

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; Huasheng 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.

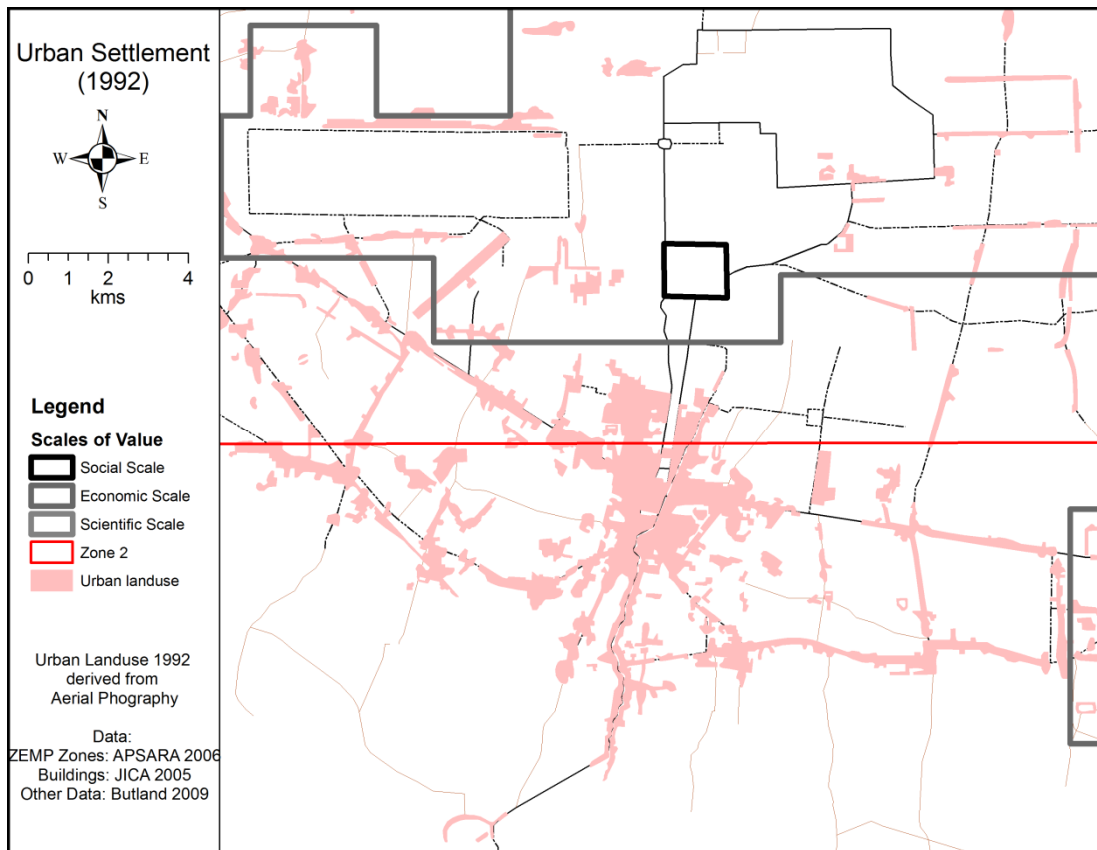


Figure 7-1. Map showing the extend of urban landuse in 1992. Historical spatial data from the early 1990s indicated that ‘urban’ settlement was already present within the ZEMP Zone 2 when it was defined.

