CHAPTER 7  ANGKOR SCALED

In constructing the scales that frame our political, social and cultural lives, we do not neutrally siphon-off a particular part of the world and label it local, national or global (Cox 1998). Instead, processes of scaling are concerned with the perceived relationships between physical and psychological areas of different sizes and importance (McMaster and Sheppard 2004; Manson and O'Sullivan 2006). This thesis sought to examine the relationship between areas and objects valued for their cultural heritage and the spaces and populations surrounding them. It has investigated the social construction of scale in cultural heritage interpretation by different stakeholders, demonstrating how the influences of heritage management practices have extended out from heritage spaces to affect the surrounding material landscape and people in different ways.

This research has revealed that the process of scaling cultural heritage involves at least three ‘levels’, or bounded spaces. The first two, scales of value and interpretation, are constructed to identify and delineate the heritage object or area and the context within which its meanings and experiences are understood by different populations. In constructing and defining these spaces of value and associative value, a third counterpoint scale is produced to encapsulate and control ‘non-heritage’ space: the scale of modernity. For each of these constructed scales, different stakeholders produce different spatial understandings and hierarchies, fitting varying political, economic and social agendas. Scales are produced through the selective inclusion and exclusion of material and functional aspects of space and place. To conclude the thesis, this chapter will highlight the main findings before providing a comment on the relevance of the research for cultural heritage management more broadly.

7.1 Inclusion and Exclusion at Angkor

This thesis utilised a mixed-method approach to explore polyvocal understandings of Angkor. Interviews, textual and spatial analysis were used to explore the relationships between the cultural heritage area and the surrounding space and population. It has been argued throughout this thesis that the interpretation, construction and utilisation of
heritage dichotomies, such as ‘traditional’ and ‘contemporary’, ‘protected’ and
‘destructive’, and ‘rural’ and ‘urban’, by stakeholders at Angkor has produced a hierarchy of
scales to protect, manage and control the heritage region. From the analysis and discussion
contained within, it is clear that the construction of scales for delineating spaces of value
and interpretation have been driven by perceptions of the form of the material landscape,
rather than a peopled landscape. This has resulted in exclusionary, rather than inclusionary,
outcomes. Understandings of ‘Angkor’ have been concerned with keeping out buildings and
activities perceived as inappropriate by management. In contrast an inclusionary scaling of
heritage would be open to varying, and evolving, functional interpretations of the site and
seek to integrate them.

7.1.1 Understanding ‘Angkor’

In delineating areas of value, perceptions of what is ‘valuable’ are influenced by the
economic, social and scientific agendas of individuals and groups. In Chapter 4, the scale of
value was investigated, and spatially represented, for each stakeholder group (see Figure 4-24),
demonstrating vast differences in the spaces considered ‘valuable’. For APSARA staff,
the area of value was scaled firstly from a scientific perspective as an integrated living
landscape, and secondly as the economic space of the Angkor Archaeological Park.
Contributors to the ICC also possessed a scientific and historical perspective when scaling
Angkor as a landscape of value. Within the ICC documents, valuable space was
predominantly delineated as the World Heritage and tourist space of the Angkor
Archaeological Park. However, in line with a growing international trend (Rössler 2000;
Garden 2006; Taylor and Altenburg 2006), more focus was given in recent times to an
expanded Angkor cultural landscape. In contrast, the local community interviewees
emphasised the social value of ‘Angkor’, defining the valued space as the single monument
of Angkor Wat, while also giving consideration to the economic role the Angkor Park plays
in their lives through tourism-related employment.

The most powerful construction of ‘Angkor’ was through its economic value, which was
linked to the local, national and global importance of the site. In this construction, the
boundaries of the valued space were delineated by the perceived interests of tourists.
Discussions recorded within the ICC documentation focused on the reconstruction and
maintenance of the larger monuments which were thought of interest to tourists. Smaller structures and features often remained hidden amongst the contemporary vernacular landscape; their existence marked by only a dot or line on a map, unknown except to a handful of archaeologists, heritage professionals and local villagers.

