

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In 1860 French adventurer Henri Mouhot travelled the Mekong River exploring the heart of Indochina. Following the stories of earlier explorers and indigenous guides, he crossed the *Ton Le Sap* - the Great Lake of Southeast Asia, journeyed over rice fields and through the jungles of northern Cambodia. It was there that 'Angkor' revealed itself, "*as lonely and deserted as formerly it must have been full of life and cheerfulness*" (Henri Mouhot 1864 in Pym 1968). Once the capital of an expansive Khmer empire that spread across much of modern Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos, it had wallowed in the backwaters of Indochina for over 400 years (Vann 2003). Angkor was not deserted, uninhabited or forgotten, but had simply fallen victim to time. Once great towers had crumbled, forests clawed at the stone reclaiming it for the earth (Figure 1-1), and the population that had once been hundreds of thousands, had dwindled to a few thousand (Vann 2003). Whilst Henri Mouhot definitely did not discover Angkor, the stories told and pictures shared captured the mystique of Southeast Asia in a monumental form that a European audience consumed with relish (Winter 2002). It is his entrance to the site that is the start of the modern interpretation of Angkor, his story that is still told, and his experiences that visitors seek to capture when they go in search of "*a lost city*" (Pym 1968). One hundred and fifty years later, Angkor is now inscribed as a site of global cultural significance on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Though visiting no longer requires an arduous trek up the river from Phnom Penh, Angkor maintains an allure that attracts a million foreign tourists each year (JICA 2004). More importantly, Angkor is still home to an ever increasing Cambodian population (Nhalyvoudh 2000; Keskinen 2003), thus its management requires an artful balance to meet the demands of sustainable socio-economic development, tourism and cultural heritage conservation (Candelaria 2005). As part of an ongoing constructive critique that aims at ensuring Angkor's management is sustainable and meets the needs of all stakeholders, this thesis explores attitudes and elements of this balance by examining the relationship between heritage sites and their surrounding areas.



**Figure 1-1.** Consumed by the tropical forests, the final lonely stone remains of the Angkor empire stretch to the sky.

## **1.1 The Context of Heritage**

Over the last 100 years, heritage has moved from being the domain of the explorer, the archaeologist and the architect, to being understood as a public, cultural resource (Green 2001). As individuals and groups, we recognise the role heritage plays in helping to construct and maintain a sense of identity (Ashworth 1994). It helps us to know where we come from, influences how we interact with other people and our environment, and shapes our vision for the future (Sam-Ang 1996; McLean 2006). Conventional understandings of heritage incorporate two dichotomies that divide approaches to both research and management practices.

The first is whether the heritage is natural or cultural. Whilst there is increasing recognition within heritage discourse that nature and culture are deeply entwined (Battise 1992; Serageldin and Martin-Brown 1999; Powell 2000; Olwig 2001; Powell, Selman et al. 2002), there is still a dominant discourse of differentiation between heritage that represents unspoilt fragments of the natural world and heritage that is the result of human activity (Cleere 1994; Papayannis 2004; Pannell 2006). Efforts to counterbalance this differentiation have included the identification of cultural landscapes, and other 'mixed' heritage locations

(Powell 2000; Bianchi 2002; Russell and Jambrecina 2002; Pannell 2006; Taylor and Altenburg 2006). However, intellectually these two often remain firmly separated, only connecting out of a practical necessity. This thesis places emphasis on cultural heritage, it highlights the connections between people and their environment, and recognises the influences each has on the other.

The second division within heritage is that between intangible and tangible heritage. Intangible heritage includes aspects of our cultural identity that are seen as separate from the material world, such as stories, songs, folklore, performing arts, creative arts, religious practices and literature (Graham, Ashworth et al. 2000; Aplin 2002). Intangible heritage is often considered subordinate to tangible heritage (Munjeri 2004), perhaps because it is more open to personal interpretation and evolution. Tangible heritage, which includes the material artefacts that symbolise our presence on the earth, dominates conservation efforts and research (Anderson 1997; Garden 2006). From rock art and tiny stone figurines through to sacred trees, stone monuments and whole cities, tangible cultural heritage includes those parts of the physical world to which we have given meaning and value in defining where we have come from and who we are.

It can be argued that the divide between tangible and intangible heritage is artificial, as no human activity or behaviour occurs entirely separate from the physical world (Uprichard and Byrne 2006). It may be a story of an ancient landscape, or a festivity that happens along a certain route: as humans our habitat, our environment, is part of us, our actions, and our ideas (Massey 1993; Osborne 2001; Schlemper 2004). Thus the material world is the result of, and an influence upon, the creation and maintenance of intangible heritage (Anderson 1997). We interpret the appropriate location in which intangible heritage will authentically occur (Inaba 2001; Munjeri 2004). In recognising tangible heritage, material artefacts are also viewed as a vessel for human activity, but it is up to the audience to interpret the role that the physical world played and will play in the future (Batisse 1992). In many cases the builders and original users of the physical remains of the past are long gone, thus the utilisation, meanings, values and representation of human relationships with those objects is a subjective interpretation of the clues and markers left behind.

