

THE PRESERVATION AND CONSUMPTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGES BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Indonesians' perspective showed in three case studies



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JUNE, 2016

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WORDS MAIN TEXT: 22.122

Preface

It was an exciting challenge to write this bachelor thesis about the consumption and preservation of cultural heritages by local communities in Indonesia. Since a few years, I got interested in the connection between local communities and 'their' cultural and natural sites. In Europe, these sites are well-preserved, because of our expertise and our organizing skills. In a 'third' world country, like Indonesia, I presumed that the preservation was much less organized and more in the hands of local communities. Indonesia is known for their cultural heritages, like the Borobudur, and their tourism sector is growing enormously, what made this country interesting to do research to.

Besides giving you a short introduction about this thesis, I also want to thank some people who helped me with the research. First, I want to thank my supervisor from the Radboud University Msc. Kolar Aparna, who supervised my research during the whole process. Second, I want to thank Yuke Nori Aurumbita, Arini Murwindarti and Intan Pandini for their help. They helped me with finding respondents and translating the interviews. Third and last, I want to mention Dr. Dyah Widyastuti, who supervised me in Indonesia and helped me in the reflection process. Without their help I would not been able to write this thesis.

Den Dungen, June 2016
Dirk van de Ven

Summary

Cultural heritages connect our past to the future. Cultural heritages are crucial for the local communities' livelihood. From a social and economic aspect, it influences their life. Interconnectedness between countries in the world, as a result of globalization, increases the dependency on cultural heritages by local communities. The economic aspect is mainly determined by the number of tourists visiting the site. The interconnectivity made it easier to travel and the tourism industry is now one of the biggest economic markets. The interests in history is growing and hence the interests in cultural heritages. This is also shown in Indonesia, where the government wants to increase the number of tourists by promoting (for example) the Borobudur, an ancient Buddha temple in Java and one of their main attractions. It is therefore mostly the tourist perspective, which is interesting to do research on.

Several researches have shown the importance of local communities in preserving cultural heritages, while other researches show the importance of cultural heritage for the economic prospects. The value is an indicator to reveal what the focus for local communities is. De la Torre's (2002) typology of heritage values is central in this research. In his typology he distinguishes the sociocultural value from the economic value, what is in line with the distinction between preservation and consumption. This research had the following goal: *"find out what the value of cultural heritages are for local communities, if/ how these values lead to the preservation of the site and how local communities take economic benefit from cultural heritages in Indonesia. In this research, the differences between major cultural heritages and local cultural heritages will also considered."* As said in the research goal, this research makes use of three case studies to see if there are differences between major cultural heritages and local cultural heritages. The three sites, used as a case study, are: 'Borobudur temple compounds', 'Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat' and 'Complex Kotagede'. These three sites are all near/ in Yogyakarta, Java, Indonesia. These cases help with answering the main question of the research:

'What is the role of local communities in Indonesia in persevering and consuming heritage sites?'

Theory

Literature study in combination with qualitative interviews and observation form the basis of the results. To analyze the results, there have been made use of two theories: 'Theory of Practices' by Bourdieu and the concept 'commodification' by Marx. Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' is about the way of thinking, acting and experiencing by a shared social group. This concept is linked to how the value of a site can lead to preservation or consumption. The values 'we' give to sites are different, because of our experience in the past with it. This makes it obvious that a site visited by many tourists, has an economic value, while a cultural-historical site has more sociocultural values. To maintain the sociocultural value of the site, it has to be preserved. To use the economic value of the site, local communities will consume the site.

The concept 'commodification' is an addition to the economic value. Marx's concept is about seeing objects as a commodity. In case of the research, cultural heritages are seen as a commodity thus as an object of trade. Cultural heritages are transformed into touristic parks, so people (especially the government and investors) can take profit from it. Local communities are also increasingly seeing the site as a commodity, so they will also try to take profit from it. Seeing the site as an economic object has a negative impact on the sociocultural value local communities attach to the site. As Bourdieu describes it as 'alienation', the people lose their connection to the site, because they are excluded from it. Major cultural heritages are mostly seen as commodities, because those sites are more interesting for tourists to go to. Gentrification and privatization are often seen at those sites, that result in less involvement of local communities in the preservation. Historical practices make place for new practices thus the sociocultural value make place for the economic value.

Analysis

The analyses of the results are done by using four sub questions. The sub questions are about the 'sociocultural value', 'economic value', 'reasons for preservation' and the 'relation between preservation and consumption'.

This research shows that local communities attach several sociocultural values to the cultural heritages. The Borobudur has a high aesthetic value and this is also because of its history that makes it interesting for tourists. It is therefore more seen as a commodity with the consequence that the other sociocultural values are relatively low. Kotagede is a local cultural heritage and barely known among tourists. The site is open for everyone in contrary to the Borobudur. The site is also still in use that makes a great influence on the sociocultural value of the site. The Kraton is situated in the middle of the three cases. Like Kotagede, the Kraton is important for the livelihood of the local communities, because the sultan lives in the palace inside the Kraton. However, the site is opened for tourists with the consequence that some parts are not in use anymore, which decreases the religious value of it.

The lack of knowledge of the culture of Indonesia by tourists is one the reasons why they basically only visit the major heritage sites. The economic value of those sites are obviously higher than at local cultural heritages, where there are barely tourists. Nevertheless, the local inhabitants depending on the major heritage site for an income (employment) is relatively low, because the site attracts (foreign) investors and people from outside the region as well. They compete with the local inhabitants with the result that most people living near the Borobudur are still working as farmers. A high social value is also important for the economic value, that becomes clear from the case of the Kraton. The site has two major squares, and people from the city and outside the city gather there at nights and weekends. This gives the opportunity for many local people to open a warung or to become a taxi driver near the squares.

The reasons for local communities to preserve a site have a strong coherence with the sociocultural value, as expected. Even though local involvement is said to be necessary for a sustainable development, they are excluded from the Borobudur. When people feel connected to the site, and see the site as part of their identity they are willing to contribute. This is shown in the cases of Kotagede and the Kraton. The people are aware of the culture, the history and the religion and want to protect those values.

This part of the research revealed what the main value of the local communities is, or in other words: how the cultural heritages are seen, as a site to preserve or a site to consume. The results are pretty much in line with the literature. Major cultural heritages are valued for its economic value (consume), while the sociocultural values are more important for local heritages sites (preserve).

Conclusion

The results of this research are broadly in line with the results from other researches. Major cultural heritages are seen as a commodity and have a large economic value, while local cultural heritages have a more sociocultural value to local communities. The latter results in more involvement of local inhabitants to preserve the site. However, it became clear that the number of local inhabitants who depend on the Borobudur is relatively low, because there is a lot of competition. Still, the tourism industry is a good indicator to reveal the consumption of a site. The preservation depends on several factors: the sociocultural value, the awareness of those values, the attachment to the site and how the local communities are involved.

Some researchers say that local involvement is necessary for a sustainable development, but the Borobudur looks better preserved than the other sites as it looks like a park. This probably indicates that there are two different kinds of preservation: physically (the Western perspective) or social/ religious (Indonesian's perspective). The local communities especially want to preserve the religious and social aspect of the site. The attached sociocultural values of the Borobudur, where local inhabitants are excluded in the preservation, are therefore lower. It can be seen as a vicious circle, which seems logical if you look to the theory of habitus from Bourdieu.

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1. Introduction

The subject of this bachelor thesis is cultural heritages in Indonesia. This thesis is about the preservation of those sites and how local communities make (economically) use of it. This chapter will provide a brief introduction about the topics relevant for this thesis. Based on the objectives, which have been formulated, research questions will follow. In the methodology will subsequently described what the strategy is and how the research questions will be answered. The elements of this chapter give a good impression of how this research is done.

1.1 Project framework

The framework of the project literature gives information about the relevant topics: 'Globalization', 'Tourism', 'Cultural heritage (in Indonesia)' and 'Local communities in relation with cultural heritage. It also includes a discussion on what researches have been done concerning these topics, and what is missing in these researches.

Globalization

There is no clear definition of the notion of globalization. Many researchers have tried to identify the process. The way that Tomlinson (2006) describes globalization is clear and comprehensive. He describes it as follows:

'rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life. (...) globalization is quite simply a description of these networks and of their implications – for instance in the various 'flows' - of capital, commodities, people, knowledge, information and ideas, crime, pollution, diseases, fashions, beliefs, images and so on – across international boundaries.' (Tomlinson, 2006, p. 1-2)

It is clear that globalization is about the process of being interconnected with other parts of the world. It is a worldwide process, whose influences are seen all over the world. For this research only the basis is necessary to understand, because the focus is on one of the outcomes of globalization. The globalization processes caused many contemporary challenges like climate change, migration and urbanization, but also tourism, which is one of the biggest economic markets (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). In this bachelor thesis, the latter, tourism, plays an important role.

The globalization process makes it easier for people to travel long distances (Smith, 2003). Where a trip to America took months for Columbus in 1492 (Dunn & Kelly, 1989), nowadays this will only take us one day. This makes it obvious that there are now more people traveling abroad. Also the numbers are showing that the tourism sector is booming and growing. Statista, one of the world's most rewarding databases, showed that the international tourist arrivals have grown from 528 million in 2005 to 1.13 billion in 2014 (Statista, 2016). The Jakarta Post (2015), an English news paper, shows that the tourism industry is also growing in Indonesia. The Indonesian government has an 'ambitious plan' to attract 20 million foreign tourists by 2019, while the current number of foreign tourists is around the 10 million annually. The government is investing a lot of money to achieve this, which shows the importance of tourism (Indonesia Investments, 2016).

Cultural tourism

The tourism industry is one of the biggest economic markets (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Statista, 2016). The total contribution of the travel and tourism sector, both direct and indirect, was 9,3% of the total GDP in 2014 and it approximately offers 10 million jobs worldwide. These numbers will rise to 9,9% of the total GDP and 12 million jobs (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2015). The tourism industry is, because of the economic importance, an interesting topic for researchers. Ng, Lee & Soutar (2007) argues that too often,

studies focused on the economic motivation for tourists to go to a certain place instead of the cultural aspect. However, multiple papers mention even the term 'cultural tourist' and say that is one of the largest groups within tourism at the moment. The difference with regular tourists, who are especially travelling for pleasure (Dictionary.com, 2016), is the way that gaining new experiences plays a role (Richards, 2001):

'∴ the distinction between cultural tourism and other forms of tourism is basically to be found in the learning function. Cultural tourists can learn about the culture of a destination and gain new experiences related to that culture in a number of ways, depending on the forms of culture they consume.' (Richards, 2001, p. 7)

In the ancient times of the Greeks and Romans, the Seven Ancient Wonders of the World were already a popular destination for the wealthier families (Timothy, 2011). This shows that cultural tourism is not just a phenomena for the contemporary period. Due to globalization it only gained importance. Ng, Lee & Soutar (2007) argue that culture plays a very important role in the tourism sector. Culture can be seen as the conjunction of what people do, behave, think (norms/values) and make (products and art) (Littrel, 1997). Looking in a way that culture is composed of all processes in life and the products of those processes, cultural tourism is more than just visiting monuments. Richards (2001) therefore gives another more comprehensive definition for cultural tourism:

'Cultural tourism therefore covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the 'way of life' of a people or region. Cultural tourism can therefore be seen as covering both 'heritage tourism' (related to artifacts of the past) and 'arts tourism' (related to contemporary cultural production).'' (Richards, 2001, p. 7)

Cultural tourism is divided by several researchers into a few segments so the market is able to respond better on the needs and the expectations of the tourist. In the research of McKercher & Cros (2003) appeared that most people think it is important to learn from other cultures and it certainly influence the tourists choice. However, most cultural tourists will not seek cultural experience. In some reports and articles researchers mention a more specific kind of cultural tourism: heritage tourism. The interests in history and heritage is growing. The heritage tourist is next to visiting heritages also interested in other historical buildings, like castles, palaces, monuments, museum etc (Smith, 2003). Even though this would be more specific for this bachelor thesis, it is not relevant how the tourists will be called. The focus lies on the local communities and cultural heritages.

Cultural heritage

'Heritages are valued things that have been passed down from previous generations' (Oxford University Press, 2016). The UNESCO is an organization of the United Nations, which promotes international collaboration through education, science and culture. It is also the organization that protects heritages all around the world by giving subsidies, information and other support (UNESCO, 2010). UNESCO has three categories of heritages:

1. Cultural heritage
 - Tangible cultural heritage
 - Movable cultural heritage (painting, sculptures, coins)
 - Immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites)
 - Underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, ruins, cities)
 - Intangible cultural heritage (oral traditions, performing arts, rituals)
2. Natural heritage (natural sites with cultural aspects)
3. Heritage in the event of armed conflict (UNESCO, 2016)

The value of cultural heritage is not easy to measure, because you cannot express its value in terms of money. However, the value of heritages influences the ‘conservation decisions’ made by the government. Researchers from the Getty Conservation Institute, a non-profit organization which provides scientific research to preserve cultural heritages around the world, made tools available to assess the value of heritage sites (The Getty Conservation Institute, 2016). In this research it is not important what the economic value is in terms of how much it is worth. It is more important what value local communities attach to those sites.

As shown in table below (table 1), researchers use their own set of typologies to give a certain value to heritage sites. In this bachelor thesis, the dichotomy typology by De la Torre (2002) will be used. This typology (table 2) addresses the best impression for the bachelor thesis, because she divides the values into two categories: economic and sociocultural. This fits well to the research, because I will focus on the meaning of heritage for local communities, how this leads to the preservation and the economic use of heritage (De la Torre, 2002; The Getty Conservation Institute, 2016).

| Reigl (1982) | Lipe (1984) | Frey (1997) | English Heritage (1997) |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Age | Economic | Monetary | Cultural |
| Historical | Aesthetic | Option | Educational and academic |
| Commemorative | Associative-symbolic | Existence | Economic |
| Use | Informational | Bequest | Resource |
| Newness | | Prestige | Recreational |
| | | Educational | Aesthetic |

Table 1. Several heritage value typologies uses by various researchers (Reigl 1982; Lipe 1984; Frey 1997; English Heritage 1997).

| Sociocultural value | Economic value |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Historical | Use (market) value |
| Cultural/ symbolic | Nonuse (nonmarket) value |
| Social | - Existence |
| Spiritual/ religious | - Option |
| Aesthetic | - Bequest |

Table 2. Dichotomy of heritage value (De la Torre, 2002)

The values they mention are indicated by researchers/companies with an economic perspective. They look to the values tourists attach to a particular site and less to what local inhabitants think about it. In this research the values of the heritage site cited by local inhabitants has the main focus. The values from table 2 will be examined. Historical value addresses the relation to the past, its uniqueness, the educational value and the artistic value. The cultural/ symbolic value is seen in all cultural heritages and is very much related to the identity of the person, what their cultural affiliation is with the site. Social value is about how the heritage site enables social connections, for example by making markets and social gatherings possible. Spiritual/ religious value is associated with the believe (religion) of people in the site. Aesthetic is a category that shows less affection than the other values. This value is namely about how the site visually looks like. It is still not well documented if those values lead to preservation or what factors play a role in the willingness of local communities to participate in the preservation of heritages sites.

Cultural heritage in Indonesia

Some researchers argue that due to the globalization, we are creating one global culture. This global culture damages and rejects local cultures (Tomlinson, 2006). Smith (2003) has a more positive look at the globalization process, he sees it as an enrichment, wherein colonialism, immigration and tourism

contributes by creating/ adding new cultures to the world. Culture has become an important reason to travel abroad. Countries like Indonesia, which are less developed in an economic way (GDP) than the Western world, depend on the tourism industry (Hampton, 2005; Pedersen, 2002; Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). Cultural tourists (mostly tourists from developed countries) who are going there to see cultural sites are important to look at, because they spend a lot of money during their stay. The Indonesian government is said to invest money to attract tourists (Indonesia Investments, 2016b). The main attractions of the country, is not just the Balinese beach or the Sumatran jungle, the Borobudur (a cultural heritage site located on Java) is one of the biggest tourist attractor of Indonesia. For the government and for many people working in the touristic sector, cultural heritages can therefore be seen as a crucial element of their economic income.



Figure 1. Location of Yogyakarta in Southeast Asia

Culturally rich cities, like Yogyakarta, can take benefit from the growing interests in culture by the tourism industry (Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). Yogyakarta, a city with approximately 1.6 million people in its conurbation, is located in the South of Java (Figure 1.). It is often called the cultural capital of Indonesia, because it is said that the traditions are there the most visible and the art at its brightest (Lonely Planet, 2013). In addition, there are also major cultural heritage sites in the area like the Borobudur and the Prambanan. Yogyakarta was for a few years (1946-1949) capital of Indonesia, when the Dutch occupied Indonesia. In 1948 the Dutch also conquered Yogyakarta, but they let the sultan (the king of Yogyakarta) live. They were afraid to do something against the sultan, because he is seen as a god by many Javanese people (Lonely Planet, 2013). The Kraton, the palace of the sultan, is also a heritage site and is visited by people from all around the world. Many local inhabitants depend directly on the sultan, because they live on the ground of the sultan or work for the sultan. Indirectly, people depend on the Sultan by the tourists visiting the Kraton. How the people near major cultural destinations depend on those sites seems clear, but what they do to preserve those sites and if there is a connection between the preservation and consumption is a subject where there is little to no research about. There is also just a little research where researchers compare major cultural heritages with local cultural heritages in the field of consumption and preservation. In a country where the tourism industry is about to grow enormously (expectations of the government) it is important to know what local communities think about the site, how they take benefit of it and how they preserve it. When the government knows this they could collaborate with local communities so local communities can take more benefit from the tourism industry and the local communities can help with preserving the values of the site.

1.2 Objectives

In this bachelor thesis, practice oriented research will form the basis. By means of literature the practice will be 'confirmed'. The main objective is to expand the current insights and to provide valuable information to other researchers interested in this topic. Research in this topic is often tourism-related and therefore focused on the touristic aspect. This research will take another perspective to find out the opinion of the local communities.

The goal of this research is to *find out what the value of cultural heritages are for local communities, if/ how these values lead to the preservation of the site and how local communities take economic benefit from cultural heritages in Indonesia. In this research, the differences between major cultural heritages and local cultural heritages will also considered.*

The goal makes clear that I am intended to contribute to existing literature. This research focuses on cases in Indonesia. Due to globalization it became an interesting country to conduct research in. Globalization is seen as the interconnectivity of people around the world. Only one of the contemporary challenges of globalization is interesting for this bachelor thesis: tourism. In the literature study, researchers mention several terms like 'cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism'. This bachelor thesis is mainly focused on cultural/ heritage tourists, but the broad term 'tourist' will be used. This because no research has been conducted on the different kind of tourists within this thesis. It basically focuses on cultural heritages, which is according to UNESCO subdivided in several kind of cultural heritages. The aim in this bachelor thesis is on immovable and tangible cultural heritages. Such as monuments and archeological sites. A cultural heritage has a specific cultural value and possibly added values. It is not required to be placed on the list of World Heritage Sites. These sites have certain values (positive characteristics and the qualities), what could lead to preservation. The preservation is not just the practical aspect, but also a sociocultural activity as mentioned by De la Torre (2002).

1.3 Research questions

Local communities near famous and well-known cultural heritages often depend on tourists visiting these heritages (Hampton, 2005; Pedersen, 2002 & Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). Do these places also have a cultural-historical value for the local inhabitants and what do they do to preserve these heritages? Do these heritages only have a consumption function? In this thesis I want to examine what the difference is between major/ global heritage sites and local heritage sites. The *main question* in this thesis states:

'What is the role of local communities in Indonesia in persevering and consuming heritage sites?'

