



BOROBUDUR as Cultural Landscape

Edited by Kiyoko Kanki, Laretna T. Adishakti, Titin Fatimah

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BOROBUDUR as Cultural Landscape

Local Communities' Initiatives for the Evolutive
Conservation of *Pusaka Saujana* BOROBUDUR

Edited by

Kiyoko Kanki

Laretna T. Adishakti

Titin Fatimah



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4 Community Initiative in Borobudur

Community-based conservation through rural tourism initiatives in Borobudur

Titin Fatimah

Borobudur Temple has a long history since being built around the seventh to eighth centuries by the Sailendra Dynasty. After being buried for centuries, it was discovered and reconstructed and is now a world-famous tourist destination. Nowadays, not only the temple, but its surrounding villages as well, offer new alternative tourism activities. Several rural tourism movements have flourished in the area.

This sub-chapter aims to explain the rural tourism activities conducted by local communities in the Borobudur area and to analyze how such activities contribute to the cultural landscape conservation. As we know, Borobudur Temple and its surrounding cultural landscape are an inseparable unity. Conservation should be applied to both the temple and its setting.

This sub-chapter consists of six parts. Part one is an introduction to explain the structure of community and entities in Borobudur Sub-district. Part two describes the research methodology of this study. Part three discusses the traditional village community and self-initiated development, with a focus on Candirejo. Part four discusses citizens' organization at the sub-district level. Part five seeks to understand the relationship between cultural landscape conservation efforts and the rural tourism initiatives conducted by the community. It starts with the identification of the progress of rural tourism in Borobudur Sub-district, then searches the impacts of tourism activities on cultural landscape. As a synthesis, the author tries to develop a scheme of cultural landscape conservation through rural tourism activities. The last part of this sub-chapter is a concluding remark showing how rural tourism initiative can contribute to cultural landscape conservation.

The structure of community and entities in Borobudur Sub-district

A community is a group of people living in a certain place or having similar interests. Two types of community are discussed here: 'village community' (at village level) and 'citizens' organizations' (at sub-district level). Village community here refers to the communities that exist in the village, such as traditional community systems called *Rukun Tetangga* (RT; literally 'neighborhood') and *Rukun Warga* (RW; literally 'harmonious citizens'), community groups in hamlets or at village level (youth organizations, women's organizations, farmer organizations, etc.), and regular residents' meetings (for example, *selapanan*, *arisan*, etc.). Citizens' organization here refers to community organizations or associations or community

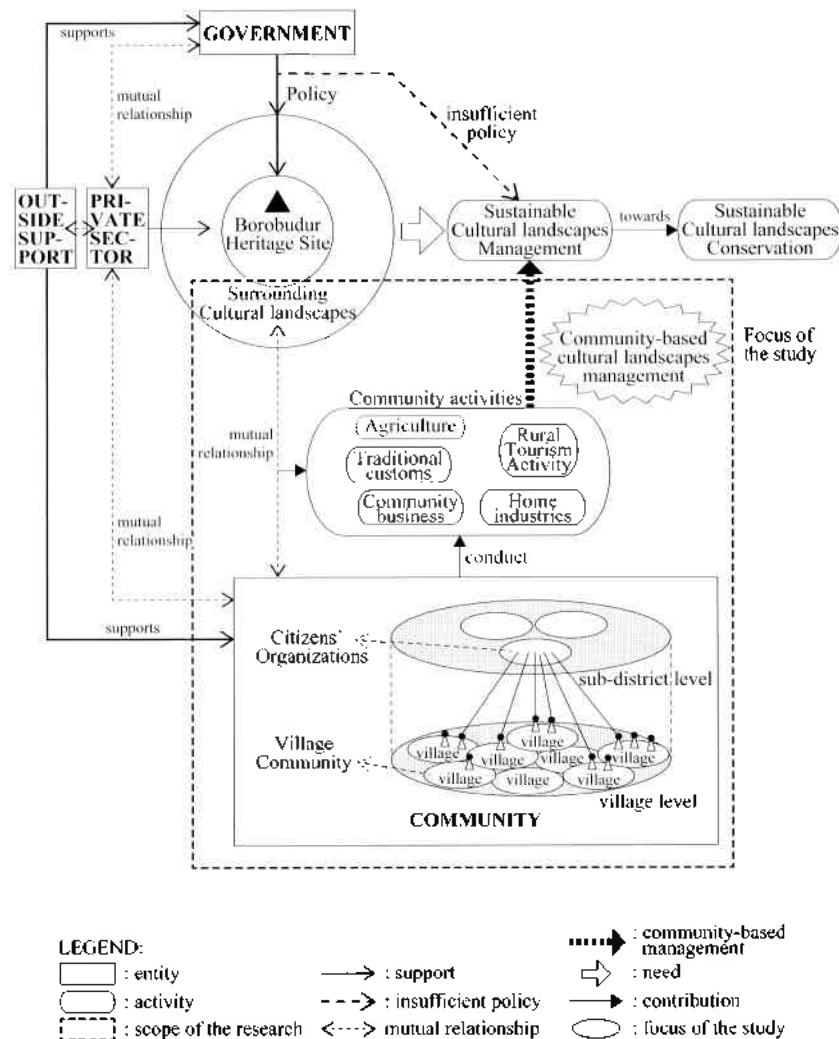


Figure 4.1: Community and related entities in Borobudur (Fatimah, 2012)

forums in which the scope is not village-based but is wider (usually covering the sub-district level), such as tourist guide associations, village chief associations, forums, and so on.

In the case of Borobudur Sub-district, many entities are related to the conservation of Borobudur Temple and the cultural landscape. Figure 4.1 shows that the main entities are:

- government: the central Government of the Republic of Indonesia, the regional

authority of Central Java Province, and the local authorities of the Magelang Regency and Borobudur Sub-district

- the private sector: travel agents, hotels, and various enterprises
- the community: village communities (at the village level) and citizens' organizations (at the sub-district level)
- outside support institutions: international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, local universities, non-profit organizations (NPOs), donors, etc.

Borobudur Temple is currently managed by the central government through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, while the park surrounding the temple is under the management of PT. Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko (PT. TWCBPRB/Tourism Park of Borobudur, Prambanan, and Ratu Boko Temple Co. Ltd)². The area outside the park should be managed by the regional government, but this is not necessarily so, and local communities, in collaboration with citizens' organizations, still actively undertake some activities. Sometimes, external parties such as UNESCO, universities, NPOs, and so on provide support (Fatimah 2012).

The discussion in this sub-chapter focuses on community-based initiatives (especially rural tourism), both at the village and sub-district levels, towards sustainable cultural landscape conservation (see the dash-lined box in Figure 4.1).

Research methodology

This topic has been the research subject of author's doctoral dissertation. The field survey in Borobudur was conducted from 2003 as research for my master's thesis. Therefore, this writing is a result of longitudinal field research (Pettigrew 1990; Saldana 2003). This research mainly uses qualitative methodology with a field research approach, which requires the author to go 'into the field' to observe the real phenomenon and conditions, take extensive notes, and gather qualitative data for analysis (Patton 1987). Especially in a rural area of Indonesia, such as Borobudur, it is quite difficult to obtain documents. Therefore, this research uses interviews, field surveys, and a reference study as the main data collection. A participatory survey was also conducted.

Field surveys on rural tourism activities were conducted in Borobudur Sub-district, which has twenty villages, and then focused on selected villages (seven out of the twenty villages) whose local communities are considered to be actively conducting rural tourism activities. The villages are Borobudur, Candirejo, Giritengah, Karanganyar, Karangrejo, Wanurejo, and Wringinputih.

In-depth interviews were conducted with individuals such as village chiefs, prominent community figures, leaders of organizations, actors or performers of events or activities, and so on. Documentary and data archiving was also carried out to obtain important information related to the research from sources such as newspaper articles, project reports, minutes of meetings, published statistics data, strategy- and policy-related documents and publications, maps, and other secondary data.

