

How could Management of Borobudur World Heritage Site be Enhanced for Improving Tourism Impact for the Community?: A Preliminary Comparison with Angkor World Heritage Site

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Abstract

This study attempts to find ways on how to enhance the management of Borobudur Temple Compound WHS (hereafter Borobudur WHS) for the benefit of the local communities by comparative analysis. The study applied the “lens” or “keyhole” comparison in which for viewing the main case (Borobudur), the minor case (Angkor WHS) is chosen. The two sites actually face similar issues: uneven distribution of tourism benefits among different social groups and different economic activities; low linkages between tourism and rural economy; and limited poverty reducing effects. However, learning from Angkor’s experience, a single authority management system can execute sustainable development programs for the surrounding rural areas more effectively. The study suggests that having a single authority management in the temple vicinity, the recreation park, and the immediate buffer zone would improve coordination to tackle those local issues in Borobudur. Then again, if the current organizations are to be kept, inter-organisational collaboration is worth addressing.

Keywords: Borobudur, Angkor, World Heritage Sites management

1. Introduction

Many countries consider World Heritage Sites (WHS) as key tourism destinations and expect that WHSs become resources to promote social and economic development (Rizzo and Mignosa 2006). However, there are some studies which discussed problems of tourism development management in developing countries. Nuryanti (1996) argued that the planning and management of heritage tourism in developing countries often face institutional problems. Aas et al. (2005) discussed lack of effective communication between various organizations involved in heritage management. Hall (2000) highlighted difficulties in coordinating action and implementing legislation, whereas Mason (2003)

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suggested that problems which arises in managing tourism could influence the impact generated by tourism.

There are a few studies on WHS management and its impact on local communities in developing countries. Among the few studies touching upon WHS management are the followings. Hampton (2005) suggested the need to investigate the linkage between tourism in Borobudur WHS and the local economy. Li (2006) discussed the issue of power and control over resources that leads to unfair access to benefits flowing from WHS. Wall and Black (2005) pointed out the problem of lack of community participation in the management of WHS.

This study, on the other hand, tries to find ways on how to enhance the management of Borobudur Temple Compound WHS (hereafter Borobudur WHS) for the benefit of the local communities by comparative analysis. The study applied the “lens” or “keyhol” comparison (Walk 1998) in which for viewing the main case (Borobudur), the minor case (Angkor WHS) is chosen. The fieldworks in Indonesia were conducted in August 2007, July — August 2008, and March 2009. The fieldwork in Cambodia was conducted in December 2008.

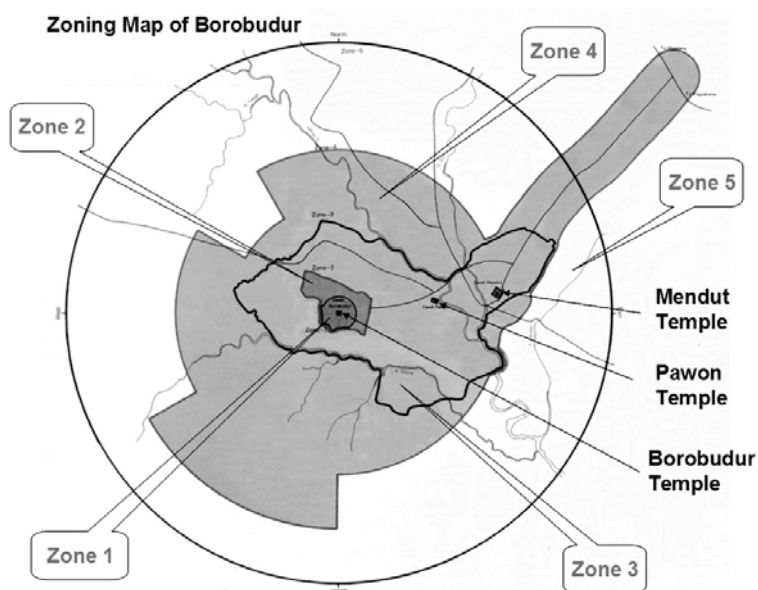
The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section two the authors will describe the two sites briefly as the background of the following discussion. Section three will examine problems of income and job opportunity for local communities and section four will discuss management problems. The author will present a recommendation in section five.