To give a well-underpinned answer to the main question, I have formulated the following *sub questions*:

1. What sociocultural value do local communities attach to cultural heritages?
2. How do local communities make economically use of heritage sites?
3. What makes local communities to preserve heritage sites?
4. How is the preservation related to consumption?

1.4 Relevance

The tourism industry in Indonesia is booming and the government's aim is to increase the number of tourists even more. Cultural heritages are one of the main attractions of Indonesia and probably the main attraction of Yogyakarta. With the Borobudur and the Prambanan, Yogyakarta attracts more than 2.5 million tourists to its city (Rabu, 2012). Many people depend on that sector and that is why it is important to know how they think about those sites and how they use it to take economic advantage from it. In this way, the government can anticipate on this in a way that the local communities can take more benefit from it. Besides, it is also relevant to know what the value of those sites are for local communities in order to preserve it.

The preservation and the consumption of cultural heritage by local communities is a subject which are rare research subjects. There have been studies to the consumption of cultural heritages, but they often aim on major cultural heritages like the Borobudur and their perspective is tourism-oriented. Little research has been conducted to the preservation of cultural heritages by local communities and how local communities depend on more local cultural heritages. These sites may be less promoted by travel information books as the Lonely Planet, but many people probably depend on these sites as well in an economic way or on other ways. In comparison to major Western cities like Paris, London and Amsterdam the research what have been conducted is very little. This while the economic interests is perhaps comparable with Yogyakarta as the cultural capital of Indonesia.

There is a lot of government money and effort going to the Borobudur to preserve this site. It is therefore likely that local communities put less effort in preserving this site, because the government is already doing it. Less touristic sites will get less money, being not one of the 'main focuses'. Local

communities have to put more effort in preserving those sites. Still many people in the city depend on those sites both economic and social (Nagaoka, 2011). For example the Kraton in Yogyakarta, many local communities depend in an economic way on the Kraton and it also has a social and religious value to them. This would likely lead to the preservation of a (smaller/ local) cultural site. The Getty Institute (2016a) claims otherwise, local communities do help in preserving the cultural heritages of greater relevance. This is in contrast with the thought that local communities participate less in the preservation of larger cultural heritages.

“.. the greater the relevance and sustainability of conservation efforts and the more they serve to foster community building and civic dialogue, the more cultural heritage conservation is embraced by society as a “public good.”” (The Getty Conservation Institute, 2016a)

Big investors are attracted by the tourism industry and situate near the Borobudur to take benefit from those major heritage sites and to a lesser extent the Kraton. The economic value will for this reason be more important than the sociocultural value (dichotomy from De la Torre (2002)). Existing articles and reports does not indicate what lead to preservation of a heritage site by local communities. This is because the perspective of the local communities is not frequently used.

1.5 Methodology

In the previous paragraphs, the research questions and the core concepts are explained. This paragraph explains what methodology is going to be used to answer the main/ sub questions and to achieve the objectives. In addition, this paragraph shows what kind of data should be collected to achieve this and how this data will be collected.

1.5.1 Research strategy

During the bachelor thesis process I will make use of a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is about gathering in-depth and detailed information about a specific subject. In contrast to quantitative research, the results cannot be presented in numbers and can often not be generalized to similar cases. For this thesis, desk research will be combined with empirical research. To achieve the objectives and to give a well-underpinned answer to the main question, I have to proceed through the following phases:

Phase 1. The research starts with a *broad literature study* about the background information for relevant subjects like tourism, cultural heritages, local communities and about Indonesia. In this explorative study, (scientific) books, (scientific) papers/ studies, documents and other kind of researches will basically be used.

Phase 2. *An in-depth literature study* into the three case studies in Indonesia. This phase is also aimed at gathering knowledge of the existing literature. In this way I get acquainted with the cases in Indonesia and this shall ensure that there will be a good basis for further research.

Phase 3. *Empirical research* in the field (in Yogyakarta, Indonesia). Information will be created by doing both qualitative and quantitative interviews at the particular cases. The qualitative interviews aim at gathering information from local inhabitants and employees. These interviews provide information about the meaning of heritage for them, how they consume the site and what they do to preserve it. While being on site, I will also do observations about the physical situation. The observations and interviews will be analyzed to give a well-founded and a clear conclusion.

Phase 4. In phase 1 & 2 the exploring research to existing information is summarized. Phase 3 is about gathering new knowledge by doing an empirical research. Phase 4 is about explanatory research, wherein the *theory is linked to the practice*. By connecting the theory (information by literature) with the practice (information gathered through interviews and observation) I can come to a well-grounded conclusion.

Case study

The use of case studies is chosen to add a specific component in the research and to give both scientific and social relevance to the research. A 'collective case study' (Creswell, 2013) is chosen to be the best variance within the types of case studies to give the right answer to the main question. There is chosen for three case studies instead of one single case study, because in this way the interaction between preservation and consumption can be compared. In my opinion, this type of methodology is a good approach to show differences in the dependency of local communities of cultural historical sites. It gives a more detailed perspective of the situation in Indonesia and it also provides new interesting information for the readers of this thesis.

Indonesia is a country in Southeast Asia. The country counts almost 20.000 islands and there are more than 300 languages been spoken. Currently Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world with more than 245 million people. Its cultures, people, artwork etc. are very diverse (Lonely Planet, 2013). The Indonesian law guarantees the freedom of worship. However, every Indonesian has to be part of one of the six accepted religions: Muslim, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist or Confucian. The majority of people is Islamic (87,2%), followed by Protestantism (6,9%) and Catholicism (2,9%). Hinduism (1,7%) and Buddhism (0,7%) were once great religions in Indonesia, but are now a minor religion. Even though Indonesia is not an Islamic state, its norms and values have great impact in the government (Indonesia Investments, 2016a).

Java is the most populated island and the economical heart of Indonesia. In the 8th century, Buddhism and Hinduism coexisted on this island. At that time the Borobudur (Buddhist) and the Prambanan (Hindu) were built. Since the 15th/ 16th century, the Islamic influence grew on the island. When the Dutch arrived in Java, the Mataram and the Banten were the two ruling Muslim kingdoms. Because of a civil war, the Banten kingdom fell, which resulted in a Mataram dynasty. Prince Mangkubumi of the Mataram dynasty built the Kraton of Yogyakarta in 1755. While

Jakarta is the economical centre of Java, Yogyakarta is the cultural centre and its 'soul'. Yogyakarta is therefore the best place for doing research in the field of cultural heritages (Lonely Planet, 2013). Yogyakarta gets many (cultural) visitors, but only a few know about the history and culture of the city. Especially foreign tourists only visit the Prambanan and the Borobudur, because those are the two cultural heritage sites of Indonesia. After visiting those sites, they often travel further to 'relaxing orders' (Timothy & Wall, 1997). When talking on the street, people often call Yogyakarta 'Mini Indonesia' what refers to the amount of students living in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is namely the student city of Jakarta and those students do all the touristic things as well.

To see differences in the preservation and consumption of cultural heritages by local communities, I chose three sites with a different touristic value. One famous with a high international value, one unknown with a high local value and one in the middle. The three cases which will be used are the: The Borobudur temple compound, Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Kotagede. Kotagede is the cultural heritage with a high local value, assigned by a supervisor (Pipit Puspita, from Bureau International Affairs Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada). These three sites are all situated in/ nearby Yogyakarta (figure 2.).



Figure 2. Location of the case studies in the Special Province of Yogyakarta

Case 1, The **Borobudur temple**. The Borobudur is the largest Buddhist monument in the world (Hitchcock, King & Parnwell, 2010). This site is located in the Province Central Java, Northwest of Yogyakarta. The Borobudur is built between 750 - 850 during the Shailendra Dynasty, which promoted the Mahayana, one of the main branches within Buddhism (Lonely Planet, 2013; UNESCO 2016a).

The complex covers circa 26 ha. and it comprises nine platforms. Six square platforms are topped with three circular plateaus with a large stupa, a Buddhist bell shaped structure (UNESCO, 2016a; Taylor, 2003). The monument is decorated with hundreds of Buddha statues and thousands of relief panels. The monument has four stairs on the North, West, South and the East. The latter is aligned with the sacred mountain: Mountain Merapi (Taylor, 2003).

The Borobudur was used as a temple until it was abandoned between the 10th and 15th century. Since its rediscovery in 1814 by the Governor of Java, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, it is an archeological site which is preserved (Taylor, 2003). There have been many restorations, the largest was between 1975-1982 by the Indonesian government and UNESCO. Since 1991, the Borobudur is enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage List for its significance in cultural heritage. Nowadays, it is one of Indonesians' main attractions and even considered as one of the Wonders of the World (Taylor, 2003; UNESCO, 2016a).

Case 2, **Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat**. Kraton is the name for the palace of the sultan. The Sultan of Yogyakarta lives in Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. It is named after the monarchy in Yogyakarta: Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. It was founded by the first sultan of Yogyakarta in 1755. Even though the monarchy is Muslim, it accepts and respects all other cultures as well (Joglosemar, 2000; Yogyes, 2016).

The Kraton is said to be the heart of Yogyakarta, because their true leader is living in the huge palace in the east of Yogyakarta. The whole complex covers circa 450 hectares, wherein approximately 25.000 people live. Besides the resident houses and the sultan palace, the area has a museum, a mosque and a water temple (Taman Sari) (Joglosemar, 2000; Yogyes, 2016; Lonely Planet, 2016).

Since 1756 the sultan of Yogyakarta lives in this palace. The complex was originally inhabited by the sultan family and closed for other people. During a flood the sultan opened the Kraton for people to live on the sultan ground. The Mataram Kingdom is one of the largest Muslim kingdoms of Java in history. The current Sultan, Hamengkubuwono X is a descendant of the first sultan of the Mataram Kingdom and is therefore an example for the people of Yogyakarta. For many people it is an honor to work for the sultan and the Kraton has a high religious, cultural and historical value for the inhabitants. It is also said that tourists can learn the Javanese culture here at its best (Yogyes, 2016; Lonely Planet, 2016).

Case 3, **Complex Kotagede** is currently a suburb in Yogyakarta. The history of this district goes back until the 16th century wherein an Islamic courtier, Prince Senopati, established a settlement called Mataram (Sulistiyanto, 2006). Kotagede became the capitol of the Mataram Sultanate. Kotagede is considered to be a very complex town, because of the diversity in (sub)cultures and architecture (Santosa, 2007).

Kotagede is one of the oldest Javanese towns which have survived through the years. It covers an area of approximately one hectare. As within the Kraton, in Kotagede the architecture also combines Muslim architecture with Hindu architecture. This Hindu influence is thanks to Prince Senopati, who was both Muslim and Javanese. The Javanese culture has many Hindu elements, which was a dominating culture in Java before the Islam (Sulistiyanto, 2006).

Kotagede was the capitol city until the 17th century when it was moved to Yogyakarta. Kotagede was an important place as royalties and traders were going to and staying in the capital. The place still has a religious value as the first king of the Mataram Kingdom is buried in the Royal Cemetery of

Kotagede. Even though Yogyakarta's history started in Kotagede, only a few tourists know the place for this. It is mainly known for its silver industry (Sulistiyanto, 2006; Santosa, 2007).

The disadvantage of a case study is that it is difficult to generalize the conclusion to other cases in the world. However, this is also not the intention of this thesis. This thesis is intended to provide in-depth and detailed information about the situation in Indonesia. This makes the research more complex, more challenging and interesting.

1.5.2 Research data

For the bachelor thesis, I went to Yogyakarta to collect empirical data. Before I went there, a broad literature study was done. During this literature study the subjects 'tourism', 'cultural heritage', 'local communities' and 'Yogyakarta as city' were investigated. This literature study gave a good impression about what researchers have examined in the past and what they were interested in. I perceived that the existing literature would not provide enough information to answer the questions. An excursion to Indonesia was necessary in order to complete this thesis.

Interviews

The lack of information concerning the preservation and consumption of cultural heritages in Indonesia by local communities made it necessary to go to Indonesia. New information had to be gathered, and given the time (four weeks) qualitative interviews was the best way of gathering the missing information. Due to the limited time in Indonesia I have chosen to interview a limited amount of people. These interviewees are selected (by me and three students from Universitas Gadjah Mada, who assisted me in Yogyakarta) based on their age, working situation and place of residence (appendix 2). This non-probability sampling technique represents 'purposive sampling'. This technique fits the best to this research, because an in-depth interview is necessary to get the desired answers. The outcome is in this way not representative for the whole community. However, by asking the right persons (community leaders for example) a lot of valuable information will be obtained (Creswell, 2013). The image below (figure 3) shows who is interviewed.

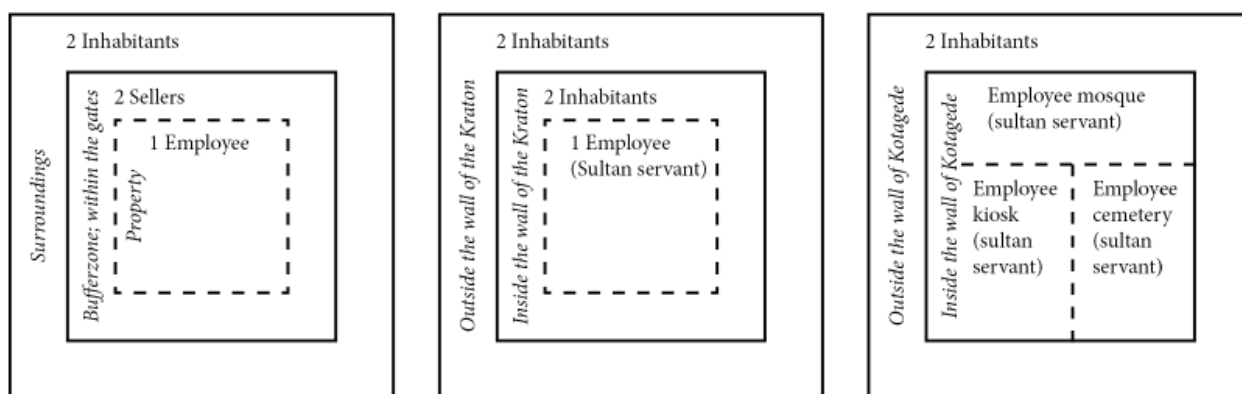


Figure 3. Schematic view of the interviewed persons

Observation

Another good way of doing qualitative research in Yogyakarta is by observations. During the observation, I will be able to see who is using the sites and how it is used. I will both be an observer as a participant to get the complete overall view. Especially for the consumption part is observing a valuable way of researching. Pretending to be a regular tourist (instead of being the 'academic tourist'), I will see how sellers act to tourists and how dependent the local communities are to the tourism industry. Observing can also confirm the information as gathered through literature study and interviews.

1.5.3 Research model

The research model below explains how I want to achieve my objectives. The research model shows that I divided my research into two parts: 'the consumption of cultural heritage by local communities' and 'the preservation of cultural heritage by local communities'. I will combine these two elements in order to give well-underpinned conclusion about what the most important factor is for local communities.

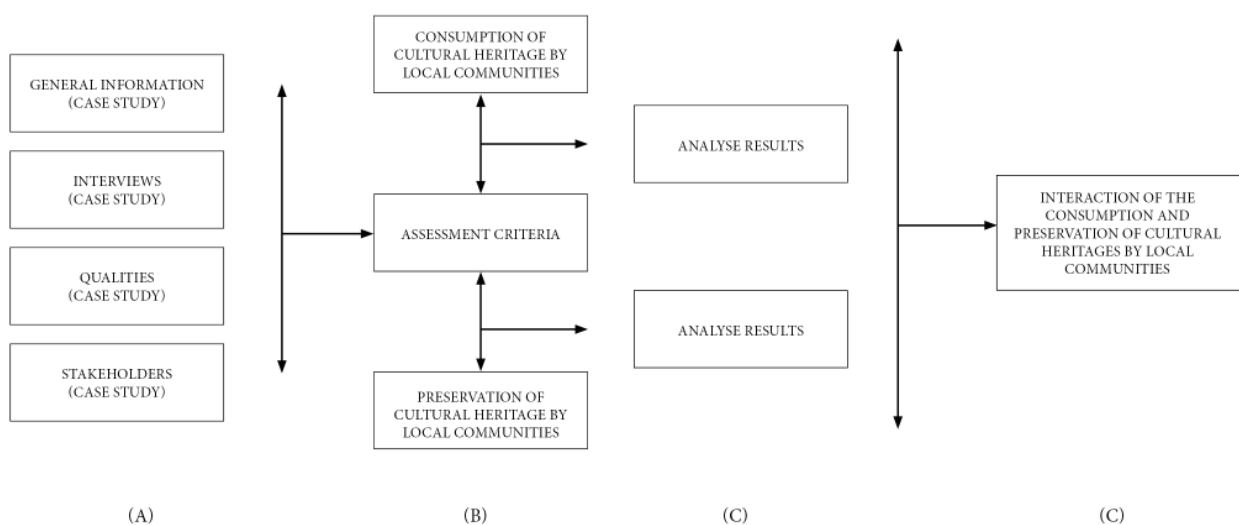


Figure 4, Research model. Source: own figure

(A) An examination of the literature will provide general information and specific information about the case studies. This qualitative information consists of both literature study and interviews. This information will be combined to give (B) a general conclusion about the meaning of how local communities use heritage sites. These results will be analyzed (C) and combined to a conclusion (D). This conclusion will show whether heritage sites have a sociocultural value for local communities and if this is connected to their practices. If this lead to preservation of the site or that the site has just an economic value.

2. Theory

This chapter outlines the theoretical background. Multiple theoretical insights form the basis for the research, that help with analyzing the data from the literature study and the empirical research. This chapter also shows a conceptual model wherein the relation between the concepts will become clear.

2.1 Theoretical framework

The tourism industry had a major boost in Indonesia and the number of tourists will keep growing (based on the expectations and the objective of the Indonesian government). Only a few reports/ articles deal with the perspective of the local communities. Since the tourism industry is booming, it is important to look to the opinion of local communities and to see how the government (who wants to increase the number of tourists) and local communities (who can take profit from the tourists) can collaborate. A collaboration could ensure a sustainable development of the tourism industry and of the cultural heritages. The theories used in this bachelor thesis aim on the way of thinking and acting (preservation/consumption) by local communities and look to how cultural heritages are used as an economic earning model. This bachelor thesis has four main topics/terms: 'cultural heritage', 'local communities', 'preservation' and 'consumption'. Connecting these main topics to each other gives two concepts: 'practice' and 'commodification'. To tighten the consistency of these concepts a clear definition is required. The operationalization of these concepts make sure that this research is achievable and measurable.

2.1.1 Practices

Practices are the habits we have and the things we do. Several sociologists like Foucault, Giddens and Bourdieu wrote a theory of practice wherein they explain how social beings make and transform the world in which they live. In this bachelor thesis, the latter sociologist will be highlighted. In the theory of practice, Bourdieu explains how social classes are reproduced and transformed in time (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012; Ernste, Pijpers & Stav, 2015). 'Habitus', 'Capital' and 'Field' are the three main concepts Bourdieu uses to clarify his theory. With his concept habitus, he refers to the way a shared social group thinks, acts and experiences. It is broader than habits, it is the embodied history that partly determines the practices of a person. The concept habitus generates a limited number of possibilities in the way people can act, but they always have the choice to act in the way they want (Bourdieu, 1990; Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). Capital is his second term and refers to people's possessions. People can own different kinds of capitals: economic capital (resources with an economic value), social capital (social connections people have) and cultural capital (the experience and knowledge you have to know what to do in particular situations) (Bourdieu, 1986). With his last term field, he explains that there are different situations people can be situated in. Every 'social sphere' has its own rules which clarifies that people act differently in different situations. Especially his concept habitus is helpful in this thesis, the other terms are explained to get a better impression of his theory.

