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## ANGKOR HERITAGE TOURISM

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## Executive Summary

Designated as the World Heritage Site in 1992, Angkor has become new destination for heritage tourists from the region and the world. The dramatic increase in tourist arrivals poses many questions regarding the issues of sustainability. The objectives of this thesis are to understand the perceptions of tourists, local people and experts in regard to tourism in Angkor Park. Through the analysis of these three sets of perceptions, an assessment of the impact of tourism and their relevance to sustainable heritage tourism is possible. The case study research method used in this study integrates structured questionnaires with interviews and participant observation. Angkor Park and Siem Reap town were used as the research site. The study argues that triangulating tourist, local residents and experts' perceptions is important in understanding the meanings and implications of tourism, especially heritage tourism. The findings indicate that tourists are generally satisfied with their experiences during their visits to Angkor Park and Siem Reap town. Their perceptions are influenced by their motivations before coming to Angkor and their actual experiences at the destination. The local people are marginally benefiting from the tourism industry. In general, the poor and powerless are left behind in terms of tourism development. The benefits from the tourism industry are not well distributed. The gap between rich and poor is widening and food price inflation mainly driven by the tourism industry is causing more difficulties for those living in the rural areas in proximity to the tourist destinations. The power struggle and conflict between heritage conservationists and tourism developers (especially tourism related business groups) are quite serious, and in most cases tourism developers are given special privileges. Poverty and lack of participation, the imbalance between heritage site management and heritage site commercialization, the lack of collaboration among the key stakeholders, and the lack of proper management of urbanization in Siem Reap town are the main challenges for sustainable heritage tourism in the Angkor region.

In order to have sustainable heritage tourism, at least three conditions must be met: positive tourist experiences, positive local participation in the tourism industry, and win-win collaboration between conservationists and tourism developers. Three pillars (place/environment conservation, cultural and social assets conservation and development, and fair economic interests' distribution) are the fundamental foundation for sustainable heritage tourism.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> A natural link exists between tourism and cultural heritage management, yet little discussion and debate occurs between them on the sustainability of heritage tourism. (du Cros, 2001:65)

Tourism is an emerging social and political economic phenomenon in almost all societies (see Apostolopoulos, 1996: 2; Godde, Price, and Zimmermann 2000: 1; Harrison, 1992: 2; Jafari, 1982: 253; Jafari, 2001: 29; Yamashita, Din, and Eades, 1997: 13; Theobald, 2005: 75; Wood, 1980: 561-2). Two main groups of views on the impacts of tourism currently exist, which we can call the "Advocacy Platform" and the "Cautionary Platform." The "Advocacy Platform" emphasizes the beneficial influences of tourism, including both economic benefits (it is labor intensive, it earns foreign exchange, it promotes local products, it makes use of available resources, and it has spillover effects into other economic activities); and sociocultural benefits (promoting mutual understanding, education, revitalizing and preserving local cultural heritage, and creating a sense of pride on a global stage). On the other hand, the "Cautionary Platform" emphasizes the costs and potential negative impacts of tourism, consisting of economic costs (inflation, leakage, seasonal unemployment, spread of disease, economic fluctuations, widening development gap, dependency, demonstration effects, resource eradication, and pollution) and sociocultural costs (misunderstanding leading to conflict, xenophobia, "social pollution" as a result of westernization, over-commoditization of local culture and values, prostitution, crime, and other social conflicts) (Jafari, 2001: 30). It is, therefore, necessary to investigate the phenomenon of tourism and its impacts in a particular situation and environment. Since tourism has both positive and negative impacts on the local society, economy, culture, and environment, it presents a challenge for sustainable tourism advocates. The question of how to make tourism sustainable has been posed and answered in many ways.

## 1.1. Heritage tourism and sustainability: Theoretical issues

The focus of this research is the sustainability of heritage tourism to Angkor. The research attempts to synthesize competing perspectives on sustainable heritage tourism, and to determine policies for the development of heritage tourism to Angkor. First the relevant terms used are defined, and then I define and discuss the main perspectives concerning heritage tourism in the relevant literatures. Following this, an overview of the main views is presented, and this research is positioned in its theoretical context. The research problem and objectives will then be determined, and the basis on which the theoretical and methodological choices were made is reported.

### 1.1.1. Definitions of heritage tourism

Many definitions have been developed to define the word "heritage". Heritage means different things to different people in different contexts. Heritage can be defined as "contemporary uses of the past" (Ashworth, 1997) while Millar (1995: 120) defines heritage as "a special sense of belonging and of continuity that is different for each person." Smith equates heritage with "the analysis by the resident population of the traditional culture in terms of appropriateness for display and manner of display. Museums, folk villages, ceremonial events, and festivals are among the options." (Smith, 2001a: 113). Heritage includes "historic buildings and monuments; the sites of important past events like battles; traditional landscapes and indigenous wildlife; language, literature, music, and art; traditional events and folklore practices; traditional lifestyles including food and drink and sport" (Sethi, 1999: 1). Heritage is classified into two groups as tangible immovable resources (e.g. buildings, rivers, natural areas); intangible movable resources (e.g. objects in museums, documents in archives); or intangibles such as values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles, and including experiences such as festivals, arts and cultural events (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 3). According to ICOMOS:

> Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long process of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future.[1]

According to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972, heritage is divided into two categories namely cultural heritage and natural heritage.

> Cultural heritage includes monuments (architectural works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements of structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwelling and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science), groups of buildings (groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity of their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science, and sites (works of man of the combined works of nature and man, and areas

[1] ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter, Principles and Guidelines for Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance, International Council on Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Committee, December 2002.

including archeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view) (UNESCO 1972).

Natural heritage includes natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; and natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty (UNESCO 1972).

Heritage tourism started long time ago, about 2000 years ago. But it takes long time for the industry to get its popularity. The word "heritage" has been widely used at least in Europe since the 1970s (Sethi, 1999: 1). But it is quite a new phenomenon in the field of social science research.

Several definitions have been suggested. Sethi defines heritage tourism as "tourism which is based on heritage where heritage is the core of the product that is offered and heritage is the main motivating factor for the consumer." In addition, Silberberg describes heritage tourism as "visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution" (Silberberg, 1995: 361). Heritage tourism is "a subgroup of tourism, in which the main *motivation* for visiting a site is based on the place's heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage" (Poria *et al*., 2001: 1048, original italics).

In this study the term "heritage tourism" is similarly defined as the motivation to visit archaeological sites, monuments, architecture, museums, religious sites, palaces and local cultural sites showing the local people's way of living, arts, crafts, and cultural performances based on the tourists' perception of the heritage destinations. Normally, heritage tourism links with the perceived authenticity of the destination's attributes.

### 1.1.2. Heritage tourism and the issue of sustainability

Interest in heritage tourism has been growing strongly since the 1980s. The demand for heritage experiences has increased rapidly (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000: vii). The numbers of tourists, especially the middle and high class tourists, visiting heritage sites are rising dramatically (Prentice, 2003: 171-76). Much attention and many studies have been devoted to heritage tourism (Balcar and Pearce, 1996: 203). Heritage tourism is increasingly recognized as one of the main sectors in the tourism industry, given that modern tourists increasingly tend to focus on gaining experiences from participating in the culture, social life and natural environment of others (Cohen, 1996b: 93; Dickinson, 1996). Even though mass tourists often head for the established beach holiday resorts and heritage tourism is often a niche market with smaller numbers of generally more highly educated and higher income tourists, heritage tourism

is still one of the most important products of the tourism industry given it meets both the demands of the tourists who want to learn about the history, culture, and lifestyle of the destinations and of the local people, and heritage preservation through economic value added. It is argued that heritage tourism is a key to improving human security through economic security, economic growth, and development (Jasparo, 2003: 11-21 and 199).

The dramatic increase of heritage tourism in recent decades impacts many aspects of social life and the environment belonging to the heritage sites. The increase in heritage tourists and an increasingly sophisticated and discriminating market have meant that management and interpretation are now the key issues. On one hand, it requires adequate funding to enable and preserve heritage attractions (Cossons, 1989: 192) while on the other hand, it needs proper management and even sometimes it is necessary to limit the number of tourists to specific destinations due to the limited carrying capacity.

There is a mixed picture of the impacts of heritage tourism. Russo and Brog cautiously observe that incomes from heritage tourism can be used to fill in the gap of funding "whereas if ungoverned, the tourist use of the town costs more than it pays" (Russo and Borg, 2000: 94). Against such a background, there is need for exploratory studies on managing heritage tourism in a sustainable way.

The increase in heritage tourism necessitates sustainable heritage management. On the international administration level, a series of international charters, declarations and conventions on heritage management have been drafted by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), ICCROM (International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), ICOM (International Council of Museums), and WTO (World Tourism Organization). Most important is the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage adopted by the General Conference of the UNESCO in 1972. The convention aims at establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods.

However, little academic discussion and debate occur between tourism and heritage management, particularly in the context of sustainable heritage tourism (Du Cros, 2001: 65). In this thesis, a cross cutting theories on sustainable tourism were integrated. The fields of sustainable development, host-guest negotiations, and management science can be applied to construct theories on sustainable heritage tourism.

### a. Theories of sustainable development

Concepts of sustainable heritage tourism have been developed based on the theories of sustainable tourism which have in turn developed from the concepts of sustainable development.

Sustainable tourism was basically defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development in the report entitled "Our Common Future" in 1987 as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 43)[2]. Within this general framework, many concepts relating to sustainable tourism have developed since the early 1990s. De Kadt (1992: 50) suggests that the development of sustainable tourism involves the following features: protection of the environment; small-scale production and consumption; recognition of essentials beyond material consumption; recognition of the necessity to take future generations into account as well; and decision making from the bottom up. Similarly, Griffin and Boele (1997) hold that sustainable tourism should include several key elements: maintaining the current resource base for future generations; maintaining the productivity of the resource base; maintaining biodiversity and avoiding irreversible environmental damage; and ensuring equity both within and between generations (Griffin and Boele, 1997: 322-23). Hall (2000a: 101) argues that "sustainable tourism means conserving the productive basis of the physical environment by preserving the integrity of the biota and ecological processes and producing tourism commodities without degrading other values, including socio-cultural and economic values." Yamashita (2003: 107) posits that "Sustainable tourism can be defined as development which will benefit the people of today without harming the resources to be shared by future generations or their prosperity. In other words, it is promotion of development that maintains a balance between ecosystem, society and culture." The above theories of sustainable tourism emphasize the balanced preservation and management of the natural, cultural, and other resources of tourism.

**b. Host and guest perceptions**

Other theories emphasize the relationship between the satisfaction of both local people and tourists and sustainable tourism. Wallace argues that:

> Sustainable tourism depends as much on hosts' and guests' cultural definition of a tourist destination as it does on the desire to protect the environment. The negotiation over the definition of a tourist destination has an impact on the environment and on the host culture and society…the degree to which sustainable development through tourism is possible depends on the negotiation among hosts and guests as to which interpretation of the touristic value and meaning of the destination predominates (Wallace, 2001: 298).

[2] There are four principles which emerged from the World Commision on Environment and Development: 1. Ecological sustainability: Development must be compatible with the maintenance of ecological processes, biological diversity and biological resources. 2. Economic sustainability: Development must be economically efficient and equitable within and between generations. 3. Social sustainability: Development must be designed to increase people's control over their lives and maintain and strengthen community identity. 4. Cultural sustainability: Development must be compatible with the culture and the values of the people affected by it.

Sustainable tourism should be consistent with the local community values and allow "both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences" (Eadington and Smith, 1992: 3). Sustainable tourism involves providing for the needs of current tourists and host regions while at the same time protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future (Low, 2001: 23).

Local perceptions towards, and participation in the tourism industry are important elements for sustainable tourism (see Bramwell *et al*., 1998; Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004: 495; Richards and Hall, 2000: 1; Tosun, 2002) or more broadly "local empowerment" which means the distribution of power and enabling the local people to be actively involved in decision making processes, so that they can support the tourism development processes and benefit from the tourism cash cow (see Du Cros *et al*., 2005; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003).

In order to enhance community benefits from tourism, the industry should promote empowerment, encourage active participation, identify both tangible and intangible benefits of tourism, share the benefits and costs of tourism, support diverse livelihood options, and develop positive relationships between communities and other tourism stakeholders (Scheyvens, 2002:238-345; Cochrane, 2000). Moreover, local needs must be addressed such as community education (Din, 1993). According to Hitcock *et al*. (1993), sustainable tourism should balance with the adaptive capacity of the local people, culture and environment.

In relation to the tourist experience and sustainable heritage tourism, Poria *et al.* (2006) emphasize the importance of the perception of the individuals in preserving sustainable heritage tourism. They argue that viewing the heritage site is the main motivation for the visit. This means that tourist behavior determines the nature of sustainable heritage tourism. Moreover, Millar suggests that "Heritage sites need to have their own unique attributes emphasized and the interpretation and presentation of the attraction must be such as to *accommodate the needs of the visitor* while at the same time management has a responsibility to the community to preserve the site for posterity" (Millar, 1989: 9, emphasis added).

To provide a quality tourist experiences, authenticity is one of the central elements. Eugenio Yunis, a representative of the WTO, noted that:

> [b]alancing the objectives for tourism and conservation without harming the physical and spiritual value of the heritage is the key for managing tangible heritages, while that for managing intangible heritage is *authenticity*. Since authenticity is crucial to the attractiveness of a destination with intangible heritage, local authorities need to protect the sustainability of authenticity through continuous regeneration of skills and values. (cited in Tussyadiah, 2005:276, emphasis added).

To have sustainable heritage tourism from a host-guest perspective means that the quality of tourist experiences and positive perceptions of the local people towards tourists are necessary. Tourists should be satisfied with their visit and local residents should also be pleased with tourist arrivals. The encounter and negotiation between tourists and local residents must be based on mutual respect and interests.

Other studies on tourist perceptions, experiences, and motivations can be found in the works of Craik (1995), Graham et al. (2000), Ryan (1997), Cohen (1998, 2004), Crampton (2004), Urry (2002), Suvantola (2002), Boorsin (1972), MacCannel (1976), Swarbrooke and Horner (2007), and Gnot (1997). These studies will be discussed in Chapter 5 on tourist perceptions.

### c. The planning and management perspective

Many theories on sustainable heritage tourism are also derived from the planning and management perspective. Jamieson lists several problems facing sustainable heritage tourism. Public financing for the preservation of heritage resources is declining, and tourism is increasingly considered as the main source for heritage preservation. There are therefore pressures to view heritage as a commodity rather than as a cultural and historical resource. To deal with these issues, "the community, as well as tourism interests, should have a long term view in planning and heritage resource protection if resources are to be conserved for future generations" (Jamieson, 1998: 66-67). Also from the planners and managers' perspective, McKercher and Du Cros suggest that preserving cultural heritage tourism needs the involvement and responsibility of the relevant stakeholders including heritage assets managers, tourism industry and the tourists themselves. It is emphasized that "each of these has a strong social and moral contribution to make to ensure that the valuable cultural heritage assets are conserved for future generations" (McKercher and du Cros, 2006: 219). Sustainable tourism depends on "decision makers, educators, NGOs and especially local stakeholders who adopt the principles of sustainable development into their management philosophy and daily practice" (Liburd, 2007: 155).

The study by Laws and Le Pelley (2000) of sustainable heritage tourism in the English city of Canterbury suggests an "open, soft systems model." This model comprises primary elements, the historic city and its attractions, and secondary elements. This latter category includes hotels, guest houses and the range of attractions, shopping and catering in the city centre, additional elements (information services available to visitors, catering, car parking), destination inputs (managerial and technical skills), external factors (e.g. changing competitive conditions and improvement of the transport network), the methods assessing the outcome of the system, and evaluation of the outcome in order to get feedback and make policy recommendations for the future.

Garrod and Fyall (2000) argue that sustainable heritage management must address four issues in order to assess whether heritage tourism can be sustainable. First, we need to analyze and evaluate the mission statements of heritage attractions. What are the unique points of

heritage sites and the ways to express those points? Second, we need to examine the factors affecting the pricing of entrance ticket to the heritage sites. Third, we need to understand the ideology or thoughts of the heritage managers regarding the sustainability issue. Finally, we need to determine the roles played by the public sector that assists financially the management and conservation of the heritage attractions.

Du Cros (2000) suggests that there should be a combination of cultural heritage management and tourism development. Such a combination or integration should be maintained throughout the development and management of heritage attractions. Du Cros (2001) provides a matrix model which uses "the relationship between the continuums of robusticity and market appeal" to explain the linkage between tourism and cultural heritage management. It means that we should segment the heritage products by their appealing level to the tourists and then manage the heritage sites accordingly and appropriately. The segmentation is based on the market appeal of each heritage site (the indicator used to define the market appeal being the number of tourists visiting the site every day).

Markandya (2000) looks at sustainable heritage tourism from an economic management perspective. The study suggests that charges and permits at the sites need to be implemented together with achievement of a "socially optimal solution". The cost of congestion and other external costs need to be evaluated quantitatively in order to get the maximum benefits. It is suggested that to deal with congestion problem, a monopoly policy in managing the traffic and operating the tourist sites should be implemented.

Barré suggests that to have sustainable heritage tourism "depends, one the one hand, on preserving the authenticity and specificity of the sites but also, on the other hand, on meeting international standards in terms of quality of service, comfortable accommodation, staff professionalism, hygiene, and security" (Barré, 2002: 130).