Traditional village community and self-initiated development, with a focus on Candirejo

As mentioned, village community refers to the communities that exist in the village. Until now, village community traditions are mostly still practiced by village inhabitants.

This part focuses on traditional community activities in villages that have had direct influence with the cultural landscape. Borobudur Temple is surrounded by twenty villages. Candirejo village is located about three kilometers south-east of Borobudur Temple. In the past decade, this village has become known as one of Indonesia's tourism villages.³ Therefore, I focus on Candirejo village as a case study. This village began its self-initiated development in the 1980s. By searching its development history, we can see how a traditional village community can initiate activity towards a new village industry in a sustainable way. Therefore, this section discusses the development process of Candirejo, especially its community based rural tourism activities.

Background: the importance self-initiated development

Candirejo village is situated in the area surrounding the Borobudur Temple World Heritage Site, and the area is classified as cultural landscape heritage (Taylor 2003) and should be conserved (Engelhardt et al. 2003).

Borobudur Sub-district has several citizens' organizations (such as JAKER⁴) and NPOs (such as PATRA-PALA⁵) that have tried to collaborate with village communities to carry out agricultural revitalization programs to conserve and utilize village culture and landscape as an alternative solution for recent problems in the Borobudur area such as environmental degradation, decreases in farming benefits, and mass tourism, which is concentrated at the temple. So NPOs are encouraging villages in the surrounding area to maintain the scenery as part of the cultural landscape around Borobudur Temple. For instance, the NRM-LCE (Natural Resources Management for Local Community Empowerment) project conducted by PATRA-PALA covered ten villages scattered on the foot of the Menoreh Hills, and JAKER is in discussion with almost all twenty villages in Borobudur Sub-district. Candirejo became the main focus of the NRM-LCE project from December 2001 to November 2004.

Under such a situation, only Candirejo implemented a concept of 'Community Based Ecotourism', which was named by the villagers themselves and was managed by their own Tourism Village Cooperative. Candirejo has been selected as a pilot project for community-based tourism in Indonesia (May to November 2003) and has also been honored with awards.

Here we should question why only Candirejo could realize such a program while other villages in Borobudur Sub-district could not achieve the same level. Rural tourism is important for village revitalization and it is necessary to understand how it starts, so Candirejo can be regarded as a good case study.

General overview of Candirejo village

Candirejo is situated on the foot of the Menoreh Hills on the south side, while the north side is bordered by the Progo River, a big river which is the main river in the Kedu Plain; a small river, the Sileng River, flows through the village (Figure 4.2). Topographically, this village has two types of land: hilly areas on the south side and a plain area on the north side. The village is

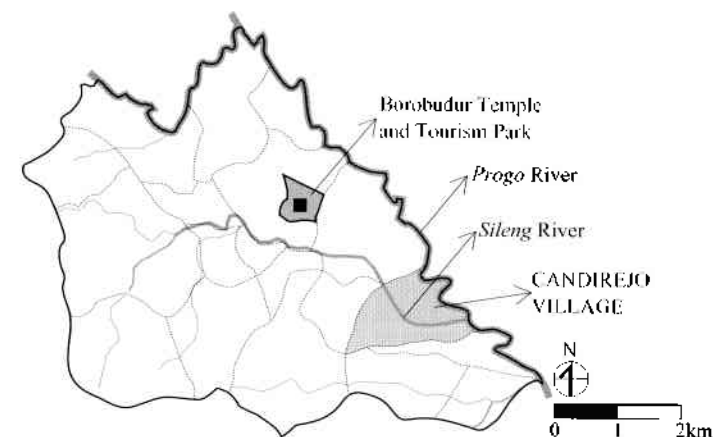


Figure 4.2: Candirejo village site context (Fatimah 2012)

situated at 100–600 meters above sea level. Candirejo village has an area of 366.25 hectares, which include rice fields, dry fields, *pekarangan* (yards), settlements, and so on.

Physically, the settlement area has a unique character, with wide yards planted with rambutan trees and bordered by green fences. Traditional houses are still in use. A number of historical sites in the village offer potential as tourist attractions.

Tourism activity in Candirejo is under the management of the Tourism Village Cooperative. There are a number of tour packages such as village tours by bicycle, foot, or *andong*, sunrise treks to the Watu Kendil site on the top of the Menoreh Hills, cooking lessons, lunches in traditional houses, homestays, and so on. Visitors can enjoy the atmosphere of daily life in the village, the beautiful scenery, and traditional music (*gamelan*), and so on, and a homestay program has been offered since 2002, with traditional houses mostly serving as accommodation facilities (Plate 4.1).

Social systems and community organizations

The residents of Candirejo village still live in a traditional way. They have their own social system and social customs that are still practiced in their daily lives; for instance, they practice *gotong-royong*⁶ spirit to keep their surrounding environment clean (Gumisawa 2007) and still highly appreciate the principle of *tepo-sekero*⁷ as one of their common wisdoms (Atmosmarto 2005).

The village residents have a regular community forum called *selapanan* in which they discuss any problems that have occurred in their village. This meeting is also called *rembug desa*, which means 'village meeting'. The forum is held every thirty-five days, either at the village level or at the hamlet level. There are other meetings such as *arisan* and *pengajian*, which also function as a gathering place for smaller groups such as at the RT or RW level. Several main organizations (LSD/LPMD, BPD, PKK, POKJA)⁸ form the institutional

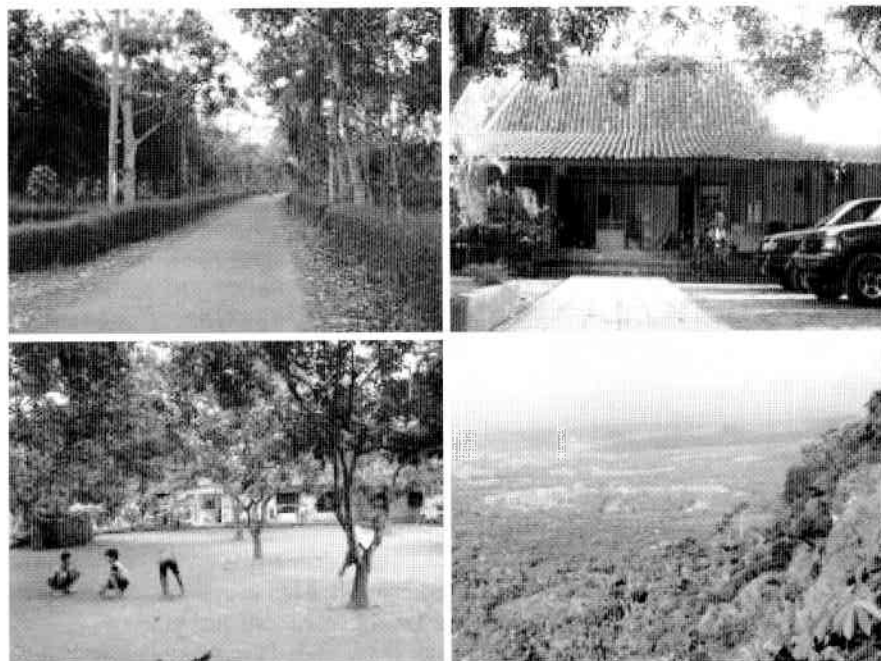


Plate 4.1: Candirejo village: (clockwise from top left) village greenery; a house used for homestays; view from a hill top; yards in the settlement area (photos: author's field survey, 2005)

framework of Candirejo's community system (Figure 4.3).

The realization process of community-based ecotourism in Candirejo

This part uses interviews and supporting documents to analyze the realization process of Community Based Ecotourism in Candirejo village, which is summarized in Figure 4.4. In this figure of interviewed events related to the realization of green tourism, we can read 'the developing process' by vertical order (↓) and 'the mechanism of each process' by horizontal order (→). From left to right, the village community is considered from the resident level to the administration level.