The theory of Bourdieu is helpful in explaining what the value of cultural heritage is for local communities. Like Bourdieu, Hall (1997) argues that we give a meaning to something by our use of things, what we think and feel about and how we represent it. Value embodies the qualities and the positive characteristics seen in things (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). We give different values to the same property because through our experience we construct the past in a different way (Labadi, 2007; Ashworth, 1998). Cultural heritages are under pressure, because of technological, demographic and economic fluctuations. The pressure is also a consequence of culture that is constantly changing. Because of urbanization and the growth of the population, losing local culture is a growing threat. Globalization plays an enormous role in this, because it causes contemporary challenges as named before (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). Local people get aware of this threat and want to sustain the place identity. This phenomena is mostly seen in developing countries, where the preservation is less regulated. These fluctuations therefore predominantly influence the habitus of people in developing countries (Prajnawrdhi, Karuppanan & Sivam, 2014). Heritage is not just a site with historical buildings, it concerns our past, present and

future (Gilmour, 2007) and through the above mentioned fluctuations the meaning changes through time and across space (Graham, 2002). Working with the meanings of heritage sites to local communities is important for the preservation (Grimwade & Carter, 2000). Obviously a cultural heritage have certain values/ meanings. These values are essential and form the basis for sustainable development of the sites as seen in figure 5.

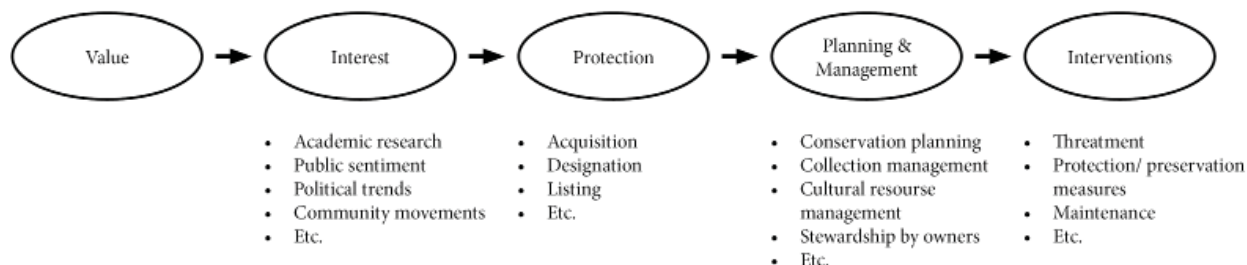


Figure 5. Conservation/ preservation policy and practice. Based on the source: Avrami, Mason & De la Torre, 2000

Because of the loss of traditional milieus, we are eager to treasure the remaining sites more (Lowenthal, 2005). According to the World Heritage Convention ‘parts of the cultural and natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole’ (Forrest, 2007. p. 125). For the preservation of sites there are two essential factors: (1) the development has to be linked to the preservation goals and (2) the local contribution and ‘endogenous ownership’ (Wiesmann, Liechti & Rist, 2005). Also other researches show the importance of local participation in the preservation of cultural heritages. Involving locals avoid possible conflicts in the future (Yuksel, Bramwell & Yuksel, 1999). By sharing resources this can generate cost effective solutions (Bramwell & Lane 1999; Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Healey 1997) and they can make use of the knowledge of the locals (Yuksel, Bramwell & Yuksel, 1999). Besides, a large community participation improves the sociocultural benefits: the locals will have a more positive attitude towards the tourism industry (Okech, 2011). However, local communities are often not able to participate in the preservation. Due to globalization, the tourism industry is now one of the biggest economic markets and this is still growing (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). The increased number of tourists has the consequence that local communities are excluded (Gakahu, 1992; Sindiga, 1999). Due to preservation reasons, local people who ‘own’ heritages are removed from the site and it is no longer possible for traditional uses. (Grimwade & Carter, 2000). This is despite of local communities playing an important role in the preservation of cultural heritages. Especially smaller heritage sites, which are important for providing sociocultural benefits and to transfer knowledge (Grimwade & Carter, 2000), are often preserved by local communities. Their main reason is to secure the local identity (Mydland & Grahn, 2012). Grimwade and Carter have a nice quotation about the exclusion of local communities:

“... it is as if the common people played no role in the development of society and culture. Small occupation and activity sites of the plebeian society are often under-valued or ignored.” (Grimwade & Carter, 2000. p. 35)

A problem in collaborating with local communities is the term ‘local community’. Who is exactly part of the community? Does that person represent the whole community? Even though the term is quite vague, according to Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1988), by means of a geographical area with persons who share the same interests it is possible to demarcate a local community. Bourdieu’s concepts habitus and field can help to specify the term local communities. His concepts gives a definition for the term community. The ‘local’ component is a geographical aspect. Field is the social context people are situated in, and refers to the level of experience and the level of society. That is why communities share the same

habitus, situated in the same field. In other words, communities are a social group who share the same experiences and think and act the same in particular situations. The social group is located in the same setting. Local communities are communities who are located near a particular site. There where the habitus of a social group 'end' is a good 'boundary' to say where the local communities 'end'.

Cultural heritage is a site where culture and history intersect and these are two values which are cited often as an influential value. Heritage sites are essential for the identity building because they create character, identity and the image of a city. People want to protect the identity and protect the particular values attached to a site (Prajnawrdhi, Karuppanan & Sivam, 2014). It is not necessary to see heritage conservation as a physical object that has to be preserved. To understand the reasoning better it is useful to see it as a social process, cultural heritages are there to develop the internalized habitus (Mydland & Grahn, 2012). The problem lies in the possibilities of local communities to contribute. They often do not get the chance to contribute, because the government assumes that it costs a lot of time for the planning and the locals do not have the required capability (especially in less developed countries) (Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). However, those who are affected by developments related to the tourism industry and by developments should have the right to contribute.

The tourism industry is growing and so is the demand for cultural/ heritage tourism. The tourism industry plays an important role in the economic contribution for the maintenance of heritages (Ashworth & Larkham, 2013). Countries which obtain many archeological artifacts are generally economically poor, while economic rich countries (Japan, Germany, USA) have a high demand for cultural heritages (Forrest, 2007). The interconnectedness between countries (globalization), makes it easier for some people to travel that has resulted in a growing tourism industry. 'Heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes' (Graham, 2002. p. 2006). One of those purposes is of course the economic purpose. Cultural tourism in economic poor countries is a major source of income. Local communities near cultural heritage often depend on those sites for their income (Hampton, 2005). Cultural heritages are often used as a strategy to attract tourism, economic development and rural/ urban regeneration (Graham, 2002). Also the local communities expect to take benefit from cultural heritages by employment and increased income (Okech, 2007).

2.1.2 Cultural commodification

Even though Marx has contradicting arguments about how classes are formed (economically versus socially), Marx and Bourdieu can strengthen each other. As said in the previous subparagraph, cultural heritage is often used to gain economic growth. In his term 'commodification', Marx explains how goods are positioned as an object to get money from. Goods, like cultural heritages, are seen as a commodity and thus as objects of trade. The intention is to use it or to exchange it to earn money (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). The cultural commodification is about cultural heritage sites which are transformed into touristic places (into a commodity) and developing a touristic place around it to create a revenue model (Boniface & Fowler, 2003). In the contemporary period where tourism, as result of globalization, gained importance, sites are exploited to attract tourists. Dangers of commodification are the loss of identity, because only the economic aspect is 'interesting' and both the site and the culture are seen in an economic perspective. Marx' 'commodity fetishism' and 'alienation' fit to this thought. Those dangers are originally based on social connections, but the main idea is that the social aspect is exchanged for an economic value, and so is cultural heritage (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). The global economy can already be identified by processes of commodification (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003). Tourism is of course of great value for economic development, but the cultural commodification and the tourism industry also have a negative side: it leads 'to disempowerment of traditional cultures and cultural practices' (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003. p. 123). The culture is no longer seen as a dynamic culture that changes through time, but is seen as an 'object'. The cultural practices by local communities are therefore no longer possible and is replaced by a static preservation organized by international institutions and governments.

Through social, cultural or other kind of values, sites can get the status of 'tourists sight' (Britton,

1990). When exploiting the site, to attract tourism activity, local communities expect employment and an increased income from the tourism attraction (Okech, 2007). For a long time, hotels/ home stays, community development and local competition 'worked together' (Britton, 1990). A side effect of the commodification of cultural heritage sites is that public property came in hands of private entities. The interconnectedness applies also for private companies, they have the possibility to start a business near heritages sites. By doing this, they started to compete with local communities. The introduction of private companies at cultural heritage sites had a positive influence on the urban dynamics and the economic situation for the city (Ponzini, 2010). Big hotels in the city and nearby heritage sites became symbols of 'refinement and civility, technical progress and economic power' (Britton, 1990). Even though the tourism industry is currently dominated by outsiders, involvement of local communities is necessary for a sustainable future (Okech, 2007). In this way local communities can also get profit from the commodification of cultural heritages. Even though the local communities are involved and take profit from it, it is mainly the large investors who take the biggest profit. This is described with the 'Mattheüs-effect', what indicates that the rich will be richer, referring to an old proverb from the Bible (Hospers, 2005).

Cultural heritages are transformed into a commodity due to urban policies. In order to improve the tourism industry the (local) government wants to make the sites more aesthetically pleasing. Through the commodification, objects have to/ will be aesthetic to attract tourists (Tomlinson, 1990; Rojek, 1995; Jackson & Thrift, 1995; du Gay, 1996; Lury, 1996). The gentrification makes it is more attractive for tourists to visit the site, improve the local culture and add real estate value. On the other side, it leads to a spatial segregation. Local communities who are currently living in the area and make use of the site are no longer able (allowed) to do this. By requalifying the space, new practices are introduced and historical uses are excluded (Proença Leite, 2013). The potential problems that often occur with tourism activities such as inequality and power issues (Bianchi, 2002), can also be linked to the cultural commodification. Local communities are not only excluded in the preservation of cultural heritages, their possibilities to take benefit from the tourism industry also reduce due to unequal competition from outside. The researches generally show that local communities have little say in and around cultural heritages. Nevertheless, still many local inhabitants depend on the tourism industry. Even though it creates social inequality, tourism is valuable and relevant for the employment and income for local communities.

2.2 Conceptual model

Based on the previous paragraphs a conceptual model is made. The most important concepts are translated into operationalized terms. The conceptual model (figure 6) also makes it visible how the terms are interrelated. In this way it becomes clear how the research questions can and will be answered. The conceptual model will be interpreted on the basis of the numbers as shown in figure 6.

1. A site can have certain values like a historical, economic and cultural value. It is seen as a cultural heritage when an object, with a certain value, is passed on from generation to generation. These terms are interconnected to each other, because it is a cultural heritage when it gains certain value. But you can also see it as a heritage site which possesses particular values.
2. This part shows what values local communities can attach to a heritage sites. These typologies are mentioned by De la Torre (2002).
3. Heritage sites are exploited by the government to attract tourists. By making a commodity of cultural heritage, the site is seen as an object to earn money. To attract more tourists, the site is requalified to make the site more attractive. The consequence of this gentrification is that local communities are excluded from the area. Also by privatization, local communities get less involvement. The globalization is significant in making a commodity. Countries are now interconnected and nowadays it is easier to travel, with a growing tourism industry as the result. The government wants to take benefit from this sector and promotes/ exploits the heritage site to attract tourists. In doing so, it meets the growing interests in culture by the tourists.
4. The commodification of cultural heritage leads to more tourism activity. These tourists are important

for local development and many local inhabitants do depend on the tourism industry.

5. The market value leads to an economic value. The economic value is logically seen as an important value when the tourism activity is higher. Near major cultural heritages, the economic value will therefore be considered as more important than near small local heritages.
6. Those several values lead to the sociocultural value. Previous researchers have shown that people want to preserve the local identity of a place. The embodied history (from the theory of Bourdieu) likely plays a role in this. People traditionally take care of the preservation of a heritage site, and they keep doing it in the future as Bourdieu's habitus explains.
7. Because of the exclusion of local communities, they get less attachment to the site. Their participation is essential for a sustainable development. The phenomena of excluding local communities in the participation is mostly seen near major cultural heritage sites, because those places attract most tourists. The commodification of public good (cultural heritage) is rarely seen near small (local) cultural heritages. You will see a lot of participation by local communities near those sites, in order to preserve the local identity.

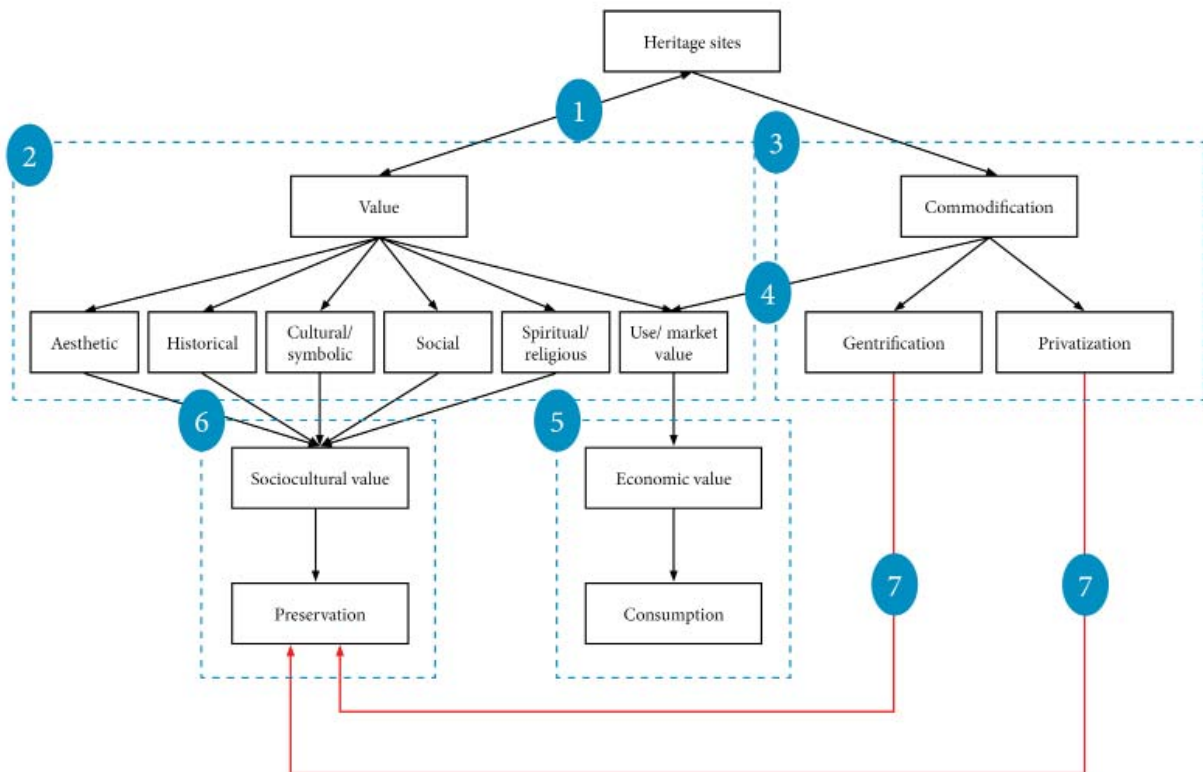


Figure 6. Conceptual model

3. Results & analysis

In this chapter, the results of the literature study, the observation and the interviews are analyzed. The results are shown on the basis of the three case studies: Borobudur temple compounds, Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Complex Kotagede. The paragraphs are designed to give answers to the sub questions as mentioned in chapter 1.3.

3.1 Sociocultural value of cultural heritage to local communities

Values are the positive characteristics we see in things (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). The values are said to be important for a sustainable development of the sites, whilst it is one of the reasons why people want to preserve the site. Bourdieu's concept habitus explains how a common group acts, thinks and experiences. The habitus is important because it shows the value we attach to an object or a place. By the way local people act in certain situations, they imply their value to it. The value that local communities attach to a site can also be explained with his concept. Sociocultural values are subjective, which makes it hard to measure and not possible to express its value in terms of money (The Getty Conservation Institute, 2016). This paragraph shows what sociocultural value the three case studies have for local communities. The values are based on the dichotomy of De la Torre (2002).

To see what values local communities attach to cultural heritages in Indonesia, I did both literature research and empirical research. Based on the observations during site visits, I have made an observation table (appendix 3) which shows what I noticed. In the way people use a particular place and in the way they act (habitus), I can see the value people attach to the site. In addition to the observations, I did five qualitative interviews on each site (appendix 2). In these interviews, local inhabitants were directly asked what value they attach to the particular site. They were also indirectly asked about the value, for example: the interviewees were asked for their opinion about the behavior of the tourists (if the site has a sociocultural value to the person, he would react differently than a person who only see the site as a commodity).

3.1.1 Borobudur temple

The Borobudur is the largest Buddhist temple in the world (Hitchcock, King & Parnwell, 2010). The temple is built in the middle of Kedu Plain. The Kedu Plain had plentiful water and the surrounding volcanoes made the plain fertile. This made the plain, for ancient societies, an excellent place to establish (Miksic, 1991). That Buddha and Hindu communities have lived on the plain became also evident from the fact that there are multiple monuments build on the Kedu Plain (Taylor, 2003; Miksic, 1991; Miksic, Magetsari, Fontein & Haryono, 2011). Before the temple became abandoned the site had a religious value for the people living in the neighborhood. After its rediscovering, it was recognized as an archeological monument (Taylor, 2003). Nowadays, it is one of Indonesian's main attractions and attracts annually approximately 2,5 million people, with more than 80% domestic visitors (Rabu, 2012). The number of tourists show the importance of globalization. The growing tourism is not the only effect of the globalization. It also effects the culture, so it is necessary to take the challenges seriously.

The Indonesian government recognizes five religions in Indonesia: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism and Catholicism (Miksic, 1991). The Islam (87,2%) is by far the largest religion of Indonesia and Java (Indonesia Investments, 2016a). Even though there are barely Buddhists on Java and the people who are living near the Borobudur are predominantly Muslim, the site is well-preserved and people look with pride to the heritage site. It may have lost its religious value for local people, they still see it as a nice place for visiting (Miksic, 1991). Beside the fact that the Borobudur gives a lot of knowledge about the ancient cultures living in Indonesia, it is a source of inspiration and creativity. The Borobudur has a social value for people from Indonesia. During the Ramadan, thousands of Muslims from Java go to the Borobudur together, probably to see its greatness and because the mystery behind the Borobudur attracts them (Miksic, Magetsari, Fontein & Haryono, 2011).

Observation

During the observation at the Borobudur, there were a few things that struck me. The Borobudur is immense and can certainly be qualified as an aesthetic historical monument. The reaction of other visitors show that many people see the Borobudur as an aesthetic monument (figure 7). This basically appeared from the fact that everyone take pictures from every view and any object. This is done by tourists, but it is rational to think that this also applies for local communities. It is hard to measure sociocultural values, but the historical and cultural value are of great value for the Borobudur. The Borobudur is one of its kind and the technological quality, which is seen as part of a historical value, is the reason what makes this monument mysterious. There were several school classes at the site, what indicates that the Borobudur is a national monument where children are being taught about the history of the country.



