

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.

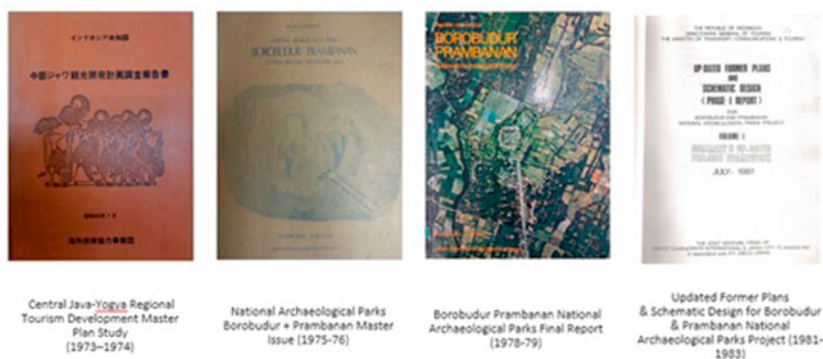


Fig. 1 A series of JICA Studies

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 km² (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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