Heritage professionals and others concerned with tangible cultural heritage have increasingly recognised the role that the wider environment, or the geographical context, plays in helping modern people to interpret the remains of the past (Toupal, Zedeño et al. 2000; Teller and Bond 2002). It has been recognised that the immediate setting of a heritage site has a strong influence on its overall significance (Aplin 2002), often providing protection from encroaching modern land use. As attitudes have shifted towards highlighting the role of cultural heritage as an economic and cultural resource, questions about utilisation and the experiences offered to people have also been raised (Hampton 2005). The interests of heritage management have moved beyond preservation of an object or location, towards managing the interactions between people and historic spaces (Cartier 2005; Loulanski 2006). More recently, modern cultural heritage management has often formally incorporated the wider surrounding landscape, which on its own may have little or no inherent heritage value. As the setting, or spatial context, of a site can now operate at multiple scales, the influence of cultural heritage management often extends beyond the conventionally defined borders inscribed on a heritage list.

While the positive and negative impacts of heritage management processes on the immediate heritage site are now understood in broad terms (Aplin 2002), the implications of these processes for the larger area that often forms the geographical and interpretative context of a heritage site remain poorly understood. With increased efforts to include local communities in the heritage management process, there has been a focus on the populations that reside within the bounds of heritage sites (Smith 2000), especially where the heritage site is closely linked to a modern population (Evans 2002). The adoption of a pluralistic philosophy within cultural heritage management has highlighted the subjective nature of the heritage experience (Sofield and Fung 2005). The variety of meanings and values attached to heritage objects and locations create multiple images and experiences, or senses of place, that must coexist in the same space (Cresswell 2004; Chang and Huang 2005). Conservation of heritage areas is unlikely to succeed if the surrounding communities do not support, or feel alienated from, the site and associated management processes (Green 2001; Worboys, Lockwood et al. 2001). It has been recognised that the most successful way to ensure the preservation of heritage sites, particularly in developing

countries, is the integration of heritage with improvements in the quality of life for the host population (Hackenberg 2002). This requires acknowledging and balancing the different lifestyles and senses of place which compete for the same space at the same time (Dietvorst and Ashworth 1995). As the geographical area influenced by heritage management increases, there is an even greater need to ensure management processes incorporate greater sensitivity for surrounding communities.

### **1.1.1 Research Approach**

Increasing interest in the creation of heritage places and the protection of cultural landscapes has seen a movement away from the conservation of isolated objects and monuments (Richards 1996). It is argued in this research that this shift is indicative of a broader transition within cultural heritage management towards perceiving and understanding heritage as inextricably linked to its wider geographical and temporal context. The recognition and inclusion of associative values has seen spatial expansion of the influences of heritage protection and management. Heritage sites can no longer be considered in isolation from their settings (Gossling 2002). Although considerable attention has been given to the impacts of modern development on heritage areas, there has been minimal research into the implications that heritage management practices have for areas surrounding heritage sites. This thesis investigates the nature of the relationship between heritage sites and their surrounding areas, by exploring the implications of an expanding spatial definition of heritage. The research is framed within a theoretical approach that examines the social and political construction of scale.

The concept of scale is embedded within heritage discourse, usually implying levels of size or degree within a pre-defined hierarchy (Kelly 1997; Nielsen and Simonsen 2003; McMaster and Sheppard 2004). The way we think about heritage value, and those who perceive it, has been fundamentally linked to levels of local, national and global significance and communities (Graham, Ashworth et al. 2000; Long 2000). Heritage researchers and professionals, acknowledge that heritage sites are not simply placed upon an empty canvas, but are objects and spaces 'plucked' from the contemporary landscape, and given value by the population interpreting the object (Ashworth 1994; Ennen 2000; Aplin 2002; Ashworth and van der Aa 2002). A post-positivist awareness within heritage discourse recognises that

individuals and communities will potentially deviate in the way that they integrate heritage with contemporary spaces, through highly variable, evolving and individualised historic and modern meanings (Fowler 1992; Grimwade and Carter 2000; Light 2000; Mizoguchi 2000; Henderson 2001; Taylor and Altenburg 2005). To suit management, political, social and economic agendas, varying degrees of protection are applied across space, creating boundaries between what is considered significant and insignificant (Hunter 1997). It is thus more appropriate to understand heritage scales as a set of changing, socially and politically constructed relationships between heritage sites, their management and their surrounding areas. In this thesis, the construction and use of scale in heritage management is explored through the processes of valuing and interpreting heritage, demonstrating how spaces of value, interpretation, and 'non-heritage' (or modern spaces) are defined, or scaled to suit the varying agendas within cultural heritage management.

## **1.2 Angkor**

The Angkor World Heritage Area (inscribed in 1992) is situated on the northern floodplain of the Ton Le Sap in Cambodia, just to the north of the modern town of Siem Reap (Figure 1-2). The site incorporates a vast collection of stone temples and monuments that stretch across an area of more than 400km<sup>2</sup>, of which the most famous is Angkor Wat (Ishizawa 2002; Vann 2002). Often mistaken as being the ruins of one city, the Angkor World Heritage Area contains the remains of a series of capitals belonging to a Khmer empire that once dominated much of Southeast Asia (Soubert and Hay 1995; Wager 1995). The current World Heritage site merely captures the core area that was the centre of power from 802 A.D., with Angkor's metropolitan expanse sprawling over more than 1000 km<sup>2</sup> (Evans, Pottier et al. 2007). Angkor was abandoned in 1431 A.D. when the population shifted south, forming the new capital, Phnom Penh (Dagens 2002). While never fully deserted, the dramatic decline in population allowed the forest to reclaim parts of the landscape as the agrarian villages became more isolated (Dagens 2002; Vann 2003). Today, all that remains are giant stone monuments, engulfed by jungle vegetation.