From the analysis of interviews with the local community and APSARA staff, it was apparent that spatial perceptions of value were influenced by the movements of stakeholders across the landscape. APSARA staff, who utilised the landscape most extensively, defined their valued space broadly. Local interviewees, whose interests, activities and identity were focused around Angkor Wat, could list other sites, but did not describe a connection to them, instead seeing other monuments as tourist areas of secondary importance to Angkor Wat. These different experiences created differing scales of interpretation.

As the construction of scale is not a stagnant process, but one that is continually evolving, plans (Durand 2002; JICA 2004; Rabe 2008) to control the flow of tourists and other visitors throughout the Angkor Park could be viewed as controlling future understandings of value. New routes could be based on either traditional European interpretations of Angkor (the existing Angkor tour roads are based on historical routes defined by the French in the early 1900s), temporal contexts (encouraging visitors to arrange monument visits according to a certain chronological construction order), or geographical context (dispersing visitors to create an image of a tranquil, unpopulated Angkor). Just as Lynch (1960; 1972; 1991) highlights the influence that moving through a landscape has on our mental image and understanding of a landscape, each alteration would change the way visitors and users of the park perceive and understand the spatial relationships within valued space.

7.1.2 Interpreting Angkor

The interpretation of heritage is the process by which meanings and values are given and experienced by all stakeholders, individually and collectively (Fowler 1989; Hewison 1989; Laenen 1989; Fowler 1992; Crang 1996; Nuryanti 1997). It has been argued throughout this thesis that cultural heritage management has placed increasing emphasis on spaces of interpretation. In doing so, the influences of cultural heritage management have expanded
out from the core areas of value into surrounding areas that are perceived to possess associative heritage values. Chapter 5 of this thesis demonstrated how the interpretation of Angkor was linked by stakeholders to particular geographical and temporal contexts. Scales of interpretation were constructed by local people, APSARA staff and ICC contributors, with boundaries defined by the inclusion or exclusion of particular land uses.

At Angkor, formal processes of delineating spaces of interpretation began with the Angkor Zoning and Environmental Management Plan (ZEMP) creating a buffer zone (Zone 2) to protect the core historic area (Zone 1) (Wager and Englehardt 1994; Wager 1995; Durand 2002). While the original description of ZEMP Zone 2 did not describe a specific aesthetic ‘setting’ for the monuments, it has inadvertently come to be considered as the geographical context for Angkor by APSARA and other Cambodian and international heritage professionals.

The process of framing the geographical and temporal context of the monuments allows stakeholders to create and enhance the meanings and values of Angkor for themselves and others. Analysis revealed that interpretation, and thus perception of the geographical and temporal context of Angkor, occurs from two spatial positions. The first is the perspective presented to a visitor or user when standing on the ground looking at a monument, or whilst travelling through the landscape. This ‘grounded’ perspective contextualises Angkor with elements physically close to both the monument and the viewer. The second understanding of setting is more removed, whereby the interpreter makes wider connections between the heritage site and its surrounding area by having a ‘elevated’ mental image of the landscape. At Angkor, this latter image was subscribed by many of the interviewed APSARA staff and other heritage professionals and may be the result of interaction with maps and remotely-sensed data for management purposes. Whilst the wider landscape was perceived by the local community interviewees to be an important part of the tourist experience, and thus connected to the economic and scientific values of the heritage site, the social values of the local community, which focused on Angkor Wat, were connected to a ‘grounded’ interpretation. For the local community it was not just the temple which was important, but the forests, water and people in its vicinity creating a relaxing, communal atmosphere and experience. The local community did not appear to
expand their interpretation across the wider landscape, as space only gained associative value through its connection with the immediate experience of being at the temple.

Within all interpretations of Angkor, nature – in particular forests – was a key element. Other material characteristics that were important to varying degrees included villages, agriculture (rice), lack of urban spaces and, more controversially, either the presence or absence of people. The perceptions of these aesthetic and geographical attributes were driven by understandings of what was the appropriate temporal context for Angkor - ‘traditional’ or ‘contemporary’. Valuing Angkor as a social space required interpreting it within a contemporary context, whereas elevating Angkor as a historical monument site, involved situating it within a ‘traditional’ context. Thus the scales of value and interpretation do not occur in isolation; instead their construction is intimately connected to each other.