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

PROJECT ID	ARRIVAL	URBAN-RURAL BACKGROUND	GENDER	SAMPLE GROUP	HOMELAND	OCCUPATION	CURRENT LOCATION
Interviewee 1	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	male	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	security guard	URBAN
Interviewee 2	2001	UNKNOWN	male	Urban Centre	Takeo	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 3	2004	URBAN	female	Urban Centre	Phnom Penh	student	URBAN
Interviewee 4	2004	RURAL	male	Urban Centre	Kandal	Shop	UNKNOWN
Interviewee 5	1992	RURAL	female	Urban Centre	Kampong Cham	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 6	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	male	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 7	1982	RURAL	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 8	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 9	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	male	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	motorcycle driver	UNKNOWN
Interviewee 10	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	none	URBAN
Interviewee 11	2002	RURAL	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 12	1985	RURAL	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	Shop	URBAN
Interviewee 14	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	restaurant	URBAN
Interviewee 15	2002	UNKNOWN	female	Urban Centre	Kampong Cham	restaurant	URBAN
Interviewee 16	2004	URBAN	female	Urban Centre	Kampong Cham	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 17	2003	UNKNOWN	female	Urban Centre	Kampong Cham	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 18	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 19	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	male	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	student	URBAN
Interviewee 20	1999	RURAL	male	Urban Centre	Siem Reap	restaurant	URBAN

PROJECT ID	ARRIVAL	URBAN-RURAL BACKGROUND	GENDER	SAMPLE GROUP	HOMELAND	OCCUPATION	CURRENT LOCATION
Interviewee 21	1997	URBAN	male	North	Takeo	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 22	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 23	2001	RURAL	male	North	Takeo	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 24	1990	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 25	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 26	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 27	1985	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 28	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 29	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 30	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 31	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 32	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 33	1994	RURAL	male	North	Battambang	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 34	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	male	South	Siem Reap	teacher	UNKNOWN
Interviewee 35	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 36	2003	RURAL	female	North	Preah Veang	unemployed	RURAL
Interviewee 37	1983	RURAL	female	North	Svay Reang	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 38	1992	RURAL	female	North	Siem Reap	stall	SUBURBAN
Interviewee 39	2002	RURAL	female	South	Siem Reap	student	SUBURBAN
Interviewee 40	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	South	Siem Reap	Shop	SUBURBAN
Interviewee 41	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	South	Siem Reap	restaurant	RURAL
Interviewee 42	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	South	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 43	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	South	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 44	2001	RURAL	female	South	Kampong Cham	restaurant	SUBURBAN

PROJECT ID	ARRIVAL	URBAN-RURAL BACKGROUND	GENDER	SAMPLE GROUP	HOMELAND	OCCUPATION	CURRENT LOCATION
Interviewee 45	2004	URBAN	female	South	Battambang	restaurant	RURAL
Interviewee 46	1999	RURAL	male	South	Siem Reap	restaurant	RURAL
Interviewee 47	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	female	South	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 48	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	male	South	Siem Reap	teacher	SUBURBAN
Interviewee 49	2004	RURAL	female	west	Kandal	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 50	2002	URBAN	female	west	Phnom Penh	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 51	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	west	Siem Reap	stall	URBAN
Interviewee 52	Born in Siem Reap	URBAN	male	west	Siem Reap	environment conservation	URBAN
Interviewee 53	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	male	east	Siem Reap	fishermen	RURAL
Interviewee 54	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	farmer	RURAL
Interviewee 55	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	farmer	RURAL
Interviewee 56	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	none	RURAL
Interviewee 57	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 58	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	none	URBAN
Interviewee 59	2004	URBAN	female	east	Kratie	stall	RURAL
Interviewee 60	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	none	RURAL
Interviewee 61	Born in Siem Reap	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	none	RURAL
Interviewee 62	1994	RURAL	female	east	Siem Reap	Angkor checkpoint	RURAL