2. Sites Descriptions

(1) Borobudur Temple Compounds WHS

Borobudur Temple (Candi Borobudur) is an ancient and magnificent Buddhist temple built in the 8th century. It is located in a rural area of Borobudur District, Magelang Regency (Kabupaten), Central Java Province. The Buddhist temple stands in the midst of Muslim communities now, but it is worshipped by Buddhists, especially at the time of Vesak ceremony.

In 1983, UNESCO completed the ten years restoration. Four years before the completion, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) created a Master Plan for the management of site and its surrounding areas. The Master Plan divided Borobudur area into five zones (see Figure 1): (1) Sanctuary zone; (2) Archaeological park zone; (3) Land-use regulated zone; (4) Historical scenery preservation zone; (5) National archaeological park zone (JICA 1979). In 1992, Presidential Decree No. 1/1992 adopted the Master Plan though only recognizing Zone 1–3. The Presidential Decree stipulates that Borobudur Heritage Conservation Institute (BHCI) manages Zone 1 (core conservation area); PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko (a state-owned enterprise; hereinafter PT Taman) manages Zone 2 (Borobudur Temple Recreation Park), and Magelang Regency Government manages Zone 3 (the surrounding rural environment).

Figure 1 Zoning Map of Borobudur

Source: JICA Master Plan for Borobudur (1979)

Borobudur Temple became a WHS in 1991 by the name of Borobudur Temple Compounds World Heritage Site. The compound includes Borobudur Temple (in Zone 1), Mendut Temple and Pawon Temple in Zone 3.

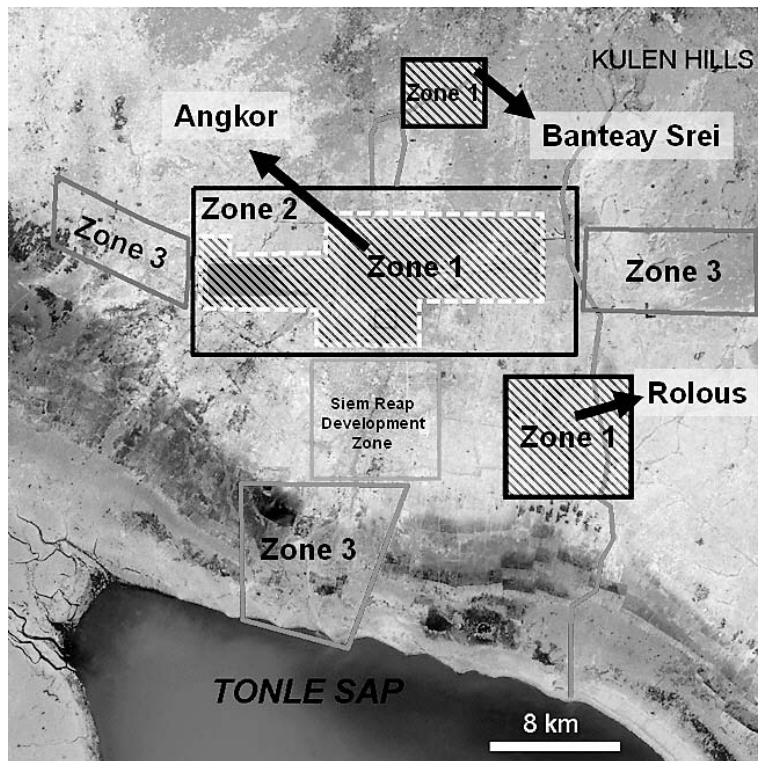
An average of 2 million visitors visit Borobudur WHS every year, 80% of them are domestic tourists. Most visitors stay nights in Yogyakarta which is, 40km from the WHS, the second most important tourism destination in Indonesia. Borobudur WHS is one of the destinations for one day trip from Yogyakarta and tourists visit the WHS only for 3–4 hours.

Tourists still generally perceive Borobudur Temple as the only tourism site in the area. Despite some initiatives from local people to develop other tourism potentials in the rural area, such as village tour, art performance, and pottery making, there has not been an established linkage yet between these rural potentials and Borobudur WHS.