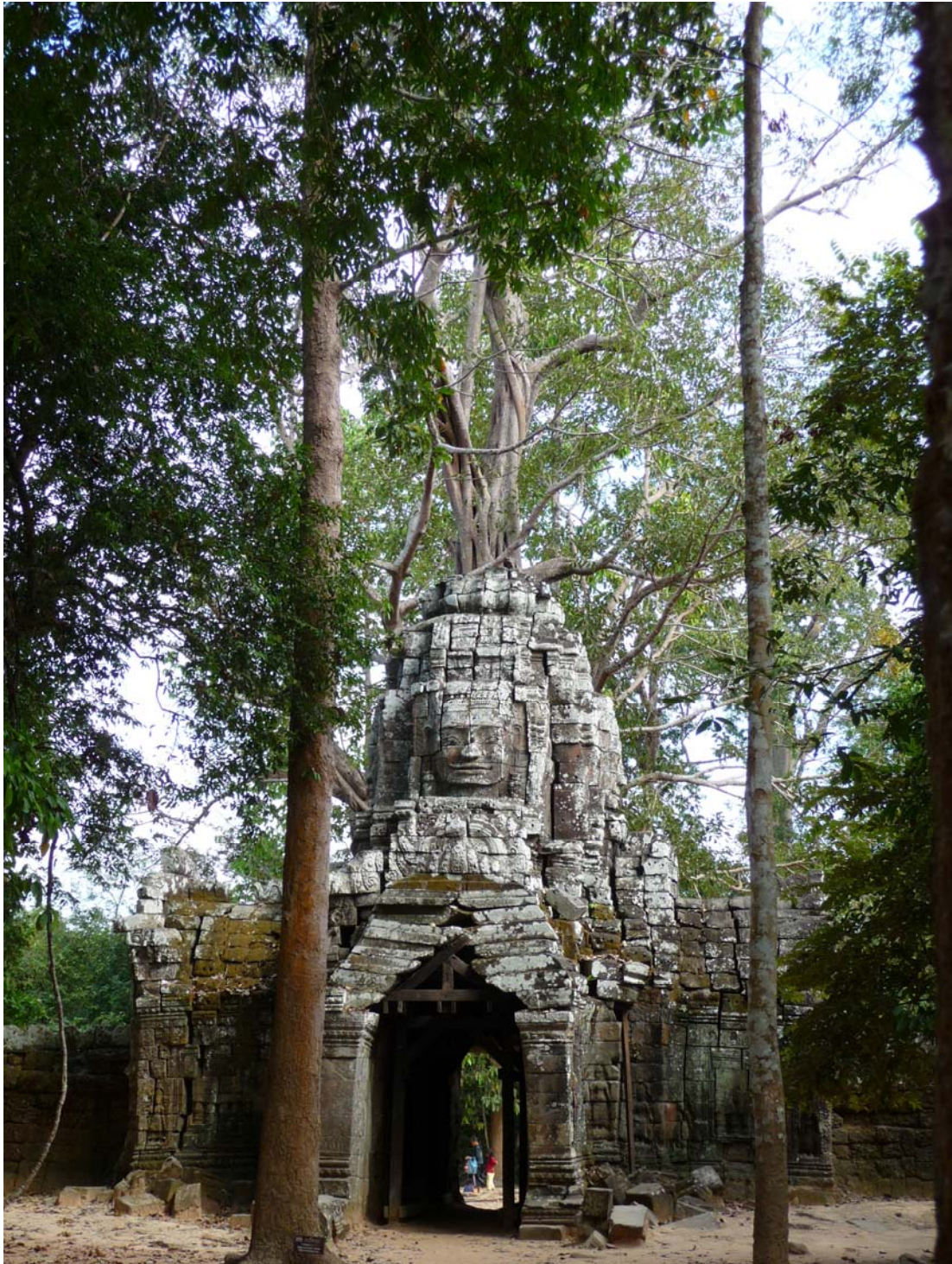


Figure 1-2. Map of Angkor - Siem Reap Region, showing many of the main locations discussed in this thesis. Siem Reap Town sits south of the Angkor Archaeological Park.