The first phase: agricultural development (1980–90)

The rural development program began around 1980 through a yard cleaning program (★1 in Figure 4.4). The residents cut unnecessary and overcrowded trees (bamboo, coconut, jackfruit, etc.) inside their settlement area and replaced them with more productive trees (e.g. rambutan, papaya). Figure 4.5 compares Candirejo's bamboo trees distribution in 1980 and 2008, and shows the distribution of rambutan trees in 2008. This program was supported

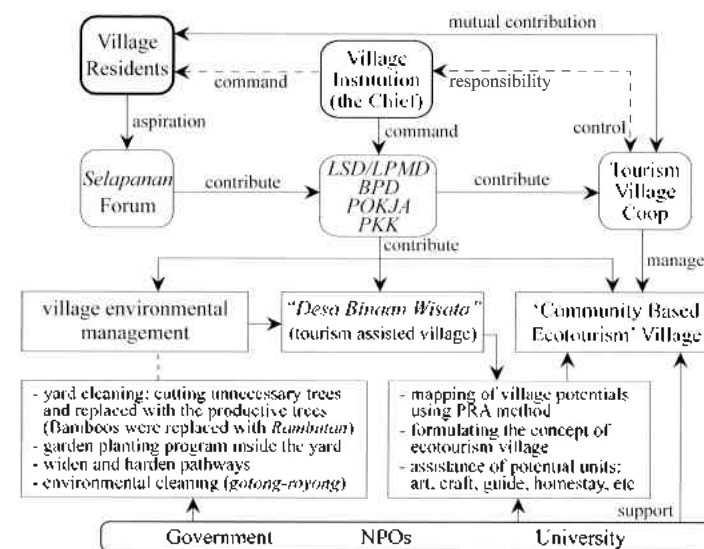


Figure 4.3: Community system in Candirejo village (source: compiled by author, based on field survey)

by government through P2WKSS⁹ and Pucungan hamlet became the pilot project. Once it seemed to be successful, the program was applied to other hamlets in the village (★2 in Figure 4.4). In addition to planting rambutan trees, yard space was also optimized by cultivating smaller vegetables and fruits between the rambutan trees (★3). The interviewees said that village residents implemented the program together hand in hand. Therefore, it raised a spirit of togetherness among them. The implementation of this program also brought other good effects to the village. The environment inside the settlement area became clean and well organized, and showed a better appearance.

The second phase: cultural improvement and community empowerment (1991–98)

After the vegetation replacement program, improvement programs for nonphysical aspects (such as managerial skills and art, craft, and home industries) were also carried out. Candirejo received support from government, academic institutions, and NPOs. Training and assistance on farming were held to increase the benefit of farming activity. Training in crafts such as bamboo carving, wood carving, batik, and so on was carried out to increase skills. Assistance was also provided to train art performance groups in each hamlet, such as in traditional dances (e.g. *jutilan*, *kobrasiswa*), traditional theatre (e.g. *gutholoco*, *ketoprak*), and so on (★4).

The implementation of the yard cleaning program in the first phase resulted in a better environment in Candirejo village. As a result, the village received awards in several village competitions (★5). The interviewees said these achievements renewed the motivation of

twice receiving awards in village competitions, Candirejo became a good example of village environment management for other villages. In 1999 Candirejo was established as a *Desa Binaan Wisata* (Tourism Assisted Village) by the Government of Magelang Regency.

In order to develop further, Candirejo contacted PATRA-PALA and, supported by JICA in 2001–04, received assistance through the NRM-LCE project (★6), which develops the concept of Community Based Ecotourism. Village potentials were mapped using Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).

In 2000 the village adopted the principle of *catur daya* (four powers) as the basic philosophy of tourism activity. It consists of *daya tarik* (the power of fascination), *daya tumbuh* (the power to grow), *daya manfaat* (the power of benefit), and *daya tangkal* (the power to parry). This principle obliges the village residents to be members of a conducive-dynamic-active community. Conducive means they obey the leader, respect each other, and highly appreciate the common convention and spirit of *gotong-royong*. Dynamic means they are innovative and highly motivated to participate in programs. Active means they always pursue the program actively and proactively (Suhandi et al. 2003). This village also has a slogan, *Candirejo Bersatu*, which means 'Candirejo Unite'.

The fourth phase: independent management and wider promotion (2003–now)

Tourism activity in Candirejo formally started in 2003 when this village was designated as an ecotourism village by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Since then, the number of visitors, especially foreign visitors, has been increasing (Adiyanto et al. 2008).

The Tourism Village Cooperative was established in 2003 (★7), just after the designation of Candirejo as a Community Based Ecotourism village. This organization was created to manage the operation of tourism activities in the village. Membership is open but limited and, until now, the members are representatives of village organizations such as art performance groups, the *andong* association, the homestay association, youth groups, and chiefs of each hamlet. In interviews, they explained that the reason for the establishment of a cooperative instead of a company is that the cooperative is more suited to the character of village residents. Traditional customs and a sense of togetherness are still dominant in the social system of Candirejo village.

An annual meeting is held to report on activities throughout the year (Plate 4.3). This meeting is attended by all members. During the meeting, each representative can freely show opinions or suggestions. Recently, the Tourism Village Cooperative has collaborated with the private sector (such as travel agents and several hotels around Borobudur Temple) to promote its tourism packages (★8 in Figure 4.4) and the number of foreign visitors has significantly increased.

Village residents' roles and participation

The development through four phases, including the first two phases before 2001 when PATRA-PALA came to assist, shows that developments were initiated by the local community. During the process, the community took an important and significant role as the main actor throughout the process, while government, NPOs, academic institutions, and the private sector played a role as supporters or facilitators.

The local community initiated a 'request' to the organizations (represented in Figure 4.4

Table 4.1: Candirejo village residents' roles and participation

Program	Participation type					
	Time/ attendance	Idea	Labor	Skills	Money	Goods/ possessions
1982 Yard cleaning and vegetation replacement	■		■		■	■
1985 Garden planting program (vegetable plots)	■	■	■			■
1991 Visiting other places for comparative study	■	■				
1994 Assistance for art performance groups, crafts, and home industries	■			■		
1999 Pathways renovation (asphalt and paving)			■		■	■
2001 Collaboration with NPOs			■	■		■
2002 Homestay program		■				■
2003 Establishment of Tourism Village Cooperative	■	■	■	■		
2003 Idea of tourism village development	■	■		■		
2003 Master Plan of Tourism Development		■				



Plate 4.3: Village cooperative's annual meeting, 29 March 2008 (Fatimah, 2008)

Table 4.2: Borobudur visitors (source: Borobudur Conservation Office, 2014)

Year	Domestic tourists	Foreign tourists	Total	Year	Domestic tourists	Foreign tourists	Total
1984	NA	NA	1,082,363	1999	1,764,934	86,258	1,851,192
1985	NA	NA	1,080,568	2000	2,559,527	11,444	2,570,971
1986	NA	NA	1,178,668	2001	2,470,647	111,136	2,581,783
1987	NA	NA	1,060,303	2002	1,998,355	107,972	2,106,327
1988	NA	NA	1,017,052	2003	2,008,949	61,744	2,070,693
1989	NA	NA	1,149,298	2004	1,935,918	90,517	2,026,435
1990	1,582,942	217,402	1,800,344	2005	1,903,582	89,144	1,992,726
1991	1,592,884	241,536	1,834,420	2006	1,182,212	60,850	1,243,062
1992	1,677,481	312,535	1,990,016	2007	1,681,122	299,443	1,980,565
1993	1,742,242	310,886	2,053,128	2008	1,824,873	120,816	1,945,689
1994	1,814,097	347,805	2,161,902	2009	2,370,293	146,965	2,517,258
1995	2,053,488	325,149	2,378,637	2010	2,218,971	150,017	2,368,988
1996	1,980,949	311,315	2,292,264	2011	1,952,163	160,163	2,112,326
1997	1,991,404	283,818	2,275,222	2012	2,830,892	186,841	3,017,733
1998	1,279,460	115,309	1,394,769	2013	3,148,156	217,963	3,366,119

by arrows from the village community) (★9). These initiatives were followed by 'assist' from the organizations. In other words, Figure 4.4 indicates that some programs would not have been carried out without local community initiatives (contact and requests to organizations outside the village).

