaeological museum was also planned to be constructed within the park, with a view to introducing the history of Borobudur, the restoration works completed in the twentieth century, and archaeological 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-storey and indigenous trees were planted around these buildings (JICA, 1979, p. 58), with the aim that when the area was seen from the temple, it looked as if the entire area was blanketed by green vegetation (Joint Venture Firms of Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning Inc. in association with PT. IDECO UTAMAN, 1981b, p. 25). 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 archaeological monuments in Indonesia” (JICA, 1979, p. 42).

A strategic use of social, cultural and economic factors of the buffer zone

The JICA Master Plan and the Updated Plan also proposed a social and economic strategy to be included in the buffer zone plan. The Plans encouraged development that would be beneficial to the site and community by providing an opportunity to gain maximum revenue from visitors and promote the smooth interaction between tourists and the local businesses. It was also proposed within the Plans that an area for souvenir shops and a parking lot in the entrance area of the park be established with a view to maintaining attractive conditions for tourists entering the park whilst providing substitute premises to the local people who were requested to relocate to new areas. The JICA (1979) Master Plan envisaged 15 souvenir shops within a 450 m² area, whereas the Update Plan (Joint Venture Firms of Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning Inc. in association with PT. IDECO UTAMAN, 1981b, p. 32) proposed to increase the shop numbers up to 100 with a total floor space of 1,000 m². By 1984, an area for 120 kiosks was secured (PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko, 2011). Indeed the JICA (1979, p. 182) Master Plan stipulates that “these plans will serve as guidelines for community development in the archaeological park areas on the basis of a spirit of participation and cooperation on the part of the local government and the local residents”. Thus, the Park Project attempted to gain benefits for the rural population through the generation of sustainable and dependable incomes from tourism.

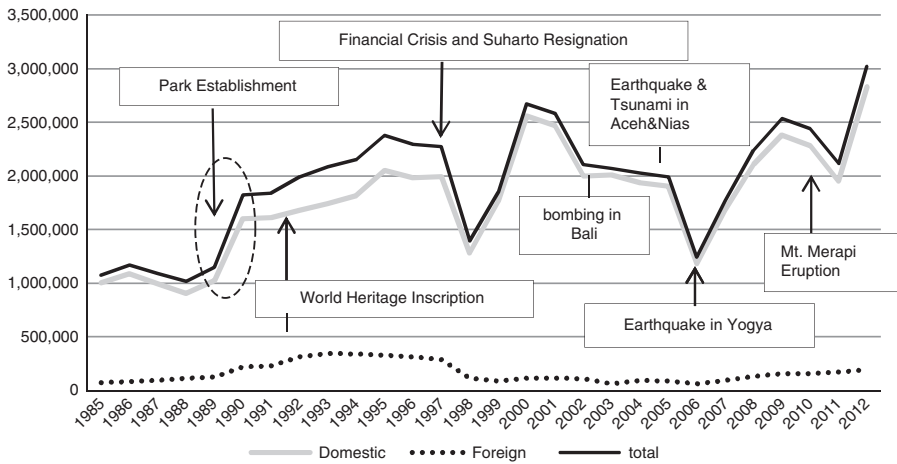
A result of the implementation of this zoning approach and creation of the park was a significant increase in visitor numbers to the Borobudur Park when it was officially opened in 1989 (Figure 1). The visitor data from this period illustrates that the completion of the Park Project helped boost tourism considerably.

Deficiencies of the Park Project

While there were a number of achievements in implementing the Park Project, there were also a number of negative aspects which detracted from its accomplishments. The most negative result was the estrangement of PTW/the authorities and the local community 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 to complete it. Of this, 8.4 ha was privately owned farmland and 4.7 ha residential land holding 273 households with a total population of 1,329 people (JICA, 1979, p. 149). In order to secure a buffer zone as a Borobudur Archaeological Park, the farming fields and residential building areas in the buffer zone were to be levelled and replanted with vegetation. Given these plans, the inhabitants’ cooperation in the zone was crucial for the realization of the Park Project.

According to the JICA (1979, p. 23) Plan inflation in the land price at the project site in 1978 had already become high due to the realization of the Park Project. In order to



Source: Data Pengunjung Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Tahun (PTW) (1985-2012)

Figure 1.
Progression of
visitor numbers to
the Borobudur
Archaeological Park

cope with this situation, it was a matter of urgency to launch a proper assessment programme of land prices while publicizing a relocation plan so that the Park Project would not cause those who would have to resettle unnecessary loss or disadvantage. During an author's interview on 11 November 2012 Yasuhiro Iwasaki, the 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 by the residents to one of the villages for a topographical survey in 1980. Iwasaki recalled that it was not community villagers but rather settlers who came from outside the Borobudur village area to within the planned park, who may have heard that the land price in the vicinity of the Borobudur Temple would be increased due to the Park Project. The increasing cost/inflation of the land price posed problems for the authorities and made the authorities decide to purchase, transfer ownership, substitute land, and reserve park land as quickly as possible.