Over the last one hundred and fifty years, the jungles so often described as bearers of destruction, consuming the remnants of the Angkorian city (e.g. Brodrick 1956; Pym 1968), have become its protection from the outside world (Figure 1-3). Angkor has been removed

from the modern landscape, conceived by Mouhot and others as the remains of a lost civilisation and not belonging to the people occupying the site at his arrival (Winter 2002). The monuments of Angkor became discrete locations, isolated from each other and their surrounds (Taylor and Altenburg 2005). The aesthetics of decline and decay created by the intense tropical climate and flora helped situate Angkor within a setting that was discrete from the surrounding environment, temporally, culturally and spatially (Winter 2002). The mature forest vegetation provided a strong contrast with the surrounding predominantly flat, agricultural landscape (Hubbard 2003). In recognition of this, the creation of the Angkor Archaeological Park in 1925 emphasised protecting the shielding forests, in addition to the monuments, from the modern Cambodian landscape (Soubert and Hay 1995). The dense jungle environment became the immediate setting for the ruins, supporting the global image of Angkor as a 'lost city' (Winter 2002). By protecting the immediate setting of the site, visiting Angkor became an experience. Early visitors, after making the journey up the Mekong and across the vast inland sea of the Tonle Sap, had to venture through thick jungle to reach the temples (Rooney 2001). Exploring the piles of stone through the enveloping jungle, modern day visitors to the park can also experience (to some degree) what it would have been like to 'discover' the temples, some of which have been deliberately preserved entangled amongst the roots of giant trees (Winter 2002; Winter 2004). Thus the heritage values of Angkor have been closely linked to the landscape upon which the site sits, but the implications of this relationship have not been closely examined.





**Figure 1-3. The intense tropical jungle has helped to protect the stone ruins from anthropogenic destruction, as well as creating the iconic images of Angkor as a lost and abandoned city hidden amongst the forest.**

### **1.2.1 Contemporary History of Cambodia**

There is a widely recognised timeline that forms the modern collective memories and experiences of Angkor (Winter 2002). It often begins with Mouhot, continues through colonialism, independence, the conflict of the Khmer Rouge, and the post-conflict recovery aided by UNESCO and the broader international community. This history is important as it forms the temporal context of the site, and thus influences the interpretation of Angkor by foreign and local visitors.

With its 'rediscovery' by French explorers in the mid-nineteenth century (UNESCO 1993), Angkor found a place within the global collective imagination (Wager 1995), culminating with the inscription of Angkor on the World Heritage List in 1992. In 1864 Cambodia, like most other countries in Asia, came under the influence of European colonial expansion (AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003). The Angkor region was added to the French protectorate in 1907. Having already commenced research at Angkor, the French strengthened their involvement in the region by establishing a headquarters in the market town of Siem Reap (Thibault 1998; Rooney 2001). The remarkable 'discoveries' of French explorers and archaeologists were conveyed back to Europe, where a fascinated public were captivated by the idea of a lost civilisation. Images of Angkor's monuments were used in advertising a variety of products, and a full-scale replica of Angkor Wat was built for the Paris Exposition in 1931 (Winter 2002). The Cambodian villages that had maintained social, cultural, spiritual and other ties with the monuments during those 'lost' years do not appear in the literature of the time, nor is there mention of the villages that were relocated from within the temple compounds in order to facilitate the colonial aesthetic of a lost city (Miura 2005).

For the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Angkor slowly grew as a boutique tourist destination. Following Japanese occupation during World War II, the French granted independence to Cambodia in 1953 (Kamm 1998). With a large tourist site attracting foreign currency, and non-participation in the Vietnamese-American conflict that was escalating to its east and north, Cambodia prospered in the 1950s and 1960s (AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003). Over a thousand people were employed by the Angkor Conservation Office, involved in various restoration, conservation and research activities (Wager 1995). Added to this were

the many people employed in tourism and related businesses. The youthful vigour of recent independence (gained in 1953) empowered and motivated the country to gain a place on the international stage (Vann 2003). The rich and famous were drawn to the area. Photos, which now hang on the walls of the Siem Reap FCC restaurant, recall Jackie Kennedy lying beside the pool of the Grand Hotel d'Angkor, and the Cambodian King waterskiing in the ancient Baray. However, this period is now overshadowed by the violence of the 1970s.

In early 1970, American bombing commenced over southern Cambodia, intending to disrupt the supply routes of the Vietnamese communists who had allegedly infiltrated across the border (Kamm 1998). This led to the abandonment of all research and maintenance activity at Angkor (Wager 1995; AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003). The conflict escalated, and in 1975 the ultra-communist political movement known as Democratic Kampuchea, or the *Khmer Rouge*, took control of the country (Takei 1998). In a single day (17<sup>th</sup> April 1975), the Khmer Rouge evacuated all major urban centres, including Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, intending to create large Maoist agricultural communes that would be self-sufficient and accelerate Cambodia's development through increased agricultural surplus (Kamm 1998; Fox 2002). Thus, unlike other developing countries where urban centres have been seen as sanctuaries during violence and misfortune, Khmer towns did not swell with refugees (Thibault 1998). Instead, the result of four years of Khmer Rouge rule<sup>1</sup> was social upheaval, cultural destruction, economic destruction, and genocide. These experiences are all reflected in the memories of the four years that Cambodia suffered under the torturous regime of Pol Pot. The memorials built upon the millions of bones found in the mass graves of the Killing Fields, and the now-museum, once-torture-prison Tuol Sleng, try to ensure that this time is not forgotten by contemporary society. It shapes the Khmer and Cambodia today, influencing how they interact with each other, and with their landscape (Winter 2008). During this period, Angkor was once again isolated from the wider world. Heavy fighting, a disrupted society, and limited agriculture allowed the voracious appetite of the jungle vegetation to once again swallow up the temples and their surrounds (Wager 1995). Many of the conservators fled or were murdered (Vann 2003). The monuments themselves retained their mysticism, with locals seeking protection

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<sup>1</sup> The Vietnamese army, fearing Pol Pot would push his version of Communism into their territory, took control of Phnom Penh on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1979.

amongst them and, surprisingly, little destruction resulting from direct human action (Miura 2005). Indeed it has been argued more recently that post-conflict tourism development and looting have been the cause of much greater damage than the period of conflict (Candelaria 2005; Winter 2008).