APPENDIX B: APSARA INTERVIEWEE ATTRIBUTES

Document	ARRIVAL IN SIEM REAP	URBAN-RURAL BACKGROUND	DATE	GENDER	HOMELAND	LENGTH OF TIME IN SIEM REAP	APSARA DEPARTMENT
APSARA Interviewee 1	1994	URBAN	2006/10	Male	Phnom Penh	2 years	DMA2
APSARA Interviewee 2	1996	URBAN	2006/10	Male	Phnom Penh	6 years	DMA2
APSARA Interviewee 3	Born in SR	RURAL	2006/10	Male	Siem Reap	Born in SR	DMA2
APSARA Interviewee 4	2001	RURAL	2006/10	Male	Takeo	1 year	DMA2
APSARA Interviewee 5	2002	URBAN	2006/10	Male	Phnom Penh	1.5 years	DMA2
APSARA Interviewee 6	1995	URBAN	2006/10	Female	Phnom Penh	10 years	DUD
APSARA Interviewee 7	2005	RURAL	2006/10	Male	Kandal	1 year	DWF
APSARA Interviewee 8	2003	RURAL	2006/10	Male	Kampong Thom	3 years	DWF
APSARA Interviewee 9	2004	URBAN	2006/11	Male	Phnom Penh	0.5 years	DWF
APSARA Interviewee 10	2001	URBAN	2006/11	Male	Phnom Penh	2 years	DWF
APSARA Interviewee 11	1995	RURAL	2006/11	Male	Battambang	1 year	DUD
APSARA Interviewee 12	Born in SR	URBAN	2006/11	Female	Siem Reap	Born in SR	DUD
APSARA Interviewee 13	1999	URBAN	2006/12	Male	Phnom Penh	2 years	DWF

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?

- Where do you see lots of hotels?
 - Where do you see lots of guesthouses?
 - Where do you see lots of restaurants? (For foreigner versus Khmer)
 - Where are the houses for Khmer people?
- **Section 3: Change in Siem Reap and its consequences.**
 - How has Siem Reap changed? (*time period relative to how long the person has been here*)
 - What changes do you like? What changes don't you like? Why? Where are these occurring?
 - What places do you visit regularly? What places would you not go? Why? Can you find these places on the image for me?
 - Where is the tourist development (hotels, guesthouses and restaurants)? Can you describe it to me? How do you feel about this?
 - Where is the town spreading/growing? How? How do you feel about this?
 - Where do you see new house?
 - Where do new people live when they move to Siem Reap
 - 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?
 - How do you think Siem Reap will change in the next 10 years? Where?
 - 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*)
 - What do you think about people living around the temples? In the Angkor Park? Why?
 - What do you think about the idea of having an area between the town and Angkor where there is no buildings? Why?
 - 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?
 - 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*)
 - Can you find your house/village on the image?
 - Can you locate your place of employment?
 - Where do your family and friends live?
 - 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

COUNTRY	DATE	GROUP	MEETING	MEETING	FILE NAME
UNESCO	1993/1	UNESCO	Jan-93	Preparatory meeting	1993_january
UNESCO	1993/1	UNESCO	Jan-93	Preparatory meeting	1993_january_annexe_1
UNESCO	1993/1	UNESCO	Jan-93	Preparatory meeting	1993_january_annexe_2
UNESCO	1993/1	UNESCO	Jan-93	Preparatory meeting	1993_january_annexe_6
UNESCO	1993/1	UNESCO	Jan-93	Preparatory meeting	1993_january_annexe_7
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_october_a_1
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_october_a_2
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_october_a_3
UNESCO	1993/10	UNESCO	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_october_a_4
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_october_a_5
ICC	1993/10	UNESCO	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_1
Hungary	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_10
India	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_11
Indonesia	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_12
Japan	1993/10	Japan	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_13
Laos	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_14
Luxembourg	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_15
Malaysia	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_16
Netherlands	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_17
Philippines	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_18
Poland	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_19
Japan	1993/10	Japan	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_2