Although the JICA (1979) Plan proposed that the villagers be fairly compensated with suitable substitute land after an appropriate assessment of the real estate value, the actual land acquisition process executed by the authorities distressed the local inhabitants. There were three main aspects to how the residents suffered during the procedure.

i. 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 of Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning Inc. in association with PT. IDECO UTAMAN, 1982), Rp. 3,800 million was utilized in 1980 and Rp. 2,600 million in 1981 for acquiring the land with a further estimate of Rp. 7,600 million required for the remaining necessary land. However, Jack Priyana, one of the residents of Kenayan village who resided in the immediate vicinity of the Borobudur Temple, said during a group interview with the author 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, said "to express our disagreement, some of them joined in a demonstration against the authorities". Indeed, residents conducted a number of protest mobilization actions towards the authorities. One of the biggest demonstrations was when 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 to the authorities (Kompas: 1981c).

ii. Non-involvement of the community in the decision making on re-settlement

There were very limited opportunities given by the authorities to the local residents with respect to information sharing on the relocation plan and indemnity. There were, at least, a few meetings inviting local residents so they could explain the relocation plan including those on 25 January 1981, on 9 February 1981 and on 25 August 1982 (Kompas, 1981a, b). Kompas (1982a), a national paper which has a local section for each region, reported that it was not only the relocation plan and indemnity issues causing problems but "the social program has never been explained to the community in order to provide a more positive description on the project". Furthermore, according to Sucoro and Priyana, local residents were prohibited by the authorities from organizing meetings among themselves, resulting in clandestine meetings at the local cemetery.

iii. 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, (1983), 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". The border of their houses and roads heading to the Borobudur Temple were also segregated without any notice to the villagers (Kompas, 1981b) with bamboo fences set to stake out the boundary of the residential area, and the access road to the temple was blocked by concrete obstacles placed on the road (Plate 1). One result of these changes was that local sellers, who previously operated food stalls and merchandise stores from their houses, were forced



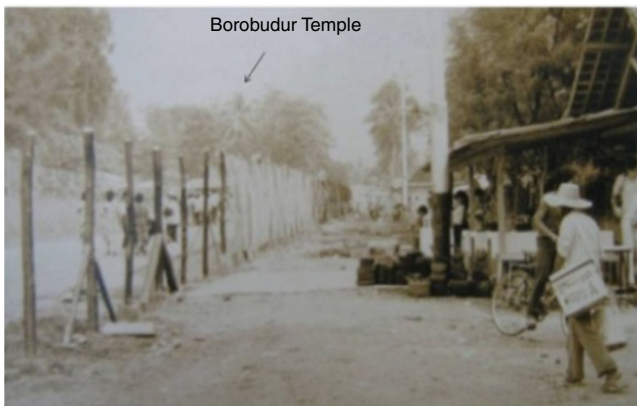
Plate 1.
Concrete blockages
setting

Source: Sucoro (2014)

to interact with visitors through the fences (Plate 2). In this regard, the local people were quarantined from various public services, electrical supplies, network of public roads, and visitors, and left inside the fences. While there were 1,329 people in zone 2 in 1977-1979, all residents had moved out from zone 2 by March 1984, purchasing new land with compensation received from the authorities. Eventually, the Park Project was completed in 1988 on the premise of the resident's distressed displacement. The final result may be the almost total separation of the site from the surrounding local community (Hampton, 2005).

Yet, there are some villagers who were sympathetic to the concept of JICA Plan despite being opposed to the whole process of land acquisition implemented by the authorities. During the author's interview Sucoro, Priyana, Hatta and Nurrohmah, 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 have a responsibility to protect the temple as civil guardians. According to them, this commitment should be inherited as a pivotal communal role to the next generation. Furthermore, they underlined if they were involved in the process in a more constructive way, they were ready to provide their land and were prepared to adjust their respective architecture style with the surrounding situation of the Park, for instance to make it in traditional Javanese architectural style.

In the course of the establishment of the Borobudur buffer zone system, the primary aim of the project changed to be limited to the geographical protection measurement of the heritage site itself. Unfortunately the community members were excluded from the decision-making process for the creation and management of the Borobudur Park. Although the JICA Master Plan proposed a community-centred approach in creating buffer zones, 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 programmes will be altered by those very people. In order for the community members to feel a shared responsibility in the maintenance of the historical monument and its surrounding landscapes, it was pivotal that they participated in the consultation process and their voices were reflected in any decision of the Park Project.



Source: Sucoro (2014)

Plate 2.
Local sellers
interact with
visitors through
the fences

Buddhist heritage in a predominant Islamic region

The Borobudur Temple is currently surrounded predominantly by Muslim communities [2]. Hence the temple is not used as a place of Buddhist worship on a daily-basis by most of the villagers. The religious link between the Buddhist temples of Borobudur, Mendut and Pawon can only be observed in the Vesak day for the celebration of the birth of Buddha which is the biggest event held in these temples in a year during the full moon in May or June[3]. On the other hand, the local Muslim people also gather at the Borobudur Temple to celebrate Idul Fitri, the end of Muslim fasting season and greet their relatives and friends. They also provide offerings to the monument. Tanudirjo (2013, p. 70) underlines that these actions became part of their life and their cultural identity and engendered a feeling of ownership among the local people. And thus, people consider themselves the guardians of the cultural complex. Kausar (2010, p. 4) argues 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 landscapes as well as local perspectives.