With the end of the Cold War, Vietnam withdrew its occupying troops in 1989 (Kamm 1998). After 20 years of war, Cambodia was lacking basic economic and social infrastructure, production systems and social services (AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003). In 1991, formal Peace Accords were signed in Paris, the result of which was the deployment of twenty-three thousand United Nations officials and troops across Cambodia<sup>2</sup>. Upon this bleak landscape, Angkor stood as an outstanding and highly promising site, offering a unique opportunity to fully integrate tourism and cultural heritage to assist both conservation and economic development interests (Fournier, Durand et al. 1993; Durand 2002). The poverty and desperation of the population, struggling to reconstruct itself in the post-war period, led to widespread looting of archaeological sites for international sale (Clement 2002). Recognising the national significance of the site, especially for the rebuilding period that Cambodia faced, the Supreme National Council nominated the Angkor monuments for the World Heritage List. In 1992 the World Heritage Committee waived some of their requirements and inscribed four hundred square kilometres, containing key monuments, on the World Heritage List (Beschaouch 2002), beginning the contemporary memories and experiences of Angkor.

At the end of the fighting, Angkor was the beacon of hope standing tall on the landscape (Winter 2008). The population had been decimated so that demographically there are now few who remember the time before the Khmer Rouge. National and international emphasis was placed not only on protecting the site, but also on ensuring it played a significant role in motivating the socio-economic development of the country (Boukhari 2002; Vann 2003). With the end of Cambodia's isolation, tourists started to return almost immediately. Independent foreign travellers began the flood, attracted by a 'new' destination that was

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<sup>2</sup> These personnel were under the command of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)

emerging out of the jungle still full of mystery (Wager 1995). Fifteen years later, tourism at Angkor is one of the main drivers of the Cambodian economy. Angkor's modern role is as both the gateway to Cambodia, and as its heart and lifeblood (Vann 2003). The significance of the ruins for the Khmer people runs deep (Thibault 1998; Endo 2002), with the region seen as *"the soul of the Khmer"* (Ang Chouléan in Boukhari 2002). Whilst Angkor has experienced a meteoric rise in international recognition and tourism, the World Heritage Area now faces some significant management issues. There are now two distinct groups of stakeholders who both strive to understand and have authentic interactions with the same landscape in large numbers on a daily basis. It has become increasingly evident, but not embraced, that the contrasting interpretations and senses of place possessed by both foreign visitors and the local community need to be understood to ensure successful conservation and management.

### **1.2.2 World Heritage Listing and Management**

The Angkor ruins were inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL), as they satisfied the following Cultural Heritage criteria (WHC 1992):

- *The site represents a masterpiece of human creative genius;*
- *The site exhibits an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design;*
- *The site bears a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or has disappeared;*
- *The site is an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble, or landscape which illustrates a significant stage or significant stages in human history.*

As Cambodia was at that time under temporary administration by the United Nations, the World Heritage Committee (WHC) decided to waive some of the conditions required for

inscription<sup>3</sup>, and instead placed the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger (WHC 1992; AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003). In return for the inscription of Angkor on the WHL, the Cambodian government was requested to meet a number of criteria to ensure the protection of Angkor (Lemaistre and Cavalier 2002). These included:

- *enactment of protective legislation;*
- *establishment of an adequately staffed national protection agency;*
- *establishment of monitoring and coordination of the international conservation effort;*
- *establishment of permanent boundaries based on the findings of a UNDP survey and assessment project; and,*
- *definition of meaningful buffer zones* (Wager and Englehardt 1994; AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003).

To satisfy the first requirement, protective legislation for zoning and management, prevention of exporting and sales of cultural artefacts and direct protection of the Angkor monuments was enacted (Beschouch 2002; Clement 2002). Management and enforcement of the new legislation were to be ensured through the establishment of the Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA), satisfying the second WHC requirement. APSARA is directly responsible for the protection, conservation and enhancement of Angkor as well as tourism and urban development in and around Siem Reap (Lemaistre and Cavalier 2002). APSARA works in co-operation with the International Coordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor (ICC). In fulfilment of the third WHC requirement, this committee oversees and monitors the participation of different countries and organisations in all conservation and research projects (Lemaistre and Cavalier 2002). The creation of the ICC has meant that there has been a very strong international influence in the management, research, development and interpretation of Angkor and its surrounding landscape (Winter 2002).