(2) Angkor WHS

Angkor WHS, covering 401 square kilometres, in Siem Reap Province, contains the spectacular remains of the metropolitan cities of the Khmer Empire that flourished in the 9th–14th centuries. In 1992 Angkor was inscribed in the World Heritage List and was immediately included on the list of World Heritage in Danger due to a high urgency in its conservation. Its maintenance was neglected almost for 20 years after the turmoil in Cambodia. At present, Authority for the Protection and Safeguarding of Angkor and Region of Siem Reap (APSARA National Authority) manages Angkor

Figure 2 Zoning Map of Angkor



Source: Authors, based on APSARA Authority's Angkor Zoning Map (www.apsaraautorite.org)

WHS. International Coordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of Historic Site of Angkor (ICC) has also been working and playing a major role in coordinating international efforts to safeguard and develop Angkor.

Angkor WHS is consisted of five zones: (1) Monumental site; (2) Protected archaeological reserve; (3) Protected cultural landscapes; (4) Sites of archaeological, anthropological and historic interests, and (5) Socio-economic and cultural development zone of Siem Reap region. See Figure 2, which illustrates Zone 1 to 3 and Siem Reap Development Zone (Town of Siem Reap). Due to the massive size of Angkor World Heritage Site, this map can only show Zone 1 (core coservation zone) and Zone 2 (immediate buffer zone) — both under APSARA Authority — and a little part of Zone 3 under the Provincial Government of Siem Reap. In Zone 1 and Zone 2 all the sites and their immediate vicinities including some villages are located. Nevertheless, APSARA has a very strong power so that the provincial government has to consult the Authority for any large-scale constructions or investments in Zone 3–5.

Cambodian Ministry of Tourism (2009) recorded that in 2008, the number of international visitors is 2.125 million and about 50% of total foreign visitors visited Siem Reap. Tourism in Angkor is responsible for the rapid development in the town of Siem Reap. Yet, this rapid progress also brings

some concerns, because poor basic infrastructure can hardly keep up with the rapid growth of visitor number.¹

3. Problems of job and income opportunity for local communities

1) Borobudur WHS

After the restoration of Borobudur Temple completed in 1983, new employments (mainly in service and retail sector) had been generated. The biggest supplier of job and income opportunity seems to be the informal sector, which can be defined as a process of income generation that is unregulated by the institutions of society, such as government (Timothy and Wall, 1997). In Borobudur WHS, there are currently 2000 or even 3000 street vendors in holidays and high seasons.²

Findings below for Borobudur WHS are mainly based on a survey of 119 respondents in seven villages and four focus group interviews conducted in four villages across Borobudur District.³ Survey was carried out with purposive sampling strategy.⁴ In this survey, one respondent represented one household.

Among 117 valid responses, 80 respondents were involved in tourism-related jobs, whereas 37 were not involved in any tourism-related jobs. Regarding income, only eight respondents out of 80 who were involved in tourism-jobs, received relatively fixed monthly income from tourism-related jobs, while the rest received non-fixed wages or income from tourism related jobs. Those who had non-fixed wages or income were people working in the informal sector, for example as street vendors.

The survey also revealed that 50 out of 80 respondents who worked in tourism-related jobs had shifted from other jobs (mostly agriculture). Interviews revealed that many respondents found working as street vendors was attractive due to the possibility to earn cash everyday although earning is small and unstable. In addition, the fact that the majority of surveyed households (46 households) only has less than 0.5 hectare for farming and 41 households do not have land other than their house and yard, may contribute to tourism jobs being favoured compared to farming small plots of land (as suggested by Cukier-snow and Wall (1993)). Indeed, Winarni (2006) pointed out that conversion of land from rice fields to other purposes accelerated after Borobudur was inscribed in the World Heritage List, hence this might explain the decrease in farming area. Moreover, 2003–2007 statistical data on the district shows that the average growth of value added coming from the agriculture sector is smaller than the growth of the services-related sector, especially those related to the tourism sector, such as trade, restaurants and hotels. The average growth of agriculture sector during that period is 0.20% while trade, restaurants and hotels has been growing 4.26%, which could be an indication that the development in the tourism sector has not encouraged development in agriculture. (Regional Planning Agency of Magelang Regency, 2008). Thus, with the agriculture sector employing about 40% of the workforce in the district, it can be said that tourism has limited impact for the

majority of local people still relying mainly on the agriculture.

Moreover, from the survey and observation, it was observed that tourism impact to other sectors in the district had been limited to those economic activities that were closely related to tourism, such as tourism village and handicrafts. On the other hand economic activity which is rooted in the rural livelihoods, such as food production in some villages, e.g. tofu, cassava chips, and glass noodle, has been largely neglected. Absent is a strategy to promote them as part of the local specialties to the tourism market.