The above theories demonstrate various approaches to sustainable heritage tourism, but it seems that there is no standard theory of sustainable heritage tourism. We must rely on a case by case approach and different perspectives provide different approaches and different theoretical frameworks.

In this study, I combine all the above approaches to sustainable heritage management by specifically looking at three dimensions: host, guests, and local experts. These are the main stakeholders contributing to heritage tourism development and management. Contextualized sustainable tourism management by including and analyzing the perceptions and views of the main stakeholders is the most appropriate way to address the issue.

## 1.2. Research problems

### 1.2.1. Tourism and its impacts: Empirical investigation required

The literatures on tourism and development in developing countries suggest that the impacts of tourism can be positive and negative. It is different from one case to another, making

it difficult to form an overall picture which can be generalized. Hitchcock *et al.* (1993: 5) generally observe that research on tourism development "has focused on whether its effects are beneficial or negative and whether they are developmental or anti-developmental". It is necessary to go beyond this through examining closely the interactions and relations of elements and actors involving in tourism industry which is a highly social, political, and economic complex.

Due to the complicated picture of the tourism impacts, we are required to examine empirically the phenomenon and analyze the integrated impacts of tourism on the socioeconomic, political and cultural structure (Apostolopoulos, 1996: 8). The importance of tourism development and the different impacts it brings about emphasize the importance of "sustainable tourism management."

### 1.2.2. Sustainable heritage tourism: An adaptive paradigm

Sustainability is one of the most prominent issues faced by the tourism industry. However, there are different views on the management issues. The problem is that heritage tourism always implies some kind of balance. On one hand, tourism justifies politically and economically the conservation of heritage sites. On the other hand, uncontrolled increased visitation to the heritage sites without due respect to their cultural and historical values can lead to the damage of the integrity and authenticity of local culture and historical monuments. Theories of sustainable heritage tourism differ in their focus on these key elements. Sustainable heritage tourism is a subdivision of sustainable development which "means different things for different people, depending on their positions and perspectives" (Bramwell and Lane, 2005:52).

These different theories of sustainable heritage tourism create a theoretical puzzle. It seems that there is no absolute standard for managing sustainable heritage tourism: it all depends on specific circumstances. Hunter (1997:851) rightly notes that "sustainable tourism should not be regarded as a rigid framework, but rather as an adaptive paradigm which legitimizes a variety of approaches according to specific circumstances." This study, therefore, attempts to integrate these various theoretical frameworks to examine the case of Angkor heritage tourism in order to determine the problems facing sustainable heritage tourism management and their appropriate solutions.

The main question in this study therefore is how to combine these approaches in order to provide a more comprehensive and holistic model for the analysis of Angkor heritage tourism and the related issues of its sustainability.

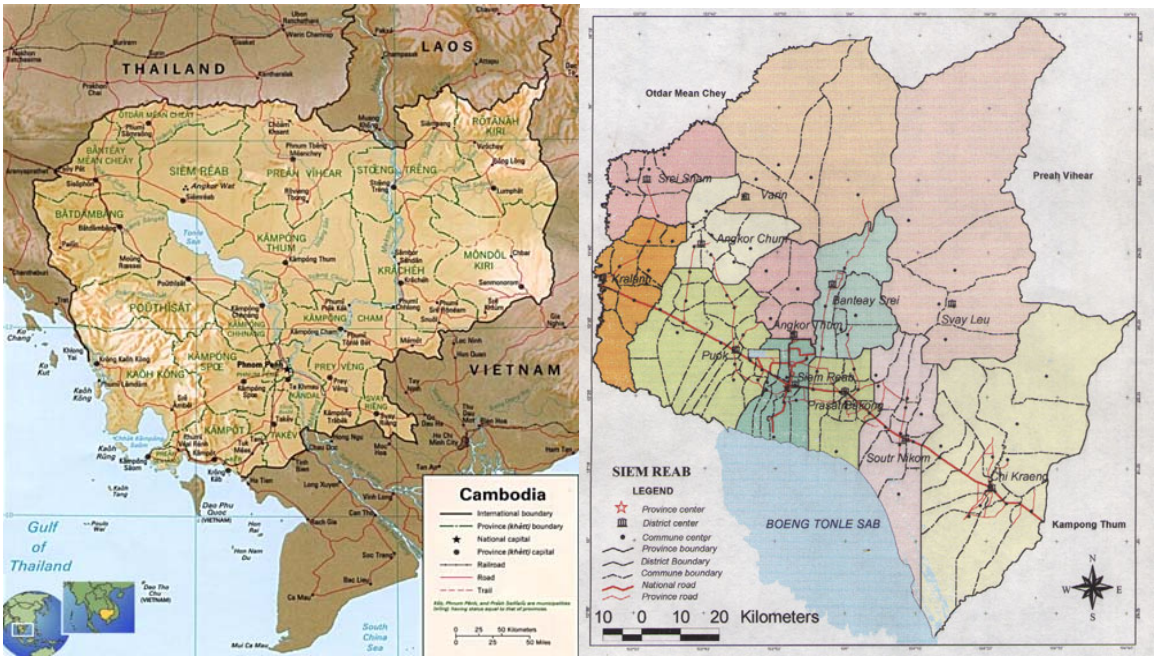
An adaptive paradigm which brings together the approaches used to deal with a particular situation, therefore, is applicable in examining the case of Angkor heritage tourism, through combining general theories and practices at the local level to determine the issues of sustainability which Angkor tourism is facing. Based on these analyses of the issues, theories can be constructed and policy recommendations can be made.

Based on the principle of an adaptive paradigm, three sets of perceptions are examined and analyzed in this study, which can be called a *triangular perceptions perspective*. This provides a broad-based approach to sustainable heritage tourism. It helps us to identify the issues in a particular context and from that we could design a proper and effective sustainable tourism policy. The triangular perceptions model includes tourist perceptions, local perceptions, and expert perceptions.

### 1.2.3. Challenges for the management of Angkor heritage tourism

Angkor, located in Siem Reap province in the north-western part of Cambodia, is one of the major world heritage tourist destinations. Siem Reap provincial city or town is about five kilometers away from the Angkor heritage site complex. Visitors to Angkor need to stay in Siem Reap town since it is the only closest urban city to the Angkor Park. Visitors also could enjoy the Khmer culture and food in the town after visiting the Angkor temple complex. There is a necessary link between Siem Reap town and Angkor heritage site as an integrated single heritage tourist destination.

Map 1: Cambodia and Siem Reap Province (Source: http://www.canbypublications.com/maps/provsr.htm)




**Map 2:** Angkor Archeological Site (Source: http://www.canbypublications.com/maps/templemap.htm)

Siem Reap is located in the north of Cambodia, bordering on the Tonle Sap (Great Lake) floodplain. Siem Reap, particularly the inner city, is one of the fastest changing regions in Cambodia, given its proximity to the Angkor complex.

> The town of Siem Reap is the administrative seat of the Province and the only important urban center. With approximately 50,000 inhabitants in the urban core and 84,000 in the surrounding villages, Siem Reap is the focus for the region's economy and a major station for inter-regional transport and exchange. The immediate proximity of the Angkor archeological site makes it the most important pole for tourism in the country. The town thus serves administrative, commercial and tourist functions, which strongly mark the urban landscape and the organization of space (APSARA, 1998: 139).

The Angkor civilization, which lasted mainly between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, resulted in the construction of the Angkor cities with their temples and monasteries, together with a strong administrative and political system. Agriculture was the main economic engine of the times, thanks to the ancient and sophisticated irrigation system called *baray*[3] which still exists today, and the floating rice cultivation on Tonle Sap Lake. After the collapse of the Khmer Empire in the fifteenth century, the city still accommodated an agrarian society.

[3] The Western and Eastern Baray are part of the Angkor complex and argued by some scholars to religious structures rather than agricultural infrastructure. However, it is strongly believed by the local people that it was used for agricultural purpose.

In spite of the richness of the local cultural and social system, studies of the daily lives of the Angkor people at the time were very limited. The only observations were made by the Chinese traveler and diplomatic envoy, Tcheou Ta-Kuan, who visited Angkor at the end of the thirteenth century. His personal account showed that the city was populous and wealthy. Modern studies on the people living in Angkor Park have been conducted by several scholars such as Keiko Miura who examined life in Angkor Park through the eyes of the local villagers (Miura, 2004) and Tim Winter who investigated postcolonial Cambodian identity reconstruction within the context of tourism (Winter, 2007). The studies recognized and emphasized the significant linkages between local practices and beliefs with the Angkor heritage site.

Four hundred years after the demise of Angkor as a city, the small market village of Siem Reap was developed along the banks of the Siem Reap River. European explorers to the region in the 19th century described the town as an "unimportant" and "sleepy" place. In 1863, Cambodia, like most other countries in Asia, came under the influence of European colonial expansion. The Angkor region was added to the French colony of Indochina 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.

With the opening of the Angkor Archaeological Park in 1925, containing at least 60 sites of tourist attraction within its four hundred square kilometer area, the region became the most important tourist attraction in Cambodia (Wager, 1995: 516). In the same year, the road from Siem Reap to Phnom Penh was made passable, providing increased access all year (Rooney 2001: 83). The development of tourism gave rise to changes in the Siem Reap townscape, with guest bungalows and hotels being opened (Rooney 2001: 70). The largest of these was the Grand Hotel d'Angkor (opened in 1929), described as "an immense and dazzling white concrete palace that looked more at home on the Cote d'Azur" (Rooney 2001: 70).

Following the Japanese occupation during World War II, the French granted independence to Cambodia in 1953. Cambodia prospered in the 1950s and 1960s. The Siem Reap townscape remained relatively unchanged during these years (AusHeritage and ASEAN-COCI 2003:4). Over a thousand people were employed by the Angkor Conservation Office, involved in various restoration, conservation and research activities (Wager 1995: 522). Added to this, there are many people employed in the tourism and related businesses.

The spread of the Vietnam War to Cambodia in the 1970s led to the abandonment of the maintenance of the Angkor site. The Khmer Rouge took control over the country in 1975, renaming it Democratic Kampuchea. The Khmer Rouge regime evacuated the inhabitants of all the urban areas, including Siem Reap, to the rural areas and even within the rural areas there was forced people movement from place to place. Around two million people died countrywide due to executions, starvation and deprivation by the regime.[4]

After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, the people in Siem Reap could return home and cultivate their land as before. But some were unable to return home, given that the civil war was still going on. Some residents fled to the Thai border and joined the Khmer Rouge forces. After the Paris peace agreement in 1991 which brought an end to the Cambodian

[4] There are no statistics on the population living in Siem Reap before and after the Khmer Rouge regime.

conflict, the refugees in the Cambodia-Thai border could return home and resettle in their home-towns, but some could not get enough land to cultivate. Their entitlements to land rights were also limited and some were prevented from owning and cultivating their land, given the cultivated land had long been abandoned. Most importantly, after the Khmer Rouge regime, the People's Republic of Kampuchea introduced a system of state owned property, including land, and instituted *krom samaki* (solidarity groups) consisting of several families as collective units to cultivate the land (Chandler,1992: 230). Reforms under the State of Cambodia from 1989 to 1992 introduced a free market economy and the privatization of land, with new laws promulgated to allow farmers to own and transfer land title. According to Article 74 of the 1989 Land Law Sub-Degree No.25, people must publicly announce that a certain piece of land is theirs with witnesses; however, if the land has not been cultivated for five consecutive years, it can be taken away by other people (Miura, 2004: 145). These changes result in unclear land entitlement.

The lack of access to natural resources, especially land entitlement and cultivation, has adversely impacted the local livelihood and economy. Poverty and the lack of education led to wide-spread looting of archeological sites such as Angkor Wat, as statues, art works, and relics from the monuments were stolen for commercial purpose.

After the restoration of peace from the 1990s, tourism emerged as the main driving force for socio-economic development in the region. Given the national and historical significance of the Angkor site; efforts to preserve and restore the buildings gained momentum. In 1992, the Angkor site with four hundred square kilometers containing many of the monuments was included in the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee.

With the end of Cambodia's isolation, tourists started to return almost immediately in the early 1990s. In Siem Reap, following 20 years of destruction and neglect, there were just two or three guesthouses near Angkor, and transport from Phnom Penh was in the form of old Soviet Union's planes (Durand 2002: 132). Amongst the early visitors were UNTAC (United Nations Transnational Authority in Cambodia) personnel who stayed in the two remaining hotels, the *Grand Hotel d'Angkor* and the Ta Prohm. Independent foreign travelers attracted to Cambodia by Angkor stayed in smaller guesthouses, or at the temples. These first tourists were attracted by a "new" destination that was emerging out of the jungle and was still full of mystery (Wager 1995: 516).

For the purpose of environmental preservation, promoting the tourist experience, and managing the heritage site of Angkor, the government instructed the local authority to relocate three villages geographically proximate to Angkor Wat, namely Trapeang Sre, Veal, and Teaksen Khang Tbong in 1991. The villagers from these villages were resettled in Phum Thmey. However, because many villagers had rice fields and fruit trees remaining in their old villages, and because they found it difficult to live in a new place, they came back secretly to their old places and some of them even sold their new land in Phum Thmey. Because of this, those who returned have become illegal residents in their native villages. Some of them have no other places to go to and are living in fear of dislocation by the government. Besides traditional land cultivation, the returning villagers in these three villages can earn extra income from selling souvenirs, food, and drinks to tourists (Miura, 2004: 146-7).

Poverty pushed some local villagers and children to become beggars. In 1999, the APSARA Authority[5] ordered beggars to move out of the Angkor Wat compound and arranged for them to resettle in Banteay Srei district. In addition, APSARA Authority which is a public institution highly responsible for the management of Angkor Park, banned children and itinerant vendors of souvenirs from harassing tourists (Miura, 2004: 149).

> Angkor attracts power and authority. The authorities in charge at various times have attempted to manage its space and justify their control over the local population in disregard of subsistence security. The marginalization threatens the very existence of impoverished local villagers, whose moral, social, economic and cultural integrity is at stake. Their sense of belonging has been seriously challenged, and they have constantly been under pressure from the authorities. Heritage sites have become advantageous sites for those who seek power, control, and authority (Miura, 2004: 152).

> Tourists have been coming to Angkor for hundreds of years. In spite of the fact that tourist development was never a first priority either under the French Protectorate after Independence, over the last century, Siem Reap developed as a center for the many thousands of tourists who visited the Angkor Archeological Park each year. As one of the greatest tourist attractions in Southeast Asia, Angkor is rapidly establishing its preeminence on the tourist circuits of the region (APSARA, 1998: 155).

The new era of Angkor Park therefore presents a mixed picture. On one hand, the local residents are happy with tourism booming because they can get income. But on the other hand, there are marginalized villagers who are deprived of customary ownership and management of socio-economic resources, especially in the case of villagers from three dislocated villages.

Tourists coming to Angkor have increased remarkably since the early 1990s, after the civil war in Cambodia ended and stability was restored. The Angkor site "is currently one of Asia's fastest growing destinations" (Winter, 2003: 58). "Cultural tourism" was heralded as "a potent money-spinner" for Cambodia following a conference hosted by the World Tourism Organization and the Cambodian government in Siem Reap in year 2000.[6] Angkor was described as the "foremost jewel of Southeast Asian tourism," and a cultural magnet, attracting

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[5] APSARA was created by Royal Decree in 1995. A second additional Royal Decree reinforced its authority in January 1999. Today, APSARA is placed under the double supervision of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (technical supervision) and the Ministry of Economy and Finance (financial supervision). APSARA's Director General is President of the Administrative Board, assisted by several Deputy Directors General(Retrieved on May 2009 from http://www.autoriteapsara.org/en/apsara/about_apsara/history_organization.html)

[6] *Phnom Penh Post*, Issue 9/26, December 22, 2000 - January 4, 2001

visitors from around the world. It is said that "By 2020, Siem Reap will become a 'beautiful and unique tourist city based on a harmony of history, arts and Khmer culture."[7]

Tourist arrivals to Cambodia have increased dramatically from 118,183 in 1993 to 2,015,128 in 2007. There are about one million tourists visiting Angkor annually and this figure is increasing at about 30 percent per year. This increasing number of tourists has impacted heritage and economic management, the environment, and local community development. There are two conflicting views on Angkor heritage tourism: the international community (trying to preserve the heritage sites) prefers to limit the number of tourists coming to visit Angkor sites in order to provide quality tourist experiences, but domestic interest groups want to welcome more tourists in order to provide jobs and incomes for the local people. So how can we have sustainable tourism development which can satisfy local government, interest groups and international institutions? Can we find a balance between the two? Candelaria observes that:

> A decade of successful preservation efforts of the Angkor sites by Cambodia and the international community has yielded a dilemma between competing tourist policies. Seeking to continue protection of the sites, the international community expects Cambodia to adopt high-quality, sustainable tourism. Meanwhile, domestic pressures exist for the government to encourage mass tourism. In light of extenuating economic conditions, the government's responsibilities to its people should remain paramount over protectionist ideals and the community's voice should not be disregarded in the international community's quest to protect world heritage (Candelaria, 2005: 288).

Tim Winter further sharpens the issue by stating that:

> Fearful of rampant and uncontrolled development, Angkor's international heritage community have viewed tourism as a threat, an imminent danger, and a destructive force to be repelled. In contrast, for the Royal Government of Cambodia, tourism promises vast flows of capital and state wealth. Working in combination, these two discourses have framed the site as a bounded *touristscape* where people, capital and modern construction need to be spatially managed. It is a situation however, which has led to a number of important voids in knowledge and discursive exchange (Winter, 2007: 78).