Figure 7. Borobudur as an aesthetic monument



Figure 8. Disrespecting the rules

The historical, the aesthetic and the cultural value are values that most people attach to the site and is relevant to attract tourists. Local communities possibly think different about the site. It is hard to say what local communities think about the Borobudur, because I was not able to identify them during the site visit. Long ago, the site was open for people and they could visit the site for free. Nowadays, the site is fenced off and is seen as a commodity. Foreign visitors have to pay a lot of money (260.000 Rp = € 17,20) to enter the site. Even though the admission fee for local people is much cheaper (30.000 Rp = € 2,00) it is likely to be the reason of their absence. But without doubt they see the historical, cultural and aesthetic value of it. The social and the religious value is seemingly to be less important for them. This appears out of the reaction of employees when tourists disrespect the rules. For example: it was not allowed to stand on the stupas, structures that contains 'relics', or in case of the Borobudur: Buddha's. Still many people were standing on them to make 'nice' pictures (figure 8). The reason that people 'break' the rules is possibly because the practice is no longer traditional oriented. The site is not in its original use anymore and the amount of people visiting the site decrease the cultural value. The fact that tourists have to wear pants longer than the knee and some other regulations indicates that the institutions want to protect the 'religion' for being over-touristic. Still, the government wants to increase the number of tourists. The government sees the Borobudur as an economic object (commodification), which leads to spatial insensitivity. The practice of the local communities namely depend on how they think about and experience the site. By excluding the local inhabitants, they have no possibility to interact with the culture anymore. In other words, they cannot experience the site anymore and lose their attachment to the site. The difference in religion, Buddhism and Islam, could also be a reason that the social and the religious value are less important for them.

Interviews

In the five interviews I did with local inhabitant and employees, a lot became clear about the Borobudur as a cultural heritage. Many of them see it as a historical monument which teach them about the history of their country. According to Mr. Riyadi 'the Borobudur is the legacy from our ancestors, heirs and lords' and is for this reason proud to live there. Saying that, they know that they live near one of the biggest

touristic attractions of Indonesia, but most of them do not really care about it. This is because most people are farmers and their practices are not related to tourists. For artists and performers, the Borobudur has an artistic value and is a great source of inspiration. Even though most people are proud to live there, they do not really care about the site. They barely visit it and when they are not involved in the tourism industry, they do not even think about the values of the site. Historically, the site was probably seen as their possession (capital), but since their exclusion they lost the attachment to it.

Values in local perspective

From the results, I can conclude that the Borobudur has many values to the people of Indonesia and to international people. People, living in the neighborhood have another perspective to the site. To give an answer to the first sub question: *'What sociocultural value do local communities attach to cultural heritages?'* I did literature study and empirical research. By filling in the underneath table (Table 3) the results become more visible and show what value is more important for local communities. To make it visible what value is the most important, it makes use of the numbers 1-5. Number 1 means a low value, while 5 stands for a high value. These numbers are my own interpretation of the literature study and the empirical research.

| | Borobudur | Explanation |
|----------------------|-----------|--|
| Historical | 5 | It is not disputed that the Borobudur has a historical value. Beside the relation with the past, it has an educational value and is inspiring for the people near the site. |
| Cultural/ symbolic | 3 | The Borobudur has a high cultural value and probably used to play a role in the habitus of the people. Due to their exclusion, this value decreased over time. |
| Social | 2 | The site has a limited social value. There are people who are coming together near the site to sell products, but because the site is fenced off and the entrance fee is relatively high not many local inhabitants visit the site. |
| Spiritual/ religious | 2 | Once this site was a religious monument for Buddhists. Nowadays it is transformed into a commodity and people do not attach any religious value to it. The traditional practices have made place for contemporary practices (tourism). The site is for example fenced off and the government excludes locals to participate in the preservation. However, they have several regulations to respect the religion. |
| Aesthetic | 5 | This value depend on the visual quality of the site, but even though it is personal, it is obvious that the Borobudur has a high aesthetic value. This is evidenced by the number of tourists, the international attention and the way people react when they see the site for the first time (including myself). |

Table 3. Sociocultural values of the Borobudur

3.1.2 Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat

Kraton is the place where the sultan lives. Kraton Yogyakarta was founded in 1755 by the ancestors of the Mataram Islam Kingdom. The current king is a direct descendant of the founder of the Mataram. It is said that the Kraton is the heart of Yogyakarta, because that is the place where the soul of the ancestors is. Local communities attach a high historical value to the site as it stood central in the history of



Figure 9. Local inhabitants and visitors (mainly from Yogyakarta) are coming together at the Alun-Alun Salatan, which is one of the squares



Figure 10. Tourists respect the unwritten rules

Yogyakarta. Many people directly depend on the sultan, because they live on sultan ground. This creates a strong place attachment to the site. In addition, the sultan is an example for many people in Yogyakarta (Joglosemar, 2000; Yogyes, 2016; Lonely Planet, 2016).

Observation

During the observation at the Kraton I have looked to several aspects that could indicate what the value of the site is for local communities. While walking around the Kraton, it became evident that the Kraton has a high social value for locals. The two squares, North and South of the Kraton are always crowded (figure 9). The site which contains a museum, the Taman Sari, a mosque and the palace, is fenced off and much less crowded. While tourists have to pay a small amount of money to enter the sites (7.000 - 15.000 Rp = € 0,50 - € 1,00), locals can enter the sites for free. As said before, there are not many tourists on the site, most tourists only visit the ceremonies of the Kraton. Every day from 10 AM until 12 AM, there is a ceremony which is different from day to day: from a traditional dance to a show with puppets. These activities

are done to 'entertain' tourists and not 'entertain' local communities. However, there are also many local inhabitants who regularly watch the shows. The actions of people during the show reveal that tourists respect the (unwritten) rules of the Kraton, for instance: when spectating the ceremony people, who wanted to sit on the cloth, have to put out their shoes what most of them did even though it was not written down (figure 10). The practices of the tourists show indirectly the value of the site for the local communities. Tour guides, who live in the Kraton are willing to give a tour through the site as they are proud of the place where they live and willing to show the culture and the history of the site. Also in the batik shops (art shops) the historical value becomes clear in the way artists got inspired by the Kraton. Their habitus shows that local communities attach a high sociocultural value to the Kraton. Not only the practices of the local communities indicates this, also the fact that tourists respect the culture show this.

The sultan is an example for the people of Yogyakarta. This is also said to be the reason why this sultan has 'only' one wife, while other sultans had plenty of wives. Even though the sultan is Muslim, people from the other accepted religions in Indonesia (Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism) respect the sultan as well. The people around the Kraton depend on the sultan, because they live on sultan ground. In exchange for living on his ground, they have to work for the sultan as a gardener, tour guide, musician etc. Approximately 25.000 people live in the Kraton in this way. The most striking thing of the observations was that the people inside the Kraton are much more relaxed and are less concerned with the daily struggles. Outside the wall, people live the 'normal' live. This illustrates that the Kraton is a different 'field' than the surrounding of the Kraton. The people living inside the Kraton see the Kraton as a cultural capital, which played a significant role in forming their habitus. The different habitus is related to another thought and a different experience. The solidarity/ connectedness to the Kraton is something that connects the people to each other. Benedict Anderson subscribes this as imagined communities.

Even though they do not know everyone (25.000) within the community, they still feel connected to each other what is important for the social value of the site.

Interview

Most people I have interviewed, specifically the people who live inside the walls of the Kraton or work for the sultan, attach many values to the Kraton. They mainly say that the Kraton is a place where people feel safe (Ayem), where people feel comfortable (Adem) and where people feel the peace (Tentrem). In short, people see the Kraton as a safe haven. Not only the two squares have a social value, also the Kraton itself has it. Some inhabitants come to the Kraton to meet and to communicate with visitors. Several interviewees mention that the Kraton is a place where people can learn the culture of the Yogyakarta and Indonesia very well. Mr. Sudibyo says that the increased number of tourists coming to the Kraton is good, because it gives him 'the opportunity to offer people knowledge about the culture and history of the site'. The educational value becomes also evident from the fact that the start of the UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada, the most renowned and the biggest university of Indonesia) was established within the Kraton.

Sultan servants work for the sultan and earn a really small amount of money for their effort. The small amount of money shows that they work for the sultan out of loyalty and dedication. They see it as an honor to work for the sultan, because he is related to their ancestors and they respect him for that. This shows that it is important how people think about and experience, because that lead to particular practices. Being a sultan servant is traditionally a highly respected 'job', what proves that the embodied history contribute to the practices of people.

While people inside the Kraton were very pleased to help with an interview, it took more effort to arrange an interview outside the wall. The wall of the Kraton not only appeared as a physical border, but also as a mental border. People who live just outside the wall and are not working in the tourism industry care less about the Kraton, because they have nothing to do with it. Even though they do not care about the Kraton, they still respect the sultan. This situation is a bit comparable with the situation at the Borobudur. The people who live outside the site and have nothing to do with tourism, do not care about the site. The difference is that many people still live inside the Kraton and the government has removed all Borobudur's residents.

Values in local perspective

Because there is only little literature available about the Kraton. The answer to sub question 1 '*What sociocultural value do local communities attach to cultural heritages?*' is therefore mainly based on the empirical research. By filling in the underneath table (table 4) the results become more visible and show what value is more important for local communities. To make it visible what value is the most important, it makes use of the numbers 1-5. Number 1 means a low value, while 5 stands for a high value. These numbers are my own interpretation of the literature study and the empirical research.

| | Kraton | Explanation |
|----------------------|--------|---|
| Historical | 5 | The site embodies the relation with the past. The Kraton is a source of inspiration for local artists and it is a place where people can learn about the past. |
| Cultural/ symbolic | 5 | The Kraton is the place in Java where the culture is the purest. The symbolic view refers to the fact that it is the place where the current king/ sultan lives as a descendant of the founders of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom. The practices of the inhabitants of the Kraton are related to the wishes of the Sultan. |
| Social | 5 | Especially the two squares North and South of the Kraton have a high social value, because it is a meeting place for local inhabitants. |
| Spiritual/ religious | 3 | The religious value is not that important, but some people believe in spiritual things and come to the Kraton for this reason. |
| Aesthetic | 3 | The visitors mainly visit the ceremonies and the tourists are less fixated to make pictures from the site itself. This indicates in my opinion that the site is less visual attractive than the Borobudur. However, there are some sites which are 'nice' to see, like the Taman Sari. |

Table 4. Sociocultural values of the Kraton

3.1.3 Complex Kotagede

Kotagede was once the capital of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom (Sulistiyanto, 2006). Nowadays it is one of the oldest Javanese towns and is of great historical value for both local communities and Javanese people. In this suburb, in the Southeast of Yogyakarta, you can find the Komplek Masjid Besar Mataram Kotagede. The complex contains a mosque and a cemetery. The first king of the Mataram Kingdom is buried at this cemetery, which resulted in a high religious value to the people. As the mosque is still in use, the site has also a social value (Sulistiyanto, 2006; Santosa, 2007).

Observation

In contrary to the Borobudur, where the surrounding is developed to improve the sight, Complex Kotagede is completely surrounded by houses. If you do not know about the site, it is very hard to find it. The site is not seen as a cultural attraction for tourists (not commodified), but it is still in its traditional use. Most people who visit the complex are going there to pray and to show respect to the first sultan of the Mataram Kingdom. The site is namely still in use, local inhabitants go to the mosque to pray and schoolchildren are taught about the Islam. There is also a small vegetable garden and a bathing place which people regularly use. The social value coincide with the religious value, as is seen in the use of the mosque as a meeting place and a place to pray. The royal tomb of Kotagede has also a sacred value. The first sultan of the Mataram Kingdom is buried there and the sacred value appears out of the fact that it is only allowed to visit the tomb two hours a day and with a supervisor. To visit the tomb, you have to wear a traditional Javanese suit (peranakan), a long traditional fabric (jarik) and a Javanese head cover (blangkon),



Figure 11. Taking off the shoes before entering the mosque

which you could hire at the secretariat for 25.000 Rp (€ 1,50). Besides, to protect the mysterious and religious value, it is not allowed to make pictures inside the tomb. In front of the tomb, sultan servants (approximately 10) were praying for blessings. There were actually no tourists at the site, that could indicate that the cultural and historical value do not play an important role for tourists to visit a site. This site was namely very important in the history of Yogyakarta. The aesthetic quality of the site is not high, because there is barely something interesting to see for outsiders (like me).

Interview

The people, I have interviewed, see the complex as a cultural-historical monument. The site is a special place to conserve the culture and to learn about the history of the kingdom. Mr. Warisman is pleased to see visitors, because he 'likes the fact that people go there to learn about the mosque and about the history of the Mataram Kingdom'. The complex shows the connection to the past very well and is very valuable to them. The interviewees have a strong feeling to their ancestors and to the cemetery. Since the site is not exclusively for sultan servants, people are more aware about the culture and the religion. Their habitus has changed, because their experience with it are different than before. The people are now using the site what increased the attachment to it. Some interviewees are also very proud that they live near the site where the civilization started for Yogyakarta and its surrounding. Nevertheless, local inhabitants know that the site is not visual attractive for outsiders. One of the interviewees who mentioned that was Mr. Muhammad Fajarno: 'It is not touristic, because there is not something 'special' to see'.

Values in local perspective

Because there is little empirical research available (and readable). The answer to sub question 1 'What sociocultural value do local communities attach to cultural heritages?' is mainly based on the observations and the qualitative interviews. By filling in the underneath table (Table 5) the results become more visible and show what value is more important for local communities. To make it visible what value is the most important, it makes use of the numbers 1-5. Number 1 means a low value, while 5 stands for a high value. These numbers are my own interpretation of the literature study and the empirical research.

| | Kotagede | Explanation |
|----------------------|----------|---|
| Historical | 5 | Kotagede was once the capital of the Mataram Islamic Kingdom. It is the place where people can learn about the history of this kingdom. |
| Cultural/ symbolic | 5 | The cultural value of the complex for the local communities is very high and since the opening for everyone, the people started using the site. The usage increased the sociocultural value locals attach to the site, because they know more about the values. |
| Social | 5 | The place is still in use, and many people come together near the mosque to pray. The people near the mosque feel very attached to the complex. |
| Spiritual/ religious | 5 | The mosque is a place where Muslims can pray and the tomb has a sacred and spiritual value, because the first king of the Mataram Kingdom is buried there. |
| Aesthetic | 2 | There is barely something 'special' to see. |

Table 5. Sociocultural values of the Kotagede complex

3.1.4 Conclusion

This chapter made clear what sociocultural values local communities attach to cultural heritages (the three cases). There is a difference in how tourists see the site and how local communities see it. Some values are difficult to measure and to see in a local perspective. With the table underneath (table 6), I have made the differences clear between the three case studies. Every site is namely different from each other. This is explained by Bourdieu's concept field. Every place has a particular spatial preference. The situation is different everywhere and experiences are the reason that every site has a different value for local communities. The biggest difference is the aesthetic, social and religious value that local communities attach to the site. The larger heritage site (Borobudur) is visual attractive, what is partly the reason why people want to visit the site. The result is that site is seen as a commodity. The commodification had as consequence that the site loses its social and religious value. The lack of involvement and excluding the local communities lead to spatial insensitivity. Furthermore, the Borobudur is a 'dead monument' as Mr. Umar calls it. Kotagede is in contradiction to the Borobudur open for everyone (for free) and still in use, what is of great impact on the habitus of local inhabitants and the sociocultural values. The traditional practices, which are removed for contemporary practices (tourism) at the Borobudur, are still visible at the Kraton and Kotagede. The local communities at the latter site feel not only attached to the site, but also to each other. This 'imagined community' as mentioned by Benedict Anderson, applies also to the Kraton to some extent.

The creation of a commodity of the Borobudur could be the reason why people feel less attached to the site, but this conclusion is hard to make. The Borobudur is namely a Buddhism monument, whilst the vast majority is Muslim (87,2%). However, I am able to say that large, commodified cultural heritage are more rewarded for its aesthetics and the smaller heritage sites are more rewarded for their connection with the past and its social value.

| | Borobudur | Kraton | Kotagede |
|----------------------|-----------|--------|----------|
| Historical | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Cultural/ symbolic | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Social | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Spiritual/ religious | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Aesthetic | 5 | 3 | 2 |

Table 6. Sociocultural values of the three cases

3.2 Economic value of cultural heritage by local communities

Beside the sociocultural value, De la Torre (2002) describes the economic value as another major category. These two categories make it understandable what the value of cultural heritages is for local communities. For this chapter, the theory of Bourdieu and the theory of Marx are meaningful. To understand the economic value of cultural heritage it is relevant to know how people act and think, while seeing the site as a commodity is relevant to see the economic thought behind it.

To find out how local communities consume cultural heritages for economic reasons I did literature study and empirical research. The results of the observation can be seen in the table which is attached (appendix 3), the interviews and the interview analysis can be seen in appendix 2 & 4. To see how local communities use the cultural heritage as a commodity, I focused on several aspects, differ from the amount of tourists to how intrusive the sellers are.

3.2.1 Borobudur Temple

The Borobudur is enlisted on the world heritage list and attracts millions of people annually (Rabu, 2012). Many people economically depend on the tourists visiting major cultural heritages. Tourists are going to the site for its cultural-historical value and the local communities make use of it and sell local souvenirs,

food or their knowledge (Hampton, 2005; Pedersen, 2002; Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). By fencing off the site and by asking high entrance prices, the government has made a commodity of the Borobudur. The government wants to increase the number of tourists going to Indonesia (Borobudur is one of their main attractions) and wants to extend their period of stay (Indonesia Investments, 2016b; Hervandi, 2013). Generally, tourists explore the Borobudur for 3-4 hours and they will then go back to Yogyakarta. Also the average stay in Yogyakarta is less than two days for foreign tourists (Dahles & Bras, 1999; Timothy & Wall, 1997). Local communities cannot take advantage of the tourism industry that much for this reason (Fatimah & Kanki, 2012).

Observation

It is very clear that the Borobudur is commodified. Tourists, especially foreign tourists, pay a lot of money to enter the site. Most tourists go to the Borobudur by bus from Yogyakarta. Some local inhabitants are waiting at the bus stop to offer tourists a ride to the entrance. That local inhabitants anticipate very well on the tourist activity also appears from the number of sellers outside the Borobudur. Hundreds, maybe a thousand people are selling souvenirs to tourists (figure 12). Beside sellers, there are also many warungs offering traditional and 'Western' food. However, the sellers are not only outside the Borobudur. There are also quite a few sellers on the site selling small Borobudur souvenirs. These sellers make it uncomfortable to visit the site. Alongside the strong informal economy outside the Borobudur, the world heritage park offers also many jobs as gardeners, guards, informant etc. The situation at the Borobudur showed how dynamic habitus is. Before their exclusion, local inhabitants took care of the site and it had probably a high sociocultural value to them. Nowadays, they use the site for economic reasons, because their habitus have changed.



Figure 12. Market by the Borobudur. Source: [Maps.google.nl](https://www.google.nl/maps)

Interview

'The Borobudur gives welfare to the local communities' as reported by Mr. Wito. The tourism industry has grown enormously last years, but the site is ready to accommodate more tourists according to Mr. Riyadi. At the moment it is mostly the big investors who get the most profit from the tourists. This is in line with what some of the interviewees mention: the possibilities to work for local inhabitants have not increased. The investors are playing a more significant role and the number of tourist staying in the neighborhood have not increased. This is the inequality and power issues that occur with tourism as Bianchi (2002) explained. Most tourist are visiting the Borobudur and then the Prambanan, afterwards they are going back to their hotels in Yogyakarta. The best thing for the local communities is if the area would developed by local people, like home stays. However it appears that the number of people who depend on the tourism industry has grown, but these are not all local inhabitants as mentioned by Mr. Wasis.

Economic value in a local perspective

The second sub question: 'How do local communities make economically use of heritage sites?' is discussed in this paragraph. The economic value as described by De la Torre (2002) was therefore important. As described in the literature, local inhabitants depend on the tourist activity near major cultural heritages. The practice confirms this statement partially. It is true that many people depend on the cultural heritage, but it is primarily the government (entrance fees) and the investors (hotels etc.) who profit the most from it. Most local inhabitants are still farmers, because the tourists usually go to the Borobudur for a few hours and are going back to Yogyakarta afterwards. Nevertheless, it is evident that many local people economically depend on the Borobudur.