In terms of income, the majority of respondents (representing 50 households) earns less than the regional minimum wage determined by regency government.⁵ Comparing monthly income between group of respondents who are involved in tourism and who are not involved in any tourism jobs, proportion of low income earners are higher in the first group and proportion of households with higher income is higher in the latter. This may be due to most respondents who are working in tourism are involved as informal sector workers. Lack of skills and capital (conditions influenced by poverty) has been one of the causes of their resorting to the informal sector. On the other hand, in the other group are teachers, private sector employees, and government officers who are generally better off and better educated.

2) Angkor WHS

Findings for Angkor are based on literature review and semi-structured interviews to key informants in APSARA Authority and UNESCO Office in Phnom Penh.

In Siem Reap, similar to Borobudur District, tourism has generated some new employment, shifting the structure of employment from agriculture to manufacturing and services (Tuot and Hing 2007). From a survey on tourism impacts that was conducted to 506 households in Siem Reap Province, it was revealed that more than 30% of individual earners in surveyed households had been involved in tourism jobs (Tuot and Hing 2007). In this case, tourism jobs include construction work, hotel and restaurant staff, tour operators, recreation, street vendors, transport, handicraft production, staff in temples or other tourism attractions, and some agriculture work for tourism market.

The survey found that proportion of individuals working in tourism was higher in communities living closer to the town of Siem Reap or temple sites. In addition, between two different social groups categorised for the purpose of survey, the poor are involved more than the non-poor in tourism employment (Tuot and Hing 2007). The employment for the poor group, however, is mainly in low paid jobs, such as construction workers, temple guards, cleaners and street vendors.

In the case of Siem Reap, a survey revealed that half of surveyed households reported an improvement in their income level in the period of 2002–2006 (Tuot and Hing 2007). Nevertheless, the survey also revealed that the poor group (as classified in the survey) tends to depend more on tourism than the non-poor group. Their income from tourism though is much less than the non-poor

(Tuot and Hing 2007). Ballard (2005) explained this phenomenon as the division of labour according to class, which concerns both education and capital resources.

Siem Reap has one of the highest incidences of poverty in Cambodia, with a poverty headcount index of 51.8 (Ballard 2005).⁶ The most extensive poverty tends to occur in remote areas where subsistence farming is the primary source of employment. The incidence of poverty tends to decrease with closer proximity to towns and urban centers (Ballard 2005). However, the rate of local earnings, which has a poverty-reducing effect, in the town of Siem Reap is only 5% (GTZ 2007). The agriculture sector, whose growth would generate the most poverty-reducing effects, develops slowly in Siem Reap (Ballard 2005; GTZ 2007).

4. Problems of Management

From the description in the previous section, it can be concluded that Borobudur and Angkor faces similar issues in relation to tourism impacts for local communities. These issues are: (a) uneven distribution of tourism benefits among different social groups and different economic activities; (b) limited linkages between tourism and rural economy; (c) limited poverty reducing effects. Both in the two sites, tourism has had limited impact to the agriculture sector. In Borobudur, tourism impact to other economic activities rooted in the rural livelihoods, such as food productions, has also been limited. Such facts indicate low linkages between tourism and the local economy. It also indicate that tourism has limited poverty reducing effects since it has not been stimulating the development of agriculture sector, a sector whose growth would generate the most poverty-reducing effects, as pointed out by Ballard (2005) and GTZ (2007). On the other hand, uneven distribution of tourism benefits among different social groups is revealed from survey results in Siem Reap in which the poor group depends more from tourism than the non-poor group but earn much less than the non-poor. This is due to their involvement in low paid jobs that reflects their lack of skill and capital (Ballard 2005; Tuot and Hing 2007). Similar situation can be found in Borobudur where many of people who are engaged in low earning jobs such as being street vendors are less educated and have only small plots of land.

Looking at these issues in the light of management of a WHS, the authors try to identify institutional problems in the management of Borobudur WHS and its vicinities, which hinder the three main organizations to overcome the problems discussed earlier. Later, comparison with Angkor will be made.

First, legal framework has been lacking in the management of site and its vicinity. The Presidential Decree Number 1, 1992, the highest law stipulating management of the site, does not specify anything about Borobudur being a WHS.⁷ Its emphasis is on the right of PT Taman in managing the recreation park (Zone 2), although stipulating also institutions responsible for Zone 1

and 3. The state-owned enterprise has dominant position in making decision related to tourism amid the presence of two other organizations.⁸ Moreover, the decree fails to specify any coordination mechanisms and distribution of revenue between PT Taman, BHCI, and the local government.⁹ Therefore, the three organisations have not coordinated well in tackling problems in the area, such as poverty, unemployment.