### 7.1.3 Scaling Angkor in-situ

At Angkor, as with other heritage sites (Freestone 1993; Olwig 2001; Waterton, Smith et al. 2006), valued and interpretative spaces do not sit in some external world disconnected from the contemporary landscape. Rather, interpretation of values and meanings is framed through inclusion and exclusion of the modern landscape and people. This thesis investigated the relationships between heritage scales at Angkor by exploring the material consequences of their construction. The key conflict between stakeholders was the relationship between heritage and non-heritage, or between the ‘traditional’ and the ‘contemporary’.

Change through the process of modernisation is often discussed negatively in the context of heritage towns (Parkin, Middleton et al. 1989; Huaisheng and Jianhong 2001; Evans 2002; Bruce and Creighton 2006). At Angkor, modernisation has been considered a threat to the interpretation and values of Angkor. Areas where modernisation is perceived as occurring are excluded from spaces of interpretation, or are altered for re-inclusion, such as the enhancement of the historical urban core and river front of Siem Reap town. Post-colonial researchers (and others) have pointed out that communities who live in and around
heritage areas are not static, their lives and culture evolve just like people living in non-heritage areas (Yeoh 2001; Fisher 2004; Taylor and Altenburg 2006). Thus the significant attempts to control modernisation across the Angkor landscape could be viewed as part of the political and social construction of the boundaries between spaces of interpretation and modernity.

There has been increasing concern expressed by the ICC and other heritage professionals (CUC EUM 2000; Vann 2002; Vigers 2002; APSARA 2003; Vann 2003; JICA 2004; Rabe 2008) regarding the threatening modern expansion of Siem Reap town into the Angkor World Heritage area. However, the results of the spatial analysis presented in Chapter 6, suggest that the built environment of Siem Reap town does not yet extend into the Angkor Park. It may reach into the ZEMP Zone 2, but historical spatial data from the early 1990s indicates that ‘urban’ settlement was already present in the area of Zone 2 when the ZEMP zones were defined (Figure 7-1). Thus increased focus on excluding modern spaces and land uses could be viewed as a method of controlling the interpretation of Angkor as being within a ‘traditional’ context.

If interpretation is instead linked to people, then the process of scaling interpretative space and associative values could be seen as inclusionary. Interpreting heritage through its function, such as its importance and use for contemporary society, would mean that the boundary of the scale would be the limits of those functions across space and be defined by the people who use the space. This would mean understanding not only how and where people use ‘valuable’ space, but also where they come from and how their attitudes and ideas are framed by their everyday lives.
Figure 7-1. Map showing the extent of urban landuse in 1992. Historical spatial data from the early 1990s indicated that ‘urban’ settlement was already present within the ZEMP Zone 2 when it was defined.

At Angkor, many local interviewees felt that Angkor was incorporated within the modern urban settlement of Siem Reap. This was in stark contrast with the management approaches of APSARA and the ICC which sought to keep separate the contemporary and traditional landscapes. These differing understandings of the relationships between scales align with Lowenthal’s (1985; 1994) core arguments concerning the past only having value because of how we position it within our contemporary lives. Thus whilst national and international stakeholders elevate Angkor as a unique monumental treasure that is more ‘valuable’ than everyday life, the local population position Angkor as part of their everyday lives. Most interviewees visited Angkor regularly and they used the space as part of their collective urban lives, positioning themselves as the people of the modern ‘Angkor City’.
If interpretation is linked to the interpreter, then its management must move beyond emphasising the physical environment, towards considering the functionality of space. Understanding Angkor as urban, or as part of the contemporary landscape, was linked to perceptions of people and their emotions, attitudes and behaviours when using space. The analysis presented within this thesis demonstrated how the local community, and many APSARA interviewees, utilised Angkor as the main public space within the contemporary landscape. It functioned as an important part of the everyday social lives of the community, for those living both within and outside of the Angkor Park. This meant that Angkor was valued and interpreted through its functional position in the modern world. Similarly, APSARA and ICC contributors situated Angkor relative to its national economic and scientific significance. Heritage professionals promoted interpretative spaces that enhanced the value of the tourist experience and protected the scientific values of the archaeological site. In this way, the scales of heritage are framed as management policies whose controls and practices give required levels of protection and conservation to suit the value of a particular space.