Research problems in sustainable heritage tourism in general and Angkor heritage tourism in particular reflect the complexity of the tourism related issues. Tourism study opens of different approach and understanding depending on different realities and perceptions on the ground. The common problems are the lack collaboration among key stakeholders in providing high quality tourist experiences and the unfair distribution of the income generated from the tourism industry in poverty reduction.

[7] *Phnom Penh Post*, Issue 15 / 05, March 10 - 23, 2006

### 1.3. Objectives of the Book

Specifically, the objectives of the study are therefore as follows:

1. To examine and analyze the perceptions of tourists, to understand the tourists´ views on Angkor heritage tourism;

2. To examine and analyze the perceptions of local residents, to understand the economic and social effects of the tourism industry on the local people;

3. To examine and analyze the perceptions of local experts in respect to Angkor heritage tourism and management, in order to understand the management and governance issues of Angkor Park and tourism development;

4. To build a theoretical framework of sustainable heritage tourism based on these perceptions.

In order to realize the objectives of the research, it requires asking more specific questions covering the broad picture of tourism development in Cambodia in general and the perceptions of the key players (tourists, locals, and experts) in particular.

#### 1.3.1. Tourism development in Cambodia

Tourism has grown very fast in Cambodia since the early 1990s, thanks to the restoration of political stability and security in the country and the government's open sky policy of promoting tourism in Cambodia to earn foreign currency and provide jobs for the local people. Tourism is regarded by Cambodians in both the public and private sectors as a tool for economic development and poverty reduction.

Therefore, we need to ask:

1. What are the current developments in tourism in Cambodia, and particularly Angkor tourism?

2. Why is tourism so important to Cambodian economic development? How is the government developing tourism?

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of developing tourism in Cambodia?

#### 1.3.2. Tourist perceptions

After conducting a pilot research project in February 2007, I found out that most of the tourists perceived Angkor as ruins through the image they had before coming to the place, they thought Cambodia as a dangerous place to visit, some tourists complained about the kids disturbing them around Angkor Park, the visitor overcrowding at the temples, and the lack of garbage bins in some places. However, generally the tourists were satisfied with their visits to Angkor. It is, thus, necessary to study the tourist perceptions of Angkor tourism scientifically.

4. What is the image of Angkor as a tourism destination?

5. What are the problems facing tourists?

6. How do these problems affect their experiences?

7. Are they really satisfied?

### 1.3.3. Local perceptions

Research results on local perceptions towards tourists are mixed. Generally, it is argued that the local people view tourism as another way to earn their incomes but they have some reservations concerning other social and cultural costs. Several questions should be addressed in order to examine the impacts of tourism on the local community:

8. How does tourism affect their livelihood in terms of income and living expenses? What are the cultural impacts of tourism on their community?

9. How do they view tourists coming to their community?

10. Can they participate in tourism development planning?

11. Are local people really satisfied with tourism development in their community and region?

### 1.3.4. Expert perceptions and heritage management

Decades of civil war and neglect resulted in serious degradation and damage to Angkor monuments. Looting of artifacts from the area was notorious in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s. These issues attracted the attention of the international community and donor countries. They came quickly to help restore Angkor from the early 1990s, after the Cambodian conflict was resolved under the Paris Peace Accord in 1991. Now the influx of tourists to the site is creating new issues for site management. The study attempts to explore these concerns and solutions taken in managing the site, the key questions are:

12. What are the perceptions of local experts of policy planning and implementation in regard to Angkor heritage tourism management?

13. Are the current management policies efficient?

14. What are the main challenges or issues facing heritage tourism managing stakeholders?

15. Can the managers of the site respond to the expectations of tourists and local people?

16. How can they develop sustainable heritage tourism?

## 1.4. Research methods and data collection

Studies of tourism have developed through several stages. In the 1960s, studies tended to focus on the economic impact of tourism in both developed and developing countries. Their findings were generally positive. From the 1970s, anthropologists and sociologists started to study the impacts of tourism on local culture and society. Their findings were cautionary. From the 1980s, an adaptation approach has been developed to introduce and study the alternative

forms of tourism or sustainable tourism. From the 1990s, a "knowledge based platform" started emerging to determine ways to maximize the benefits generated from tourism and the final stage of tourism studies is how to bring theories into practices (Jafari, 2003, 2005).

This study examines tourism in Siem Reap and Angkor from multiple perspectives in order to understand the social, political and economic aspects of tourism, from which we can assess its impact, together with the perceptions of the key stakeholders within the framework of sustainable heritage tourism.

Tourism studies and research are very interdisciplinary in nature, resulting in a variety of methods. Tourism research is still in the exploratory stage of developing theories in its own right. There has been scant attention to developing new theories in the tourism field. Hobson points out that "the emphasis of too much tourism research is on theory testing, as opposed to theory development and building. It questions on what theoretical basis so many of these hypotheses are formed. Given that tourism is a field of study that is still in the formative stages…there remains a need for more exploratory research" (Hobson, 2003: 73). Against this background, it is necessary to conduct field work to collect the primary data to develop concepts contributing to the existing theories and/or constructing a new theory. In such a situation, the case study method is one of the best ways to generate theory from specific observations.

Sofield observes that "there is a need for more research into tourism in Asia, undertaken from the knowledge-base platform with greater objectivity and incorporating local perspectives on leisure and travel and the place of tourism within the social space of receiving communities" (Sofield, 2000: 55). This implies that case studies and field research are required to examine the impacts of tourism and the responses of the local community. Theories of tourism can be developed based on local perceptions and experiences. For instance, Haahti developed a model of the economy of identity, in other words how to sell local cultural identity as a tourist product, by examining closely the case of peripheral villages in the Lapland arctic wilderness in Finland (Haahti, 2007).

Tourism research, like other kinds of social research, attempts to answer rather focused questions. "For tourism researchers analyzing the process of question asking, it is important to consider the level and depth of the question, the focus of the question, and its relevance for diverse audiences" (Pearce and Moscardo, 1999:34). How to ask questions is the main issue here and it also determines what kind of methods should be applied to answer the questions concerned. Since the research questions in this study attempt to examine the specific phenomenon of heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability in Angkor Park, it is suitable to use the case study method.

The case study method has been used to create a general theory or concept from a specific observation of social interactions in a particular context. The case study is one of the tools available to conduct research on tourism. After reviewing the research articles from four top ranking tourism journals (*Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Travel Research*, *Tourism Analysis*, and *Tourism Management*) over a period of five years (2000-2005), Xiao and Smith found that case study methodology is valid, justifiable, and reliable for theory-building in tourism studies (Xiao and Smith, 2006). Heritage tourism theories, in particular, have been

developed from various assumptions but they lack empirical data (Richter, 1999: 124). Case studies are closely linked to grounded theory which means theory that has been derived from "the study of a phenomenon situated in one particular context" (Strauss and Corbin, 1999: 174) or the studies that "examine events or experiences in context from the perspective of the individuals experiencing the phenomena" (Thomson and Panacek, 1998:121). The case study method is an all-encompassing method, covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis (Yin, 2003: 14).

The aim of the study is to explore the perceptions of tourist, local community, and experts within the framework of sustainable heritage tourism and management in Angkor Park, Cambodia. It is, therefore, appropriate to use the case study method to explain and analyze the phenomenon. Case study research method is interdisciplinary in nature. It uses multidimensional aspects of analysis and data collection of one specific issue. In this study, Angkor heritage tourism will be the focal point of the research and exploration.

### 1.4.1. Data sampling

Miles and Huberman (1994: 34) suggest that six criteria can be used for sampling strategies: the sampling strategy should be relevant to the conceptual framework and the research questions addressed by the research; the sample should be likely to generate rich information on the type of phenomena which need to be studied; the sample should enhance the generality of the findings; the sample should produce believable descriptions or explanations; the sample strategy should be ethical; and the sampling plan should be feasible in terms of resource cost and time. With these principles in mind, three groups of respondents were selected: tourists, local residents, and expert groups, including government officials, and representatives of the tourism related businesses and NGOs.

Tourism cannot take place without the presence of the tourists. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the tourists' experiences regarding their visit to a destination: the tourist consumption of cultural heritage products "*generated in the tourist's origin culture* rather than *by the cultural offerings of the destination*" (Craik, 2004: 33, original emphasis). Since tourist experiences are dependable on class, gender and *ethnicity* (Urry, 2002: 137, emphasis added), the structured English questionnaire was translated into Japanese and Korean languages in order to provide a better picture of the international tourist perceptions. International tourists are the main target of the research project given they outnumber and have more local impacts than the local tourists. Only those tourists who finished or are in the middle of their trip were chosen for the survey.

Based on the distribution of the questionnaires to the international tourists, an exploration and analysis of the tourist perceptions can be made. In this study, 500 questionnaires (English 300, Korean 100, and Japanese 100) were distributed to the tourists at the Siem Reap international airport, the only international airport close to Angkor Heritage Site. As a result, surprisingly 219 completed questionnaires were gathered from international tourists from different countries of residence. Another 23 questionnaires were collected through face to face interviews with Cambodian tourists visiting Angkor during their Chinese New Year holiday on 12 and 13 of February 2008. It must be noted that most of the local tourists come to visit Angkor to pay religious respect and pray in the temples. They can be both tourists and worshippers.

More than ninety percent of the respondents were aged from 20 to 59 years old. Male respondents were more numerous than females, with a ratio of around 60:40. It is quite contradictory to the conventional argument that most of the cultural tourists are middle age or older which means more than 45 years old. Whether there is any difference in terms of perceptions and experiences gained between younger and older tourists is not known as this was not explored in this study.

The survey was conducted randomly, so the countries representated do not reflect the proportion of the total tourists from each country to the Angkor heritage site. In addition to the questionnaires, I conducted unstructured interviews also on a random basis with several tourists from different countries in order to understand more deeply their experiences.

**Table 1: Country of Residence**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Argentina | 2 | .8 | .8 | .8 |
| | Australia | 16 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 7.4 |
| | Belgium | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 8.7 |
| | Brazil | 4 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 10.3 |
| | Cambodia | 23 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 19.8 |
| | Canada | 4 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 21.5 |
| | China | 16 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 28.1 |
| | Egypt | 1 | .4 | .4 | 28.5 |
| | France | 9 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 32.2 |
| | Germany | 11 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 36.8 |
| | India | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 38.0 |
| | Indonesia | 5 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 40.1 |
| | Iran | 1 | .4 | .4 | 40.5 |
| | Italy | 4 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 42.1 |
| | Japan | 17 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 49.2 |
| | Korea | 26 | 10.7 | 10.7 | 59.9 |
| | Malaysia | 11 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 64.5 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 65.7 |
| Netherlands | 2 | .8 | .8 | 66.5 |
| New Zealand | 2 | .8 | .8 | 67.4 |
| Norway | 1 | .4 | .4 | 67.8 |
| Philippines | 1 | .4 | .4 | 68.2 |
| Portugal | 2 | .8 | .8 | 69.0 |
| Singapore | 11 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 73.6 |
| South Africa | 1 | .4 | .4 | 74.0 |
| Spain | 6 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 76.4 |
| Sweden | 5 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 78.5 |
| Switzerland | 4 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 80.2 |
| Thailand | 7 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 83.1 |
| Turkey | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 84.3 |
| UK | 14 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 90.1 |
| USA | 23 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 99.6 |
| Vietnam | 1 | .4 | .4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Table 2: Gender and Age of Tourists**

| Gender | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Male | 144 | 59.5 | 59.5 | 59.5 |
| | Female | 98 | 40.5 | 40.5 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

| Age | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Under 20 | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| | 20-29 | 66 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 28.5 |
| | 30-39 | 74 | 30.6 | 30.6 | 59.1 |
| | 40-49 | 60 | 24.8 | 24.8 | 83.9 |
| | 50-59 | 28 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 95.5 |
| | Over 60 | 11 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Local residents play an important role in the tourism industry. The impact of tourism on their livelihood is clearly demonstrated. The participation from the local community in managing heritage tourism is vital. Therefore, the opinions of the local residents are necessary in analyzing the impact of tourism.

The study examines the perceptions of the local residents living in Angkor Park in respect to tourism development in the area. There are 102 villages in 19 communes and 5 districts in Siem Reap Province. The population in this area increased from 80,000 in 1992 to 100,000 in 2002. The local residents living in Angkor Park are the main stakeholders in managing tourism in a sustainable manner. It is therefore, necessary to select samples of informants here.

The local people in Angkor Heritage Site are still very poor. There is a big gap between those people living in the protected zone and those who live in the inner city of Siem Reap. In order to have balanced views, it is advisable to select 10 villages in the rural area in Angkor Heritage Site and protected zones and 5 “villages” which were in fact customary administrative units of the provincial city of Siem Reap. For the rural villages, we [I and other two research assistants] conducted a survey in face to face interviews using a questionnaire, of respondents who were present in the village. As a result, we conducted interviews with 252 individuals, often with other family members present. In the inner city, we distributed 500 questionnaires to five villages, 100 questionnaires to each village. We gave them three days to compete the questionnaire. As a result, we got 221 completed questionnaires. A basic profile of the respondents in the sample is presented below (Tables 3 and 4). The reason behind the relatively high rate (32.3 percent) of young people aged from 18-29 is that they could read and write more than the older generation. This can have some impacts on the results but, in

the Cambodian context, the respondents normally consult with other members in the family to complete the questionnaire.

**Map 3: Zones in Angkor Park**

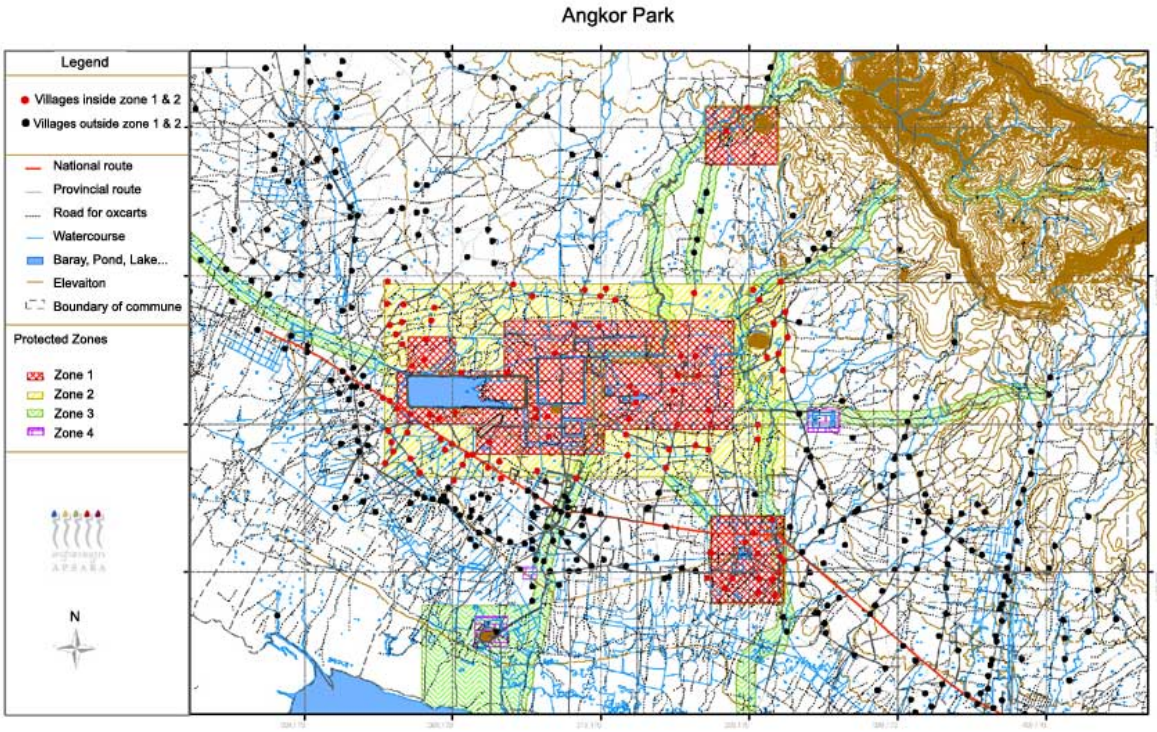

**Table 3: Number of villages and respondents**

| Village name | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anhchanh | 22 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.7 |
| Inner City (Chong Kao Sou) | 32 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 11.4 |
| Inner City (Slor Kram) | 31 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 18.0 |
| Inner City (Svay Dongkum) | 23 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 22.8 |
| Inner City (Vat Bor) | 51 | 10.8 | 10.8 | 33.6 |
| Inner City (Vat Domnak) | 84 | 17.8 | 17.8 | 51.4 |
| Kirimeanon | 31 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 57.9 |
| Kok Ta Chan | 22 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 62.6 |
| Kravan | 33 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 69.6 |
| Nokor Krao | 20 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 73.8 |
| O Totung | 32 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 80.5 |
| Pradak | 16 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 83.9 |
| Ta Ek | 24 | 5.1 | 5.1 | 89.0 |
| Thnal Bandaoy | 22 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 93.7 |
| Thnal Totung | 30 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 473 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Table 4: Gender and Age of Local People**

| Gender | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Male | 194 | 41.0 | 41.0 | 41.0 |
| | Female | 279 | 59.0 | 59.0 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 473 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

| Age | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | 18-29 | 153 | 32.3 | 32.3 | 32.3 |
| | 30-39 | 143 | 30.2 | 30.2 | 62.6 |
| | 40-49 | 114 | 24.1 | 24.1 | 86.7 |
| | 50-59 | 55 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 98.3 |
| | Over 60 | 8 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 473 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Hitchcock notes that "those government officials and professionals who while generally not involved as investors in tourist enterprises or as direct employees of the industry, have begun to play important roles in determining both the direction and ideology of tourism's future" (Hitchcock, 1997:93). Furthermore, the views from people working in the private sectors, non-governmental organizations, and international agencies are also important in providing insights into heritage and environmental management issues. Government officials for the Ministry of Tourism, APSARA Authority, officials from provincial and local government in Siem Reap, representatives of the Hotel industry, Travel Agent Association and owners of restaurants and souvenir shops, together with representatives from NGOs were selected for in-dept and semi-structured interviews.