In addition, residents play an important role in the process through their contributions (Table 4.1). They contribute time/attendance, ideas, labor, skills, and money, as well as goods. Both Figure 4.4 and Table 4.1 show evidence of the importance and significance of local community initiatives. The community system in this village is still strong, as are social and traditional customs. Some organizations accommodate the residents' ideas and hope to be used as communication media among the residents.

Citizens' organizations in the sub-district

Background: excessive tourist development

Since its public opening in 1983, Borobudur Temple has become a famous tourist destination and attracts many visitors to the temple and the surrounding park. The tourism park is located in Zone II, where facilities for tourists are available, such as an information center, museum, toilets, restaurant, hotel, parking area, and so on.

The economic crisis and political instability that started in late 1997 has had detrimental effects on tourist visits to the temple. The number of visitors decreased during 1997-98,



Plate 4.4: Mass tourism and crowded street vendors; (top) during peak season there are many visitors to the temple and buses park on the road when the parking area is full; (bottom) street vendors aggressively sell souvenirs, causing some discomfort to visitors (photos courtesy of JAKER, 2005)

although domestic tourist numbers increased again gradually after 1998 and peaked in 2001, with double the number of visits (Table 4.2).

Unsurprisingly, the crisis has also had serious impacts on the life of the villagers around Borobudur Temple. Economic difficulty had forced villagers to come to the Borobudur Tourism Park and become street vendors. Many people become street vendors because they can earn money more quickly and easily by selling souvenirs than by farming. Vendor activities include selling souvenirs, clothes, and postcards, renting out umbrellas, operating food stalls and souvenir kiosks, and so on. Some offer services as photographers, tourist guides, masseurs, toilet attendants, cleaners of cars, and so on (Ahimsa-Putra 2003).

The number of vendors is still increasing,¹⁰ causing difficulties to PT. TWCBBPRB in managing vendors who are becoming crowded and more competitive. The more street vendors, the more pressure there is to compete against each other to sell souvenirs or food to visitors.

The problem of vendors in Borobudur has become so serious that it has forced PT. TWCBBPRB and local governments to take action. The Government of Central Java Province,

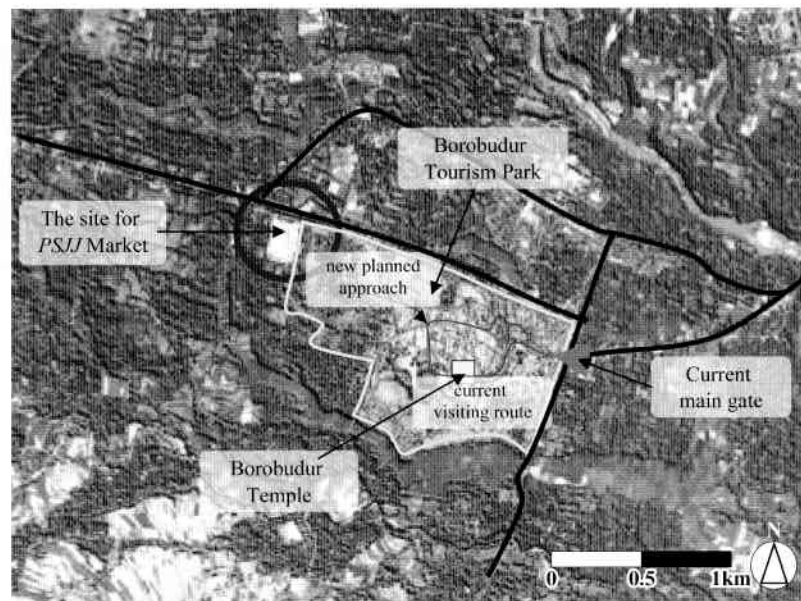


Figure 4.6: Borobudur Tourism Park and the PSJJ site (plan made by author based on Ikonos satellite image and field investigation, 2004)

for example, asked a consultant to design a vendor management system in Borobudur Tourism Park. This plan, the *Pasar Seni Jagad Jawa (PSJJ)*,¹¹ aimed to gather the vendors in an art/souvenir market integrated within the parking area (Engelhardt et al. 2003). The market is similar to a huge shopping mall and is located very near to the temple.

There is an intention to change the entrance and approach to the temple from the current east gate to the rear of the temple. The model and location of the PSJJ thus may cause problems in terms of landscape conservation. The PSJJ plan raised polemics and invited reactions from both local communities and several organizations about heritage concerns. Protests and demonstrations against the proposal were held. Following this opposition, a new proposal¹² was drawn up but in the end both proposals were rejected after an evaluation by the UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Team (Engelhardt et al. 2003). Figure 4.6 shows the site plan.

At the same time, a declaration pointing out the uselessness of the PT. TWCBPRB was announced by Borobudur communities to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Borobudur Temple restoration. They also asked the government to revise Presidential Decree No. 1/1992 about the management of PT. TWCBPRB. This meeting was held by FLMB¹³ and facilitated by PATRA-PALA. The event was attended by village chiefs within Borobudur Sub-district and by youths, representatives of the tourism industry, and heritage activists. During the meeting, they decided to establish the JAKER organization to represent the community.

Table 4.3: Profile of citizen's organizations in Borobudur Sub-district (field survey, 2008)

No.	Name of organization	*Est. Year	Form of organization	The reason/purpose of establishment	Main activities	Scope	Key person/leader	Funding sources	Current condition
1	HPI (Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia/Indonesian Tourist Guide Association)	1988	Professional association	A nationwide organization supporting guides in every tourism spot at the smallest level.	Coordinating the guides, workshop, training, etc. (members: >50 persons)	Guide in Magelang Regency	★Nurrochmad (guide), ★Hatta (guide)	Self-help, incentive from government	•
2	PKDKB (Paguyuban Kepala Desa se Kecamatan Borobudur/Village Chiefs Association in Borobudur Sub-district)	1990	Professional association	To provide a meeting place among village chiefs in Borobudur Sub-district.	Meeting, sharing information, and solving ongoing problems. (members: 20 persons)	Borobudur Sub-district	★Slamet Tugiyanto (village chief)	Contribution from each village	•
3	KOPARI (Koperasi Pramuwisata/Tourism Cooperation)	1996	Tourism services cooperative	First, to support the special needs of photographers, then open to guides, vendors, etc.	Support the members' needs, training, micro credit, etc. (members: >500 persons)	Borobudur Sub-district	Suherman (ex-policeman, businessman) ★1	Member dues, incentive from government	•
4	PTJ (Paguyuban Throngo Jowo/Horse Carriage/Andong Driver Association)	1998	Professional association	To avoid conflict among the andong drivers in Borobudur Sub-district.	Managing and coordinating the andong drivers. (members: <80 persons)	Andong driver in Borobudur	Aan (andong driver) ★2	Member dues, incentive from government	•
5	MAPAN (Masyarakat Peduli Lingkungan/Community for Environmental Awareness)	1999	NPO	To keep and conserve the environment in Borobudur, especially against pollution from tourism activities.	Advocacy, training, workshop, assisting small business groups, etc. (members: ±10 persons)	Borobudur Sub-district	★Aji Luhur (entrepreneur)	Self-help, incentive from government	•