COUNTRY	DATE	GROUP	MEETING	MEETING	FILE NAME
Russia	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_20
Singapore	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_21
Sri Lanka	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_22
Sweden	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_23
Switzerland	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_24
Thailand	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_25
United Kingdom	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_26
USA	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_27
ADB	1993/10	international agencies	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_29
France and Japan	1993/10	France	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_3
ICCROM	1993/10	international heritage agencies	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_30
SEAMO SPAFA	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_31
UNV	1993/10	international agencies	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_33
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_4
Cambodia	1993/10	Cambodia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_5
China	1993/10	Asia	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_7
Germany	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	1993_October_b_9
EU	1993/10	western	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	October_1993_28
UNDP	1993/10	international agencies	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	October_1993_32
UNESCO	1993/10	UNESCO	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	October_1993_6
France	1993/10	France	Oct-93	1st Intergovernmental	October_1993_8
France	1993/12	France	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_1
Japan	1993/12	Japan	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_10
Poland	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_10b
Russia	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_11
Switzerland	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_12
United Kingdom	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_12b

COUNTRY	DATE	GROUP	MEETING	MEETING	FILE NAME
USA	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_13
EU	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_13b
ADB	1993/12	international agencies	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_14
UNDP	1993/12	international agencies	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_14b
SEAMO SPAFA	1993/12	Asia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_15
ICC	1993/12	UNESCO	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_16
France	1993/12	France	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_17
UNESCO	1993/12	UNESCO	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_17b
Cambodia	1993/12	Cambodia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_17c
Japan	1993/12	Japan	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_2
Cambodia	1993/12	Cambodia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_3
UNESCO	1993/12	UNESCO	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_4
ICC	1993/12	UNESCO	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_5
Cambodia	1993/12	Cambodia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_6
Cambodia	1993/12	Cambodia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_7
Germany	1993/12	western	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_8
China	1993/12	Asia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_8b
France	1993/12	France	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_9
India	1993/12	Asia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_9b
Indonesia	1993/12	Asia	Dec-93	ICC	December_1993_9c
ICC	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_1
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_10
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_11
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_12
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_13
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_14
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_15
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_16
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_17
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_18
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_19
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_20

COUNTRY	DATE	GROUP	MEETING	MEETING	FILE NAME
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_21
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_22
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_9
France	2003/11	France	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_1
Cambodia	2003/11	Cambodia	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_2
UNESCO	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_3
France and Japan	2003/11	France	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_4
WHC	2003/11	international agencies	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_5
ICC	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_6
ICC	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_7
ICC	2003/11	UNESCO	Nov-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_november_a_8
ICC	2003/12	UNESCO	Dec-03	2nd Intergovernmental	2003_december_a
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_1
Japan	2003/6	Japan	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_10
Japan	2003/6	Japan	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_11
France	2003/6	France	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_12
IMF	2003/6	international agencies	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_13
Germany	2003/6	western	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_14
UNESCO	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_15
Japan	2003/6	Japan	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_16
USA	2003/6	western	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_17
India	2003/6	Asia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_18
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_19
France	2003/6	France	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_2
France	2003/6	France	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_20
The Nginn Karet Foundation	2003/6	NGOs	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_21
Centre for Khmer Studies	2003/6	NGOs	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_22
UNESCO	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_23
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_24
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_25
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_26

COUNTRY	DATE	GROUP	MEETING	MEETING	FILE NAME
UNESCO	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_27
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_28
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_29
Japan	2003/6	Japan	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_3
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_30
France	2003/6	France	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_31
Japan	2003/6	Japan	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_32
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_33
UNESCO	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_34
UNESCO	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_4
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_5
ICC	2003/6	UNESCO	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_6
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_7
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_8
Cambodia	2003/6	Cambodia	Jun-03	ICC	2003_june_9