### 1.4.2. Data collection approach

Data collection in the case study approach can involve structural interviews and surveys, open-ended interviews, focused interviews, observations (direct and participant), documents and archival records (Yin, 2003:100). Data collection in the case study method can combine both qualitative and quantitative approaches or can be called a "mixed methodology" (Tashakkori and

Teddlie, 1998).

Structured and standardized questionnaires were designed to be distributed to the respondents. There were two surveys making use of five-point scales for most questions (1: Strongly disagree, very little, 2: Disagree, little, 3: Neutral, 4: Agree, much, 5: Strongly agree, Very much). The questionnaire distributed to the visitors was adapted with some changes from one developed by the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) and the questionnaire for the local residents was based mainly on the variables in a study by Gursoy and Rutherford on host attitudes toward tourism (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004). In addition, heuristic and ethnographic approaches were also applied through participant observation and free conversation with tourists, local experts and people.

The usefulness of heuristic inquiry is the incorporation of the personal experiences, reflections, and insights of the researcher into the analysis of social phenomenon (Patton, 1990:72). The process of heuristic research involves six phases: initial engagement, immersion, incubation, illumination, explication and creative synthesis (Moustakas 1999). The methods used in heuristic research include conversational interviews, semi-structured interviews and standardized open-ended interviews (Moustakas 1999: 47). Interviews are also supplemented with the use of personal documents such as journals and diaries (Moustakas 1999: 49). As a native Cambodian, I could communicate better with and understand the local residents and experts.

Regarding the ethnographic approach, I followed some principles mentioned by Cohen (1984:226) suggesting that "the proper ethnographic interview is a conversation in which ethnographers risk the appearance of naivety and ignorance in order continually to satisfy themselves that they have understood what is being said…the conversations…are instruments…for stripping away the ballasts of expectation and assumption…" In the process of interviewing, the researcher needs to be "an active listener and to respond to both the answers and the behavior of the interviewee. It also may lead a researcher to change the questions asked and their sequence depending upon the situation." (Palmer, 2001: 306). The ethnographic approach is not "a controlled laboratory experiment, but rather a sustained investigation into the activities, motivations and feeling of individuals within specific social settings" (Palmer, 2001: 310).

These principles had been implemented throughout the data collection process during the field research. In some instances, it was difficult to apply all these principles. Open ended interviews seemed to be the most effective way of data collection given the informants and respondents did not have much time to really engage with the researcher/author.

**a. Secondary data collection**

For the secondary data, the literatures on sustainable heritage tourism, and tourism in Cambodia and Southeast Asia were used mainly to build up a conceptual framework for the analysis of the study and to find where the gaps are. News sources, especially from the *Phnom Penh Post* and Radio Free Asia, were collected through the internet. Official documents and

policy papers were collected from the Ministry of Tourism, the APSARA Authority, and local government offices in both hard and soft copy. These documents were difficult to get given that most of the government sources are not released to the public for various reasons.

**b. Primary data collection**

For primary data collection, informants were divided into three groups: international and local tourists, local people/residents, and key informants/experts (government officials, International Organizations and Non Governmental Organzations staffs, and representatives from the private sector). The questionnaires administered were designed in accordance with the existing literature plus some revisions based on the pilot projects conducted in February 2007. In the one week pilot project, I interviewed several tourists and local people to determine which variables should be used for the questionnaires later used for the study.

Tourists

The questionnaires administered were constructed to allow us to understand the perceptions of the international tourists regarding their visit to Siem Reap and Angkor. The questionnaire uses Likert Scales ranging from 1 to 5.

Three hundred questionnaires were distributed to tourists, who could understand English, and one hundred questionnaires were translated into Japanese language for the Japanese tourists and another one hundred questionnaires were translated into Korean language for the Korean tourists, were also distributed. The reason behind the translations of the questionnaire into Korean and Japanese is that these two groups rank first and second among the top tourist countries arriving in Cambodia.

Before asking the tourists to complete the questionnaire, we (I myself with other two research assistants) asked their permission first. The number of fully completed questionnaires was 242 out of 500 questionnaires distributed. In addition to the questionnaires, I also held semi-structured interviews with some tourists in order to gain more data for the analysis. The informal interviews with the international tourists took place in restaurants, bars, and a night market. Most nights, I went out to talk to tourists and observe tourist consumption behavior. Active participation in the tourism industry provides a researcher with a useful angle from which to examine tourist perceptions and experiences. Being a tourist makes the researcher aware of the underlying consumption behavior and the complex interaction between the tourists, local service providers and the local people.

Local People

Standard questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used to understand the perceptions of the local people in respect to Angkor heritage tourism. The questionnaires and interviews attempted to determine whether tourism can lead to the improvement of the living standards of local people and the development of community facilities and services; whether the economic benefits of tourism are well distributed; whether there is conservation and development of the cultural heritage of an area which otherwise might be lost as a result of general development taking place; whether tourism could lead to the reinforcement of a sense of

pride by residents in their culture, when they observe tourists appreciating it; and whether tourism provides the opportunity for cross-cultural exchange between tourists and residents who learn about, and come to respect, one another's cultures. All these variables are included in the questionnaire.

For the data collection purpose, I recruited two research assistants. Before going to the field, I gave them about four hours training on how to ask the questions. The questionnaire administered using Likert Scales ranging from 1 to 5 was difficult for the local people living in the Angkor Park to understand since most of them are illiterate. We had to explain the questions in a very simple way. We decided to conduct interviews face to face with them. Each interview took from 30 minutes to 40 minutes depending on the informant with whom we conducted the interview. It was hard to explain our research objectives and the questionnaire to some of them. Sometimes, they wanted to talk with us about different matters irrelevant to our questions. In order to overcome this, we tried to explain them clearly each question and asked them to answer briefly by asking them to choose a number from 1 to 5.

Another difficulty in conducting interviews with the local people was that they were afraid that we were politicians or spies because my research trip took place during the time of the election campaign. If we appeared to be affiliated with any political party they would have been unwilling to talk with us. We did our best to explain to them that we were doing research on tourism and local community development just for the purpose of research, not political interests. After convincing them about our research project, they agreed to answer our questions. This is important for researchers doing research in Cambodia and other countries in which political issues are a sensitive matter. We need to inform the local authority before we enter their constituent village, explain clearly to the local people about the research objectives, and try to avoid talking about politics.

Expert Group

The expert group here refers to the government officials, NGO staff, academicians, and representatives from the private sector (travel agencies and tour companies, hotels and restaurants). To interview the government officials and the representatives of the hospitality industry in Siem Reap was the most challenging part of my field research. They were not so cooperative. With the support of a friend working with the APSARA authority, I obtained a two months internship with APSARA starting from January 10 to February 26, 2008. With the letter from the general director of APSARA, I could conduct interviews with some high officers working with the APSARA authority, local government officials in charge of tourism development, and representatives from the private sector.

During the interviews, I had to be careful when I asked them questions, particularly in respect to political and corruption issues. I found out that the administration structure in Cambodia is still very centralized although there have been efforts to decentralize the governance system there. The lower-level staff, although they know about the issues, tried to avoid answering and asked me to ask a higher official. This was because they were afraid that they would make the higher officials upset, or they were trying to avoid the blame where their answers were not favorable to the higher officials, or not "correct" according to the official

policies and principles. I needed to be flexible in exploring their thoughts through making them feel more comfortable and relaxed. I just allowed them to say freely whatever they wanted to express, although some things they said were not relevant to my research questions, in order to understand more about their perceptions, and from that I could guess their meaning. Most of the conversations I was asked not to tape record, so I just took notes by hand and wrote them up immediately when I got home in order to remember things in more detail. Reflection was important in this regard following the principles of qualitative research which require attention to detail (Emden *et al.*, 2001:210). The interviews with the NGO staff, academicians, and representatives of the private sector went quite well. Most of them were cooperative in providing their insights into the tourism industry in Siem Reap and Angkor. Field notes were taken and in some cases, with the permission of the interviewees, recordings were undertaken during the interviews.

### 1.5. Data analysis

Data collected from the questionnaires distributed to tourists and local households were analyzed by using the SPSS software program. Descriptive statistics were mainly applied with some factor analysis.

Data collected from the in-depth and semi-structured interviews with the government officials, representatives from the tourism related businesses, NGOs and IOs such as the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) were analyzed qualitatively, a method which has strong link with interpretivism, which sees knowledge as a socially constructed and produced (Walsh and Downe, 2006:109). Emphasizing the seminal contribution of Clifford and Marcus (1986) in relation to researcher reflexivity, Walsh and Downe have noted that over the last twenty years, research reflexivity has become increasingly significant for qualitative researchers, lending it an authenticity and honesty that is distinctive (Walsh and Downe, 2006:115). Narratives and reflexivity are applied in data analysis and description in this study.

### 1.6. Theoretical construction

Realities are constructed by perceptions. Based on the perceptions and narratives drawn from tourists, local residents, and local experts, theories on sustainable heritage tourism can be constructed. The integration of each perception into a framework of sustainable heritage tourism and the issues raised by each stakeholder helps to shape theories and understanding.

### 1.7. Limitations of the study

Due to time constraints and resources limitation, I could not conduct interviews with as many tourists, local residents, and experts as originally expected (500 tourists, 500 local residents, and 50 experts). Although two hundred questionnaires were translated and printed in Korean and Japanese, communication constraints still existed when it came to individual conversations to further understand the tourist perceptions. This limits the extent to which the data on tourist perceptions towards Angkor Heritage tourism of tourists from Japan and South

Korea can be generalized. In addition, the relatively quick field survey possibly may not really reflect the general perceptions of all stakeholders. Field survey conducted in different seasons may result in data from different tourists who have different perceptions.

The research could not provide the distinction between local tourist perceptions and international tourist perceptions given the resources limitation. The research mainly focuses on the international tourists due to the fact that they are the majority and they have more impact on the local community culture and livelihood than the local tourists.

The tourism impacts might and probably extend beyond those impacts perceived by the local residents, tourists, and local experts. Sustainable heritage tourism is possibly based not only on the perceptions of the key players but also depends on the reality on the ground of the heritage site itself. In this thesis, it emphasizes the perceptions of the key stakeholders rather than the research site itself.

### 1.8. The outline of the thesis

In this chapter, I have introduced the conceptual framework regarding heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability, and stated the research problem, research objectives and questions. In addition, the chapter has described the methodology of the study, and the methods used to conduct it. The field interviews and questionnaires covered three target groups. The material from foreign tourists is used in chapter 5 on tourist perceptions. The material on the local community (local people living around the Angkor complexes) is used in chapter 6 on local perceptions. The information from government officials and experts, representatives from the private sector and local and foreign organizations in tourism development is used chapter 7 on expert perceptions.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on tourism in Southeast Asia in general and Cambodia in particular. In particular, it considers the relevant studies on theories of heritage tourism in Southeast Asia. Relevant studies on the Angkor site are also reviewed. The relevant studies demonstrate that tourism is one of the major industries in the region. There is a strong link between tourism and cultural identity. Heritage tourism has been developing at a rapid speed and the impacts are multidimensional and multifaceted. The main question raised by the existing studies is how to develop sustainable heritage tourism. In the case of Cambodia, few studies have been carried out on heritage tourism in Angkor but they do not provide data and analysis on the perceptions of tourists, local community, and experts in regard to the issues of sustainability.

Chapter 3 describes the historical background and attributes of the research site, the Angkor Heritage Tourist Site, by tracing the development of Angkor from its construction to the present day. Angkor history can be divided into four periods: Angkor under construction; Angkor under siege; the disappearance and destruction of Angkor; and the Angkor Revival. Moreover, the chapter provides background information on Angkor Park, which includes a short description of main temples in the park, the local communities, the local landscape, and the physical infrastructure. The detailed description of the temples and sites are provided in Appendix 3 in this thesis.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the government policies in promoting tourism. It describes the tourism industry including tourism products and development, and examines the impacts of tourism on socio-economic development in Cambodia. This chapter argues that tourism development is one of the pillars of the Cambodian government policy in promoting socio-economic development and improving the image of Cambodian identity and culture. The impacts of tourism in Cambodia in general are both positive and negative. The good side of tourism in Cambodia is that it provides incomes for the government and local people through taxes, jobs, and other spillover effects from the tourist spending on other industries.

Chapter 5 examines the tourist experiences regarding Angkor heritage tourism. It attempts to determine relationship between tourist motivation and perceptions, the factors influencing tourist experiences and perceptions, and the level of tourist satisfaction.

Chapter 6 looks at the local perceptions and attitudes towards tourists and determines the impacts of Angkor tourism on the society, culture and economy of the local community. The local community is here defined as those local residents living around the Angkor site.

Chapter 7 investigates the policies and concerns of the expert group regarding the impacts of tourism on Angkor heritage site management. This chapter discusses current heritage and economic management policies and determines the effectiveness of the policies. It also assesses the environmental impacts of Angkor tourism and the policies in dealing with these impacts. For the purpose of this study, the environmental impacts include air and sound pollution from the traffic, garbage, water pollution, and ground water disturbance.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main points of the study, presents the findings, predicts the future, and makes policy recommendations. Methodological, theoretical, and empirical contributions of the study to the academic and policy world are the significant values of this thesis. Concepts on sustainable sustainable tourism will be provided in addition to the current literatures.

# CHAPTER 2: HERITAGE TOURISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

## Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature concerning heritage tourism in Southeast Asia. It is divided into three sections: the general literature on tourism in Southeast Asia; heritage tourism in Southeast Asia; and heritage tourism in Cambodia. The objective of the chapter is to understand the research methods and findings of tourism studies in Southeast Asia particularly in Cambodia in order to determine the gaps in the existing literatures. The literatures can be used to develope conceptual background for the analysis of tourism in Cambodia especially Siem Reap town and Angkor Park.

## 2.1. General literature on tourism in Southeast Asia

The Asia Pacific has become one of the most dynamic regions attracting tourists. This is due to cheaper communication and transportation costs, higher incomes/affluence of the regional tourism consumers, and the diversity of tourism products. In 1998, it is estimated by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) that by the year 2020, East Asia and the Pacific region (composed of the East Asian countries and the Pacific Island countries) will be the most dynamic tourist destination in the world, particularly with the rapid growth of the tourism industry in China, South Korea, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. The WTO study, *Vision 2020 – A Perspective for Asia and the Pacific*, estimated that the number of international tourists worldwide would reach 1.6 billion by 2020 and tourism receipts would reach US$ 2 trillion. East Asia and the Pacific were expected to become the second most visited region in the world, obtaining a share of 27.3 per cent of world tourism by 2020 (with 438 million international tourists as compared to 90 million in 1997).[8]

Southeast Asian tourism industry has been increasing more rapidly and is estimated to grow further. Tourism has become one of Southeast Asia's growth industries. All Southeast Asian governments, except Brunei, promote tourism industry as a major foreign exchange earner and employment provider (Hall, 1997: 100-172; Yamashita *et al*., 1997: 13). The significant contribution of the industry in socio-econmic and cultural development in the host country (Baum and Conlin, 1998) attracts many studies to explain the phenomenon and the impact of tourism on economic development, local culture, social change, local community development, local environment, and the role of local people and government in tourism development and management. Other studies touch on policy planning and implementation, marketing strategy, and regional cooperation.

[8]World Tourism Organisation, Annual Report, 1998, available at "http://www.unwto.org/regional/east_asia_&_pacific/annual/wto_asia_pacific_1998.pdf"

Tourism in Southeast Asia is the result of colonialism and diverse local cultural heritages, coupling with the increasing capacity of transportation technology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Douglas and Douglas, 2000). Hospitality and tourism have grown very fast in Southeast Asia since the mid-1980s due to the diversity of the tourism products in the region. The tourism products ranges from ecotourism (e.g. Dowling, 2000; Edmonds and Leposky, 2000) to cultural tourism (e.g. Picard and Wood, 1997; Yamashita, Din and Eades, 1997; Yamashita and Eades, 2003). In addition to these tourism products, cruising is also one of the most important tourism products in Southeast Asia, particularly for Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam (Singh, 2000). But the success of tourism in Southeast Asia totally depends on the political and financial stability in the region (Hall, 2000b; Musa, 2000; Higham, 2000) and the absence of pandemic diseases, particularly SARS which damaged the tourism industry in all countries in the region to some extent in 2007 (see Bojanic, 2005; Hai Linh, 2007).

The key literature on tourism in Southeast Asia tends to focus more on the relationship between tourism and culture and ethnicity, which is similar to the argument by MacCannell (1976, 1984) suggesting that tourism leads to the production of local cultures. Yamashita, Din and Eades (1997) investigated the evolution and emergence of local culture in the context of increasing mass tourism in Southeast Asia, particularly through the examination of the cases from Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. They argued that culture was "an object of conscious, manipulation, invention, and consumption, within a broader social, economic, and cultural context" (Yamashita et al., 1997: 21) by which they mean that culture is dynamic and changes all the times in order to make use of tourism. They also suggested that sustainable tourism should be implemented from a wider perspective, which includes not only the preservation of the environment and culture but also the invention of new products to meet the demands of tourists.