- 6 PSWB (Paguyuban Sambya Wahing Boro/Association of Retailers & Vendors in Borobudur) Professional association 1999 To avoid conflict among retailers and vendors. ▲ Coordinating and managing the vendors, making consensus, etc. (members: >700 persons) Vendor in Borobudur Park Incentive from PT. TWCB-PRB
- 7 PIWB (Paguyuban Jasa Wisata Borobudur/Borobudur Tourism Services Association.) Professional association 2003 To accommodate people working in tourism (not only vendors) in Borobudur. ▲ Coordinating the members, negotiating with PT. TWCBPRB Park and government. (members: >1000 persons) Vendor in Borobudur Tourism Park Self-help/ member dues
- 8 TANKER (Tim Anti Kekerasan/Anti-Violation Team) NPO 2001 To minimize the bad attitudes of some local people towards visitors, to create a comfortable sociocultural condition in Borobudur. ▲ Sweeping, controlling, patrolling, and making sure the situation in Borobudur is safe for visitors. (members: ±20 persons) Borobudur Sub-district Self-help, incentive from government, event/project
- 9 JAKER 1 (Jaringan Kerja Kepariwisata Borobudur/ Borobudur Tourism Network) NPO 2002 To mediate on behalf of the community and to problem solve any issues related to tourism. After the establishment, there was no activity. (participants: <40 persons) Borobudur Sub-district Self-help, Slamet Tugiyanto (village chief)
- 10 JAKER 2 (Reborn after JAKER 1 was idle) NPO 2005 To reactivate JAKER 1, with renewed vision and mission. ▲ Advocacy, assisting local community, etc. (main members: ±7 persons) Borobudur Sub-district Self-help, partner-ship
- 11 GG (Gagas Gapura/Discussion forum) Discussion group 2003 To contribute thoughts on Borobudur issues in more intellectual ways, especially against PSJJ plan. Discussion, publishing newsletter to share thoughts. (members: ±5 persons) Magelang Regency Self-help (consultant), ★Ruwido

- 12 WI (Komunitas 'Warung Info Jagad Cleguk'/Community Information Center) Discussion group 2003 To collect and spread information and issues related to Borobudur, as well as local art and culture. ▲ Discussion, art performance, demonstration, etc. (main members: ±4 persons) Magelang Regency Self-help, partner-ship
- 13 LEPEK (Lembaga Perkonomian Rakyat/Micro Economic Foundation) NPO 2003 Local people always treated as objects; therefore it is important to make them participate in every process. ▲ Advocacy, training, assisting some small-scale businesses such as crafters. (members: ±5 persons) Magelang Regency Self-help, partner-ship
- 14 BCA (Borobudur Cave Association) NPO 2004 To support local people against PSJJ plan. ▲ Participating in discussion and demonstration. (main members: ±4 persons) Borobudur Sub-district Self-help
- 15 FMSW (Forum Masyarakat Sadar Wisata/Tourism Awareness Community Forum) Forum 2005 To raise local awareness about tourism, especially to support PSJJ plan. ▲ Discussion, mobilization, demonstration. (participants: >70 persons) Borobudur Sub-district Self-help
- 16 FPD (Forum Putra Daerah/Local Genuine Generation Forum) Forum 2005 To gather local community strength to support PSJJ plan. ▲ Discussion, mass mobilization, demonstration (participants: >200 persons) Vendors in Borobudur Park Self-help
- 17 FRKPB (Forum Rembang Klaster Pariwisata Borobudur/Tourism Cluster Discussion Forum) Forum 2005 To be a mediator between government and local community and avoid conflict among organizations. ▲ Meeting, making proposal to government, monitoring, evaluation, etc. (participants: >15 organizations) Borobudur Sub-district Fully supported by government

- 18 PRL (Peremuan Rebo Legi/
Crafters Association) Professional association 2006 To accommodate crafters (focusing on environmental-friendly craft). ■ Regular meeting every 35 days on Rebo Legi day, workshop, assistance, etc. (members: +25 persons)
- 19 FLMB (Forum Lintas Masyarakat Borobudur/
Borobudur Cross Society Forum) Forum 2002/2005 To accommodate various organizations into one forum, to unite the voice and build the strength of local community in Borobudur. An incidental forum held when needed, i.e. gathering local people against PT. TWCBPRB (participants: >30 persons)

★ Purnomo (craftsman)
• Self-help
Crafters in Borobudur-Menoreh
Borobudur Sub-district
Priyoto (guesthouse owner),
★ Sucoro (artist)

Legend: ● existing and active ■ not existing/already dispersed ▲ tourist conflict *Est. Year: year of establishment ☆ 1: interview with KOPARI staff ☆ 2: interview to Aji Luhur © existing but not so active △ unclear ■ promoting village culture ★ : interviewed key person ✕ 3: interview with Wito and Samun

Table 4.4: Socioeconomic condition for timeline analysis (author's analysis, 2011)

Year	Socioeconomic condition in Borobudur	Highlight
1983	Opening of Borobudur Tourism Park to the public	Tourism activities start
1983	Beginning of tourism-related jobs	
1997	Economic crisis hits Indonesia	Due to economic crisis, some problems start to emerge
1997~	Impacts of economic crisis started to emerge (economic difficulty → increasing number of street vendors → overcrowded and aggressive street vendors)	
2003	PSJJ plan issued	Peak of many problems
2003~2005	Peak of many problems in Borobudur: community against PSJJ plan	
2006~	PSJJ problem calming down	Recovery situation

Unfortunately, the government ignored this local initiative. This situation forced some citizens to take action by establishing other organizations to accommodate their aspirations.

Such tourist development activity, especially the peak of the PSJJ problems in 2003, shows a certain impact on community-based activities at the sub-district level.

Profile of citizens' organizations in the sub-district

According to interviews during the field survey, supported by secondary materials, Table 4.3 lists citizens' organizations in Borobudur Sub-district since the 1980s. This data consists of basic information such as organization name, year of establishment, form of the organization, the reason or purpose for establishment, main activities, scope of the organization, key people or leader, funding sources, and the current condition of each organization.

The progress of citizens' organizations

Based on the explanation of each citizens' organization shown in Table 4.3, a timeline method was used to compile and analyze the growth process of each organization. This timeline analysis uses a time range from 1988 (the year of establishment of the first citizens' organization) until 2009 (reflecting the recent condition). In this time range, the socioeconomic condition in the Borobudur area was analyzed and then referred to the establishment of citizens' organizations. According to the field survey result, the socioeconomic condition in Borobudur Sub-district could be explained chronologically as shown in Table 4.4.

The socioeconomic conditions in Borobudur Sub-district, as shown in Table 4.4, highlight three important events or conditions: the economic crisis (1997), the PSJJ plan (2003), and a calmer situation after the PSJJ problems. Based on this, four periods can be recognized. Each period is considered to have a different state. The establishment of citizens' organizations was then analyzed along the different phases. Therefore it is possible to analyze the conditions and activities of citizens' organizations during certain periods. Accordingly, the dynamic progress in Borobudur Sub-district can be divided into four phases:

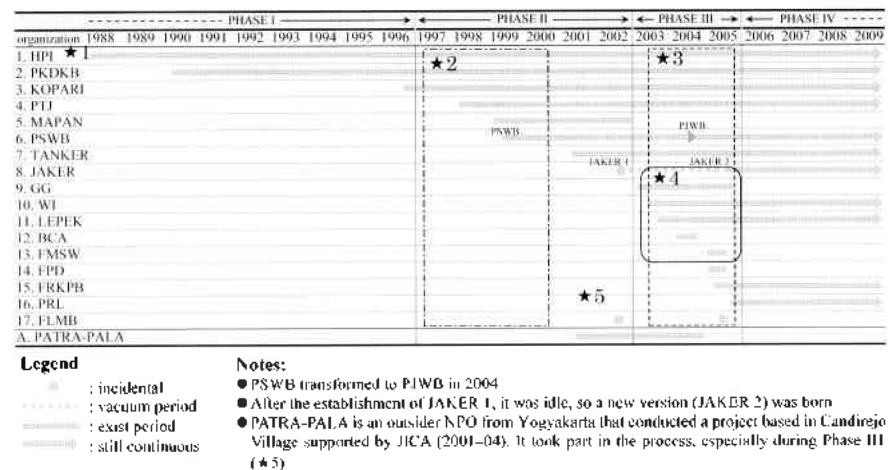


Figure 4.7: Timeline analysis of citizens' organizations in Borobudur Sub-district (author's analysis, 2008)

- Phase I: the start of the tourism period (...–96)¹⁴
- Phase II: the economic crisis period (1997–2002)
- Phase III: the peak of PSJJ problems period (2003–05)
- Phase IV: the recovery period (2006–...).