3.2.2 Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat

Research to the dependency of local communities to the Kraton is limited. However, it is undeniable that many local inhabitants depend on the Kraton for their income. This because vendors and other kind of sellers (warungs etc.) locate at specific places e.g. the Kraton. Sites with many tourists attract also 'tour guides' who guide you through the site and give information about it for a small fee (Dahles, 2001). The local communities work mainly in the informal economy, while private organizations profit a lot from the international tourists with their hotels, luxury restaurants etc. As Bourdieu mentions it: the winners keep winning. Persons with the largest capital (investors have more possessions, both economic and social) will most of the time have more success.

Observation

The Kraton is like the Borobudur a heritage site which attracts tourists to the neighborhood. The number of tourists visiting the Kraton may not be that high, the economic activity around the Kraton is mainly focused on people hanging around the main squares. People from Yogyakarta are going to the square to hang around with each other, and the local inhabitants make use of it by selling products and food (figure 13). There are also several guides, both formal and informal, who give tours around the Kraton and inside the museum. Those tour guides are all focused on making money. For giving the tour they expect



Figure 13. Crowded square, with warungs and sellers

to get a fee, and the tour guide will always bring you to batik shops, shirt shops and puppet doll shops. At these shops, local inhabitants sell products for a price way above the average.

Interview

Beside a sociocultural value, local communities also attach an economic value to the Kraton. Since the area is opened for tourists, the number of tourists has increased enormously. Mr. Sudibyo mention that 'local people make use of the Kraton as a touristic place' and it is therefore 'a blessing for the people of Yogyakarta' according to Mr. Dasuki. Depending on the interviewees' background they mention two reasons why it is good that the tourism activity is growing: Mas Penewu Windhu Sastrotrianto (sultan servant), 'it means that they are interested in the Javanese culture' and Mr. Aryo (tour guide), 'it is good for the economy of the local communities'. The local inhabitants have the possibility to open a warung or to become a tour guide. The becak driver (bicycle taxi) are mostly immigrants coming from neighboring regions, who only see the Kraton as a commodity.

Economic value in a local perspective

The Kraton is a cultural heritage which attracts tourists with its cultural and historical value. People go there to learn about the history and the culture. There are several places around the Kraton, where little 'markets' have established. The two large squares are relevant in making the site a social place where people can meet each other. That is also a reason why there are many warungs situated near the Kraton. This makes that it has a significant role in creating working possibilities for local communities. The second sub question: 'How do local communities make economically use of heritage sites?' can be answered

with the simple result: By responding to the needs of the tourists. Selling souvenirs (including batik) near frequent visited places, by opening warungs around the square and by providing information about the site as a tour guide. The habitus of the local communities gives certain possibilities about what you can do. The way people think about the site is often decisive in how the persons will act.

3.2.3 Complex Kotagede

The economic value of Kotagede for local communities is a subject what yet has to be studied. Little/ no research is done to the economic dependency on the complex. This is likely because most people in Kotagede depend on the silver industry. That local communities depend on foreign tourists became clear during the political and economic crisis of 1998. The number of tourists decreased with the consequence that the local economy weakened. This is not because there were less people going to the complex, but because there were less tourists buying silver (Sulistiyanto, 2006).

Observation

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the complex is hidden between resident houses (figure 14). The site does not have a touristic character and is certainly not focused on international tourists. This became also evident from the signs, which are written in Bahasa Indonesia. There is a lot of tourist activity in Kotagede, but it is based on the silver industry. A market has established on a small square around the silver industry. The market is approximately 500 meters from the complex and lures visitors and warungs away from the complex. Although the number of tourists is not high, the mosque is still in use. Many people come to that mosque to pray, what makes it possible to open a warung near the site. The people see this site as a cultural heritage and not as a site to take profit from. The practices are therefore not related to consumption.



Figure 14. Complex is covered in houses

Interview

The literature and the observations are confirmed by what the interviewees say. There are only a few people who depend on visitors of the complex. The place is very quiet and the low amount of visitors does not make it attractive to work in the tourism sector around the site. Mr. Surobudoyo explained that 'some people have a warung or work at the cemetery/ mosque, but most people depend on the silver industry'. So there are possibilities for local inhabitants to open a warung near the complex, but working in the silver industry is more profitable. This shows that people have the possibility to work in the sector they prefer (what is also explained in the concept habitus).

Economic value in a local perspective

The complex is not frequently visited by tourists, but people from Kotagede make use of the mosque to pray. It is therefore possible to open a warung near the site, but the silver industry is more tempting, because it pays better. Also the market which is 500 meters away from the complex makes it more interesting to open a warung over there. The answer to the second question: 'How do local communities make economically use of heritage sites?' is in case of Kotagede very simple: only a few locals make use of the site, by selling food from their warung. Because the site is not interesting enough for tourists, it is not possible to make use of the site in other ways.

3.2.4 Conclusion

Yogyakarta is the cultural capital of Indonesia and gets many (cultural) visitors, but most of them have no knowledge about the culture of Yogyakarta (Timothy & Wall, 1997). They do not really care about the culture and only visit the Borobudur and the Prambanan. That is the reason why people attach a higher economic value to the Borobudur than to the other case studies. The economic value, people attach to a site, is not measured, but appears from the interviewees, the observations and from the literature.

Many people depend on heritage sites for their income. The more tourists visiting the place, the higher is the economic value for the site. Near major heritage sites (Borobudur) many people depend on the tourist activity. Globalization has as result that the world is interconnected. The interconnectedness does not only influences the tourism industry, it made it easier for investors to start a business abroad. The major heritage sites are therefore not only seen as a commodity by the government and local communities. Also investors want to take benefits from it. Those investors make it for local inhabitants harder to get profit from the tourism industry, due to their competition which shows the inequality. The number of local inhabitants making economic use of the site is for this reason relatively low. Near the Kraton, investors are less involved. The two large squares are used as a meeting place by local inhabitants. Around the site, many warungs have opened. The complex of Kotagede attracts too little people and has too much competition from a neighboring market with warungs, so not many people are able to make economic use of it.

In short, many people near major cultural heritages use the site economically. Because investors see the site as a commodity as well, the number of local inhabitants who make economically use of it is relatively low. Middle scale cultural heritage with less involvement from investors are often used by local people for economic reasons by selling souvenirs, knowledge and food. Because small scale heritage sites do not attract enough tourists, there are barely people who make economic use of it. Thus, the practices are more economic oriented near touristic places.

3.3 Reasons for the preservation of cultural heritage for local communities

Millions of people have visited the Borobudur and to make sure that people can visit the site in the future, it is important to preserve the site. In this paragraph the motives for preserving cultural heritage by local communities will be analyzed. It is herein important to know what people see as preservation, what aspects influence their thought and what the role of the government and (inter)national institutions is. Not only major heritage sites have to be preserved, also small scale heritage sites have to be preserved and how does this preservation differ from the preservation of a major heritage site.

3.3.1 Borobudur Temple

Every year, approximately 2.5 million people visit the Borobudur (Rabu, 2012). In order to protect this site, so tourists in the future also have the possibility to visit the site, the site has to be preserved. The UNESCO is involved in the preservation of the complex, because it is listed on UNESCO World Heritage List for its international cultural value (UNESCO, 2016a). However, the site has lost its religious value through the years and is now mainly seen as a commodity. The government wants to protect the site, because it is one of Indonesian's main attractions. They see the site as a way to earn money and care less about the cultural and religious value. In order to 'protect' the site, the government replaced two communities which were living near the Borobudur. The government created namely a conservation area of approximately 64 hectares around the Borobudur to 'support' the local economy and to provide a recreation area (Kanki, Adishakti & Fatimah, 2012). By replacing local communities inside the park, they exclude the inhabitants in preserving the area (Hitchcock, King & Parnwell, 2010; Wall & Black, 2004). The phenomena of replacing local communities outside the area is supported by Evans (2010). Once, an area is primarily tourist-dependent, it will change its historical status to a tourist zone and crowding out local inhabitants. By crowding out local inhabitants, they lose their connection to the site and it changes the habitus. They think differently about the site and the traditional practices (preservation) changes. The

possibility that a habitus can change quickly is also argued by Navarro (2006), who says that unexpected happenings can change the habitus.

Observation

The site is fenced off and no one is living on the site (figure 15). Local involvement in the preservation of the site is therefore impractical. The site is well-preserved in an aesthetic point of view. In a cultural perspective, the preservation of the culture and religion had a lot to suffer. The fact that the site is now focused on mass-tourism is devaluing the site in other perspectives. The reasons for local communities to preserve the site is getting less, because the people do no longer see the site as a religious monument with a high cultural value. Like the government, they are focused on making money. This became evident from the fact that there are barely local people (from the direct neighborhood) inside the Borobudur and that they are around the Borobudur for selling products. The habitus made a swift from seeing the site as a cultural heritage to seeing the site as a commodity.



Figure 15. Entrance of the Borobudur for international tourists. Source: Maps.google.nl

Interview

The results from the observations and the literature study correspond with the results from the interviews. Vendors at the border of the Borobudur do not even have to clean the 'market'. They mention that there is a cleaning company who is taking care of those markets for a small amount of money. Even if the locals wanted to contribute in preserving the site, they are not allowed in doing so. The only person who says to be involved in the preservation is a performer educating the culture to foreigners. The reason for him to contribute is the historical value and it is the legacy of their ancestors. Local participation is desired, because they know the qualities and values of the site much better than outsiders. Mr. Umar mentions a corresponding fact: 'The guards who work at the Borobudur act like militaries who do not know what is allowed and what is not' and they can be bribed by tourists. Local communities' habitus have the history embedded, and the Borobudur played a role in it, but it seems that it is getting less.

Preservation by local communities

Local involvement is necessary for a sustainable development (World Heritage Convention, 2012; Evans, 2010). However, in the preservation of the Borobudur, local contribution is not allowed. Local communities are possibly interested in preserving the site, because of its historical value. By seeing the site as a commodity, they lose their interest in preserving the site. An interviewee would love to see involvement from the locals, because they know the value better than foreigners.

3.3.2 Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat

The Kraton has a high cultural, social and religious value as mentioned in Chapter 3.1.2. An attached value will lead to the preservation of the site (Avrami, Mason & De la Torre, 2000). Local communities are also willing to preserve site which plays an important role in the habitus of people. Little research has been conducted to the involvement of local communities in the preservation of the Kraton. Based on the theory that an attached value to the site leads to preservation, gives the best insight in why local communities want to participate.

Observation

Visitors respect the rules and keep the site clean, what results in a well-preserved area. The approximately 25.000 people, who live inside the Kraton on sultan ground, depend on the sultan. The activity in and around the Kraton, keeps the 'culture alive' in my perspective. The cultural capital, as described by Bourdieu, is developed inside the Kraton. And this is, as said, significant by forming the local communities' habitus. Many people come to the area and show respect to the sultan. The sultan is still an example for the people of Yogyakarta, as evident from the posters (of the sultan) and the way the people talk about him. People, especially those who live inside the Kraton, feel really attached to this site, what in my opinion is a strong reason why local inhabitants keep the site clean: by sweeping the floor for example. A way of preserving the culture is by educating the culture. As performers, local inhabitants make sure that knowledge about the culture will be spread. The sultan servants (figure 16), partly local inhabitants, are protecting the site and make sure nothing will happen to it. The sultan servants are also the connection to the past, wherein sultan servants probably had a more significant role in the sultanate. The habitus determines if people will contribute.



Figure 16. Sultan servants at the museum

Interview

The analysis of the interviews at the Kraton (appendix 4) makes clear that the value, local inhabitants attach to the site results in a contribution in the preservation. People feel a certain connection to the Kraton and they see it as a duty as a Javanese inhabitant to preserve the Javanese culture. This shows the attachment to the past and how it plays a role in their practices. The site itself is partly preserved with help from the government, but the local communities play an important role in the preserving the culture

and the religion. By being a tour guide, they are protecting the culture and by cleaning the surroundings (sweeping the floor) they also contribute in the physical cleaning of the site. Mr. Sudibyo is one of those tour guides and 'by informing tourists about the culture and history of the site, I am protecting the culture as a 'culture protector''. Sultan servants, also contribute in preserving the culture, are working for the sultan to show their loyalty and dedication.

Preservation by local communities

The reasons for local communities to preserve the Kraton are related to the sociocultural values people attach to the site. This became very clear when looking to the analysis of the observation and the interviews (appendix 4). Local communities, especially living inside the walls of the Kraton, feel connected to the Kraton and want to show respect to their sultanate. They are concerned about the culture, as it is significant for their identity. This is the reason why they contribute in several ways in preserving the site. From sweeping the floor to spreading information about the site, local communities take part in all the facets of preservation. The literature confirms the practice by saying that values lead to interests what will lead into the preservation of a site. Participation is mostly done by local communities living inside the Kraton. The capital of people outside the wall differ from the capital of people living inside the wall of the Kraton, because they live in another 'field'. The habitus differs also, what could be the reason why people from outside the wall are less willing to preserve the site.

3.3.3 Complex Kotagede

Kotagede, like the Kraton, has a high cultural, social and religious value as mentioned in Chapter 3.1.3. Preservation is often the result of the values people attach to the site (Avrami, Mason & De la Torre, 2000). Even though little research has been done to the preservation of cultural heritage by local communities, the inhabitants of Kotagede show that they want to preserve the site. The earthquake of 2006 had hundreds of people killed. Cultural heritages and historical houses were damaged, and there was only little budget to restore those damaged buildings. This occasion gave heritage organizations the possibility to cooperate with local communities intensively. By empowering the local communities, the local inhabitants became willing to contribute (Sulistiyanto, 2006; Wijayanto, 2014). The religion and their spirit were influential aspects that made local communities willing to help. In the end, many volunteers helped with rebuilding the community (Sulistiyanto, 2006). The social connection and the place attachment to the site can therefore be seen as significant aspects in the contribution of local communities in preserving the cultural heritages.

Observation

There are no employees at the site, except for sultan servants who are there to 'protect' the culture (figure 17). However, the site is relatively clean what shows that people visiting the site keep the place clean. The site is not that large, probably less than one hectare. The relatively high amount of sultan servants show that the site must have high cultural value and that the sultanate want to protect the culture and the religion. The physical maintenance get less attention. There were weeds growing on the pavements and there were also some loose stones. I could therefore conclude that local communities are mainly involved in preserving the culture and the religion of the site, because of its sociocultural values.



Figure 17. Rules to 'protect' the tombe

Interview

The values lead to preservation. This became evident from the analysis of the interviews and the observation (appendix 4). The local communities think it is important to preserve the site, so tourists/interested visitors have the possibility to learn about the Mataram Kingdom in the future. Since the opening of the complex for everyone, the people are more aware of the culture and the religion. Besides, the people are now allowed to pray at the mosque. The habitus have changed, because they experience it differently, which resulted in other practices. The awareness is relevant for building their identity, and people get attached to the place for this reason. Every month, people from the neighborhood come to the site to help with cleaning. Local communities are not only involved in cleaning the area, they also 'help with the social safety in the neighborhood' as mentioned by Mr. Abdul. Moreover, they are also involved in preserving the culture as they are taking part in ceremonies.

Preservation by local communities

Many people in Kotagede are involved in the preservation of the complex. In order to protect the cultural and religious value of the site, people are coming (once a month) to the site to clean the complex. Since the increased involvement of local communities, they are more aware of the culture, the history and the religion. This is a significant factor for the reason why they want to preserve the site. They feel attached to the site and it is part of their 'identity'. The habitus changed what resulted in an increased willingness to participate in the preservation. The government and the Kraton also give the complex certain 'subsidies' for the preservation. According to Mr. Muhammad Fajarno is this money to 'promote the culture and the history of Kotagede'.

3.3.4 Conclusion

The value, local communities attach to a heritage site, play an important role in the willingness of them to contribute in preserving the site. This theory of Avrami, Mason & De la Torre (2000) can be confirmed by the analysis of the observation and the interviews. The causal lines leading to preservation are sourced from the value. In case of the Borobudur, the causal lines are coming from the tourism aspect. Nevertheless, the local people are not involved, because it is preserved by a governmental organization. Kotagede is probably the perfect example of a heritage site that has a high sociocultural values. Local communities contribute in the preservation to protect the culture and the religion of this site.

Empowerment of local communities and place attachment to the site are also key factors in the participation of local communities. Local communities near Kotagede are more empowered after the earthquake of 2006, which resulted in participating in the preservation of the site. The disempowerment of local communities at the Borobudur changed the habitus and results in less interest to preserve the site. Habitus is important to understand, because how people think and act determines if a person consumes or preserves the site. The field is herein also relevant, as every situation is different. The view of the site as a commodity has increased and local communities do not have to contribute in the preservation, because a governmental organization is taking care of it. By replacing the communities outside the Borobudur, the management shows to have a 'Western' view on the preservation. In my opinion, it is very Western to think that everything should look nice and 'well-preserved'. The Western view of preservation has emphasis to Indonesians and they see preservation from another perspective. Preserving culture and transfer knowledge is seen as a more important aspect of preservation. This became evident out of the interviews, wherein they prefer more tourists to bring awareness about the culture. It also appeared out of the fact that interviewees said that the site was well-preserved, while I thought this was not the case (my Western view).

In short, local communities attach values to heritage sites. Those values lead to willingness to participate in preserving the site. The sociocultural value, which is the highest at a small cultural heritage (Kotagede), is more important than the economic value, which is the highest at the major cultural heritage site (Borobudur). Empowering and involving local communities in the management and preservation

plans have a positive effect on the willingness of local communities. Also the fact that the Kraton and the complex are still in use by local communities influence this.

3.4 Relation preservation and consumption of cultural heritage by local communities

In this chapter the fourth and last sub question *'How is preservation related to consumption?'* will be discussed. The objective is to see, what the most important value of cultural heritages is for local communities. According to some researchers, major cultural heritages are valued for their economic prosperity, while sociocultural values are more important for small scale cultural heritages. This thought seems logical, because major cultural heritages attract many (inter)national tourist and are seen as a commodity. In this chapter this proposition will be discussed on the basis of the three case studies.

The fact that a cultural heritage has a certain value what people would like to see/ experience, is the cause that economic activities create around it. This is not because local communities attach a certain value to it, but because people want to see the site. What struck me during this research was that people are less interested in the cultural, historical and religious value than research claims. Most visitors want to make 'nice' pictures and therefore look for sites with a high aesthetic value. At Kotagede, where people can 'learn' about the history of the Mataram Kingdom and about the establishment of Yogyakarta, are much less tourists than at the Borobudur where the connection to the past is less represented. The site is more impressive to see (aesthetic value), while it is a world heritage site which is highly promoted by the government and appointed as a must see in Indonesia by for example the Lonely Planet. It is obvious that this site gets more tourists than the other two sites. The Borobudur is seen as a commodity by both the government, investors and local communities. It is one of Indonesian's main attractions and attracts 2,5 million visitors annually. The interests in this site are therefore very high. These high interests does not directly mean that local communities also depend on it. Big investors take the most profit and there are also many people from outside the region who take benefit from the site. The capital is different between the 'outsiders' and the local communities and so is the habitus. The 'outsiders' often attach no value to the area and do not care about the heritage, while local communities attach sociocultural values to it. This differs from the other two cases (Kraton and Kotagede), where the people feel attached to the site. Both sites are still in use, which increase the affection to the site. The sociocultural value determines for a large part the willingness of people to preserve the site. The degree of consumption depends on how touristic a place is. Kotagede is therefore barely used in an economic perspective. The Borobudur is mostly seen as a commodity and the consumption aspect is therefore more important than preserving the site. One of the interviewees said: 'where the economy grows, there is a decrease of the culture and the social relation between the site and the community'. This is an interesting saying, because it corresponds with Marx' theory. When seeing an object as a commodity it would lead to alienation. This means that the distance between community and the object will increase.