Picard and Wood (1997: 1-2) examine the relationship between international tourism, ethnicity, and the state in Asian and Pacific Societies. They argued that "tourism has become an intrinsic part of both global and local culture…The relationship between tourism, states, and ethnicity is dynamic and ongoing, with highly variable incomes". They present case studies from Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Island Pacific, and from these cases they identify several key issues, as follows:

> (1) the interacting roles of tourism and the state in diffusing particular concepts of ethnicity and culture; (2) the official sanctioning of particular ethnic labels and identities in the context of tourism development; (3) the emergence of tourism as a resource and a prize in interethnic relations and competition, within the context of ethnic management by the states; and (4) the ways in which the intersection of state policies, tourism development, and ethnic politics shapes the range of ethnic options available to groups and the constructions of otherness produced by a variety of actors. (Picard and Wood, 1997:5-6)

Other studies on tourism in Southeast Asia include those of Chon (2000) and Hall and Page (2000). These two edited books present the background of tourism development issues in Southeast Asia as a whole together with studies drawn from individual countries. The main issues discussed in these volumes include the role of the state in tourism development in the context of tourism planning, politics and ideology, and cultural identity; tourism and regional cooperation; tourism and its socio-cultural and environmental impacts; tourism management; and heritage tourism.

The following is a discussion of the literatures in more detail by subcategorizing into several sections dealing with specific issues. Then it leads to the case studies on heritage tourism in each country in Southeast Asia in order to compare and contrast the research findings and provide the basis on which the analysis on Angkor heritage tourism can be conducted.

### 2.1.1. Public and private partnership and tourism development

In many developing countries, the state usually plays a central role in formulating and planning tourism development policy, given the lack of expertise and limited involvement of the private sector in this field, although this tendency tends to change slightly in the face of the emerging role of the private sector in the tourism industry (Jenkins, 1998a). The public sector has a significant and effective role in managing the environment and image of tourism (Wong, 2003).

States in Southeast Asia play important role in developing and promoting tourism (Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, 1993: 16-18). They are even the planners of tourism development including tourism products and services (Smith, 2000). Richter (1993) analyzed policy making in Southeast Asia regarding tourism promotion and development. Her study found that the Southeast Asian governments, regardless of different political systems and level of development, considered tourism as a significant foreign exchange earner and employment creator. Understanding the increasingly important role of the private sector the government encourages the privatization of the tourism industry. But the main challenges being faced by Southeast Asian governments in the tourism industry are the “distribution issue”, “the political organization of power”, “the political climate”, and the “sustainability issue.”

Public and private partnership is very important in determining the direction of tourism development particularly in the context of sustainable tourism discourse. The private sector directly involves in tourism services provision while the public sector engages more at the policy level.

### 2.1.2. Tourism planning

There are many studies examining the role of government in tourism planning and management in Southeast Asia. These studies include: studies on Vietnam’s tourism resources, market potential, and the need for government to play a role and other studies on the potential and challenges for Vietnam’s tourism industry (Jansen-Verbeke and Go, 1995; Oppermann &

Chon, 1997: 29-39; Theuns, 1998; Mok and Lam, 2000). Other studies deal with state and tourism development in Vietnam in 1990s after the *Doi Moi* (economic reform in Vietnam in 1986) (Cooper, 2000); the role of the state in providing education to develop sustainable tourism in Thailand (Chambers, 1997); potential, challenges, and government policy in developing and managing tourism in Malaysia (Khalifah & Tahir, 1998; Musa, 2000); state promotion of tourism in Malaysia (Cartier, 1998); the public sector and its role in managing the environmental impacts of tourism on Bintan Island, Indonesia (Wong, 2003; Ross & Wall, 2001); the role of the state in tourism development in the Philippines after the Marcos era (Rieder, 1998); and the role of the Laotian government in the economic liberalization starting from 1989, in which the development of ecotourism and heritage tourism in Laos was included (Hall, 1997).

In the case of Singapore where tourism, also considered important for economic development by the Government, was being affected by the price and exchange rate regime (Gunadhi and Boey, 1986), strategies applied were to improve the competitiveness of the tourism industry by reducing the cost of tourism services through cheaper transportation costs (Cheong and Khem, 1988). As a result of Singaporean government policy in promoting tourism in Singapore, tourism has started to play an important role in Singaporean economic development (Khan, Seng, and Cheong, 1990).

The findings of the studies demonstrated that Southeast Asian States are "tourism developmental states." They consider tourism as a catalyst for economic growth. But Singapore is different here in that it developed initially through industrialization, communications, and as a financial center, not through tourism. After the development of service sectors supporting the industry, tourism could develop later on. As tourism planner, the state decides on the allocation of resources to develop the industry to different levels and stages. The management of potential negative impacts of tourism is also included in the planning process.

### 2.1.3. Politics of tourism

States in Southeast Asia have been promoting the tourism industry not only to drive economic development but also to support "ideologically driven definitions and symbols of national identity and ethnicity" (Sofield, 2000: 52). In addition, states uses tourism for their political interests, as Richter suggests: "the commitment to develop tourism is a policy decision fraught with politics but almost always couched in economic and social rhetoric" (Richter, 2001: 283).

Elliot (1983) conducted a study of how the political system affected the tourism industry in Thailand and observed that the less political conflict within the government the lower level of intervention by politicians in the tourism industry, and the other way round. This study refers to the interests of politicians in promoting the tourism industry. It is difficult to generalize whether it can be reflected to other political and social system in this regard given there is a possibility that tourism can be promoted by all conflicting and competing political parties for the sake of common national interest and identity.

In the case of the Philippines, tourism was used as a political tool to "sell martial law" in September 1972 under the Marcos regime. Many development projects and programs were implemented to promote the tourism industry in the Philippines as a policy to improve the image of the Marcos administration (Ritchter, 1996; 2001). In Myanmar, Hall (1997: 163) observed that "Any discussion of tourism in Burma cannot ignore the political issues that surround it." Domestic politics and international relations have constrained Myanmar in developing tourism. The opposition party and the international community use tourism as a political tool to demand political changes in Myanmar. Tourism is regarded as a linkage or contributing factor to legitimacy. If tourists do not visit the country, it means that tourists do not support the regime (Henderson, 2003). This falls into the international politics of tourism analytical framework.

### 2.1.4. Tourism and culture

Tourism is one of the factors influencing changes in the local culture in some societies. Yamashita, Din, and Eades argued that tourism was "just one of many ways in which the contemporary world system brings about change in the societies within it" (Yamashita *et al.*, 1997: 15). They inferred that local cultures have been influenced by the process of globalization and developed by the local residents and government in shaping their identity and values in order to attract tourists. Political legitimacy goes along with cultural identity and the incoming flow of tourists.

In Singapore, there are three main ethnic groups: Chinese, Indians, and Malays. The government has tried to reduce and abolish the discrimination and tension between these ethnic groups. In so doing, ethnic tourism in Singapore was used to create a multicultural national identity in Singapore and help manage domestic politics (Leong, 1989; Hall and Oehlers, 2000: 86-87).

> [by] projecting Singapore as a multi-ethnic destination to the world, the state was…making a public statement on local society and culture while fulfilling the political goal of nation building. Tourists' fascination with the country's ethnic composition would foster a sense of civic pride, which in turn would help knit the ethnically diverse people together" (Chang, 1997: 552).

In Indonesia, the government also attempted to reduce the tensions between ethnic groups by developing tourism to support or promote the cultural diversity in harmony (Kipp, 1993). There are, however, also adverse consequences for national harmony of developing ethnic tourism. Adams (1997) studied the effects of the Indonesian government's tourism promotion policy on indigenous ethnic relations in South Sulawesi. The study argues that the history of ethnic and religious differences have derailed the promotion of national integration and development through tourism. Promoting tourism does not automatically lead to ethnic solidarity but instead it exacerbates the interethnic tensions, particularly between highland Torajans and

lowland Buginese-Makassarese. Each group wants to attract the attention of the national government in developing tourism in their regions and they want to promote their unique identity as well. It is safe to say that ethnic tourism development has to be carefully managed otherwise it could lead to domestic political tensions between different people. The incomes from tourism should be fairly distributed and cultural preservation should be consistently pursued.

Dahles (2001) investigated tourism development in Yogyakarta under Indonesian national tourism policies and the politics of the New Order regime. Tourism was used by the government to improve the international image of Indonesia. Moreover, tourism was used by the New Order government to communicate images of Indonesia as a culturally sophisticated and economically advanced nation. New Order tourism introduced two types of development: "modernization" mainly for the local tourists and "ethnification" for foreign tourists. The Indonesian government has also emphasized the concept of "quality" in tourism policy. The main element of the policies is to guide foreign tourists to only "good" places, avoiding the "bad" aspects of places such as the *Kampung* and their people (those poor people living far from the center of the main streets). Such dualistic practices increase the social and economic gap between the *Kampung* and the "Streetside" (people who live on or next to the main street and who are richer than the *Kampung*) in Yogyakarta. However, some tourist attractions and interpretation were developed or initiated in addition to governmental plans by the informal tour guides and small businessmen (*Kampung*) who were neglected by the tourism industry. These realities downgrade the tourist experience and the image that the central government expected. Learning from this case, it demonstrates that tourism industry is beyond the state's absolute control given the non-state and informal sectors can intervene and play a role.

Cultural politics are integrated into tourism development projects especially by inventing cultural tourism products which will improve the image of the nation. Cultural diversity in harmony is the central mission of cultural development in which different ethnicities, cultures, and customs are packaged together in a tourism product. Nevertheless, in some cases, without proper management, it could lead to further interethnic tension rather than unity. Tourism should be developed in an honest way not to hide the bad aspects of the destination from tourists in order to upgrade the national image of a modernized state. Tourists wish to gain real experiences.

### 2.1.5. Regional cooperation and tourism

Regional integration in East Asia and the Pacific has a positive impact on tourism growth in the region, for instance in the case of Indonesia (Wall, 1998). Timothy (2000) examined cross-border cooperation in tourism planning and development in Southeast Asia. He argued that such regional cooperation could promote sustainable tourism in the region but there were still a lot of challenges, particularly in relation to political will. Several tourism triangles have been established in the region under the overall scheme of growth triangle, namely SIJORI (Singapore, Johor, and Riau) between Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand growth triangle, the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam Growth Triangle and the

Cambodia-Laos-Thailand Growth Triangle. Page (2000) examined the transport infrastructure development in Southeast Asia and its impact on tourism development in the region. Referring to the study of Elek, Findlay, Hooper and Warren (1999), Page concluded that "the future prospects for further growth in tourism will be contingent upon regional cooperation to assist in the greater integration and development of transport nodes upon which the region's tourism industry relies" (Page, 2000:74). Infrastructure also plays a critical role in the tourism industry such as the development of gateway tourism in Singapore (Low and Heng, 1998) and the introduction of low cost air traffic and better connections in the region (Henderson, 2006).

Tourism is part of the regional integration process in Southeast Asia. Its role in making regional interconnections has attracted the attention of the Southeast Asian states, pushing them to cooperate (Teo *et al*., 2001). States play a role in promoting regional tourism through regional cooperation and maintaining regional stability. "Tourism is an important component of the new reality of a globalised world and an increasingly interconnected Southeast Asia" (Hall, 2001: 24).

The tourism industry shows the common interests among regional leaders in reiongal cooperation and integration. Comparing with other sectors of the economy, tourism is an area in which it is easier to negotiate and cooperate. Southeast Asian nations have created various platforms, dialogue channels, and policy arrangements to develop the region as a single destination and push forward intraregional tourism by taking steps to abolish visas and integrating transportation infrastructure. Free human mobility in the region in turn helps to accelerate regional integration and regional community building as a whole.

### 2.1.6. The effects of tourism

The availability of the tourism products, the strong tourism development policies from the government side, and the investment of the private sector make Southeast Asia a destination for millions of tourists from different parts of the world. Such an increasing number of tourists greatly impact the local socio-economic development in the region, and many studies have been conducted to examine this.

Hitchcock *et al*. (1993a) provided an in-depth overview of tourism development and its impacts on culture, society, environment, and economic development in Southeast Asia. They demonstrated there were both the positive and negative impacts of tourism on Southeast Asian culture, environment, and development.

Walton (1993) discussed the economic impact of tourism in ASEAN. Using an Input-Output analysis, the study concluded that there was a positive correlation between tourism and foreign exchange earnings, income generation, and employment creation. In Thailand, together with rapid growth in other sectors of the economy, tourism has been developed to meet the

demand of tourists through the provision of amenities, hospitality and entertainment services, diversification of tourism products from hill tribe tourism to island tourism and open-ended sex industry (Cohen, 1996c).

Tourism contributes to economic development in many aspects such as rural handicraft development (Parnwell, 1993), local community development and poverty reduction in Chiang Mai (Nimmonratana, 2000), and agricultural product development (Forsyth, 1995). Tourism is also economically significant in the Singaporean case (Seo, 1981: 64-79; Heng and Low, 1990). In the case of Bangunkerto, Indonesia, local respondents were generally happy with the agrotourism development in their community (Telfer, 2000).

In the case of Bali, Indonesia where tourist numbers increased rapidly since the inauguration of international direct flights (Gibbons and Fish, 1989), the residents of the destination areas usually felt positive towards tourism but they could not effectively participate in decision making which made them feel sometimes excluded from the development process (Wall, 1996). On the other hand, Long and Wall (1996) looked at tourism in Bali more positively, when they argued that "the pessimistic perspective of impact studies is being complemented by a search for success stories." In addition, tourism has a positive impact on local employment in Bali (Cukier, 1996, 1998; Rodenburg, 1980).

Smith (2001b) examined the development process of tourism in Boracay Island in the Philippines and the impact of the "ethnicity" of the guests on the local indigenous hosts. He holds that the "top-down" policy regarding tourism development on the Island neglected local participation, making tourism unsustainable; the government should take action to reverse this. The ethnicity of the tourists or guests (mostly from the continental Asian countries) could have negative impacts on the social life of the place because the Filipino cultural heritage is different from that of continental Asia.

Hall (1992) studied sex tourism in Southeast Asia with the remark that "tourism-oriented prostitution has become an integral part of the economic base in several regions of Southeast Asia. Sex tourism has resulted in people being regarded as commodities" (Hall, 1992: 74). Sex tourism in East Asia can be caused by inequality in social and racial development and gender relations, plus the underdevelopment of many Southeast Asian counties, forcing them to rely on tourism industry to earn foreign currency (Hall, 1996). Resulting problems in Thailand include tourism and prostitution in Bangkok (Cohen, 1993); sex tourism and the spread of HIV/AIDS (Cohen, 1988; Lehany, 1995; Montgomery, 2001; Ryan and Hall, 2001); and tourism and child sex (Montgomery, 2001). Thailand has been portrayed as a destination for sex tourists, which could obviously damage Thai culture and values, in addition to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexual transmitted diseases. Child sex tourism will definitely have long term socio-economic repercussion when the children grow up.

Law (2000) examined sex workers in Southeast Asia, as a new epicenter of HIV/AIDS. Revealing the views of the sex workers particularly from Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia, the author provided a good account of the life of the sex workers in the context of

HIV/AIDS education. The study found that "although HIV antibody testing has been criticized as giving out the wrong AIDS education message, it has been widely used throughout Southeast Asia, particularly for women in the sex industry" (Law, 2000: 81). "Women in the sex industry do not identify with representations that place them as victims of political economy, sex tourists of HIV/AIDS. Indeed, they perceive a negotiated tension between their free will to enter prostitution and the constraints that make this particular type of employment an opportunity for them" (Law, 2000: 121).

Besides the socio-economic affects of tourism in Southeast Asia, there are also environmental consequences which are both positive and negative. Some findings show the damage caused by tourism to the environment (e.g. Parnwell, 1993; Wong 2000) while others suggest a positive impact of tourism on the environment (e.g. Cochrane, 1993). In order to manage the environment, public awareness about the environmental issues and appropriate and effective institutions are required (Hall, 2000a).

The impacts of tourism in Southeast Asia in general are both welcoming and warning. If properly managed, tourism could contribute to a significant level of economic growth and poverty reduction and environmental and cultural heritage preservation.

### 2.1.7. Tourism management

Studies on tourism management in Southeast Asia mainly focus on the management of the supply side by tourism service providers. Marketing strategies, destination management, diversification of tourism products, and tourism management during times of crisis have been studied by some authors, as discussed below.

Selwyn (1993) analyzed the tourist brochures advertising holidays in Southeast Asia. The study found that "feelings of belonging to a group, of having relations with and of sharing elements of histories and biographies with the 'other', of resolving the pain of (social, economic, social) difference with a myth of the omnipresence of the local smile, and so on, are powerful allies in any advertiser's armoury" (Selwyn, 1993: 137).

Oppermann examined the parameters of international travel flows in Malaysia in order to design a marketing strategy (Oppermann, 1992a). Gartner and Bachri (1994) looked at the role played by tour operators in tourism development in Indonesia. Smith (2000) analyzed the rationale for tourism planning (economic benefits), the planning hierarchy and activity (tourism planning goes through many levels), international planning (involving two or more governments), national planning, regional planning, destination area planning, and project planning. The challenge for the region is to assess future growth prospects and provide the necessary facilities to meet the demand and at the same time evaluate the carrying capacity of the tourist areas.