Figure 4.7 shows that in Phase I many people started to work in tourism as tourist guides, photographers, vendors, and so on, therefore organizations were needed to accommodate their needs. HPI was established for tourist guide coordination and training (★1). KOPARI initially focused on supporting photographers' needs, but then opened to guides and vendors. One of its programs to provide micro credit is open to the public.

Phase II saw the start of problems in Borobudur, caused first by the national economic and political crisis during 1997–2000 (★2). Many problems in Borobudur raised awareness among the locals, and a number of organizations were established to assist in problem solving. PSWB was established to avoid conflict among *andong* drivers and vendors by coordinating and managing them. MAPAN, TANKER, and JAKER were the first NPOs concerned with advocacy and assisting local communities.

Phase III saw the peak of many problems in Borobudur (★3), especially with local communities against the PSJJ plan. During this period, grassroots movements arose, as well as many discussion forums, associations, and organizations such as GG, WI, LEPEK, BCA, FMSW, and FPD (★4). Most of their activities were discussions, advocacy, and demonstrations to push the government and PT. TWCBPRB for better management of Borobudur and the surrounding area.

Table 4.5: Classification of citizens' organizations (author's analysis, 2008)

Category	Activities	Name of organization
Tourism service actor	□ Professional association	HPI, PTJ, PSWB, PRL
	■ Tourism service cooperative	KOPARI
Thinker	▨ Study/discussion group	GG, WI
	△ Action mobilization	BCA, FMSW, FPD
	⊙ Self-managed program executor	MAPAN, TANKER, JAKER, LEPEK
Forum	⊕ General forum	FRKPB, FLMB
	⊙ Village chief forum	PKDKB

In Phase IV, after the PSJJ problems in 2005, the situation became more settled. In this period, a new awareness of promoting local village potentials has been arising. A review of the master plan and related laws has taken place, and now the government is formulating a new master plan. About eleven citizens' organizations still exist and continue their programs.

Besides local Borobudur organizations, an NPO from outside Borobudur, namely PATRA-PALA, took part in the process, especially during Phase III. As an experienced NPO, it has enough capability and competence to assist and supervise local communities (★5). PATRA-PALA facilitated several meetings, seminars, and workshops to help the process of problem-solving.

Transformation of citizens' organizations

According to the activities shown in Table 4.3, the citizens' organizations within Borobudur Sub-district can be classified into the three categories shown in Table 4.5:

- tourism services actor (e.g. association of vendors, tourist guides, etc.)
- thinker (e.g. local NPO, discussion forums, etc.)
- forum (e.g. PKDKB, FRKPB (a forum initiated by JAKER and local government to accommodate organizations in Borobudur Sub-district)).

Each organization has relationships to others depending on how it conducts activities. Based on Phases I to IV, activities of organizations, as well as relationships, change. So an attempt was made to map their connections. This mapping placed each organization based on its existence during Phases I to IV (Figure 4.7) and the classification group (Table 4.5). Afterwards, lines were drawn to indicate the connections between organizations according to interview results and the documents studied (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 shows that the relationship in each period is different. During Phase I there was no relation between villages and the tourism sector. They started to be connected in Phase II when thinkers and outsider NPOs entered the network. Phase III was the peak of problems, therefore many citizens' organizations were established as the manifestation of local initiatives, which is why the connections between all sectors were quite complex during Phase III. Entering Phase IV, the PSJJ plan was stopped, and the problems calmed down.

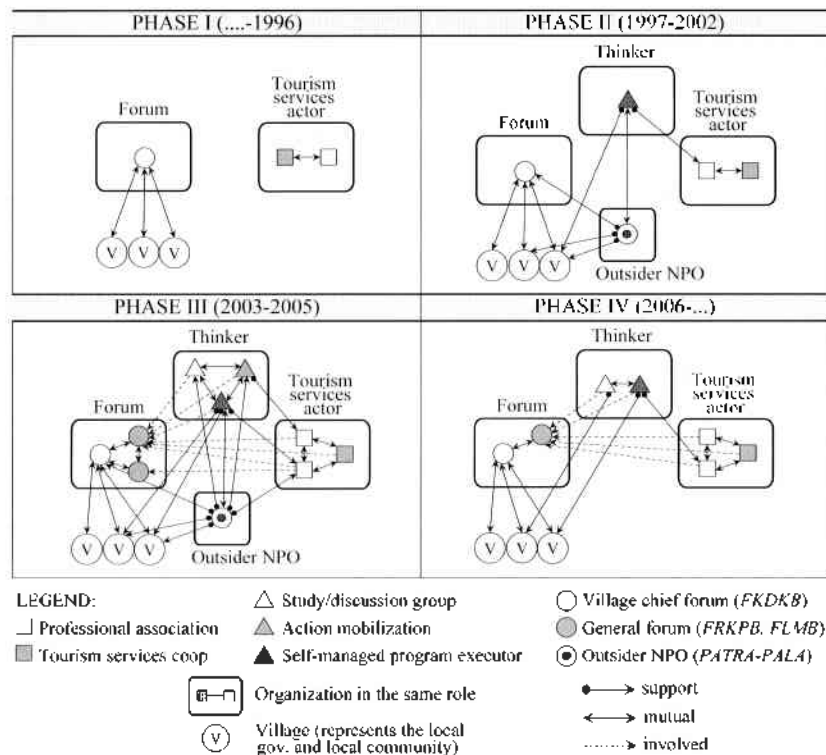


Figure 4.8: The relationship of organizations in Borobudur (author's analysis, 2008)

Several initiatives that appeared during the peak of problems in Phase III also dispersed, such as GG, BCA, FMSW, and FPD, while other organizations still exist. The reason they dispersed is that their establishment was a reaction to the PSJJ plan. Other organizations with long-term programs still continue their activities today (Fatimah and Kanki 2009).

Conservation and rural tourism initiatives

Nowadays, rural cultural landscape conservation efforts take numerous forms, such as through the introduction of rural tourism. The concept of sustainability in rural tourism must be a multipurpose one if it is to succeed. It should aim to sustain the culture and characteristics of host communities, as well as the landscape and habitats (Lane 1994). Tourism is seen as an agent of rural economic regeneration and as a way of valorizing conservation (Bramwell



Figure 4.9: Signage showing attractions that can be visited during village tours (Fatimah, 2008)

1990; Brown and Leblanc 1992; Jamieson 1990).

A number of researchers have addressed the concerns on community-based tourism development (Morishige 2009) and community-based cultural landscape conservation (Buggey and Nora 2008). Hampton (2005) pointed out the chance of local communities benefiting from a new approach of planning and managing local assets. He also emphasized that heritage sites may be able to generate real economic and social benefits for their local hosts.

In the case of Borobudur, several rural tourism movements have flourished. Borobudur Temple is a major tourist destination in Indonesia and attracts around three million domestic and foreign visitors annually. The average number of visitors is 8000 tourists per day. During peak seasons, the temple can attract an average of 40,000 tourists per day, and both foreign and domestic tourists often stay in the nearby city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia's second-most popular destination after Bali, and take day trips to Borobudur, usually on coaches and with a guide (Dahles 2001).

Typically, tourists visiting Borobudur spend three to four hours exploring the temple and the enclosing Borobudur Tourism Park without visiting other places adjacent to the site. This type of tourism is not ideal for Borobudur's conservation efforts, especially as Borobudur Temple is also surrounded by vast cultural landscape heritage (Taylor 2003). Hence, integrating these landscapes into a Borobudur tourism scheme is important in conserving the temple. Today, there are initiatives by some local people to spread awareness among Borobudur residents of the importance of conserving the surrounding villages.

This study shows that a number of citizens' organizations were established and some community initiatives were undertaken in Borobudur during 2003–05. Some parties such as local guides and local NPOs, for example, took tourists to the villages surrounding the temple in order to reduce the overcrowding problems that started to emerge during this time. Figure 4.9 shows welcoming signage containing information of several villages' attractions that are worth visiting during village tours. The signage is situated at an intersection in Taksongo village, which is often passed by tourists in *andong*.