The economic value of the site can best be seen in terms of its entrance price and the number of sellers, warungs, tour guides, taxi drivers etc. The market is probably the most relevant aspect for the local communities. Based on the market, it is possible to see differences between the sites. The Borobudur has a large market, which is organized, the sellers have to pay a small amount of money to 'rent' the booth and the souvenirs are very monotonous. It feels like a mass production and you do not have the feeling that you are near the Borobudur anymore. This is completely different at the Kraton, where the daily life continues. The warungs are less/ not organized and are situated there where the owner wants it. The daily life around the Kraton goes on what creates a pleasant and cozy atmosphere. At every moment of the day, there are people at the squares. This indicates that people like to be around the Kraton. This contradicts with the Borobudur, where the people just go to their booth for economic reasons. The situation of Kotagede differs from the other two sites, because there is not really a market. In my opinion does the market influences the experience of the visitors, but it also influences the local communities' experience. The dynamic area of the Kraton 'invites' locals to go the site, while the large market at the Borobudur keeps the locals away. This interaction between the site and the visitors is important for the sociocultural

value.

Although there are many other stakeholders involved in consuming the Borobudur (large investors, government, people from outside the region), many local inhabitants economically depend on the site. The traditional practices changed, because the people experience it differently. They are not allowed to do anything in return except for being a performer. The Kraton is much less touristic, but its sociocultural value attract many people to the site what creates work possibilities. Its cultural value and because many people still depend on the sultan, make that people want to preserve the Kraton (sultan's palace). Kotagede is not touristic at all, but still many people want to protect the site. At the Kraton, the preservation is mainly done by people living inside the walls of the Kraton, while Complex Kotagede has involvement from the whole suburb. The sociocultural value, its connection to the past and because people feel attached to the place create willingness to preserve the site. The place attachment is increased by their involvement in the site and the role it plays in forming the habitus.

The answer to the fourth sub question can be very short-sighted. The Borobudur is mainly seen as a commodity, where local people can make use of (consume). Local communities want to preserve the Kraton for its sociocultural value, but use the site as well (consume). The complex of Kotagede is not very popular among tourists, but local communities want to preserve the site for its sociocultural value and its significant role in their identity building. However, it is not possible to generalize these results to other cases. Too many factors play a role in how local communities see the site.

4. Conclusion

In the conclusion, an answer to the main question and sub questions will be given. The main question reads as follows: *'What is the role of local communities in Indonesia in preserving and consuming heritage sites'?* A conclusion will be provided on the basis of three case studies. To give an answer to this question, it is essential to know what values people attach to cultural heritages. This bachelor thesis make use of the typology of De la Torre (2002). His typology makes a distinction between sociocultural values and economic values. This suited well to this research, because these two represent the two perspectives of the current idea of valuing.

Sociocultural values, show the affiliation of local communities to the site. Historical, cultural/ symbolic, social, spiritual/ religious and aesthetic values are recognized as sociocultural values. The economic value is mainly determined by the market value of it and how people make use of it. In this research it became clear that local communities generally attach economic values to major cultural heritages, while small cultural heritages are more rewarded for its sociocultural value. The major cultural heritage in this research (Borobudur) is commodified and is seen as an economic object, that people use to make money. Even though, the government and the investors take the most profit from it, there are also many local inhabitants who directly depend on the tourists visiting the site. In order to create a commodity of the Borobudur, local communities were relocated. They were not allowed to live inside the buffer zone around the Borobudur anymore, because the government made a park of it, to increase to economic activity. The disempowerment and the loss of place attachment lead to local communities who lost their sociocultural values to the site. Like the government and the investors, the local communities started to see the site more as a commodity. Contrary to major cultural heritages, local communities attach a high sociocultural value to small heritage sites. The cases of the Kraton and Complex Kotagede showed that when people still use the site, they feel more attached to it what result in a significant role in the identity building. The sociocultural value, local communities attach to these sites, is for this reason high. The economic value is often less important, because the number of tourists visiting the place is lower. The sociocultural value is thus not related to the economic value. Although, the aesthetic value (one of the sociocultural values in De la Torre's (2002) dichotomy of values) is valuable for the experience of tourists, it is probably less important for local communities as a sociocultural value. They are interested in the culture and the history of the site and less in the aesthetic value. Every site has its own spatial preference. It is important to know how people think about the site and how they experience it. Their habitus is namely crucial to understand why people consume or preserve a site.

The participation in persevering cultural heritages depends on the value people attach to the particular site. The literature stated that values makes sure that there will be interests what in the end lead to preservation of the site. The analysis of the interviews and the observation also showed this causal relation very well. From this research it became evident that especially historical, cultural/ symbolic, spiritual/ religious and social value play a role in this. The participation is namely higher at sites where the local inhabitants attach a higher sociocultural values to the site. The aesthetic value showed the opposite, but this is a value that is likely more interesting for tourists, who want to take nice pictures, than for local communities who want to preserve the culture. This brings us to the way how preservation is seen. With a Western perspective, the Borobudur is well-preserved, while Complex Kotagede looks much less well-preserved in this perspective. However, the interviewees think that the complex is well-preserved and people doubt about the preservation of the Borobudur. It turns out that they look with an 'Indonesian' perspective to preservation and have more attention for the way how the culture and the religion are preserved. Some researchers state that cultural heritage cannot be preserved sustainable without community involvement. In my opinion, it is possible to preserve a site without community involvement in a Western perspective. But in order to preserve the site with a Indonesian perspective, local involvement is necessary. It is crucial that the sites remain its traditional and cultural practice.

There are also other factors that play a role in willingness of local communities to participate in preserving the heritages. The involvement in plans or in other activities related to the cultural heritages.

Local communities living near the Borobudur were forced to relocate their community in order to create a park around the site. The lack of involvement results in the alienation of the site. This alienation is resulting in less involvement in the preservation of the site, because the people care less about the site (decrease of sociocultural values) and increasingly see the site as a commodity. Culture is no longer seen as a dynamic 'process', but as an object. The traditional practices around the Borobudur are replaced for contemporary practices related to tourism. The strict preservation took over the traditional preservation what made involvement of local communities 'unnecessary'. This has therefore a negative impact on the involvement of local communities in the preservation. In contrary to the Borobudur, in Kotagede local communities were involved in the reconstruction of the community after the earthquake of 2006. Their involvement and their ability to use the site had a positive effect on the way how people look to the site. People are now more aware of the values and respect the site more for it. The fact that local communities feel more attached to the site is reasonable a factor for their participation. The place attachment is also very high at the Kraton, the squares around it are likely to be one of the reasons for this. The squares are used as a meeting place and this might increase the social value of a site. Those squares next to the Kraton are also important for the sellers and locals who want to profit from the tourists. When you are at those squares, the warungs and other sellers create a pleasant and cozy atmosphere. This is completely different at the Borobudur where you do not see the daily life, but a large organized market with hundreds of people who are selling the same souvenirs. The feeling of being next to an imposing heritage site is gone.

The conceptual model, showed in chapter 2.2, already demonstrated that the values, a heritage have, lead to preservation or consumption. The practice confirms this theory, the economic value is equivalent to consumption and the sociocultural values are equivalent to preservation. However, this model is very abstract and to be complete it would be very complex and hard to interpret. As shown in the model, commodification has a positive effect on the economic value of a site and a negative impact on the willingness of local communities to preserve the site. Gentrification and privatization are logical consequences of commodification, but these do not play a big role at these case studies. These phenomena probably play a more important role in major Western cities, because the interests are higher there. However, commodification and the rise of investors do have a negative effect on the willingness to preserve as shown in the conceptual model. Alienation could be a valuable addition to the model as result of the commodification and negatively influences the willingness of local communities to preserve. This concept is also introduced by Karl Marx as the estrangement of people from its product.

I can conclude that local communities both consume and preserve cultural heritage. The case studies show that local communities are more interested in preserving the site when they attach sociocultural values to the site. The local communities consume the site more when the number of tourists is high.

5. Reflection

The research strategy fits well with the research questions. The use of case studies was good in a way that it showed what I wanted it to show. Even though the use of case studies was fine, the cases itself were less appropriate. The results of the research may correspond with the literature, the three cases are three individual cases, because several aspects differ to much from each other (see the table 7).

| | Borobudur | Kraton | Kotagede |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Religion | Buddhism | Islam | Islam |
| Accessible for local communities | Fenced off High entrance fee | Partly fenced off No entrance fee | Open |
| Situated | Outside the city | Center of the city | In the city |
| Usage | Dead monument | Mostly still in use | Still in use |

Table 7. Differences between the sites.

There was little literature useful for me cause most literature was written in Bahasa Indonesia. This made it hard to find appropriate literature for this research. The use of qualitative interviews in combination with observation was thus a very good choice. The qualitative interviews was a good way to gain in-depth information from the interviewees. By observing the site and the practices of the users, it was possible to confirm the information, in order to see how valuable the information is. It was good to interview people from above the age of 50, who live near the site for at least 10 years. However, it could be valuable to interview younger people who feel less attached to the place and care less about the king (through the globalized world and because this king is less 'powerful' and decisive). The limitations were set in behalf of the fact that there were only five people interviewed at each case. To gain the most valuable information it was necessary to interview people who know much about the site and have experienced a lot. Five interviews for each case is too little to get a complete view about the happenings of the site. Looking to the available time in Indonesia (four weeks) it was the highest attainable number that could be interviewed. For this research this amount provided a good impression, because the observation played an important role as well. Obviously, in Indonesia they speak the national language, and the people I had to interview (local inhabitants) often have very low-level educational qualifications. They, therefore speak barely English, what made a translator necessary. Even though I cannot guarantee that the information they told me was exactly the same as what the responded said, I think that the cooperation between the translators and me worked fine. The interview guide and the meeting before the interviews made clear what I needed to know from the interviewee.

The goal of this research was *"to find out what the value of cultural heritages are for local communities, if/ how these values lead to the preservation of the site and how local communities take economic benefit from cultural heritages in Indonesia. In this research, the differences between major cultural heritages and local cultural heritages will also considered"*. In my opinion, the goal is achieved by answering the main question and the sub questions. However, it was not possible to generalize the information to major cultural heritages, middle cultural heritages and small (local) cultural heritages. Three cases studies is too little to generalize the information. Still, I think the research shows the differences between major and local cultural heritages very well.

The general literature (not specific to Indonesia) is mostly focused on the tourist perspective. Also the government seems to have more interests in the tourists than in local communities. It was therefore difficult to see how values local inhabitants attach to a site differ from values that tourists attach to the site.

The theories in this research were very valuable for this research. Especially Marx' commodification theory cleared a lot for me. A grand theory, like Bourdieu's, is much harder to apply in the research. It was probably useful to look to more 'middle-range theories' and 'substantive theories'.

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Appendix 1. Approval to interview at the sites



UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
FAKULTAS GEOGRAFI

Nomor : UGM/GE/1560.1/UM/04/16
Lampiran : draft proposal penelitian
Hal : Permohonan izin *fieldwork* dan wawancara

4 April 2016

Kepada Yth.
Kepala Pengelola Masjid Gede dan
Pengelola Makam Raja Mataram Kota Yogyakarta

Dengan hormat,

Dengan ini kami mohon bantuan Saudara untuk memberikan izin kepada mahasiswa asing dari institusi mitra Universitas Gadjah Mada, dengan keterangan sebagai berikut:

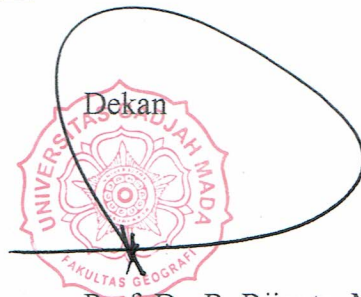
nama : Dirk van de Ven
asal Institusi : Radboud University Nijmegen
kewarganegaraan : Belanda
tema penelitian : *The preservation and consumption of cultural heritage by local communities*
waktu penelitian : April 2016

untuk melaksanakan *fieldwork* dan wawancara dengan Saudara dan staf di lingkungan kerja Saudara dalam rangka memperoleh informasi baik berupa pendapat atau hasil pengalaman terkait terkait tema penelitian tersebut diatas.

Mahasiswa asing diatas akan didampingi oleh asisten penelitian dari Fakultas Geografi UGM sebagai berikut:

1. Arini Murwindarti
2. Yuke Nori Aurumbita
3. Intan Pandini

Atas perhatian dan kerja sama Saudara, diucapkan terima kasih.



Dekan
Prof. Dr. R. Rijanta, M.Sc.
NIP. 196201011988031002



UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
FAKULTAS GEOGRAFI

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4 April 2016

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Kepala Pengelola Keraton
Yogyakarta

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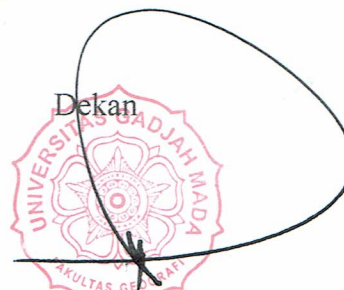
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UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
FAKULTAS GEOGRAFI

Nomor : UGM/GE/1560.2/UM/04/16
Lampiran : draft proposal penelitian
Hal : Permohonan izin *fieldwork* dan wawancara

4 April 2016

Kepada Yth.
Kepala P.T Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan dan Ratu Boko
Yogyakarta

Dengan hormat,

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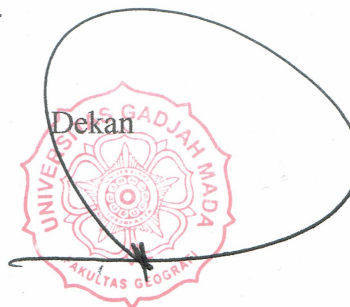
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Appendix 2. Interview document

Interview Document

For my Bachelor thesis, I have interviewed five or more persons at every case study. These interviews provided me information about how local communities preserve and consume cultural heritages. These two subjects form the basis for the interviews. To get a broad view and a clear image about the preservation and consumption I have interviewed persons with a different background (as listed below).

For Kotagede:

- A. Two persons who works for the sultan (sultan servant)
- B. One person who works at the mosque of Kotagede
- C. Two persons who live just outside the walls
 - A parking attendant/ driver
 - An entrepreneur (in Silver)

For the Kraton:

- A. One person who works for the sultan (sultan servant)
- B. Two persons who live inside the walls of the Kraton
- C. Two persons who live outside but near the walls of the Kraton
 - A vendor
 - Local (regular) inhabitant

For the Borobudur:

- A. One person who works at the Borobudur (information centre)
- B. Two persons who sells products at the Borobudur (souvenirs/ food)
- C. Two persons who live in the rural area around the Borobudur
 - Owner of a guesthouse and active in the local community
 - Painter

To make sure that the interviewee would provide valuable information, the person had to be a man/woman between the ages of 40-65. The age was not a strict limitation, but gave the idea that the person need to have 'experience' with the past and that he or she can still remember it 'clearly'. Another demand was that the person had to live in the area for at least 5-10 years. Based on these requirements I went to the field to interview suitable persons.

Most people, I wanted to interview, do not speak English or only speak Jenglish (a mix between English and Javanese). Therefore, I was assisted with three women from Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). The three woman, Yuke Nori Aurumbita, Arini Murwindarti and Intan Pandini are all in the Master phase of their study 'Regional Development'. My supervisor from the UGM, Dr. Dyah Widyastuti advised us to do the interviews in Bahasa Indonesia, because the interviewee could get uncomfortable when the interview would be translated immediately. Before we went into the field to do the interviews, we talked a lot about the topic of my research and what I need to know from the interviewees. Through the interview guideline, I made before the interviews, they knew specifically what questions I wanted to ask. During the interviews, Intan Pandini wrote the answers of the interviewee down in English. Thus, I was able to understand what they were saying during the

interview in broad lines. This made it possible for me asks more in-depth questions when this was needed.

The interview guide was divided into four parts: 1. The introduction, wherein I will talk about the context of the interview. 2. The introduction of the interviewee and what his connections to the particular site are. 3. In this part, the touristic part comes to the front and the interviewee will be asked about the consumption of the site. 4. This part is about what the site means to them and what local communities do to preserve the site.

The interview questions for the three case studies are quite the same, because this would give comparable data. The questions differ a bit, so it would be more appropriate and suitable for each case study. Different respondents, with a different background, were asked differently. Some people do have more background information about the location and have different things to say. For the interview questions, see below:

Standard intro, for all sites the same.

Selamat Pagi/Siang, my name is Dirk van de Ven. I am a student from the Netherlands. I am doing research at the UGM for my Bachelor Thesis. It is about how local communities preserve and consume cultural heritage In Yogyakarta. Do you have 15-30 minutes time wherein I can interview you? It would be very helpful for my research.

Is it oke that I record the interview?

Interview guide, Kotagede

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you currently live?
3. Are you raised in this area?
4. No? How long do you know this place
5. What do you do for living? (what kind of work do you do)
 - a. When did you start working at Kotagede? (A)
 - b. Why did you start working here? (A)
6. How are you involved with the Kotagede
 - a. Do you visit the Mosque and the royal cemetery often? (For B)
 - i. Yes. Why?
 - ii. No. Why not?
 - b. What kind of work do you do at Kotagede? (A)

7. This used to be the capital city of the Mataram Empire. Now it is open for tourism, but most people only go to the Kraton. I have been here several times and I have noticed that there are not many tourists visiting the Mosque and the royal cemetery. What do you think the reason of this is?
8. What do you think about the tourists, who are visiting this site? Is it a good or a bad thing?
9. How do you think the tourists are behaving? Do they respect the rules (wearing suitable clothes, shoes off etc)
10. Do the tourists behave the same as 10/15 years ago?
 - a. Yes? How do you notice this
11. Do many people in and around the Mosque and the royal cemetery depend on the tourism industry?
 - a. (Like vendors/ taxi drivers etc.)

12. Many people go to the Kotagede, because of its historical value. What value do the mosque and the Royal cemetery have to you? It can have a cultural, social, religious, historical, aesthetic value for example.
13. To protect the site, the government provides money to preserve the mosque and the Royal cemetery. Who else is involved in the preservation of the mosque and the Royal cemetery?
14. Do you think the preservation is well organized?
15. Are you involved in the preservation of the mosque and the Royal cemetery?
 - a. Yes: what do you do
 - b. No: why not?
 - i. Would you like to be involved?
16. Do other people in the neighborhood contribute in preserving the site?

Interview guide, Kraton

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you currently live?
3. Are you raised in this area?
4. No? How long do you know this place
5. What do you do for living? (what kind of work do you do)
 - a. When did you start working for the sultan? (A)
 - b. Why did you start working for the sultan? (A)
6. How are you involved with the Kraton
 - a. Do you visit the Sultan Palace and the Taman Sari often? (For B&C)
 - i. Yes. Why?
 - ii. No. Why not?
 - b. What kind of work do you do for the sultan? (A)
7. It used to be private area for the sultan, but now it's open for tourism. I have been here several times and I have noticed that there are many tourists visiting the Sultan Palace and the Taman Sari. What do you think about the tourists? Is it a good or a bad thing?
8. How do you think the tourists are behaving? Do they respect the rules (wearing suitable clothes, shoes off etc)
9. Do the tourists behave the same as 10/15 years ago?
 - a. Yes? How do you notice this
10. Do many people in and around the Kraton depend on the tourism industry?
 - a. (Like vendors/ taxi drivers etc.)
11. Many people go to the Kraton, because of its cultural historical value. What value does the Kraton have to you? It can have a cultural, social, religious, historical, aesthetic value for example.
12. To protect the site, the government provides money to preserve the Kraton. Who is involved in the preservation of the Kraton?
13. Do you think the preservation is well organized?
14. Are you involved in the preservation of the Kraton?
 - a. Yes: what do you do
 - b. No: why not?
 - i. Would you like to be involved?
15. Do other people in the neighborhood contribute in preserving the site?