It was demonstrated in Chapter 6 that a functional interpretation of the landscape, viewed from the ground, as local interviewees do whilst sitting by the moat of Angkor Wat or travelling, creates a different experience to one understood from evaluating spatial patterns of buildings and vegetation across the landscape from an aerial photograph or map. From above, sharp lines that delineate land cover can be recognised. On the ground movement through the landscape causes borders to blur. For heritage professionals, heritage and modern space is often sharply demarcated, with the latter excluded from the former. For local people the relationship is different. The boundaries between interpretative space and modern space have shifted, and even merged. Interpretative space has become the ‘picturesque’ part of the modern landscape, and the modern landscape has become part of the broader interpretative space of Angkor. In contrast, APSARA and international heritage professionals, constructed borders of interpretative space which could be rescaled to include modern space, if the qualities of modern space were altered to fit the meanings and values of Angkor.
7.2 Constructing a managed heritage landscape

The potential for heritage management practices to include or exclude spaces, populations and behaviours runs the risk of alienating the contemporary population of the site. Cultural heritage management involves the production of boundaries between spaces with heritage values and spaces without. It must be assumed that if heritage professionals are actively creating such boundaries, that local communities also possess the potential to delineate spaces around heritage sites, even if the process is less formal and explicit. More importantly, as this thesis has demonstrated, this process must not be considered as occurring in congruent fashion between different stakeholders. Instead vastly different borders and hierarchies between spaces emerge from different political, social and economic agendas.

As cultural heritage management seeks to become more participatory and inclusionary (Johnston and Buckley 2001; Sullivan 2004; Hampton 2005), the relationships and boundaries between spaces of value, interpretation and contemporary life need to be recognised and catered for. In examining the social construction of scale in the interpretation and management of the Angkor World Heritage site, this thesis has demonstrated that the spatial understandings which guide evaluation of heritage objects and sites can vary dramatically between stakeholders. This thesis has demonstrated, through the use of interview and textual analysis combined with GIS-based spatial analysis, the need to ensure pluralistic methodologies and approaches which encourage participatory management structures which can ensure successful cultural heritage conservation. The interpretation and contextualisation of a heritage site or object can vary with the different political, social and economic agendas of stakeholders. In particular, the relationship between heritage and everyday contemporary life can alter the construction of scales, and thus the definition of boundaries, used to (formally and informally) manage heritage spaces. Through processes of inclusion and exclusion, boundaries are constructed and affirmed across the heritage landscape affecting the form and function of heritage regions. Through the Angkor case study, this thesis has demonstrated that the relationship between heritage sites and the areas which surround them is a complex one affected by the perceptions of many different stakeholders. Understanding the ways in which heritage scales are constructed for political and social purposes will allow these multiple perceptions
to be incorporated within management practices, facilitating more participatory and less conflicted cultural heritage management.


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**APPENDIX A: ATTRIBUTES OF LOCAL COMMUNITY INTERVIEWEES**

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APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW STRUCTURE AND GUIDING QUESTIONS

- **Section 1: Background on the respondent.** *(this is to gather background information on the respondent that may affect their responses)*
  - What is your job?
  - How old are you?
  - Do you live in Siem Reap?
    - How long have you lived in Siem Reap?
    - Where is your homeland (heartland)?
    - Why did you come here?

- **Section 2: What is Siem Reap? Starting broad and then narrowing down**
  - What is Siem Reap? Is it a town, a village, a province, an area? How do they perceive the entity?
  - Can you describe Siem Reap?
    - What does it look like?
    - What happens here?
    - How is it different to other places (in particular Phnom Penh) in Cambodia?
  - Siem Reap extent
    - How far north, south, east and west does Siem Reap town extend?
    - What is the difference between the town and the countryside?
    - Are we currently in the town or the countryside?
  - When you say Angkor what do you mean? *(Is it Angkor Wat, the park or something bigger or smaller?)*
  - Is Angkor in the town or the countryside?
  - How is the countryside different from the town?
  - Who is local? Why?