Second, there is no overall management plan that encompasses core conservation zone, the recreation park and surrounding villages. As such, according to Gunn (1994), this could become a constraint for tourism development that should actually be integrated to wider development context if it is to bring maximum benefit for local people. In addition, Hall et al. (2003) underscored that tourism in rural area should be employed as part of a portfolio of strategies and complemented an existing and thriving rural economy, hence the importance of linking tourism with agriculture and other sectors in the local economy.

Unlike Borobudur WHS, one single authority manages Angkor WHS. Important functions, such as conservation, tourism, and community development, are therefore managed under one roof enabling for better coordination. The organisation has seven departments. One of them, Department of Demography and Development, was a response to a growing need of systems to tackle issues in community development within the framework of sustainable development.¹⁰

In Angkor WHS, the existence of Department of Demography and Development provide a better basis for executing sustainable development programs expected to bring more benefits for local people. For instance, it has been trying to develop better linkages between the agriculture and tourism sector by introducing new varieties of vegetables and new cultivation techniques for households resided within the Archaeological Park (Zone 1 and 2). These vegetables can be supplied to hotels and restaurants.

This effort, however, has not reached areas beyond the park. Ballard (2005) reported that many farmers in Siem Reap face a number of production constraints, i.e. poor soils, lack of sufficient water resources and insufficient capital. There are also marketing constraints, i.e. transportation, competition with vegetables produced in Thailand and Vietnam, and ability to supply good quality products on a consistent basis — as demanded by hotels and restaurants. At present, 95% of vegetables for hotel consumptions have been imported from Thailand and Vietnam.^{11,12}

On the contrary, in Borobudur WHS, the main actor who will lead the initiative for sustainable development of the rural area surrounding Borobudur WHS is not clear yet. The BHCI is mainly concerned with the conservation of the temple. PT Taman who is currently managing on-site tourism still has much to improve in trying to link the surrounding villages into a scheme of sustainable development of the Borobudur District. The local government has some assistance programs, usually through trainings and provision of some equipment (for handicraft producers and village tourism). However, survey and interview results indicate that there is lack of continuity and long-term vision in

the assistance programs carried out by the local government.¹³

5. Conclusions and Recommendation

This study presents two cases of little benefit for rural communities from heritage tourism. Nonetheless, comparing the two management systems, this study could provide some hints on how to improve the management system of Borobudur WHS for better tourism impact for the community. Learning from Angkor's experience, a single authority management system can execute sustainable development programs for the surrounding rural areas more effectively. Yet, in Angkor, inter-sectoral collaboration still needs to be achieved to address problem of linkages between tourism and agriculture.

For Borobudur, this study suggests that having a single authority management in the temple vicinity, the recreation park, and the immediate buffer zone would improve coordination in Borobudur. On the other hand, if the current organizations are to be kept, inter-organisational collaboration is worth addressing. Collaboration can be defined as a process of joint decision-making among autonomous organisations in a tourism domain to resolve problems related to planning or the development of the domain (Gray 1989; Jamal and Getz 1995). The three steps in collaboration process that can be carried out, in Borobudur WHS, will be presented here (Gray 1989; Jamal and Getz 1995).

Firstly, problem setting that involves defining purpose and problems to resolve and raising awareness of interdependence between organisations. Secondly, direction setting that involves sharing information; dispersion of more balanced power among organisations; selecting solutions to problems; and building shared vision. Third are the implementation of strategy or plans and the institutionalization of the management structure.

Opportunities and constraints in implementing these steps will be identified as follows. Geographic proximity of the organizations' offices is an advantage in this process, as asserted by Selin and Beason (1991). The presence of community groups such as Borobudur Workers Network (*Jaker*), Borobudur Vendors Cooperatives and community tourism initiatives, is also an advantage, for they can facilitate communication between communities and management system. Opportunity also lies in recent years development in which institutions in central government and UNESCO have been involved in facilitating review of the current legal instrument, albeit the rather slow process. In addition, the 1979 Master Plan and academic research conducted in Borobudur can be utilized as inputs in developing overall management plan of the area.