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<sup>3</sup> There are three equally important standards, upon which the WHC judges a site for inclusion. These are: its outstanding universal value; a test of authenticity; and, the existence of legal mechanisms and management plans and procedures for the protection of the site Stovel, H. (1994). "The evaluation of cultural properties for the World Heritage List." *Ekistics* **61**(368/369): 255-260.. Angkor was missing the last of these at the time of inscription.

In order to satisfy the final two requirements of the WHC concerning the inscription of Angkor on the WHL, and to ensure the protection of the site from a modern landscape that was poised to undergo rapid post-war development, UNESCO and the international community undertook to assist the government with the creation of a Zoning and Environmental Management Plan (ZEMP) (Fournier, Durand et al. 1993; Wager 1995). The Angkor ZEMP was unique in the management of cultural heritage, as, from its outset, it acknowledged the linkage between the long term protection of Angkor and the sustainable socioeconomic development of the surrounding areas and population (Wager 1995; Vann 2002). Tourism, and its flow-on industries, was acknowledged as being able to achieve this, thus the ZEMP encouraged 'appropriate' tourism to assist in the conservation of the archaeological resources (Durand 2002). To be successful in its joint aims of sustainable development and cultural heritage conservation, the ZEMP adopted an interdisciplinary approach, involving a varied group of Cambodian and international experts (Wager 1995; Lemaistre and Cavalier 2002).

The central outcome from the ZEMP was a series of 5 zones, based around the 'buffer zone' concept employed in many world heritage sites (Wager 1995). These five zones are (see Figure 1-4):

- **Zone 1 - Monumental sites:** areas which contain the most significant archaeological sites in the country and therefore deserve the highest level of protection;
- **Zone 2 - Protected Archaeological Reserves:** areas rich in archaeological remains which need to be protected from damaging land use practices and inappropriate development;
- **Zone 3 - Protected Cultural Landscapes:** areas with distinctive landscape characteristics which should be protected on account of their traditional features, land use practices, varied habitats, historic building, or man-made features from the past, or of recent origin that contribute to the cultural value or reflect traditional lifestyles and patterns of land use;
- **Zone 4 - Sites of Archaeological, Anthropological or Historic Interest:** all other important archaeological sites, but of less significance than Monumental Sites, that require protection for research, education or tourist interest;

**Zone 5 - The socio-economic and cultural development zone of the Siem Reap/Angkor region:** the whole of Siem Reap province, to be managed as a multiple-use area with an emphasis on economic and social development through sustainable use of natural resources and by the development of cultural tourism.