Interview guide, Borobudur

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you currently live?
3. Are you raised in this area?
4. No? How long do you know this place
5. What do you do for living? (what kind of work do you do)
 - a. When did you start working at the Borobudur? (A)
 - b. Why did you start working here? (A)
6. How are you involved with the Borobudur
 - a. Do you visit the Borobudur often? (For B&C)
 - i. Yes. Why?
 - ii. No. Why not?
 - b. What kind of work do you do here? (A)
7. The tourism industry is growing every year. Most people are coming to Borobudur to see world's biggest Buddhist temple. What do you think about the tourists? Is it a good or a bad thing?
8. How do you think the tourists are behaving? Do they respect the rules (wearing suitable clothes, shoes off etc)
9. Do the tourists behave the same as 10/15 years ago?
 - a. Yes? How do you notice this
10. Do many people around the Borobudur depend on the tourism industry?
 - a. (Like vendors/ taxi drivers etc.)
11. Many people go to the Borobudur, because of its cultural historical value. What value does the Borobudur have to you? It can have a cultural, social, religious, historical, aesthetic value for example.
12. To protect the site, the government and UNESCO provide money to preserve the Borobudur. Who else is involved in the preservation of the Borobudur?
13. Do you think the preservation is well organized?
14. Are you involved in the preservation of the Borobudur?
 - a. Yes: what do you do
 - b. No: why not?
 - i. Would you like to be involved?
15. Do other people in the neighborhood contribute in preserving the site?

Kotagede Interview 1. Mr. Muhammad Fajarno (He spoke the most) ⁽¹⁾, Mas Lurah Hinggobudoyo⁽²⁾ & Hastono Utomo⁽³⁾

Intro

- All three live around Kotagede
- All three of them are sultan servants, who protect the cemetery
- They were born near Kotagede, so they know the place for a long time
- Mr. Muhammad Fajarno was a silver maker before. He is a sultan servant for 3 years (Kraton Yogyakarta). Mas Lurah Hinggobudoyo is already a sultan servant for 20 years (Kraton Surakarta).
- Mr. Muhammad Fajarno started working there, because he wanted to show respect to the first king of the Mataram Kingdom (Penembahan Senopati), who is buried at the Royal Cemetery of Kotagede.

Tourism, consumption

Most tourists go to the Kraton, but the number of tourists going to Kotagede have also increased. The increased numbers have both a negative and a positive side. Some tourists come for the wrong reason to the 'Kompleks Makam Raja-Raja Mataram dan Masjid Besar Mataram Kotagede' (the complete name for the complex, where the mosque and the cemetery are located). The reason of some is to ask the spirit for blessing. Possibly it is not going well in their work situation or in their home situation, therefore they ask the spirit for 'help'. This is not accepted in the Muslim religion, but some are still doing this. They can ask for blessings this mosque, because that is the place where the first king is buried. Others (good reason) are going to the complex to learn more about the area and about the Mataram Kingdom. The reason accords with the main reason of the Government and the Kratons, which want to promote the culture and the history of Kotagede, Yogyakarta and Indonesia. He mentioned Kratons, because there are two Kratons involved: The Kraton of Yogyakarta and the Kraton of Surakarta.

Mataram Islam Kingdom is divided into two kingdoms. Those are Kraton Yogyakarta and Kraton Surakarta. Kraton Yogyakarta is located in Yogyakarta Special Province (DIY). The governor of this province is the king of Kraton Yogyakarta (he is not chosen by the electrical process, but similar to an hereditary monarchy, wherein the crown is passed down from one member from the royal family to another). Meanwhile, Kraton Surakarta is located in Surakarta City, Central Java Province wherein the mayor and the governor aren't a king of Kraton Surakarta. Both Kratons have influence to the cemetery in Kotagede, because that is the place of their ancestors). Every day, there are working eight sultan servants to protect the cemetery. Four of them are from Yogyakarta, the other four are from Surakarta.

The behavior of the tourists is still the same as 10/15 years ago. They are polite and respect the rules and the culture. For example: to enter the cemetery, they have to wear a Kemben. People at the complex and people who live near this area do not depend on tourists visiting the complex. Sometimes it is very crowded at the complex and then locals (and migrants) are selling incense and food from 'warung'. But most people in Kotagede depend on the silver industry. That the complex is not so touristic is because there is not something 'special to see' for the tourists. Tour guides known that and do not tell about the complex and certainly do not bring them there.

Value, preservation

Mr. Muhammad Fajarno sees the complex as a special place to conserve the culture. The Mataram Kingdom was one of the biggest Islamic Kingdom in Java and Kotagede was the capital and the first civilized area of this Kingdom. They work there to protect the cultural historical value of the cemetery and because they have a strong feeling to the cemetery and their ancestors.

The area is well-preserved. People care a lot and clean the area together. In the beginning, the cleaning and praying was only done by the sultan servants. Nowadays, people pray and clean together. He mentions the Tahlilan, what is a ritual/ceremony done in Indonesia to pray for those who have died. People are now more praying together because, it is now open for the people while it was exclusive in the past. Besides, people are now more aware about the culture and religion what results in 'assistance' in cleaning the area. Every 35 days (and on special days, like a ceremony) people from Kotagede comes to the complex to help with cleaning the area. The department of Culture of the Yogyakarta Province offers money for the preservation.

Kotagede Interview 2. Surobudoyo (He spoke the most) ⁽¹⁾ & Hastono Danarto ⁽²⁾

Intro

- They grew up in this area
- Mr. Surobudoyo is since 2005 a sultan servant
- They both work at a kiosk inside the complex, which opened in 2010. The kiosk is owned by sultan servants. They sell different kind of articles related to the Mataram Kingdom in the kiosk, like posters from the sultans and hats (blangkon - typical Javanese hats). All these products are made by the sultan servants themselves.
- Surobudoyo started working as a sultan servant, because he lives in the neighborhood and wanted to contribute. He is very proud of the people who take care of the cemetery

Tourism, consumption

He thinks it is logical that more people are visiting the Kraton than this complex. It is because the purpose of visiting the areas is different. Not many tourists know about Kotagede and they do not know about the Kraton. There is also much more to see at the Kraton and there are ceremonies every day. Visiting this complex is done for special interests, if they want to know more about the history of the Mataram Kingdom for example. To increase the number of tourists, he suggests creating a package with the Mosque, the Royal Cemetery, the Kraton, Taman Sari and the Prambanan. These sights are linked to each other and this will result in an increase of tourists. Because there are not so many visitors at the complex, not many people depend on the tourists. Some local people have a warung or work at the cemetery/ mosque, but most people depend on the silver industry.

Also at the kiosk, they do normally do not sell products to tourists. People who buy goods there, are people who need those products. For example students, every month they have a 'special' Thursday when students have to wear heads (regulation). The profit the sultan servants make with selling their products is not high. Every year, there is a meeting for members of the kiosk, wherein they divide the profit for the group.

Value, preservation

They do not mention a certain value, but they say that it did influence their life. They respect the Mataram Kingdom and especially the first king, 'Panembahan Senopati'. That is also the reason why they started working there. Most sultan servants also have a side job, Surobudoyo has a side job as a silver maker. It depends on who is free, who works at the kiosk.

Kotagede Interview 3. Mr. Abdul

Intro

- Born just outside the wall
- He is a parking attendant and sometimes a driver
- He is going to the cemetery every day

Tourism, consumption

The numbers of tourists have increased. International tourists started to visit the complex since 1960. He divides the goals of visiting the cemetery and the mosque into two groups. The first is for religious goals to get the blessing. The second reason is educative goals to learn about the history, this group is basically formed by international tourists. The increase of tourism is a good thing, because that gives the opportunity to educate people about the history of the Mataram Kingdom. Unfortunately, the people who go there are mostly international. The behavior is respectful.

Currently, not many people depend on the tourists going to the complex, because there are not many warungs or anything similar. Mr. Abdul thinks that there are opportunities for local inhabitants to make use of the tourists. They probably do not do this because they will make more money as a craftsman.

Tourism, consumption

The mosque and the cemetery are valuable to him, because the complex shows good connections to the past. The preservation is well-organized by the Province of Yogyakarta. But not only have the government provided money for the preservation of the complex, also the Kraton of Yogyakarta and the Kraton of Surakarta provides money. Mr. Abdul is like most people of the neighborhood involved in the preservation. Local communities help with cleaning the area and help with the social safety in the neighborhood. Once a month on Tuesday (Selasa Wage) or before a ceremony people from Kotagede come to the complex to help with cleaning the area.

Kotagede Interview 4. Mr. Agung Srisamekto

Intro

- He lives around the cemetery
- He was a sultan servant at the Kraton of Surakarta (he stopped for an unknown reason)
- He is now an entrepreneur/ craftsmen in silver

Tourism, consumption

It is good if many people visit the complex, because they will learn about the history and will understand the meaning better. He believes that the tourism industry is not developed enough, because the number of tourists is still too low. This is probably thanks to the low number of tour guides in this area and because there is not much to see. Not many people depend on the tourism industry, because most people in Kotagede are craftsmen in the silver and some are a sultan servant.

The behavior of the tourists is still the same as before. Mr Agung Srisamekto only mentions the problem that there are homeless people coming to the mosque to stay (sleep) there for free.

Value, preservation

The complex has a cultural historical value to him. The Mataram Kingdom was the start of the civilized period in Yogyakarta and surroundings. He is very proud on the fact that he lives at the place where it all started. His contribution to the preservation is that he helps with cleaning the area and he takes part in the ceremony.

Note: I have only seen one person (I have been there eight times, and always saw the same woman)

Kotagede Interview 5. Mr. Warisman

Intro

- He lives near the mosque (four houses from)
- He knows the place since young and was in the beginning just a man who prayed at the mosque
- Nowadays, he takes care of the mosque. He is the Takmir Masjid for five years

Tourism, consumption

He sees differences between visitors coming to the complex:

1. Mosque - to pray
2. Mosque - to learn
3. Cemetery
4. Mosque and cemetery

Group 1 who go to the mosque to pray is the biggest group, while there is little interest in coming to the mosque to learn.

In the past, the mosque building was a house of first sultan's father. When his father died, he buried him next to the house based on the desire of his father. To honor his dad and to pray, he built the mosque. After the first sultan died, he buried next to his father). Decades later, that place became the Royal Cemetery. For Mr. Warisman the Kraton means the symbol of leadership and the mosque stands for the development of the Islam.

On special days, the complex is full of people what is 'nice' to see. The tourism industry is a good thing, as long as people do not do it for the wrong reasons (blessing). But he likes the fact that people go there to learn about the mosque and about the history of the Mataram Kingdom.

Value, preservation

The complex was first managed by sultan servants. Since 1990, people who live around the complex contribute with preserving the area. Both the Kratons and the Department of Culture provide money for the preservation. Mr. Warisman was asked to be a sultan servant (what is a real honor) and is now taking care of the mosque

Kraton Interview 1. Mr Sudibyo

Intro

- He lives inside the wall of the Kraton, but does not live inside the Kraton
- He is related to Sultan II, but he does not have a title. This is because relatives do not get a title anymore after five generations.
- He was a tour guide between 1970 - 1990, but he has never been a sultan servant.

Tourism, consumption

As he says, Mr Sudibyo, goes every day to the Kraton and sees himself as a 'culture protector'. He is really concerned about the culture, but still thinks that opening the area for tourists is a good thing. The area is open for tourists since 1971. In 1970 he already was a tour guide inside the Kraton. The Kraton was namely open for special occasions and for special guests like Queen Juliana and Princess Beatrix from the Netherlands. That the amount of tourists is high nowadays is a good thing as he said. Because when people go to the Kraton often, the activity of the Kraton will increase as well; there will be more ceremonies for example. The Kraton also got the opportunity to offer people knowledge about the culture and the history of the site and about Yogyakarta in general. That the people will visit the Kraton also means that they are interested in the history of Yogyakarta and in the Mataram Kingdom and that is also positive.

The visitors/ tourists do respect the rules of the Kraton. In general they do not wear caps and do wear appropriate clothes. Even though the tourism number has grown, the behavior stayed the same as 15 years ago. However, Mr. Sudibyo sees a difference between local and foreign tourists. The foreign tourists show more respect and behave more appropriate than local tourists. He even calls the locals them 'assholes', because they throw the trash on the ground instead of in a trash can.

The tourism is also a good for local communities who are able to open warungs and being a tour guide. So the local people do make use of the Kraton as a touristic place. The becak is an often seen phenomenon in Indonesia. Becak is a kind of bicycle used to transport people, but he said this often done by migrants. The becak drivers are coming from regions outside of Yogyakarta and coming to Kraton for their own profit. These people gives a bad image to the Kraton, he also calls them 'assholes'. He also mentioned a local conflict between the local communities and the becak, because the becak drivers are there to earn money and bring the tourists to shops for their own benefit. Local communities may feel the competition with the becak drivers, what could lead to that the local inhabitants also bring the tourists to batik shops (this may be a bad image of the Kraton).

Value, preservation

Mr. Sudibyo feels happiness and the peace of the Kraton. Kraton is related to their ancestors and therefore he has the feeling that he has to preserve the site. For him the Kraton has a social, religious and historical value.

Yogyakarta is one of special province in Indonesia. Since there is an establishment of privilege law and regulation years ago, Yogyakarta has an extra fund from the central government. One of the allocations of the funds is to preserve the historical sites in Yogyakarta, including Kraton. The budgeting of the preservation is not only for the building and the ceremony, but also include an extra salaries for the sultan servants.

The money is used for the preservation of the area including the payment of the sultan servants. All the sultan servants get a rank and they start at the bottom. Every five years they grow in rank (for

the ranking see beneath on the next page). Sultan servants are doing this 'job' because it is a 'dedication'. They often have also a side job, because they do not earn much. The lowest rank earns 10.500 Indonesian Rupiah per month (70 eurocent), the highest rank earns 25.000 Indonesian Rupiah (1,70 Euro). This is based on a work activity of 24 hours, every 10 days. Because he also believes it is a dedication, even though he is not a sultan servant himself, he thinks it is a bad thing when the Kraton will get extra funds. This would namely mean that the salaries of the sultan servant will increase and the people who work for the sultan will do this for the wrong reason. They would do it for the money instead of loyalty/ dedication. The sultanate does not depend on the central government. Exactly the opposite is true: after the colonization, the Mataram Sultan provided money to establish the Central Government. The payment is there, so they still feel attachment with the sultan. Also the UGM is on the sultan ground. The main economic resources of Kraton Yogyakarta cannot separated from the agrarian system. The biggest income is from the tax and the rent of sultan ground and the shops, hotels, the buildings, or other activities (forest and plantation) on the ground.

The preservation of the Kraton is according to Mr. Sudibyo good and well-organized. Being a tour guide is according to him his contribution of the preservation. By doing this, he is protecting the culture. In the neighborhood there are no special programs for the preservation, but the local communities and the people of the warungs/ tour guides have the responsibility to keep the surroundings clean.

Abdi Dalem Kraton (Ranking of the sultan servants)

There are two kinds of servants: Punakawan and Keprajan. The Keprajan do not get salary and they are retired from their previous jobs. The Punakawan are the sultan servants who do get paid and work every 10 days at the Kraton for 24 hours.

The Ranking of the Punakawan:

1. Magang (5 years)
2. Jajar (5 years)
3. Bekel enom (5 years)
4. Bekel tua (5 years)
5. Lurah (5 years)
6. Penewu (5 years)
7. Wedono (5 years)
8. Riyo (5 years)
9. Bupati anom (5 years)
10. Kanjeng (5 years)
11. Tumenggung (5 years)

Kraton Interview 2. Mas Penewu Widharmi Pawoko⁽¹⁾ & Mas Penewu Windhu Sastrotriatno⁽²⁾ (spoke the most)

Intro

- They both live outside the Kraton, circa 25 km away in Parangtritis
- They are both sultan servants for more than 25 years (title: Mas Penewu)
- They both have a side job: 1: Driver, 2 Entrepreneur
- They started to be a sultan servant after the earthquake (didn't mentioned which one (1994?))
(If it is 1994, he wouldn't be Mas Penewu)
- Being a sultan servant is about preserving the Javanese culture and he thinks it is his duty as a Javanese person

Tourism, consumption

The tourism is a good thing, because this means that people are interested in the Javanese culture and concern about it. In his time as a sultan servant, he has not seen differences in the behavior of the tourism between then and now and everyone acts the same (local and foreign).

Value, preservation

Mas Penewu Windhu Sastrotriatno sees the Kraton as a big tree which gives him a safe, peaceful and serenity feeling. It is a place where people can learn, a place where people can accept their lives, their destiny and to learn about loyalty. The value of the Kraton is 'Adem, Ayem and Tentrem' (comfortable, feeling safe and peaceful). He also believes in certain spiritual things, like blessing in front of the door of the Kraton for the Kraton spirit.

He does not know much about the preservation of area and what the role of the government and local communities is. He mainly focuses on his own job as preserving the culture of the Kraton.

Note: his view is restricted, because he is a sultan servant. Probably, he does not judge about the tourism. He wants to protect the culture and the area and he want to show a good image of the Kraton. He can have an obligation to answer polity.

Note: UGM is on sultan ground. The roots of the UGM are at the Kraton and most people have a lot of respect for the UGM-students therefore.

Kraton Interview 3. Mr. Aryo

Intro

- He lives inside the wall of the Kraton
- He is born and raised inside the walls of the Kraton
- His grandfather was Sultan VIII (this is the reason why he has 'Raden Mas' as his title)
- He is a freelance tour guide, driver (rental) and a traditional medic
- He used to visit the Kraton everyday from 9 AM to 5 PM and in the vacations from 9 AM to 9 PM, because he likes to socialize with tourists and other visitors
- He believes that he is involved with the preservation of the Kraton by providing information. He is a culture conserver as he calls it

Tourism, consumption

Tourism is good for the economy of the local communities. People are able to open warungs and being a tour guide. Many local communities do depend on the tourism industry. That is the reason why is scared for conflicts and other dangers. The earthquake of 2006 and eruption of the Merapi in 2010 shows that these kind of dangers affects the number of tourists coming to Indonesia/Java/Yogyakarta. This does also have effect on the local communities who have less to spend. Natural disasters and political conflicts like in Surakarta are a disaster for a touristic city like Yogyakarta. The Mataram Islam Kingdom is split into two kingdoms, Kraton Yogyakarta and Kraton Surakarta. Both have their own sultan. In Surakarta, there's a political conflict between two princes (from a different Queen) who compete for the throne of the King. They declared their self as a King of Kraton Surakarta and with the consequence that Surakarta has two Kings. This resulted in society conflicts nowadays. Some people worry that political conflicts will happen in Kraton Yogyakarta as well. It is because the current sultan does not has a son, only five daughters. He elected his eldest daughter to be the next sultan. That is very unusual, because the sultan have always been a man. Some people and the Kraton's family, especially the sultan's brothers, do not agree with the sultan decisions. Mr. Aryo worries therefore for a political conflict in Kraton Yogyakarta).