The biggest constraint is related to the lack of legal framework that specifies coordination mechanism between the three organizations. Moreover, the Presidential Decree Number 1, 1992, is more biased toward the rights of PT Taman. This is reflected from the description of the decree itself

as a decree stipulating the management of Borobudur Temple Recreation Park (Zone 2). If the review of the current legal instrument is completed, one more problem remains: the institutionalization of the improved management structure. According to Gera (2008), institutionalization promotes rule of law and transparent, accountable enforcement of standards. Institutionalization means having new legal frameworks: laws, bylaws that specifies responsibilities, rights, coordination mechanism, revenue distribution, and other matters that should all support the achievement of heritage tourism development in Borobudur. However, the process of institutionalization involves the House of Representatives as the law maker. Hence, there may be some uncertainties on when the laws can take into effect.

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Note

- 1 Interview with Phillippe Delanghe, Culture Programme Specialist UNESCO Office in Phnom Penh, December 12, 2008.
- 2 Interview with Hartono, Head of Human Resources Division at Borobudur Unit Office, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan & Ratu Boko, August 15, 2008.
- 3 Focus group interview is an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic (Patton 1987). Six to ten people with tourism jobs, who had participated in the previous survey, joined each focus group interviews. The aims were to understand participants' perceptions of tourism development in the area, significance and expectations, and reasons for choosing tourism jobs.
- 4 The survey targeted residents from seven pre-selected villages and sellers at the recreation park. Two villages were selected because of the existence of tourism village activity; two villages had home-based industry related to tourism (handicraft and pottery); two villages had quite a considerable number of residents working in tourism-related jobs; and one village was selected because it had a specific home-based industry not directly related to tourism. In addition, the survey targeted residents who were literate and did not have difficulty in understanding the national language used in the questionnaire. A minimum of 100 respondents to allow more time for each survey process. Based on a suggestion by Soeroso (2007), this minimum number was then added with 15 (15% of 100), resulting in 115 as the sample size, to achieve an acceptable sampling error (5%–10%). Watson's (1993) formula is as follow:

$$n = \frac{4 \cdot Z_{1/2\alpha} \cdot \rho(1-\rho)}{(\omega)^2}$$

n is the sample size; $Z_{1/2\alpha}$ is confidence coefficient, where α represents sampling error; ρ is the degree of success expected from the sample; $(1-\rho)$ is the degree of failure; $\omega = L+R$ is the size of error that can be tolerated from the population in the left and right side of a normal distribution curve.

In this study, the sample size (n) is 115; the degree of success is expected to reach 90%; the size of error that can be tolerated is set at 6% for each side (between 5% to 10% is commonly used). Thus, using the above formula,

sampling error (α) is obtained at 0.0676 or 6.7%. Acceptable sampling error is between 5%–10%, hence 115 of minimum sample can be accepted.

- 5 According to statistical data, 18% out of the total households are categorized as poor households in Borobudur (BPS 2006).
- 6 Poverty headcount index is the share of population whose income or consumption is below the poverty line.
- 7 Presidential Decree Number 1, 1992 stipulates the right of PT Taman in managing of both Borobudur Temple and Prambanan Temple Recreation Park. Prambanan Temple is a WHS located in Yogyakarta.
- 8 Separate interview with Utoyo, Secretary of Magelang Regency Local Government, August 7, 2008 and Wibowo Setyo Utomo, Head of Tourism and Culture District Office, Magelang Regency, August 8, 2008.
- 9 PT Taman determines and collects the admission fees. Contribution of PT Taman to the local government is through paying relevant tax.
- 10 Interview with Khun-Neay Khuon, APSARA Authority, December 17, 2008.
- 11 Interview with Khun-Neay Khuon, APSARA Authority, December 17, 2008.
- 12 If effort to building better linkages between tourism and agriculture is to reach beyond Angkor Archaeological Park, inter-organizational and inter-sectoral collaboration should be established, for instance with authority responsible for agriculture in the provincial government.
- 13 Based on focus group interview at Karanganyar Village and interview with coconut sugar producers in Maitan Hamlet Borobudur Village. Pottery producers in Karanganyar Village commented that assistance from the local government, such as training and equipment, had been lacking in continuity and had not reached every producer in the village. In addition, both pottery producers and coconut sugar producers expected local government not only provide training on how to make the products but also provide guidance and assistance in marketing their products in the long term.

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