*(Using the aerial photograph or visual representation)*
This is an aerial image of Siem Reap/ Have you seen one of these before? *(The researcher will now identify a number of well-known locations to help the respondent orientate themselves)*

  - What places are most important/significant to you? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - What places do you (dis)like? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Where do the tourists go? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Which places are unpleasant for you? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Which places do you visit regularly? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Which places are bad/dangerous for you? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Which places would you save? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - What is your favourite place? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - What is your favourite building in Siem Reap? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Are there any places that you don't/wouldn't go? Why? Can you locate these for me?
  - Where do tourists go?
• Section 3: Change in Siem Reap and its consequences.
  o How has Siem Reap changed? *(time period relative to how long the person has been here)*
  o What changes do you like? What changes don’t you like? Why? Where are these occurring?
  o What places do you visit regularly? What places would you not go? Why?
  o Can you find these places on the image for me?
  o Where is the tourist development (hotels, guesthouses and restaurants)?
  o Can you describe it to me? How do you feel about this?
  o Where do you see new house?
  o Where do new people live when they move to Siem Reap?
  o Can you describe national route 6 to me?
    • Can you describe the eastern side of Route 6 (the road to the airport)? What do you like? What don’t you like? What do you think of the appearance/buildings/vegetation?
    • Can you describe the western side of Route 6 (the road to Phnom Penh)? What do you like? What don’t you like? What do you think of the appearance/buildings/vegetation?
  o How do you think Siem Reap will change in the next 10 years? Where?
  o What would you like to see happen? Where?
    • Do you think this will happen? Why?

• Section 4: Management of Angkor and its surrounds *(These questions are designed to explore opinions relating to particular management policies that relate to Siem Reap and urban development)*
  o What do you think about people living around the temples? In the Angkor Park? Why?
  o What do you think about the idea of having an area between the town and Angkor where there is no buildings? Why?
  o What do you think about the idea of a hotel zone, where the large hotels would be placed in the northeast of the town away from where Khmer people are living? Why?
  o Do you think the appearance of Siem Reap is important for Angkor? Why?

• Section 5: The respondent *(These questions are to gather information about the respondents movements across space that may not only provide extra information about accessibility, but also about knowledge of parts of the town)*
  o Can you find your house/village on the image?
  o Can you locate your place of employment?
  o Where do your family and friends live?
  o Can you describe what you did and where you went yesterday?
    • Was that a typical day?
APPENDIX D: ATTRIBUTES OF CONTRIBUTIONS ANALYSED WITHIN THE ICC DOCUMENTATION FOR 1993 AND 2003

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<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Plenary Session 11 2004</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical Committee 2004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Plenary Session 12 2005</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical Committee 2005</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Technical Committee 15 2006</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plenary Session 13 2006</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL AGENDA ITEMS FOR ALL YEARS</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX F: FORM USED TO RECORD FIELD OBSERVATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point Number (4 digits)</th>
<th>Date on the IPAQ</th>
<th>Time on the IPAQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### SECTION 1: BUILDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who is the major user of the buildings?</td>
<td>Khmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How tall are the buildings?</td>
<td>&gt; 1 storey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How dense are the buildings?</td>
<td>Scattered (isolated buildings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atmosphere/setting</td>
<td>Urban environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of buildings are there?</td>
<td>Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Describe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any hotels?</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any guesthouses?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural style</td>
<td>Old village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority age of buildings</td>
<td>seem to be older than the end of the war</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECTION 2: LANDUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the main land use?</td>
<td>agricultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential/commercial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECTION 3: VEGETATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How tall is the vegetation?</td>
<td>Ground level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the vegetation taller than the surrounding buildings?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of vegetation?</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the vegetation divided up by fences?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECTION 4: ROADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Condition of the roads</td>
<td>asphalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width of the roads</td>
<td>less than a car width</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What traffic is using the roads?</td>
<td>Local traffic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECTION 4: DEVELOPMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How big is the development?</td>
<td>extensions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECTION 5: WATER FEATURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Describe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower lying land?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ANY OTHER COMMENTS

PHOTO NUMBERS