The protection of this setting is crucial not only for the preservation of the heritage property *per se* or for religious worship, but also for the long-term sustainable development of the local community, who are benefiting from tourism. Preservation of the region's ancient heritage is directly tied in with the livelihoods of the local communities and their future generations. Economic sustainability in this area relies on the highest possible conservation quality of the sites, their environments, their explicit characters and unique assets, which all contribute to the cultural and economic well-being of local people.

Hence, it was not surprising that the communities surrounding Borobudur – who were displaced to outside of the Park and separated from the heritage after the establishment of the Archaeological Park in 1988 – volunteered themselves for the cleaning operation when the catastrophic volcanic eruption of Mount Merapi posed a serious threat to the Borobudur Temple on 26 October 2010[4]. The resulting corrosive ash settled on the temple and started to penetrate deeply into the pores of the temple's stones and into the gaps between the stones, which threatened the stone itself and could potentially block the monument's drainage system. The immediate response and the continued cleaning operation at the temple from January until December 2011 by some 600 local community members, aged between 18 and 60 years old, illustrates the tenacious nature of the local people. Recognizing the importance of such a site they selflessly set to work to save it when it was severely under threat (Nagaoka 2011, p. 89). Despite the fact that their villages had been ravaged by this natural disaster, they showed their preparedness to step forward and help the authorities save this temple.

Conclusion

The concept of Borobudur Archaeological Park created in 1979 marked a significant development in international heritage management by seeking to define and introduce a non-European hegemonic approach in heritage management. The Plan attempted to explore an Asian idea of heritage value and its management which promoted recognition of buffer zones as a tool to strengthen the bond between heritage and people. Hence, the JICA Master Plan attempted to give a functional importance to a buffer zone by enhancing the value for the surrounding areas of a historical monument and providing benefits for people living around the heritage site. It adopted a pioneering integrated approach of a buffer zone to evolve 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 promoting smooth interaction between tourists and the local sellers in order for them to gain a fair share of benefit from tourism under the controlled arrangement. Moreover, the concept was based on a community participatory approach: it proposed that collective decisions made by the Indonesian authorities and community be given priority consideration to ensure the preservation of Borobudur and surrounding areas (JICA, 1979, p. 200). In this regard, the JICA Master Plan and the Updated Plan proposed a new approach in 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, hence reinforcing heritage protection measurement. This is a clear case where the concept and understanding of buffer zones at Borobudur was in sharp contrast with that of European ideas in the 1970s and 1980s.

However, the implementation of the concept itself in the 1980s was problematic with the authorities' enforced displacement of the inhabitants in the Borobudur Archaeological Park in the creation of a buffer zone system. Contrary to the new approach of the JICA Master Plan, the Indonesian government continued an authority-driven monument-centred heritage management. The social and cultural impacts of preservation and development policies on the local community have not been a concern by the Indonesian government during the development process of the Park Project. The consequent neglect of the relationship between the local community and the historical heritage has become a major issue at Borobudur. Hence, this paper asserts that there was a significant gap between the concept and its application in heritage management at Borobudur in the 1980s. While adopting a new approach the JICA Plan proposed, the Indonesian government continued an authority-driven monument-centred heritage management 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 correlation to the heritage, not only in the present but also from the past to the future, was undermined. This generated severe distrust among the local community that lasts to this date. The implementation phase of the Park Project highlights 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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Notes

1. In 1978 there were 12 sites inscribed on the World Heritage List and eight sites were the cultural heritage sites among them. In the following year in 1979, it was 38 inscribed as cultural heritage sites out of 44 sites inscribed on the World Heritage List (note: two sites are listed as a mixed site). In 1980, it was 23 cultural heritage sites out of 28 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List.

2. During interviews with the author on 13 and 14 May 2014, Zaenal Arifin, Regent of Magelang, clarified that there is no official census about religious information in the Magelang regency. But there are two Buddhists within the sub-district 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 besides two keepers of the *Viharas*.
3. Involving people and monks reside both within the area and in other parts of the province or the other countries, a procession of Buddhist monks starts in Mendut Temple, passes by Pawon Temple and ends at the Borobudur Temple.
4. The end of 2010 saw challenges for the Borobudur Temple Compounds. Mount Merapi, an active volcano located on the border between Central Java and Yogyakarta, erupted suddenly and catastrophically on 26 October 2010, seriously threatening the thousands of people living on the volcano's fertile slopes. On 23 November 2010, the Indonesian National Disaster Management Agency officially reported 322 people dead, 776 injured and 136,585 displaced. The major eruption blanketed its surrounding areas in volcanic ash and posed a severe threat both to local people as well as to the Borobudur Temple compounds and their surrounding areas.

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