APPENDIX E: LIST OF ICC MEETING AGENDAS ANALYSED

YEAR	MEETING	INSITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK	SAFEGUARDING CONSERVATION RESEARCH	SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	AGENDA ITEMS
1993	First Intergovernmental Conference On The Safeguarding And Development Of The Historical Area Of Angkor	8	16	9	33
	Plenary Session 1 1993	7	13	4	24
1994	Technical Committee 1 1994	7	23	9	39
	Technical Committee 2 1994	4	26	10	40
1995	Technical Committee 3 1995	11	28	15	54
	Technical Committee 4 1995	9	21	6	36
1996	Technical Committee 5 1996	9	24	9	42
1998	Plenary Session 4 1998	8	15	1	24
1999	Plenary Session 6 1999	5	13	6	24
2001	Plenary Session 8 2001		15	6	21
	Technical Committee 11 2001	5	11	8	24
2002	Plenary Session 9 2002	1	14	12	27
	Technical Committee 12 2002	5	22	15	42
2003	2nd Intergovernmental Conference For The Safeguarding And Sustainable Development Of Angkor And Its Region	3	17	17	37
	Plenary Session 10 2003	11	12	13	36
2004	Plenary Session 11 2004	8	15	7	30
	Technical Committee 2004	1	33	26	60
2005	Plenary Session 12 2005	7	19	9	35
	Technical Committee 2005		23	26	49
2006	Technical Committee 15 2006	1	27	18	46
	Plenary Session 13 2006	2	16	14	32
	TOTAL AGENDA ITEMS FOR ALL YEARS	112	403	240	755

APPENDIX F: FORM USED TO RECORD FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Point Number (4 digits)	Date on the IPAQ	Time on the IPAQ		
<u>SECTION 1: BUILDINGS</u>		YES	NO	
Who is the major user of the buildings?		<i>Khmer</i>	<i>Foreigner</i>	<i>Both</i>
How tall are the buildings?	> 1 storey	1 storey	2 storeys	3 storeys < 3 storeys
How dense are the buildings?	<i>Scattered (isolated buildings)</i>	<i>Low (houses scattered but some connections)</i>	<i>Medium (buildings are separated)</i>	<i>high (buildings right next to each other)</i>
atmosphere/setting	Urban environment	Village environment		neither
What type of buildings are there?				
Houses		<i>none</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>Most</i>
Shops		<i>none</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>Most</i>
Accommodation		<i>none</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>most</i>
Other (Describe)				
Are there any hotels?		<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>More than 1</i>
Are there any guesthouses?		<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>More than 1</i>
Architectural style	<i>Old village</i> <i>New village</i>	<i>(neo-)colonial</i>	<i>Old urban</i>	<i>Modern urban</i>
Majority age of buildings	<i>seem to be older than the end of the war</i>		<i>Medium-old</i>	<i>new</i>
<u>SECTION 2: LANDUSE</u>				
What is the main land use?	<i>agricultural</i>	<i>residential</i>	<i>commercial</i>	<i>World heritage</i>
	<i>Residential/commercial</i>	<i>Agricultural/residential</i>		<i>Other</i>
<u>SECTION 3: VEGETATION</u>		YES	NO	
How tall is the vegetation?	<i>Ground level</i>	<i>> 1 building storey</i>	<i>1 building storey <</i>	
Is the vegetation taller than the surrounding buildings?			<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
What type of vegetation?	<i>garden</i> <i>Rice field</i>	<i>grazing</i>	<i>Cultivated</i>	<i>jungle</i> <i>Other</i> _____
Is the vegetation divided up by fences?			<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
<u>SECTION 4: ROADS</u>		YES	NO	
Condition of the roads	<i>asphalt</i>	<i>Smooth dirt</i>	<i>Rough dirt</i>	
Width of the roads	<i>less than a car width</i>	<i>one lane wide</i>	<i>two lanes</i>	<i>more than two lanes</i>
What traffic is using the roads?	<i>Local traffic</i>		<i>Through traffic</i>	
<u>SECTION 4: DEVELOPMENT</u>		YES	NO	
How big is the development?	<i>extensions</i>	<i>Small (house)</i>	<i>Medium (2-3storey buildings)</i>	<i>Large (big hotels)</i>
<u>SECTION 5: WATER FEATURES</u>		YES	NO	
Describe				
Lower lying land?	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>		
<u>ANY OTHER COMMENTS</u>				
PHOTO NUMBERS				