One important step was the establishment of Candirejo village as a Community Based Ecotourism village in 2003. In recent years, noticeable development includes the spread of various village tours carried out by local guides around the temple. There are also rural tourism activities held by other villages in Borobudur Sub-district. The successful story of Candirejo village has inspired other villages to initiate similar activity. This type of rural tourism can be categorized as 'new tourism' or 'alternative tourism' rather than conventional tourism.

The progress of rural tourism in Borobudur Sub-district

The history of Borobudur rural tourism is summarized in Table 4.6.

Before rural tourism activities started, Candirejo village had already implemented environment improvement programs and developed the community since the 1980s. It was acknowledged as a *Desa Binaan Wisata* (Tourism Assisted Village) by the Government of Magelang Regency in 1999 and was established as an ecotourism village in 2003.

After the opening of the Borobudur Tourism Park in 1983, tourist visits gradually increased. In the 1990s several local guides and lodge owners started to bring tourists to the village area independent of any coordination with the tourist guide association (for example, a guide from Candirejo took tourists to his house and on sightseeing visits around the village).¹⁾ Another place that is frequently visited is Klipoh, in Karanganyar village, a traditional hamlet known for its pottery industry. It is also popular because there is a nearby place with a good view to Borobudur Temple and a spot to enjoy the sunrise.

In 2000 local guides and *andong* drivers agreed to better organize these tours. They agreed on a standard package tour, route, price, and so on. They also included visits to other villages such as Wanurejo, Teksongo, and Tanjungsari. Village tours became a popular alternative around 2004–05 after the PSJJ plan issue appeared in 2003 (Table 4.6). When the problem concerning the Borobudur Temple management was exposed by the press and frequently featured in mass media, it also brought increased attention to the temple.

Current conditions of village tours

In recent years guided tours started to visit the villages surrounding Borobudur Temple. Typically, the tours are organized in the form of *andong* rides in which tourist are guided to explore the villages along several predetermined routes (Figure 4.10). During the tours, tourists can enjoy the rural atmosphere, watch traditional art performance, and so on (Plate 4.5).

The routes illustrated in Figure 4.10 are the standard routes but are flexible depending on the situation, time availability, and the tourists' interests. The existing routes can be classified into three types:

- single village route (Route B–H: visiting and exploring only one village)
- multiple village route (Route A: visiting and exploring several villages)
- temple visit route (Route I: special route visiting Borobudur, Mendut, and Pawon temples).

Usually, before conducting a tour, the guide consults with the local people, especially when the tour itinerary needs preparation, such as to schedule an art performance, a pottery-making experience, a lunch, and so forth (Fatimah and Kanki 2012).

Table 4.6: Timeline of rural tourism progress in Borobudur Sub-district (field survey, 2009)

Year	Events at sub-district level
1983	Borobudur Temple was opened to the public
1988	HPI was established
1990	Village tour was first started by local guides and lodge owners
1991	Borobudur Temple was inscribed in the World Heritage List
2000	<i>Andong</i> reformation, divided into two groups: <i>andong</i> for local market and tourism market ²⁾ Village tours organized/standardized among the guides ¹⁾²⁾³⁾
2003	PSJJ plan appears → Borobudur publicized by press → village tour activities become widely known UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Candirejo Ecotourism Village established ⁴⁾
2004	Indonesian government established a steering committee for the second stage of Borobudur restoration focusing on community empowerment Spirit to explore village potentials → 'One Village One Product' (OVOP) ⁵⁾⁶⁾ First Borobudur Field School ²⁾
2005	Second Borobudur Field School ²⁾ JAKER actively supports villages through various programs First stage of Borobudur village mapping by Green Map ³⁾⁶⁾
2006	Third Borobudur Field School ²⁾
2007	Fourth Borobudur Field School ²⁾
2008	Second stage of Borobudur village mapping by Green Map ³⁾⁶⁾
2009	Borobudur Field School organized by local people ²⁾

Citizens' organizations in Borobudur Sub-district that are involved:

- ¹⁾ HPI: *Himpunan Pramwisata Indonesia* (Indonesian Tourist Guide Association)
- ²⁾ PTJ: *Paguyuban Turangga Jaya* (*Andong* Driver Association)
- ³⁾ MAPAN: *Masyarakat Peduli Lingkungan* (Community for Environmental Awareness)
- ⁴⁾ WI: *Warung Info Jagad Cleguk* (Community Information Center)
- ⁵⁾ JAKER: *Jaringan Kerja Kepariwisata Borobudur* (Borobudur Tourism Network)

Other institutions from outside Borobudur that are involved:

- ¹⁾ PATRA-PALA
- ²⁾ CHC-UGM: Center for Heritage Conservation-Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)
- ³⁾ Green Map Yogyakarta (a branch of worldwide Green Map System network that engages in helping communities in mapping green living, nature, and cultural resources, based in Yogyakarta)

After the success of Community Based Ecotourism in Candirejo village, other villages are trying to initiate rural tourism activities in their villages. According to field investigations in seven villages (Borobudur, Candirejo, Giritengah, Karanganyar, Karangrejo, Wanurejo, and Wringinputih), each village has its own unique potential to explore. Some activities and improvements have also been done by village communities. They usually try to utilize the village attractiveness and potential to attract tourists.

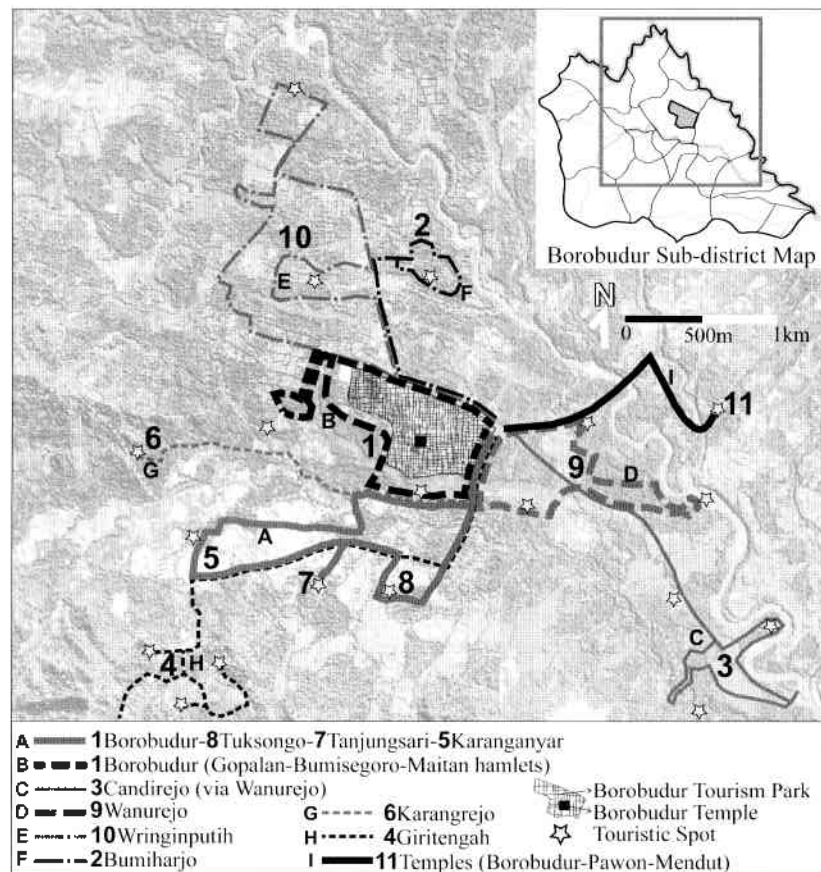


Figure 4.10: Routes of village tours (field survey, 2009)

Impacts of tourism activities on cultural landscape

With rural tourism activity, villagers make some improvements to their village environment to increase the potential and level of attractiveness. These improvements, whether physical or non-physical, have impacts on the village environment and landscape elements. For instance, facilities are built in places visited by tourists or existing facilities are customized to suit the new needs, tourist functions, and so on. These changes impact the cultural landscape – intentionally or otherwise. According to field investigation and interviews, impacts on physical aspects caused by rural tourism activities are evident. Figure 4.11 summarizes and



Plate 4.5: Rural tourism activities: village tour by *andong* (left); traditional festival (right) (photo: Fatimah, 2009)

compares these impacts by looking at the conditions of the elements before and after tourism activities.