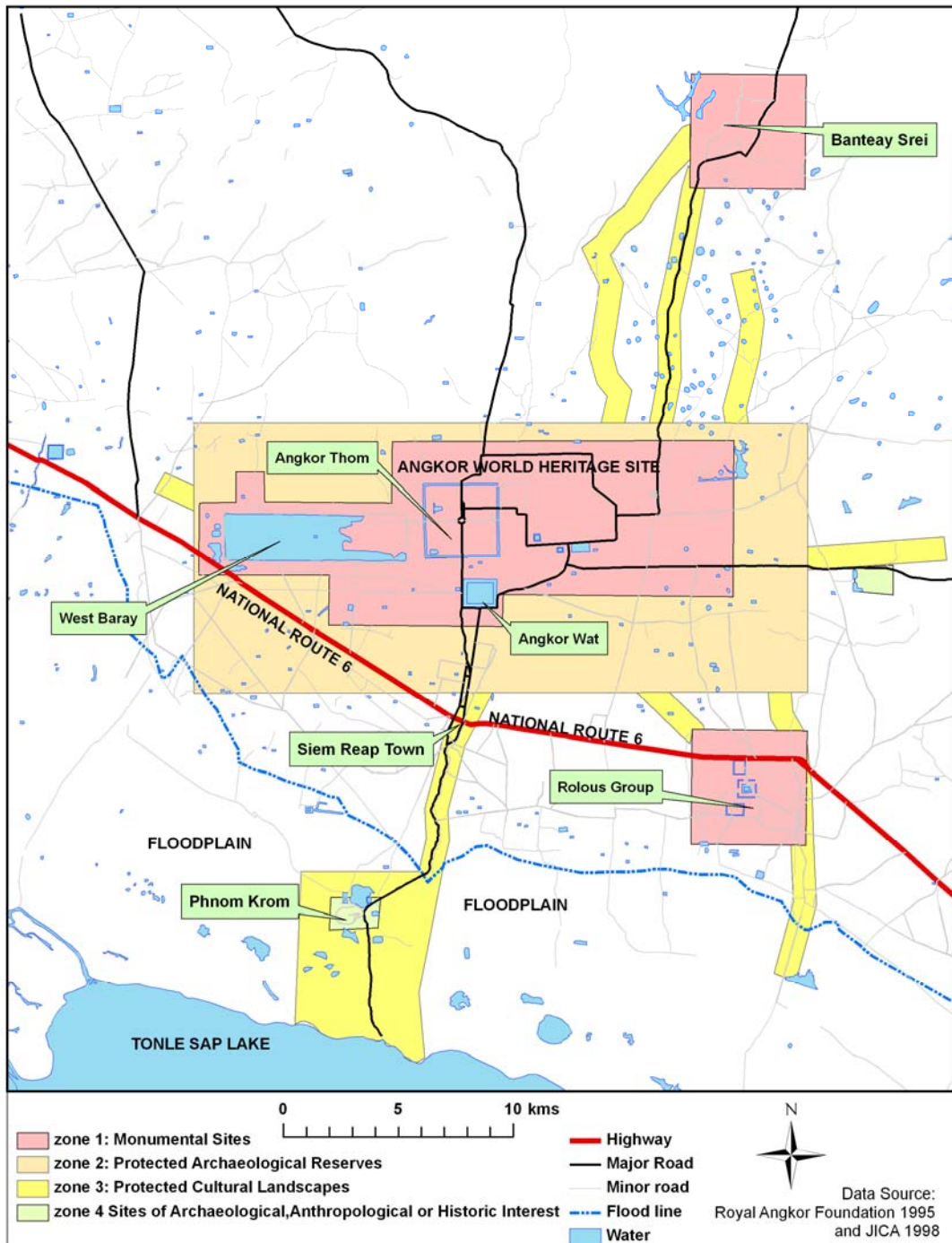


Figure 1-4. Map of the Angkor World Heritage Site, showing four of the zones defined in the Angkor Zoning and Environment Management Plan (ZEMP). The fifth zone covers the entire Siem Reap Province.



Each zone was assigned a different level of protection, permitting levels of modern development and activity deemed appropriate relative to distance from monumental structures. Zone 1 containing the monuments listed on the World Heritage List which require the highest level of protection, prohibits all forms of construction (Lemaistre and Cavalier 2002). Zone 2 was also designed to be intensively managed to integrate the interests and needs of different stakeholders, including tourists, heritage professionals and the local community. Functioning as a buffer zone, the expansive area of Zone 2 was designed to minimise modern development in the immediate vicinity of Angkor Zone 1 (Candelaria 2005). Zones 3 and 4 expand the interests of Angkor's heritage management across the landscape, protecting natural and anthropogenic features considered to be an important part of the background environment of the site (Wager 1995). Zone 5 covers the entire province of Siem Reap, emphasising appropriate development rather than total restriction of modern construction and growth (Winter 2008). Management of the zones aims to protect the archaeological heritage, promote appropriate tourism and encourage sustainable development of agricultural, forestry and urban activities (Wager 1995).

The creation, implementation and maintenance of the ZEMP and other management policies at Angkor have not been devoid of conflict (Gillespie 2009). To date, only Zones 1 and 2 can be considered actively managed, though the objectives of Zones 3-5 do manifest through various development and aesthetic planning policies. The spatial definition of the ZEMP Zones is also a source of tension between various stakeholders, especially when balancing heritage management and socio-economic development through tourism (Barré 2002; Hubbard 2003; Rabe 2008). The philosophy adopted within Angkor's management, which focuses on the physical and psychological relationship that the site has with its surrounding area, illustrates the expanding influence and practices of heritage management out from the heritage site and across the landscape. With stakeholders, including the ICC, APSARA, foreign tourists and an ever-expanding local community, Angkor is a site with strong potential for pluralistic interpretations of heritage (Sullivan 2004), influencing perceptions of the relationship between the site and its geographical, temporal and social context. In a post-colonial, post-conflict environment like Cambodia (Winter

2008), ensuring a framework that allows for individualised interpretation of heritage is a necessity to facilitate equitable social development and cultural resilience.

### **1.2.3 The Scales of Heritage at Angkor**

The research presented here investigates how scale is socially and culturally constructed within the discourse of cultural heritage management by different stakeholders. In particular, it attempts to understand how the boundaries between the 'significant' and the 'insignificant' are continually recreated in the process of cultural heritage interpretation and management. The Angkor World Heritage Area provides a unique opportunity to explore the scaling of heritage spaces by different stakeholders. Over the past 20 years, the discourse that surrounds Angkor's management has shifted from considering the protection of heritage monuments, to the creation of a heritage place, and lastly there has been a growing desire to ensure the conservation of a vast cultural landscape (Taylor and Altenburg 2006). The formation of borders around areas of significance, such as for the ZEMP, is a process which can often be subjective, and appears at times arbitrary in defining significance. As with most World Heritage sites there are a multitude of stakeholders at Angkor, including local residents, domestic and international tourists, Cambodian and foreign heritage professionals and governments. Despite the presence of these diverse and potentially conflicting perspectives, there is limited knowledge of the multiple understandings of heritage and non-heritage space. Previous ethnographic research (e.g. Thibault 1998; Tainturier 2001; Endo 2002; Ishizawa 2002; Vigers 2002; Winter 2002; Miura 2005; Taylor and Altenburg 2005; Rabe 2008) has explored the variety of cultural interpretations of Angkor or Siem Reap by tourists and local communities. This thesis, whilst contributing to the understanding of perceptions of place held by various stakeholders at Angkor, also questions the actual material and spatial entities to which meanings and values are attached, demonstrating that these also diverge for heritage sites and their landscapes. In applying a theoretical framework that critiques the social construction of scale in heritage management, this thesis will investigate whether these constructions have material consequences, not only for items and areas recognised as heritage, but also for the populations and areas surrounding them.