Nankervis (2000) examined the fluctuations of the tourism industry in Southeast Asia from a vulnerability perspective. He selected three case studies namely: currency crises and tourism in Southeast Asia; airplane disasters and tourism impacts; and the fragmented nature of the tourism and hospitality industry. The study suggested that short term and longer term strategic responses should be implemented. In the case of the currency crisis, long term solutions could include government and international economic strategies, and restructuring of the banking and finance system, while the short term solutions could comprise promotional campaigns and reduced hotel and travel pricing.

Tourism in Thailand has grown rapidly since 1980s. This creates many challenges for tourism management. Gibbons and Fish (1988) tried to find ways to attract both large spending and long staying tourists to Thailand while Li and Zhang (1998) attempted to suggest a management strategy in relation to promoting tourism development in Thailand. To develop the tourism industry, diversification of tourism products is necessary. Besides culture, sea, sun, sand, and sex, Thailand also promotes hunter-gatherer societies as a focus for tourism development (Cohen, 1996). Higham (2000) discussed the economic, cultural, and environmental issues, the tourism market, marketing and promotion, and the role of government in tourism industry in Thailand in the 1990s. The study showed that political and financial stability determined the success of tourism in Thailand.

Singapore, a city state in Southeast Asia with only few cultural and historical buildings, can still attract a large number of tourists every year. This is because Singapore can plan and manage tourism very effectively. Teo and Chang (2000: 126) observed that "In resource-scarce localities, tourism development hinges on the dual strategy of inventing resources and capturing new niche markets…economic, environmental and cultural resources are constantly being invented or refashioned to suit evolving tourist needs." More details on tourism management and policy can be found in the edited book by Tan Ern Ser, Brenda S.A. Yeoh and Jennifer Wang (2001), which discusses three main issues: tourism planning, tourism resources and infrastructure, and tourism products.

The general literatures on tourism in Southeast Asia provide a broad picture of the development of tourism in the region, the role of government or state and the private sector, the impacts of tourism on local cultural identity, socio-economic development, and local environment. The studies construct the complex inter-linkages between state, tourism development, planning and management, political ideology, cultural identity, socio-economic development, and environmental preservation. In the next section, studies on heritage tourism in Southeast Asia will be explored and discussed.

### 2.2. Heritage tourism in Southeast Asia

Heritage sites are among the main tourism attractions in Southeast Asia. Several major studies have been conducted in this area, especially the book edited by Michel Picard and Robert Wood on the relationship between tourism, identity, and the state in Asian and Pacific societies

in 1997 and the special volume of *Indonesia and the Malay World* in March 2003. Besides that, there are various books and articles on the interconnectedness between tourism, identity, local community development, and heritage management, as discussed below. Studies on heritage tourism in Southeast Asia mainly focus on the cultural impacts of tourism, the relationship between tourism and ethnicity, and cultural identity. There are many cases of cultural reproduction/reinvention to attract tourists. Tourism is generally a source of cultural development.

### 2.2.1. Indonesia

Crystal (1989) investigated the impact of tourism on the Tana Toraja people and culture, in Sulawesi, Indonesia. The study showed a strong partnership between the government and the local community in preserving the local cultural artifacts. But, the study cautioned that "the relatively small (population 320,000) religiously heterodox, and intensively fragmented Toraja culture region is singularly unprepared to cope with a major tourist influx" (Crystal, 1989: 16).

Yamashita (1997) examined the traditional religious funeral of Puang Mengkendek in Toraja of Sulawesi and its relevance to global tourism. The study found that the religious tradition is reconstructed or reinvented to attract tourists and promote public awareness (through Japanese television) about the region and its tourism potential. He observed that "In Puang Mengkendek's funeral, not only locals, but also the president of the hotel group from Jakarta, the local troops of the national army, international tourists, and the Japanese TV, played important roles in shaping the 'meaning' of the ritual performance." (Yamashita, 1997: 101) The point about the Toraja is that the funerals have been identified as an important part of national culture, which has affected local funerary practice, as seen in an extreme form in this particular instance.

Bali is well known to international tourists from all around the world. Bali not only provides a paradise for beach tourists but also cultural tourists. Picard (1993) analyzed the impacts of tourism on culture in Bali. Culture is the focus of touristic promotion in Bali. Balinese people have integrated foreign culture and values which are adaptable to their own culture. Colonization, regionalization, and tourism development in Bali have transformed Balinese society from within. Balinese culture has been developed for the purposes of tourism planning. "In order to become a tourist destination, Bali had to fulfill several conditions. First, an island which had long been reputed in the West for its 'plunderers salvage' of shipwrecks and 'barbarous sacrifice' of widows on the funeral pyre had to be turned into an object of curiosity for Westerners in search of the exotic. Second, this island had to be made accessible to potential visitors. This in turn required that it be integrated within the Dutch colonial empire, along with the rest of the East Indies" (Picard, 1993: 74). Yamashita argued similarly that the paradise in Bali "was not simply discovered there: it was created" under Dutch colonialism (Yamashita, 2003: 25).

McKean (1989) examined ethnic tourism in Bali in the framework of "economic dualism" and "cultural involution." Bali depends on tourism for development which links Bali to

the world economic cycle, because it now depends on the visits by travelers from the developed countries. Tourism helps to revitalize Balinese culture and identity but at the same time, if improperly managed, it widens the social and economic gap between the rich and the poor and damages the indigenous way of life and rituals. Similar impacts of tourism can be seen as well in the case of Toraja (Indonesia) but more negative aspects of tourism have also been noted, such as the downgrading of the indigenous belief system and the absence of cultural understanding (Crystal, 1989).

Hitchcock and Putra (2007) discussed the globalization of the Bali world heritage site in the context of brand creation, global-local encounters, street traders and entrepreneurs, the impacts of the Asian financial crisis, terrorism and the fall of tourism, and the ways Bali copes with such globalization processes. They observed that globalization is intensified by tourism and local people respond to it creatively by producing and improving cultural products and services.

Kagami (1997) examined the impacts of cultural tourism on the national culture in Indonesia. Taking Borobudur (Javanese culture) and Bali (Balinese culture) as case studies, the study showed that since the 1980s the Indonesian government had used and managed these heritage sites for tourism development and local and national identity construction. The study concluded that there were "interrelations between the development processes in tourism and the national culture, processes which mutually influence each other, but which do not necessarily coincide" (Kagami, 1997: 81).

Hitchcock and Putra (2005) discussed the failed nomination of the complex of Pura Besakih in Bali for UNESCO recognition. Two reasons were provided to explain this: lack of clarity regarding the functions of the temple and conflict of interest between the local people and the national government. The clan groups continue to exercise their rights over the temples.

Geriya (2003) examined the cultural tourism and its impact on three tourist villages in Bali, Tenganan in Karangasen regency, Sangeh in Badung regency, and Ubud in Gianyar regency. Looking from the anthropological perspective, the study argued that "the basic Balinese culture is still strongly protected by local attitudes, social institutions, ways of life, and sense of community. The interaction between tourism and culture has led to cultural revitalization and change on the surface, but underlying these changes are many continuities as the processes of Balinization and globalization have continued" (Geriya, 2003: 92).

Wall (1998b) observed the cultural impacts of tourism in Bali. The study found that "tourism, in its varied forms, adds new elements and users to the landscape, and gives added value to the physical landscapes." These are "continually (re)created, modified and shared, at a price, by, among others, the Balinese, their gods, the tourism industry and the tourists. The resulting destination is neither an expression of Balinese culture nor an artifact of tourism alone. Rather, it is an amalgam of a multiplicity of influences which have combined to form a changing mélange that is now distinctively Balinese" (Wall, 1998b: 61).

Hughes-Freeland (1993) conducted field work in Yogyakarta, one of the provinces in Indonesia, in 1989. The study analyzed the perceptions of Javanese people in regard to cultural tourism and local cultural performance. Tourists coming to visit Yogyakarta are domestic and international. Changes in performance (dance-theater genres) are the result of the process of social change, and tourism is one of the social elements changing the cultural and art performance in Yogyakarta.

Studies on heritage tourism in Indonesia mainly focus on the interconnectedness between tourism and cultural changes and development. Tourism plays an important role in changing the local cultural landscape.

### 2.2.2. Malaysia

Tourism in Malaysia began to receive serious attention from the policy makers from the 1970s. Din (1989) examines the trend of tourist arrivals in Muslim countries. The study analyses the link between tourism and religion by addressing the question of whether the religious factor has had any impact on tourism policy and development. Taking Malaysia as a testing ground, the study argues that, "although the doctrine of Islam encourages travel and hospitable behavior, it has little influence on the mode of tourism development in Muslim countries. While certain regulations prohibit prostitution, gambling, and the consumption of alcoholic beverages in most Muslim countries, religion does not exert any significant influence on the operation of tourist-related activities. Indeed, virtually all ideas and policy precepts which inform tourism planning and management are western-inspired" (Din, 1989: 542).

Din (1997) examines the relationship between tourism and cultural development in the Malaysian context. Based on this case study, he generalizes that:

> In many developing countries which are tourist destinations, there is a close interdependence between culture and tourism and that this relationship extends beyond the perimeters of the market. The role of 'national culture' in national integration can also be critical in ensuring that tourism development is culturally and socially sustainable (Din, 1997:116).

Given the expansion of tourism in Malaysia, and the impacts on socio-economic and cultural development that have surfaced, Kahn (1997) discusses tourist development and culturalization in Georgetown in the Penang region. The study found that the conservation of Georgetown architecture was independent of tourism and, more importantly, arose from local political and cultural circumstances.

King (1993) provides a general overview of the linkages between tourism and culture in Malaysia. By investigating tourist activities in several important tourist spots in Malaysia and examining the interactions between the tourists and local people, the study argues that there is no significant impact of tourism on local culture in Malaysia.

Zeppel (1997) investigates the tourist experiences of *Iban* culture and Longhouse tourism in Sarawak. The study found out that "the tourist experience of *Iban* culture is determined by the images used to market longhouse tours, the type of tour program conducted and the opportunities taken for socializing with Iban people" (Zeppel, 1997: 140). Tourists were satisfied with authentic *Iban* culture and the longhouse tourism experience.

Jenkins and King (2003) examine heritage tourism and development in George Town, at the north-eastern tip of Pulau Pinang or Penang Island, Malaysia. The study argues that in spite of notable conservation and management of George Town there are still many problems: local unfamiliarity with the planning process, and no consensus opinion on the development due to different cultural and class perceptions.

Worden (2003) describes heritage tourism in Melaka, Malaysia. Melaka was used by the Malaysian leaders to explain the origins of Malay culture. But contemporary Malaysian identity is still highly contested since it ignores the long-term presence of groups of non-Malay heritage (such as the Chinese and the *Casodos*, descendants of Portuguese Malay marriages since the sixteenth century). Now Melaka has been modernized, mixing the heritage with modern leisure resorts, to attract tourists.

### 2.2.3. Singapore

Teo (1994) examines the impacts of heritage tourism on Singaporean culture and society. The study demonstrates that there are both positive and negative impacts. The negative impacts are the demonstration effect of tourism; resentment of foreign workers; changes to the vernacular landscape which, in the main, exclude locals; the commercialization of religious activities; and the emergence of touts at shopping centres.

Ethnic diversity can be a source of social conflict but also a resource for the tourism industry. Leong (1997) examines the complex link between tourism, state, and ethnicity in Singapore. The study argues that the state uses tourism as a tool to promote the international image of Singapore. Commoditization of ethnicity as a tourism product has an impact on the nature of ethnicity. Tourism has helped reduce different ethnic groups to four main categories: Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Other (CMIO). Ethnicity is a resource for the tourist industry in Singapore.

Teo and Huang (1995) have also discussed tourism industry in Singapore. By using a survey of tourists and locals, the study found that:

> Tourists were attracted by the facades of old colonial buildings that have been carefully restored. In contrast, Singaporeans attach a great deal more to activities and lifestyles within the district that have since been removed or have disappeared because of conservation. Planning authorities have concentrated mainly on the issue of economic viability and favor commercial activities such as retail and recreation/leisure. As such, Singaporeans feel that conservation in the district, because it 'museumizes' or makes

'elitist' to encourage tourism, has failed to preserve their heritage." (Teo and Huang, 1995: 589)

Ooi (2003) examines museums tourism in Singapore by analyzing the main reason behind the establishment of the Singapore History Museum which describes the historical development of Singapore; the Asian Civilizations Museum which focuses on ethnic links; and the Singapore Art Museum which concentrates on Southeast Asian art and history. These museums have been created to help Singapore become a "Global City of the Arts" in an attempt to attract tourists. Museum is one the main heritage tourism products which are strongly promoted by both the government and the private sector.

Chang (1999), using the theories of globalism and localism from industrial, economic, and cultural perspectives, examines heritage tourism in Singapore by taking the case study of a small town named "Little India". The study argues that tourism development in this town is a result of a dynamic interaction between the local and global forces. This study provides another angle of looking at heritage tourism from the role played by the local forces; challenging the theories contending the tourist destinations are dictated mainly by the demands of tourists.

### 2.2.4. Thailand

Peleggi (1996) examines the heritage attractions and tourism in Thailand and analyzes the government policy in promoting Thai's cultural identity through heritage meaning and description. The study concludes that "despite the present emphasis on cultural tourism, heritage is still of marginal significance for international visitors; yet, it constitutes a major attraction for the expanding domestic tourism sector" (Peleggi, 1996: 432).

Michaud (1997) looks at tourism and cultural impacts in a Hmong village in Thailand. Through fieldwork in the village, the study argues that tourism has little impact on social change in the village. Local people are not very attracted by the tourism business; instead they still keep cultivating their lands and living their own traditional way.

### 2.2.5. Laos, Myanmar/Burma, Vietnam

The literatures on heritage tourism in Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam are grouped together, given that few studies have been found so far on these three countries.

Ass *et al*. (2005) examined the relationship between heritage management and tourism development in Luang Prabang, Laos. They argue that stakeholder collaboration is necessary to balance heritage management and tourism development or sustainable heritage management.

Philp and Mercer (1999) discussed the link between Buddhism and tourism development in Myanmar/Burma. The junta government which is strongly criticized by the international

community regarding human rights violations and dictatorship tries to promote Buddhism for the purpose of maintaining its legitimacy in the country. In addition, tourism is considered as an important tool in improving the economic situation and political legitimacy in the country. As a result, Buddhist temples and cultures are commoditized to meet the demands of the tourism industry.

Thanh Ha (2005) conducted an empirical study to investigate tourist satisfaction among domestic and foreign visitors with cultural heritage sites in Hue City, in the central part of Vietnam. The study found that domestic tourists were more satisfied with the cultural attributes of the site than the international tourists.

Tuan Anh and Cooper (2009) examined the image of Vietnam as a tourist destination for Japanese travelers through the analysis of travel books and brochures. The study found that Vietnam is an attractive destination for Japanese tourists. Low prices and culture are the main assets/attributes of its tourism industry.

### 2.2.6. The literature on heritage tourism in Cambodia

Angkor is the most important site for tourists in Cambodia. Cultural heritage tourism in Angkor has been increasing rapidly since 2000. There are about 1 million foreign tourists who come to visit Angkor annually. Such mass tourism creates a lot of opportunities and challenges for the preservation of Angkor. Moreover, tourism has a considerable impact on the local culture and socio-economic development. Despite the increasing popularity of heritage tourism in Cambodia, and Angkor heritage tourism in particular, there are few studies on sustainable Angkor heritage tourism so far.

Soubert and Hay (1995) investigated the impacts of tourism on culture and the environment in Cambodia, with a particular focus on Angkor. The study raises concerns that, without proper management of the Angkor heritage, proper distribution of the benefits of tourism, and participation of the local community, tourism in Cambodia will face serious problems.

Winter (2003) explores the impacts of the media (e.g. the film *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider*) on tourist behavior at the Angkor heritage site. It provides another perspective on how to balance heritage sites management and the actual tourist encounters. Winter (2004) examines the motivations of Northeast Asian tourists to Angkor and analyses the complex linkage between landscape, memory, and heritage tourism in the Asian context. The study suggests that "exploring the values and meanings associated with Angkor's cultural heritage" is very important to explain the linkage. The cultural similarity between Cambodia and other Northeast Asian countries is one the main factors explaining the motivations of the Northeast Asian tourists to Cambodia. Winter (2006) discusses the narratives of Preah Khan. The study found that perceiving and branding Preah Khan as a "ruin" is central to the tourist experiences and tourism promotion. Winter (2007) discusses the social, cultural, and political context of Angkor heritage tourism within the framework of postcolonial and post-conflict Cambodia. He

concludes that Angkor has emerged as a space for the restoration of Cambodia's cultural heritage, national identity construction, production of material and non material culture, and as a source for economic growth.

Besides academic studies on Angkor heritage tourism there are short reports on heritage management in the context of mass tourism in Angkor. Wager (1995: 419-434) discusses the environmental management plan of the Angkor heritage sites. The study provides a zoning and environmental framework for the management of the world heritage monument. Hall and Ringer (2000: 178-182) provide a short overview of tourism potential and challenges in Cambodia focusing on the period from 1994 to 1998. Barré (2002: 126-130) looks at the sustainable development of cultural tourism in Siem Reap, Angkor. He provides several recommendations for promoting tourism in Angkor through the preservation of the temple and through human resource development. Leisen (2002: 85-92), Sandy (2002: 93-97), Nakagawa (2002: 98-103), Beschaouch (2002: 104-109), Molyvann (2002: 110-116), Lemaistre and Cavalier (2002: 117-125), look at Angkor restoration and management from archeological perspective. Durand (2002: 131-137) provides a short overview of tourism in Angkor from 1992 to 2002. Candelaria (2005: 253-288) examines the Angkor site preservation and the role of Cambodia and international community. She calls for more attention to preserving Angkor in the context of increasing mass tourism.