As Figure 4.11 shows, there are five categories of change in physical aspects of landscape elements:

- **additional:** the process of adding something new to the current object in order to fulfill a requirement or to make something functionally better, for example:
 - building a wooden/bamboo hut on a hilltop to view the landscape
 - adding a handrail along a footpath up a hill to help visitors climb up
 - providing night lamps
- **continue:** this keeps things as they are without changes, for example:
 - maintaining an old traditional house in its original condition
 - continuing activities such as local home industries, art performances, and agricultural methods/traditions
- **customize:** a process of changing something to fit new requirements, with minor changes, for example:
 - adding facilities for guests in houses that are used for homestays
 - practicing the *tumpangsari* system for agriculture (planting various plants in one place to optimize cultivation in limited farmland)
- **transform:** a process of changing an object with major alterations, for example:
 - reusing vacant old houses as models of traditional houses and as lunch venues
 - replacing concrete fences with green fences
- **repair:** a process of fixing or renovating an existing object that is broken or out of date to ensure that it is able to carry out its function properly, for example:
 - repairing access to the village/places to be visited
 - repairing an old bamboo bridge with new bamboo materials.

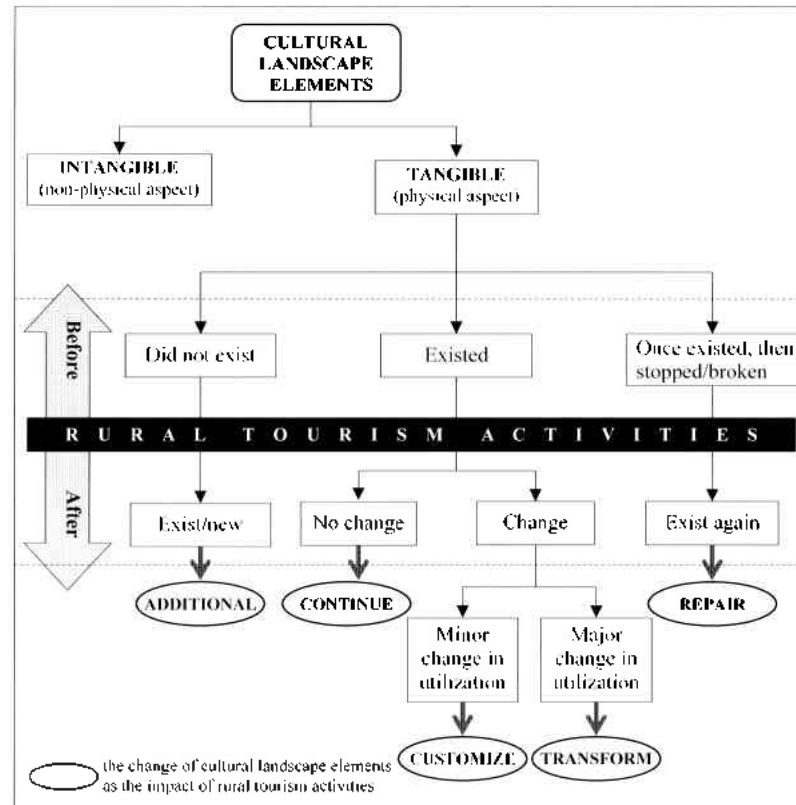


Figure 4.11: Impacts of changes (author's analysis, 2011)

A scheme of cultural landscape conservation

Cultural landscape continuously changes (Palang et al. 2005), therefore it is necessary to manage those changes in sustainable ways. This is called 'evolutive conservation' (Architectural Institute of Japan 2011).

Landscape conservation is best when it is adaptive and continual – a long-term process rather than a short project (Naveh 1995). Community-based rural tourism participates in the effort of cultural landscape conservation as it is embedded in the villagers' ordinary activities. Village potential can be nourished and maintained through daily activities such as farming, keeping the environment clean, growing and keeping greeneries, practicing traditional customs, and so on. Those village potentials are elements of cultural landscape and therefore maintaining village resources and potentials contributes to cultural landscape conservation.

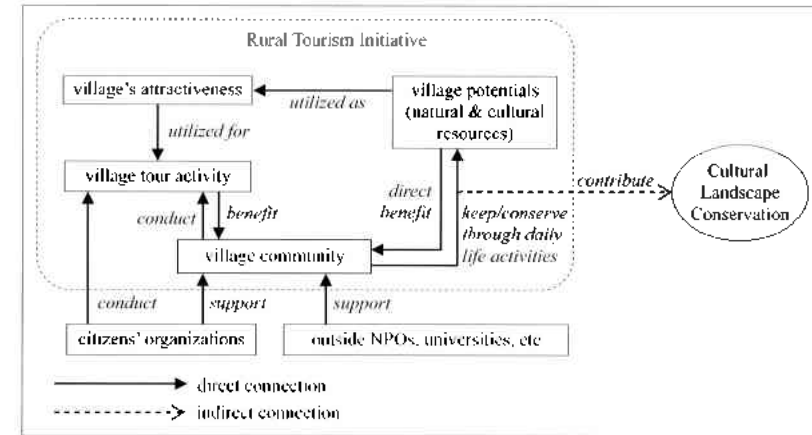


Figure 4.12: Scheme of community-based conservation for cultural landscape through rural tourism (author's analysis, 2011)

Figure 4.12 shows the scheme of rural tourism initiatives and its relation with cultural landscape conservation. Although there are several problems in its implementation, if the rural tourism initiative scheme proposed in this figure can be managed successfully, it can play an important role in cultural landscape conservation in the long term.

Taylor (2003) points out that places, traditions, and activities of ordinary people create a rich cultural tapestry of life, particularly through our recognition of the values people attach to everyday places and the concurrent sense of place and identity.

Since 2003 a number of discussions regarding the new perspective on Borobudur cultural landscape have taken place. These discussions give some insights and awareness (especially for the local people) that Borobudur Temple and its surrounding area is a part of cultural landscape. It is an inseparable unity which is both important to be conserved and sustained (Fatimah et al. 2005). Points that have emerged concern the importance of exploring and promoting the surrounding village potentials for alternative tourism attractions, as well as accommodating community initiatives and participation in such initiatives. All the activities for cultural landscape conservation planning have to be knitted together and cohere in a framework conceived to sustain the whole character and significance of the landscape, not just its individual parts (Mason 2008).

Concluding remark: rural tourism and landscape

In summary, rural tourism initiatives in Borobudur Sub-district have been shown to be the result of collaborations between villagers, local NPOs, and tourist guides. It is also confirmed that rural tourism activities in Borobudur take the form of exploring village potentials and

locality. The rural tourism initiatives in each village differ in term of progress and conditions, but each village has its own community initiative, which is an important part of tourism development in Borobudur. The villages' attractiveness and potentials that are used for rural tourism are part of the landscape elements used in the villagers' daily lives.

According to field investigation and evaluation, improvements have been carried out by village communities due to rural tourism activity in their villages. These improvements have brought some changes to the village environment, which inevitably also affects the whole cultural landscape. As cultural landscape continuously changes, we can consider any changes as a natural phenomenon, but we should also be aware of the possibility of destructive impacts.

Landscape changes can bring positive and negative impacts. Those changes should maintain the authentic value of landscape elements. As long as the changes are intended to upgrade the landscape value and are not against the norms and principals of cultural landscape conservation, they are tolerable. Community knowledge, awareness, and consciousness of cultural landscape conservation are very important. With sufficient knowledge and awareness, people will consciously make good changes in their daily life activities, as well as in rural tourism activities.