The increased number of tourists is positive, but local inhabitants do not get that much benefits from it as before. He sees a negative impact of the digitalization area: the transportation is getting better, therefore people do not have to stay in the neighborhood of the Kraton. Instead of sleeping at a home stay nearby the Kraton, they now stay in a hotel in the centre owned by an investor. Another example is the tour operators who cannot profit that much anymore. People already know a lot of information and they will search for the right places on the Internet.

The behavior of the tourist really depends on the country. Asian and Oceania countries like Japan, China and Australia are considered to act inappropriate, while most European countries and Singapore are acting appropriate. The tourism is good for the economy of the area, because local inhabitants are able to open warungs and being a tour guide. He mentioned also that the becak are coming from outside the region and are here just for the money. Some are coming here every day in the morning, others even live in it. However, there are also some becak who are from this region.

Value, preservation

Like other interviewees, Mr. Aryo mentions the three 'holy' words: Adem (Comfortable), Ayem (Safe feeling) and Tentrem (Peaceful). The preservation is well-organized. That is thanks to the behavior of

the tourists who mostly respects the culture. Also the people in the neighborhood are involved in the preservation, they make sure that the place is clean by sweeping the ground for example.

Note: He does not know a lot about the government. Like the sultan servants, he focuses on the inside of the Kraton. He probably does not care about the preservation of the area

Kraton Interview 4. Mr. Slamet

Intro

- He lives outside the wall, but very near the walls
- He is a driver (pickup driver)

He never enters the Kraton, because he does not care about it. He has a few 'excuses' why he never visited the Kraton like that he has to work hard. Even though he does not really care about the Kraton, he respects the Kraton and the sultan. It just does not affect his life.

Note: It looks like that the wall of the Kraton is beside a physical border, also a mental border. Before Mr. Slamet, we have also asked three other persons outside the Kraton for an interview. As Slamet, these persons did not care about the Kraton and/or never go to the Kraton. Also the community leader had no time for an interview (coincidence?).

Inside the Kraton, the people are related to the sultan or work for the sultan, so they depend or care about it. Outside the Kraton, when you do not depend on the tourism industry, people care less about the sultan and the Kraton. Also the life inside the wall is more 'peaceful', people are more relaxed and have more time. Outside the wall, the people live the 'normal live'.

Kraton Interview 5. Mr. Dasuki ⁽¹⁾ (He spoke the most) & Mr. Dawam⁽²⁾

Intro

- They both live outside the wall
- They are both 'regular' people who live near the wall of the Kraton
- They both migrated to Yogyakarta.
 - 1. He came in the '70's to Yogyakarta from a village near Yogyakarta
 - 2. He migrated in 2003 from Jakarta to Yogyakarta
- They are both retired and they were not completely clear about their past career.
- Both Mr. Dasuki and Mr. Dawam visit the Kraton twice a year to see the ceremony for their blessing. But they didn't come inside the Kraton, only in front of the Kraton, where the ceremony is held.
- Mr. Dasuki wanted to work for the sultan, but he was refused. His 'profile' did not match to the requirements.

Tourism, consumption

That the Kraton is open for tourism is a good thing. Especially for the economy of Yogyakarta is the Kraton very valuable. As he says: It is a blessing for the people of Yogyakarta. That the tourism activity near the Kraton resulted in traffic congestions does not matter to him. Because of the positive contribution to Yogyakarta, he takes the traffic congestion for granted.

The tourism industry increased the last years, but this did not result in a change in the behavior of the tourists. He is not involved in the tourism industry, but he also does not see any difference between different tourists.

Value, preservation

Like other interviewees, they both mention the three 'holy' words: Adem (Comfortable), Ayem (Safe feeling) and Tentrem (Peaceful). Mr. Dasuki says that the Kraton is a magnetic place and a barometer for Yogyakarta, which spread blessings to the people. This is also the reason that he wanted to work for the Kraton. Besides, he mentions that he is Javanese and therefore feels a connection to the Kraton. But this really depends on the individual.

The preservation of the Kraton is well-organized and is done by both the government and the people who live near the Kraton. Mr. Dasuki told us about the money the government gives to the Kraton to pay the sultan servants. He argues that it is a bad thing if the subsidy will increase. That will mean that people will work for the sultan for the wrong reasons. Sultan servants do their job now because of loyalty, if the loans will increase they will do it for the money.

Borobudur Interview 1. Mr. Umar

Intro

- Born two hours from the Borobudur
- He did not go to school, because of a lack of money
- As a child he learned about culture, the Borobudur was part of this
- Nowadays he lives very near the Borobudur (in Magelang). He started to live here 20 years ago, after his marriage
- He is a painter and works for the Borobudur artist community. The Borobudur is a great inspiration for him and it is the center of culture and art. He is therefore proud to live in this area.
- He is also a dancer at the Borobudur. Sometimes, for special occasions, there are performances. The dance is remarkable not Buddhist, but Hindu. However, there is not a big difference between Hinduism and Buddhism. Every village has their own performers (KSBI is his community) and their own specific dance. There are more than 50 groups of performers. Most of them are doing it for themselves, because they like it. Others are doing it to educate the culture to others.
- He visits the Borobudur often, because he thinks it is a mysterious place. For example: the stones used for the Borobudur are from the Merapi Vulcano, which is almost impossible. The weight and the possibilities at that time make it (almost) impossible to get the stones to the Borobudur. Besides, it is the biggest Buddhism temple in the world, what is very special. It is like a piece of paradise (like a library).

Tourism, consumption

Even though the tourism industry has grown significantly, it has not grown enough. The Borobudur is the centre of tourism in Java and the population in the villages around the Borobudur is now increasing enormously. Because the population is growing really fast, the criminality also increases. This is due to the fact that the possibilities to work in the area have not increased as fast as the population.

The number of tourists, going to the Borobudur (eight million foreign tourists), may have grown, the number of tourists staying in Magelang (village near the Borobudur) have not increased. In Magelang, the accommodation and the infrastructure is not ready yet. The income from the Borobudur is basically spend in the city of Yogyakarta and not in the area around the Borobudur. The Borobudur is a government area and the entrance fees tourists pay is send to Jakarta and is then invested in Yogyakarta. He thinks that this bureaucracy is not good for the surroundings of the Borobudur. He is also scared that the government and large (foreign) investors will build large hotels instead of small scale home stays (what would fit much better in this area).

He believes that the increase of tourists will not lead to a loss of value (silent and peaceful place). The tourists are mainly behaving properly. But because the guards can be 'bribed' some tourists can do things what is disrespectful unpunished. He says that the work should been done by monks, because they know the norms and values much better. The guards who work there now, just act like militaries who do not know what is allowed and what is not. The problem is that it is a 'dead monument', what means that it is currently not in use any more. There are also several subcultures within Buddhism what makes it hard to give one subculture the power to preserve the Borobudur, because that would lead to protests.

Not many people in Magelang depend on the tourism industry. Most of them are working as farmers. There are some villages with big hotels etc. which are built in the last 10 years and are owned by large investors.

Value, preservation

The main value of the Borobudur is for Mr. Umar the economic side. People who visit the Borobudur are interested in culture and in art. He says that this is a good way to remember the site, and most people want to bring something home from their travel. And in his work you will see the 'spirit of the Borobudur'.

The preservation is done by different departments and by UNESCO (archeology). The local inhabitants cannot contribute in the preservation of the area, because it is 'exclusive'. In the beginning, the area of the Borobudur was only four hectares. Nowadays, the area covers 86 hectares. The government increased the area, because they believe there could be more temples. The people who lived in the area were kicked out by this government to 'secure' the area.

Natural disasters have destroyed many Buddha statues in the past. The Netherlands have restored many of these Buddha's (Indonesia was still one of the Dutch colonies at that time), but not properly and they stole many treasures. Mr. Umar also believes that these Buddha statues do not have to be restored, because only God is perfect.

There are now plans to build a highway to the Borobudur from Yogyakarta, to make it easier for tourists to go there. Mr. Umar is positive about this, because he believes that Magelang can also profit from this investment. He thinks that the government is finally doing something good for the development in the tourism industry. Indonesia is still left behind when you compare it with neighboring countries. The government is now developing the country for more tourism activity and the Borobudur is one of the pilots to achieve this.

Borobudur Interview 2. Mr. Wito

Intro

- He lives just outside the Borobudur (in Magelang)
- He is born and raised in this area
- He is a consultant at a NGO. He is also active in the community of the neighborhood and he runs a guest house
- He knows a lot about the plans in and around the Borobudur, because he joined several projects of the Ministry of Tourism of Yogyakarta. One of the projects was: 'Destination Management Organization Borobudur'.
- He does not visit the Borobudur often, but by joining projects related to the Borobudur he remains informed of all the developments. The only time he visits the Borobudur are for projects, tours or with friends who want to see the Borobudur.

Tourism, consumption

The growing tourism is good for the economy, but can also have negative impacts. It may result in a decrease of the culture and social relation between the Borobudur and the community, because everything will be focused on the economy. The best thing for the community would be that the development will be done by local inhabitants (guest houses) and not by big investors. The tourists behave well and the behavior is still the same as 10/15 years ago. The purpose of visit can be categorized into four groups:

1. Domestic tourists: Sightseeing
2. Foreign tourists: To learn
3. Academic: For research
4. Religious tourist: To pray (people are mostly from India or Cambodia; Buddhist countries)

People do depend on the tourism industry, but relatively speaking, this is still quite a few. In Magelang live more than 55.000 people and there are approximately 5.000 people who take benefit from the tourists as sellers. However, in low season there are only 2.000 tourists a day what is out of proportion. Most people in Magelang are still farmers.

Value, preservation

The main value of the Borobudur to Mr. Wito is the economic value. The Borobudur gives welfare to the local communities. He is dissatisfied about the preservation/ development of the surroundings of the Borobudur. The Borobudur itself is preserved by UNESCO and the government and is done well. He takes it to a further level and looks also to the surrounding of the Borobudur. He says that the local government makes some programs to improve the area, but they do not care about the outcome. Thus, the outcome is mostly not as it should be. The development is particularly done by local people.

Borobudur Interview 3. Mr. Riyadi⁽¹⁾ & Miss Dina⁽²⁾

Intro

- They both live near the Borobudur
- 1. is born in Magelang
- 2. is born near the Borobudur (in Muntilan)
- 1. He is an employee at the Borobudur (Tourist Information Centre) for 25 years
- 2. She works as an intern at the Borobudur for three months
- Mr. Riyadi exactly did not want to work there, but he had no options, because he had no education
- Miss Dina is a student on the school for tourism and has chosen the Borobudur for an internship, because this was very near her house

Tourism, consumption

The growing tourism is good. The infrastructure is ready to accommodate even more tourists in the future. The behavior of the visitors is appropriate and is still the same as 10/15 years ago. When people are wearing inappropriate clothes like pants which do not cover the knee, they have to wear batik before they are allowed to enter the temples. It is allowed to wear hats. They also do not see any difference between local tourists and foreign tourists. There are some people who sell souvenirs from the neighborhood to tourists.

Value, preservation

Beside an economic value, they mention that the Borobudur has a historical value. The Borobudur is the legacy from our ancestors, heirs and lords. To preserve the area, the government, the ministry of tourism and UNESCO provide money. This is based on heritage conservation and it done very well. They are also increasing the facilities to enjoy an optimal tourist experience. There are two managements in Borobudur. Those are PT Taman which manage and preserve all of the Borobudur gardens, museum, and the attractions. Meanwhile, the conservation center preserves the temple itself.

The cleaning is now done by a cleaning service, paid by the several stakeholders. Some of the the cleaning services coming from the neighborhood. Mr. Riyadi would love to see more involvement from the neighborhood. It is now impossible for local inhabitants to participate in the preservation because they are not allowed to. However, there are some people from the neighborhood who performing at the Borobudur.

Borobudur Interview 4. Mr. Wasis (Souvenir seller)

Intro

- He lives near the Borobudur
- He works at the border of the Borobudur, where he sells souvenirs to tourists
- Currently he has a stand where he sells his products.

Tourism, consumption

The number of tourists has grown what is good for the economy. People like him depend on the tourism industry and he says that the number of people who depend on the tourism industry has increased enormously last years.

Value, preservation

It has no specific value to him. The area is well-preserved. A few years ago, many stands were burned by a fire. The community of the Borobudur paid for the renovation. This shows a kind of a social value to him. He pays a (really) small amount of money to rent the stand. This rent includes the cleaning service and the preservation of the Borobudur. Even if he wanted to contribute in the preservation, he is not allowed.

Borobudur Interview 5. Unknown (Owner of a warung)

Intro

- She lives near the Borobudur
- She works at the border of the Borobudur in a warung (the owner)
- Before, it was her father's warung, she inherited it
- She also works at the museum of the Borobudur

Tourism, consumption

She thinks it is good for the economy that there will be more tourists. In that way she can sell more products to tourists. The number of tourists has grown, but the behavior stayed the same. With the increase of tourists, the number of sellers also increased. There are people who are disrespectful to the Borobudur, but most people respect the norms and values.

Value, preservation

It has a historical meaning to her, but she never visits the Borobudur. Just like the souvenir seller, she is not allowed to contribute in the preservation of the Borobudur. She would be interested in preserving the area.

Appendix 3. Observation table

| | Borobudur | Kraton | Kotagede |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| General comparison | | | |
| Build in | 750 - 850 | 1758-1765 | 1582 |
| Religion | Buddhism | Muslim | Muslim |
| Owned by | Central government | Kraton of Yogyakarta | Kraton of Yogyakarta & Kraton of Surakarta |
| Amount of hectares | Property: 26 Buffer zone: 64 (UNESCO) | 450 (<i>the complete Kraton complex</i>) | Less than 1 |
| Opening hours | 06:00 - 17:00 For sunrise open from 04:30 | Fri 08:00 - 12:00; Sat-Thu 08:00 - 13:30 (Kraton) | Always Mon, Thu and Sun 10:00 - 12:00; Fri 13:00 - 15:00 (<i>Royal Cemetery</i>) |
| Ticket admission | 400.000 Rp = € 26,50 (<i>sunrise & foreigner</i>) 260.000 Rp = € 17,20 (<i>regular & foreigner</i>) 30.000 Rp = € 2,00 (<i>regular & domestic</i>) | 15.000 Rp = € 1,00 (<i>Kraton museum</i>) 12.500 Rp = € 0,80 (<i>Kraton</i>) 7.000 Rp = € 0,50 (<i>Taman Sari</i>) 1.000 = € 0,07 (<i>camera fee</i>) | Free (<i>Complex</i>) 25.000 Rp = € 1,60 (<i>enter to the Royal Cemetery, inclusive the clothes lend</i>) |
| Location | Circa 40 km from Yogyakarta | Centre of Yogyakarta | Eastside city of Yogyakarta |
| Observation: Consumption - tourism | | | |
| Amount of foreign tourists | Medium | Low | Low |
| Amount of local tourists | High | Medium-high | Low |
| Amount of non-tourists | Low | Medium | Medium |
| Amount of warungs | Medium | High | Very low |
| Amount of becak/ taxi | High | High | Low |
| Amount of sellers | Very high | Low | None |
| What do they sell | Everything. From souvenirs to food to T-shirts to accessories | Sunglasses, T-shirts | - |
| Possibility for a tour | High (organized) | Medium-high (non-organized and organized) | Low (non-organized) |
| Observation: Preservation - value | | | |
| How do people use the site | Tourism | Tourism, living | To pray and to learn |
| Presence of culture | High | High | Medium |

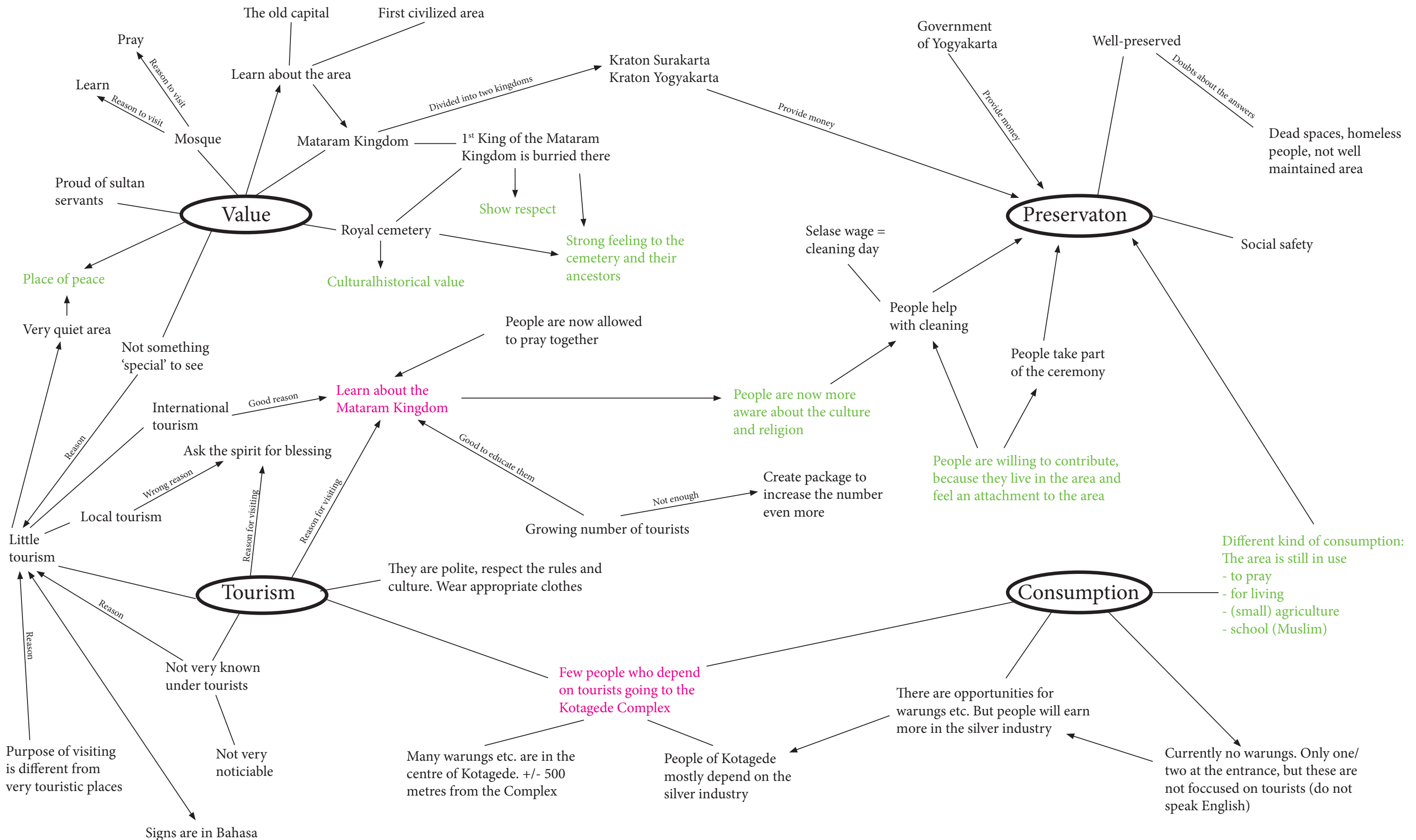
| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Appreciation of the norms and values | Low-medium | Medium-high | High |
| How is it maintained | High | Medium | High |
| How many employees are there | Medium-high | Low-medium (exclusive Sultan servant) | None (exclusive Sultan servant) |

Appendix 4. Analysis of the observation and the interviews

Kotagede; Analysis of the observation and interviews

Why tourism is good

Value that local communities attach to the Complex at Kotagede and the reason which results in the preservation of the site.



Borobudur; Analysis of the observation and interviews

Why tourism is good

Value that local communities attach to the Complex at Kotagede and the reason which results in the preservation of the site.