## Conclusion

Together with the growth of tourism in Southeast Asia, there has been an increasing awareness of the need to understand the dynamics of tourism and its impacts in the region. The methods used in the studies are diverse, divided into two main types: qualitative and quantitative. The findings show both positive and negative impacts of tourism on local society, economy, cultural identity, ethnicity, and environment. The findings also illustrate the role of the state in promoting tourism for political economic and national cultural interests. Preservation of the archeological sites has a political function in order to promote nationalism. Southeast Asian states are using heritage tourism as a source of national pride, national integration, and education. But it may also create a sense of xenophobia and political manipulation as emphasized by Glover (2003).

Studies on tourism in Southeast Asia provide a basic analytical background of the complex relationship between tourism and the issues of ethnicity, cultural identity, nationalism, political ideology, socio-economic development, and the environment. Southeast Asian states are the main players in developing tourist destinations in the region and shaping the directions of the tourism industry in the context of national vested political, economic and cultural interests.

Literatures on tourism in Southeast Asia in general neglect to focus on the role of the private sector in tourism development. The state is projected as the main actor in most of the literatures. It must be noted that tourism development is almost impossible without the

participation of the private sector. Political goals through tourism can not be achieved without the participation of interest groups especially the business and local community.

Regarding heritage tourism in Southeast Asia in general, it tends to focus more on the interrelationship between tourism and culture in which state and local community are the main actors. The complexities of heritage tourism were identified. Heritage tourism development in Southeast Asia links more with the political than economic interests. However, there is a gap in analyzing the issues of heritage site management, including tangible and intangible heritages, and the issues of sustainability particularly there is a scant attention to analyze the perceptions of tourists, local residents and experts in respect to heritage tourism.

This thesis contributes to the existing literatures on tourism in Southeast Asia in general and heritage tourism in particular by analyzing the perceptions of the three main stakeholders namely tourists, local residents and experts by using a case study methodology with a mixed data collection and analysis approach. More importantly, it provides a broad based perspective on looking at sustainable heritage tourism management. It is believed that theories can be constructed based on the perceptions. Perception analysis is an alternative way to study tourism.

# CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH SITE

> Angkor is a living museum…a museum of the Khmer civilization.
>
> *(Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia)*
>
> The site of Angkor, a masterpiece of art and history and a jewel on the World Heritage List, is in fact a singular symbol of the role of which cultural heritage plays today, in the life of societies, at local, national and international level.
>
> *(Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO)*

## Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the historical background to the research site, Angkor Park and resources linked with the Park such as the world heritage site of Angkor Wat,[9] the other main temples in the Park, the local natural landscape, the local communities, and the local physical infrastructure. Photographs I took during my field work are used to illustrate the park's diverse resources that could attract tourists in addition to the temples. In addition, it also provides background on Angkor heritage site management at both the national and international levels. Within the context of the research site, its attributes, and its management, we can link concepts and theories with the realities on the ground.

## 3.1. Historical background to Angkor Park

At the onset of the ninth century, when King Jayavarman II (r.802-834) established a new capital near Angkor, the country's sphere of influence extended from the Mekong Delta up the Mekong River to take in a large portion of the current territory of Laos and Thailand. By the twelfth century, when the great temple of Angkor Wat was constructed, Khmer hegemony had been strengthened in the northwest as far as Phimai and Phnom Rung, and in Lopburi, all areas which are now part of Thailand. The Khmer kings gave priority to building reservoirs and canals which were necessary for the integrated collective irrigation system and for agricultural development[10]. Temples continued to be built over several generations of leaders in the kingdom. The Khmer kings believed in supernatural protection and most of them sought this through their devotional acts to Shiva, Vishnu, and Buddha. Building temples was part of this devotion. (Chandler, 2000: 18-20).

The Khmer kingdom was strongly influenced by India. Some scholars even stated that it was one of the "Indianized" or "Hinduized" states in Southeast Asia (Coedes, 1968). They argued that Khmer religious beliefs, art and architecture were derived directly from India with some modifications to the local context. The Indian influence on the Cambodian politico-

[9] It is sometimes written Angkor Vat

[10] Whether Baray is built purely for the irrigation purpose is still debateable. Some scholars argue that it was built for religious reason rather than agricultural development.

religious infrastructure can be seen through the Angkor monuments which are constructed in accordance with Hindu and Buddhist beliefs (Coedes, 1968). However, the Khmer people settled in the area long before the arrival of the Chinese and Indians. Khmer villagers practiced rituals and customs to pay respect to their ancestors and gods of the mountain, forest and sea. There is no exact evidence of when and how the Khmer people adopted and adapted Indian and Chinese culture into their indigenous belief and values system. All we know exactly is that the Khmer people and leaders have practiced first Hinduism and later Buddhism since the Angkorean period. Angkor's political administration and religious system were based on the teachings and principles of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. From the thirteenth century onward, Theravada Buddhism came to replace them as the spiritual foundation of the Khmer kingdom. Theravada Buddhism quickly spread among the Cambodian people and became the dominant religion. According to the inscriptions, it presented the king as "the protector of religion, the preserver of religious establishments that were entrusted to his care by donors" (Coedes, 1968: 119).

The history of Angkor has gone through several important periods of development and turbulence. It can be argued that the Angkor period began in the ninth century, when the king, Javarman II, who liberated Cambodia from the suzerainty of Java, declared or crowned himself as the supreme leader or king and established his capital first in Rolous, and a little bit later in the Kulen Mountains (Coedes, 1968: 97-109). From that time on, the foundations of the Angkor Empire were established, within which the area around Phnom Kulen formed the kingdom's center. In 877, the first capital was built in what is now Rolous, and two temples were built dedicated to Shiva, Preah Koh and Bakong. Later the capital was moved to Yasodharapura (modern Phnom Bakheng). Many temples were built in the area around the capital, including Prasat Kravan, Baksei Chamkrong, East Mebon, and Pre Rup. In this period, the main temple structures were built from bricks, with laterite used for the base and exterior walls and sandstone for lintels and false doors. Banteay Srei, one of the best representatives of the temple architecture of this period, was built from pink sandstone (Yoshiaki, 1999: 49).

The Kingdom expanded to cover a large part of mainland Southeast Asia during the reign of Suryavarman II in the early twelfth century. Suryavarman was a warrior king who extended the kingdom through conquest to the south to include some parts of modern Laos; to the west as far as the gulf of Siam and the borders of Pagan (modern Myanmar); and the east to include some parts of Champa (modern central Vietnam). During his reign, he had several important temples built such as Angkor Wat, Chao Say Tevoda, Banteay Samre, Beng Mealea, and Phnom Rung (in present day Thailand). Between 1145 and 1150, after his death, the Khmer Kingdom was in turmoil, allowing the Kingdom of Champa to fight back in 1177. From that time the two kingdoms engaged in recurrent battles, which are vividly represented in great detail in the bas reliefs of Angkor Wat and Bayon (Glaize, 1993: 10).

Figure 1: Angkor Wat (Glaize 1993: 58)

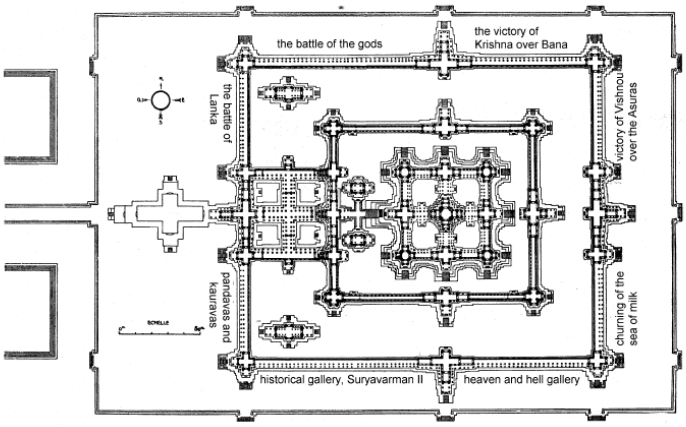


**Figure 2: Bas Relief**

Jayavarman VII (r.1181- c.1220) won a great victory in a naval battle against the Kingdom of Champa on the Great Lake. Around 1203, he re-conquered Champa, which remained under Khmer rule until about 1220. In the fifteenth century, the attacks on Champa by Vietnamese forces from the north gradually led to the Khmer kingdom's destruction. Jayavarman VII's greatest architectural achievement was the construction of the capital of Angkor Thom, which is laid out in a square with the Bayon temple complex at its center. After

his death, the Khmer Empire started to decline, and the Khmer forces began to be pushed out of their foreign conquests.

**Map 4: Khmer Empire**

The expansion of the Mongol empire in Champa, Burma and Java plus the foreign policy of China wishing to split the old “Indianized” or “Hinduized” states into small principalities, led in the first half of the thirteenth century to the liberation of the Thai of the middle of Menam

(Chaophraya), who had previously been under the Khmer Empire, and to the establishment of the Thai kingdom of Sukhothai (Coedes, 1968: 250-1). The Thai started encroaching and expanding their sovereignty over the territory of the former Khmer Empire. In 1352, Thai forces started attacking the city of Angkor. Finally they took control the city in 1431. The Khmers abandoned the city in 1432 (Ishizawa, 1999: 169; MacDonald, 1987: 77).[11]

Concerning the abandonment of Angkor, Chandler (2000:29) argues that "although the city was partially abandoned in the fifteenth century, it was restored as the royal city in the 1570s. More important, one of its major temples, Angkor Wat, was probably never abandoned by the Khmer, for it still contains Buddhist statuary from every century between the fifteenth and the nineteenth and inscriptions on its walls from as late as 1747."

The narrative history of Angkor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not so clear. It seems that the Thai-oriented administration of the Angkor region was overthrown by forces loyal to Phnom Penh, the new capital of Cambodia, toward the middle of the fifteenth century[12], that is to say twenty years after the last Thai attack on the old capital, Angkor. After the Thai were removed from Angkor, however, neither the Thai nor the Cambodians tried to administer the area for more than a hundred years (Chandler, 2000: 81).

From the middle of the 15th century, the Khmer Empire went into decline together with other "Indianized" or "Hinduized" kingdoms in Southeast Asia. Vijaya was abandoned by the Chams in 1471; Islam triumphed in Java around 1520, while Indian culture survived only on the island of Bali. Malacca, the commercial port of the Sumatran kingdom from the beginning of the 15th century, fell into the hands of the Western powers in 1511 (Coedes, 1968: 251-2). From the 16th century, the history of the Khmer civilization was forgotten, as the kingdom fell due to invasions by its stronger neighbors, Thailand and Vietnam.

In 1860, the French traveler and natural historian Henri Mouhot encountered Angkor and made Europe conscious of Angkor and Khmer civilization.[13] From that point onward, Angkor has made public. France started to turn Cambodia and with it Angkor into a French Protectorate in 1863. By 1901, the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) had sent its first mission to record and take photographs of the bas-reliefs of the Bayon, and Angkor slowly emerged into the twentieth century (Mannikka, 1996: 5). The Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Saigon studied Angkor from 1901 onwards; Angkor was inscribed upon the French national imaginary as both a symbol of "Orient mystique and a showcase of the *mission civilisatrice*" (Edwards, 1999: 141).

[11] Bruno Dagens (1995: 20) argues that "Angkor was plundered and devastated and, except perhaps for a very short period during the 16th century, was never again to house the capital of Cambodia, which was eventually established at Phnom Penh."

[12] Burma sacked Ayudhya in 1569

[13] Before Henri Mouhot encountered Angkor, the Chinese envoy Chou Ta-Kuan visited Angkor from August 1296 to July 1297. The Portuguese traveler Diogo do Couto visited Angkor around 1585-8. The first missionary Charles-Emile Bouillevaux visited Angkor in 1850. The journal of Henri Mouhot appearing in 1863 in the review *Le Tour du Monde* had a great impact on European consciousness of Angkor (Dagens, 1995:14, 34-5).

**Table 5: Chronology of Kings at Angkor**

| King | Reign | Temples begun, rebuilt or added to |
|---|---|---|
| Jayavarman II | 790 – 835 | Rong Chen on Phnom Kulen, earlier shrine on the site of Kutisvara |
| Jayavarman III | 835 – 877 | Prei Monti, Trapeang Phnong, Bakong |
| Indravarman I | 877 - c.886 | Preah Ko, sandstone cladding of Bakong, Indratataka *baray* |
| Yasovarman I | 889 - c.915 | Lolei, Bakheng, Prasat Bei, Thma Bay Kaek, earlier shrine on the site of Phimeanakas, Phnom Krom, Phnom Bok, East Baray |
| Harshavarman I | c.915 - 923 | Baksei Chamkrong, Prasat Kravan |
| Isanavarman II | 923 - c.928 | |
| Jayavarman IV | c.928 – c.941 | Koh Ker site |
| Harshavarman II | c.941 - 944 | |
| Rajendravarman | 944 - 968 | Pre Rup, East Mebon, Bat Chum, Kutisvara, Banteay Srei, earlier temple on the site of Banteay Kdei, Srah Srang, Baksei Chamkrong |
| Jayavarman V | 968 - c.1000 | Ta Keo |
| Udayadityavarman I | 1001 - 1002 | |
| Jayaviravarman | 1002 -1010 | North Khleang, continuation of Takeo |
| Suryavarman I | 1002 -1049 | South Khleang, Preah Vihear in the Dangrek Mountains, Phimeanakas and the Royal Palace, Suryaparvata at Phnom Chisor, Preah Khan at Kompong Svay, West Baray, Wat Phu |
| Udayadityavarman II | 1050 -1066 | Bapuon, West Mebon |
| Harshavarman III | 1066/7 -1080 | |
| Jayavarman VI | 1080 –c.1107 | Phimai in present-day Thailand |
| Dharanindravarman I | 1107 -1112 | |
| Suryavarman II | 1113 –c.1150 | Angkor Wat, Thommanon, Chao Say Tevoda, Banteay Samré, Phnom Rung in present-day Thailand, Beng Mealea |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yasovarman II | c.1150 -1165 | Beng Mealea, Chao Say Tevoda, Banteay Samré, Bakong |
| Tribhuvanadityavarman | c.1165 -1177 | |
| Jayavarman VII | 1181 –c.1220 | Ta Prohm, Preah Khan, Jayatataka baray, Neak Pean, Ta Som, Ta Nei, Banteay Chhmar in NW Cambodia, Angkor Thom, Prasats Chrung, Bayon, Elephant Terrace, Ta Prohm Kel, Hospital Chapel, Krol Ko, Srah Srang, Royal Palace |
| Indravarman II | c.1220 -1243 | Prasats Suor Prat, Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, Ta Som, Ta Nei |
| Jayavarman VIII | c.1243 -1295 | Mangalartha, Preah Palilay?, Bayon, Ta Prohm, Preah Khan, Prasats Chrung, Angkor Wat, Bapuon, Chao Say Tevoda, Banteay Samre', Beng Mealea, Terrace of the Leper King, Elephant Terrace, Preah Pithu, Royal Palace |
| Srindravarman | 1295 -1307 | Ta Prohm, Preah Pithu, Preah Palilay |
| Srindrajayavarman | 1307 -1327 | |
| Jayavarman Paramesvara | 1327 - | |

(Source: adapted from Freeman and Jacques, 2003: 12)

Siem Reap and other provinces were returned to Cambodia from Siam under the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907. Angkor was never again to be the capital of Cambodia, but it was the center of the Khmer civilization and a source of wonder. The Cambodians themselves always remembered that it had given them their identity and that their souls were linked with Angkor. The findings of researchers, the stories of those who worked on the Angkor complex, and the photographs of the site brought Angkor back to life and freed it from the jungle (Dagens, 1995: 83).

Angkor did not only attract archeologists and historians but also tourists. In the autumn of 1907, there was an influx of more than two hundred tourists visiting Angkor. To meet the demands of tourists, the Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient proposed to improve access and accommodation for visitors and to conserve the historical buildings. Tour services and marketing started in 1912. By the start of the 1920s, the conservation of Angkor was already well under way. The name "Angkor Park" was officially introduced with the purpose of preservation in 1925 (Dagens, 1995: 84-6). Also at this time, Angkor was transformed into "tourist space" and the families living in the Park were also relocated (Winter 2007: 40). The opening of the *Grand Hotel d'Angkor* in 1929 marked the start of luxury tourism to Angkor Park. International tourism also changed the landscape of Angkor in terms of developing Cambodian arts and crafts initiated and developed by French expert, George Groslier. "For Groslier, the artifacts produced not only

ensured a continuity of skills between the ancient past and a fast changing present, but also helped reduce the growing problem of tourists stealing from the temples" (Winter 2007: 41).

Conservation work continued at Angkor after that. In 1949, Cambodia gained self-government as a member of the French Union and in 1953 achieved full independence from France. The newly independent state, Cambodia, considered Angkor as a symbol of national pride and nationalism. From the 1960s, Angkor was preserved by the Cambodian government with support from France. The father of Bernard-Philippe Groslier named George Groslier established the School of Cambodian Arts to train young Cambodians in archeology, especially for the conservation of the Angkor site in 1917-1918. In 1960s, the name of the scholl was changed to the Royal University of Fine Arts.