### **1.3 Methodological Focus**

The research within this thesis seeks to understand the relationships between tangible cultural heritage and the areas and populations that surround such sites and objects. In doing so, it will firstly examine the social construction of scale within understandings of heritage. It will then investigate the material consequences of the processes of scaling in cultural heritage interpretation and management.

This research is framed within a post-positivist theoretical ideology that permits multiple understandings and constructions of scale, space and place. Through this perspective, it is hoped to facilitate a wider critique of the current manner in which local communities are included within heritage management practices. Whilst this is a phenomenological study that addresses the particular concerns found in the management of the Angkor World Heritage Site, it is envisaged that the theoretical, philosophical and methodological approaches could be adapted to other sites. Whilst the intent was not to undertake a participatory action research methodology during this research, the thesis does evaluate participatory approaches that have been utilised in cultural heritage management. Focusing on three main stakeholder groups - the local Siem Reap Community, APSARA staff, and Cambodian and International contributors to the ICC - the research investigates the way that each of these interested parties construct scales of heritage for Angkor.

The investigation into the social construction of scale in heritage interpretation and management at Angkor aims to explore the process of scaling in four ways. Firstly, the research will explore the multiple understandings of the object of value – ‘Angkor’, demonstrating the influence of different political, economic and social agendas on the valuation of heritage. Secondly, the thesis will investigate different perceptions of the surrounding area and its role as an interpretative and associative context for the heritage area. The research then examines the relationships between the surrounding area, the contemporary population and Angkor in order to understand the social construction of boundaries, or scales, in cultural heritage management. Finally, the thesis seeks to determine possible material consequences resulting from different understandings of these relationships and the scale hierarchies that they construct.

One of the key elements of the management process at Angkor since the international protection efforts commenced (Box 1999), has been the inclusion of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and other forms of spatial analysis. The Angkor ZEMP, created at a time when access to land was limited due to landmines and continued conflict, was facilitated through the use of GIS to develop spatial management policies and strategies (Wager 1995). However, there has been strong critique from some post-positivist researchers (Pickles 1997; Dunn 2007) that GIS is an imperialistic technology that decreases public participation and representation, and emphasises top-down management approaches. This critique is particularly relevant within the context of Angkor's management, as the GIS and spatial analysis utilised continues to be based on data created by foreigners (principally Japanese, French and Australian teams), and much of it relies on the digitising of features observed through remote sensing techniques. Influenced by participatory GIS methodologies (Abbot, Chamber et al. 1998; Elwood and Leitner 1998; Harris and Weiner 1998; Tripathi and Bhattarya 2004), this thesis will demonstrate the need for cultural heritage management to consider the effect ontological differences have on perceptions of heritage and on the material landscape (Smith and Mark 2001; Winter 2001). In doing so, it is intended that the research will encourage a more inclusive representation of Angkor and its surrounds. The research utilises interviews, textual and discourse analysis of archival documents, and detailed field observation, integrated through spatial analysis to explore the spatial influences, impacts and perceptions of cultural heritage management at Angkor.

### **1.3.1 Thesis Outline**

Following this introduction, the thesis is structured around five chapters. **Chapter Two** will present the theoretical framework for the research. It will outline the current philosophical and theoretical approaches within heritage literature. It will then draw attention to debate, primarily within the field of geography, surrounding the social construction of scale, highlighting the applicability of this material to cultural heritage management. The chapter will finally develop the theoretical argument that underpins this thesis, outlining the scales of heritage and the processes involved in their construction.

**Chapter Three** presents the methodology and methods of the research, outlining how the ideas surrounding perception of place and space will be utilised to investigate the scales of heritage for different stakeholders at Angkor, as well as the potential conflicts arising from these different perceptions. The mixed-method approach, which integrates GIS with qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews and archival texts, will be outlined in this chapter. Such an approach facilitates not only an understanding of the social construction of heritage scales, but also highlights the material consequences of those constructions.

The analysis and discussion of this research will be presented in three chapters that highlight the relationship between the scales of heritage for Angkor. Each chapter will address one aspect of the processes of spatially, aesthetically, and functionally dividing the landscape during processes of valuing, interpreting and managing Angkor and its surrounding landscape. **Chapter Four** will discuss the scaling of heritage value. It explores perceptions of 'Angkor' by various stakeholders, highlighting the manner in which 'Angkor' is socially constructed by differently interested parties, to suit particular goals. Through this exploration the chapter will outline the construction of a scale of value that defines Angkor according to social, economic and scientific agendas. Addressing the interpretation of Angkor and its surrounding landscape by various stakeholders, **Chapter Five** will argue that stakeholders perceive and define areas which support the interpretation of Angkor's heritage values in different ways. Through the inclusion and exclusion of certain land uses and environments, the chapter will demonstrate that Angkor is geographically and temporally contextualised to suit political, economic, and social agendas. The classification of appropriate and inappropriate aesthetics and behaviours leading to the construction and definition of a scale of interpretation and a scale of modernity. Finally, **Chapter Six** will address the relationship between value and interpretation, and the role of modernity. It shall explore the material consequences of the political, economic and social construction of heritage scales, highlighting how perceptions influence space through the inclusion and exclusion of aesthetics, behaviours and people.