From the early 1970s, civil war started in Cambodia. Angkor conservation was stopped. Some precious antiquities from Angkor were looted and sold to foreign countries. From the mid-1980s, Angkor conservation restarted with the funding and support from international experts and organizations. In particular, restoration and conservation work began through cooperation between the Cambodian government, UNESCO and the international donor community after Angkor was adopted as a world heritage site by UNESCO in 1992.

The Angkor temple complex was partially damaged by shooting during the fighting in the 1970s and 80s. In addition to the fragility of Angkor, tourist arrivals at the site have increased remarkably since the early 1990s, and this has had an impact on the local community and created big challenges for the stakeholders in managing the site in a sustainable way.

**Figure 3: Damage from shooting at Angkor**

**Table 6: Timeline of modern Angkor Development**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1907 | Under Franco-Siamese Treaty, Angkor was returned to Cambodia |
| 1912 | Tourism services started in Angkor |
| 1917 | Establisment of the School of Cambodian Arts in Phnom Penh |
| 1925 | Angkor Park was created to conserve the site |
| 1929 | Opening of the *Grand Hotel d'Angkor* marked the beginning of luxury tourism |
| 1953 | Cambodia got independence from France |
| 1960s | Re-organization of the School of Cambodia Art as Royal University of Fine Arts to conduct research on Cambodian culture and arts and train Cambodian students |
| 1970s, 1980s | War period in Cambodia and the neglect of Angkor conservation |
| 1991 | Paris Peace Agreement to settle armed conflict and civil war in Cambodia |
| 1992 | Angkor inscribed as World Heritage Property by World Heritage Committee |
| 1993 | Creation of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) for the safeguarding and development of Angkor |
| 1993 | General Election with support from the United Nations took place in Cambodia |
| 1995 | Creation of APSARA Authority in charges of Angkor Heritage Site Conservation and Management |
| 1997 | Factional armed conflict in Phnom Penh and the spread of SARS |

### 3.2. Park resources[14]

#### 3.2.1. Angkor heritage site

Angkor is the symbol of Khmer identity and pride. This identity has been strongly promoted in the modern age under the French colonial period when studies on Khmer identity were introduced. Seanglim Bit observed that "to be Cambodian is to be the warrior, the creator and the builder of Angkor Wat. More accurately, to be a Cambodian is to be a descendant of a people that produced architectural masterpieces of the Angkor era which rival the achievements of any of the ancient civilizations" (Bit, 1991: 3). This shows that after being ravaged by its powerful neighbors, Siam [modern Thailand] and An Nam [modernVietnam], Khmer lost not only its status as a great and prosperous kingdom but also its history. Even some Khmer people themselves thought that the temples were built by God, not by ordinary people.

Angkor was first rediscovered by Portuguese and Spanish travelers in the sixteenth century, though they did not believe that the temples were constructed by the Khmer. They thought they had been built by Indians (Mabbett and Chandler, 1995: 2). They were followed much later by the French traveler and natural historian, Henry Mohout, who brought Angkor to the attention of Europe. France started to pay attention to Angkor monuments so they started to

[14] See appendix 3 on monument and sites for more details on the descriptions.

conduct study and conservation projects through the establishment of the *Ecole française d' Extrême Orient* (EFEO) in 1901. The objectives of the organization were: first, to provide France with the information of the people it ruled including language, social values, culture and tradition; second, to reinforce a sense of responsibility to preserve the ancient monuments; and finally, to expand French understanding and scholarship of the Orient (Winter 2007: 31).

Cambodia has been searching for its own identity for centuries after the collapse of Khmer Empire in the early 14th century. The rediscovery of Angkor was the moment when Cambodians started to understand their history and culture once more. The French arrival in Cambodia in the early 19th century helped Cambodians to learn more about themselves. Almost the all studies on Angkor and Cambodian history were conducted by foreign experts and scholars, particularly from France. Their perspectives on Khmer identity are diverse but share common ground in asserting that Angkor is the symbol of Khmer identity and the greatest achievement of the Khmer Empire. Dagens rightly argue that "For outsiders, Angkor is a dream of ruins in the jungle...For Cambodians, Angkor Wat is the symbol of nationhood" (Dagens, 1995: 115).

Most of the early studies, mainly conducted by French scholars, concentrated on the Angkor archeological sites and less attention was paid to learning about the social life and history of the local people living in the Angkor Park. An account of the kingdom survives by an early Chinese traveler, Chou Ta-Kuan, who provided information on the local culture and socio-economic structure of the original Khmers living in the capital of Angkor at the end the thirteenth century. In addition to Chou Ta-Kuan's observations, a large part of the bas-reliefs at Bayon temple depict the daily life of the Khmer Angkor of that time. It is interesting that daily life in the thirteenth century is similar to current daily life, except for the physical appearance and clothing of the people (Mabbett and Chandler, 1995: 125-138). Chou Ta-Kuan's record has been used to understand the nature of Khmer society of the thirteenth century. His memoir dealt with religion, slaves, festivals, agriculture, and the King's excursions. Here are some of his quotes:

> I imagine it is these monuments [the temples] that account for the glowing reports which foreign merchants have always given rich and noble Cambodia...each village has either a temple of a tower...on the main roads are resting places similar to our post houses...In front of the royal palace they erect a large platform with room for more than a thousand people and decorate it all over with lanterns and flowers...The costs are borne by the provinces and by the nobility. At nightfall the king is invited to the festivities. The rockets are set off and the firecrackers lit...Mandarins and noblemen contribute candles and areca palm wood. The expense is considerable. The king also invites foreign ambassadors to the celebrations. (Chou Ta-Kuan's Memorials on the customs of Cambodia, cited in Dagens, 1995: 130-133)

Chou's account suggests that many of the people living at Angkor were in some sense slaves.

> Those who have many [slaves] have more than a hundred; those who have only a few have from ten to twenty; only the very poor have none at all...For the service they can go up into the house, but then they kneel, salaam and prostrate themselves before advancing. They call their master and mistress father and mother. If they commit a fault, they are beaten; they bow the head and do not dare to make the least movement...If a slave tries to escape and is retaken, he is marked in blue on the face. Sometimes they are fastened by iron rings on the neck, arms of legs." (Chou Ta-Kuan's record cited in MacDonald, 1937: 66-67, and Chandler, 2000: 72)

Chou's comments on the agricultural cycle are as follows:

> In this country it rains for half of the year; in the other half, it hardly rains at all. From the fourth to the ninth month, it rains every afternoon, and the water level of the Great Lake can reach seven or eight fathoms...People who live on the shores all go away to the mountains. Later, from the tenth month to the third [of the following year], not a drop of rain falls, and the Great Lake can be navigated only by small boats...The people come back down at this point and plant their rice. (Chandler 2000: 74)

Chou also wrote about commerce:

> In this country, it is the women who are concerned with commerce...Every day, a market takes place which begins at six in the morning and ends at noon. There is no market made up of shops where people live. Instead, people use a piece of matting, which they spread out onto the earth. Each of them has her own location, and I believe that fees are charged for these locations. (Chandler 2000: 74)

On the king's excursions, Chou noted:

> When the king goes out, troops are at the head of the escort…Palace women, numbering from three to five hundred, wearing flowered cloth, with flowers in their hair, hold candles in their hands, and form a troupe. Even in broad daylight, the candles are lighted. Then come other palace women, bearing royal paraphernalia made of gold and silver...Then come the palace women carrying lances and shields, [and] the king's private guards...Carts drawn by goats and horses, all in gold, come next. Ministers and princes are mounted on elephants, and in front of them one can see, from afar, their innumerable read umbrellas. After them come the wives and concubines of the king, in palanquins, carriages, on horseback, and on elephants. They have more than a hundred parasols, flecked with gold. Behind them come the sovereign, standing on an elephant, holding his sacred sword in his hand. The elephant's tusks are encased in gold. (Chandler 2000: 76)

The capital of Angkor was the largest urban area in the Khmer Kingdom at its peak. The people there were prosperous. The main transport in the capital was provided by roads and

canals. Forests were cut or burned down to provide space for agricultural development since it was considered as the main strategy for the kingdom to feed and defend itself. The irrigation system was well developed surrounding the capital. In Khmer it is often said "*Tveou sre naing teouk tveou seok naing bay*" which literally means "Rice growing needs water and war needs rice". The Western and Eastern Water Reservoirs (*Baray*[15] in Khmer language) still exist now while other smaller canals have either been seriously damaged or disappeared. The urban and agricultural heritage adds further value to the ruins of Angkor.

The Angkor complex now is a heritage site which brings together a cluster of more than 40 individually significant monuments set within an archeological context of great complexity and an internationally recognized landscape. The designation of Angkor Wat as world heritage site by UNESCO in 1992 has helped to promote the many attractions of Angkor Park, including its historic, cultural and natural heritage and the landscape and communities in the Park. There are five must-see temples that tourists always visit. These include Angkor Wat, Bayon, Preah Khan, Ta Prohm, Phnom Bakheng, and Banteay Srei. Detailed descriptions of all of the temples from standard internet guides are included in Appendix 3.

**Figure 4: Angkorean Water System**

Western *Baray* (Water reservoir)

Moat around Angkor Wat

### 3.2.2. The local natural landscape

The Angkor landscape appears as a somewhat chaotic mixture of activity and different kinds of land use. The landscape includes major geographic features such as roads, rivers, landforms, and heritage sites. Housing which used to be constructed based on agriculture and the physical landscape now takes place along the newly constructed roads. In addition to the more significant monuments, the main visual features of Angkor Park include *barays* (water

[15] There are some other arguments that the *Baray* was constructed based on religious belief rather than for agricultural development. The true and real objective of *Baray* is still unknown given the fact that there are two conflicting views on this.

reservoirs) and their associated landforms and water systems, together with the remnant forest and vegetation. Ecologically this relatively small area of forest is vitally important to the landscape setting and context of the main monument sites, as well as contributing to the overall character and atmosphere of Angkor Park.

The biodiversity in Angkor Park attract the attention of and pleases the tourists coming to visit the temples. MacDonald, a pre-war traveler and writer, observed that:

> Red jungle-fowl strut occasionally beside the road, flaunting their handsome gold-and-scarlet plumage. Crow pheasants are a frequent sight, the splashes of brilliant colour on their wings seeming like flying torches as they dart through the undergrowth. Grotesque hornbills, screaming parakeets, racket-tailed dragons and other native birds add touches of tropical nature to the scene, emphasizing the shrine's jungle remoteness.
> When I first visited the temple an escort of many butterflies met me as I stepped from my jeep, fluttering round me like a multi-coloured mist as I entered the sacred precincts. A party of gibbon apes offered a noisier welcome. They gamboled in a group of trees overlooking the ruins, running on all fours along the branches and occasionally leaping with violent shakings of foliage from tree to tree. Of a sudden they started a hullabaloo...
> The temple had an air of remoteness from the human world, with the sort of solitude which is peopled only by wild animals. When I came to its moat a small kingfisher clothed in royal-blue and blood-red plumage sat on a twig, hopefully eyeing the depths below. Occasionally a fish rose and the bird dived, breaking with a splash the profound silence which had succeeded the monkeys' serenade. Black-headed, scarlet-bodied and tinsel-winged dragonflies skimmed above the water, also hunting their prey (MacDonald 1937:92-3).

**Figure 5: Local natural landscape**

Lake in Angkor Park

The Eastern *Baray* (Water Reservoir)

### 3.2.3. Local communities

Angkor Park is more than an archeological site, and is also a "living space" with "living heritage." Many traditional practices can be seen in this area (Miura, 2004). Within Cambodian discourse, it is generally said that the people of Siem Reap are true *Khmer Angkor*, given their physical appearances, customs, and ways of living. Siem Reap people still preserve customs and beliefs that are hard to find in other parts of Cambodia.

Many traditional and religious practices are widely practiced in Siem Reap province but on a smaller scale now compared with the past. For instance, the *Kat Sak Bankok Chmob* (birth ritual) is performed a few days after the baby's delivery, to publicly announce the arrival of the newborn, thank the midwife, and wish good luck to the baby. *Kor Chuk* (keeping and cutting of the topknot) marks the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Traditionally, a child grows a long central tuft of hair, usually from birth and then at the age of 13 (or another odd numbered age, given that odd-numbers are the numbers of life), a ceremony is carried out to remove the tuft, symbolizing the passage to puberty. *Buos Neak* (ordination as a Buddhist monk) marks the beginning of study for Buddhist novices. This tradition is still practiced, but not for all young men. The Ceremony to Prolong Life, to prolong the lives of the elderly, has several names in the Khmer language such as *Chansok Kiri Sout*, *Chhark Toch*, *Chhark Thom* or *Chhark Maha Bangsakol*, and *Tor Ayuk* or *Chomreun Preah Chum*. The funerary rite, *Bochea Sap*, consists of three parts: burial, exhumation and second burial. The second ceremony is held to send the soul of the dead to a peaceful place so it can be reborn for a better life. *Banchus Theat*, burying the ashes after cremation, is the final stage of the life circle. These rituals are practiced within the local belief system, and not for the tourists (Im Sokrithy 2007).

There are a variety of performing arts which can be seen in the province. These include shadow plays, dance, and theatre. Some originated from the *Ramayana* epic, and others follow the customs of the community and region such as *Trot*, which is celebrated during the New Year in order to bring good fortune and happiness for the coming year. To meet the demands from tourists, local artists and performers show off their skills through their performances at some big hotels and restaurants, and sometimes in front of the Angkor temples. The meanings of the rituals have been changing within the context of tourism. For instance, *Trot* is performed both to provide a tourist experience and to bring good fortune to the local community for the coming New Year. *Trot* is less visible now in the Angkor Park as young people are busy with their jobs in the town of Siem Reap but it is developing into a commercial festival in the town. During the New Year celebrations, *Trot* can be seen performed in many restaurants and hotels to bring good fortune.

**Figure 6: Local community**

Local people watering vegetables

Local people cooking

Local pilgrims at Angkor Wat

Local people catching fish

A typical house in the Angkor region

A typical house in the Angkor region

Family livelihood

Palm sugar production

### 3.2.4. Physical infrastructure

The dramatic increase in the tourism industry in Angkor requires an expansion of the tourism facilities and road network. The local government, especially the APSARA Authority, has developed the physical infrastructure in Angkor Park. A large scale reorganization of the road network has been conducted by opening new gateways to Angkor Park, creating by-pass routes, improving traffic circulation in order to reduce traffic concentration in one place or area, and constructing rest rooms and medical centers within the park.

**Figure 7: Local roads**

### 3.3. Preservation and conservation of heritages

How to protect the Angkor heritage area has been discussed since the first regulations were established in 1911. A decree dated 30 September 1929 stipulated that a "preserved zone" with specific regulations was to be created in the Angkor area. Villages located close to the temples were viewed as disturbances. Villagers living inside the preserved zone were forbidden to build new houses, tap trees for resin, cut down trees, or clear new lands. Nevertheless, these regulations aiming to limit the expansion of villages were rarely enforced, with the exception of the ancient villages located in close proximity to Angkor Wat and Phnom Bakheng. In the 1960s these villages were moved to a new residential site, a few kilometers to the southwest (Luco, 2006: 121).

Although Angkor Archaeological Park was established in 1925 as the first national park in Southeast Asia, the inadequacy of laws to protect cultural property and lack of a management authority capable of controlling activities in the area led to the need for reinvigorated institutions able to resolve conservation and development activities.

In 1989, the four major Cambodian political factions collectively requested UNESCO to help protect the Angkor monuments. Since that time, a number of countries have supported a program to provide assistance in safeguarding and preserving them. UNESCO convened two international round table meetings of experts, in Bangkok (1990) and Paris (1991), and an expert International Consultative Committee meeting on Angkor in Siem Reap (1993). These meetings provided a series of recommendations for efforts to protect Angkor. These were followed by a donor's conference on Angkor in Tokyo in October 1993. The diverse international interest underscores the need for a strong national coordinating mechanism and the importance of a basic strategy for management of the entire area of Angkor (ZEMP Discussion Draft, 1993: 1).

The Supreme National Council of Cambodia ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1991 and submitted the Angkor Archaeological Park for inclusion in the World Heritage List in 1992 for the following reasons:

(i) it represents a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of creative genius;

(ii) it has exerted great influence over a span of time, within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts, and landscaping;

(iii) it bears unique and exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared; and

(iv) it is an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history.

The World Heritage Committee accepted the proposal to include Angkor in the World Heritage List in December 1992. The concept of world heritage is based on the recognition that parties to the convention share some responsibility for protection of sites of international value within the context of a strict respect for sovereignty.

#### a. Management at the international level

The Archaeological Survey of India was the first international research team which came to Angkor after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime. The work of this first team began in the post 1979 period but without national and international coordination to formulate the project. The first team finished in early 1990s then other teams arrived to continue the work and tried to create a mechanism for coordination.

Conservation work and research at Angkor were conducted quite actively by other governments, research institutes and universities. Sophia University of Tokyo undertakes a comprehensive study of Banteay Kdei temple. The Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient established its operations in the Park, rebuilt its pre-war research institute, and conducted restoration work on a section of the Royal Terraces of Angkor Thom. The Japanese Government Team for Safeguarding Angkor has conducted studies on the Suor Proat group for restoration purposes, and the Angkor Thom complex. The Japanese Government Team also worked on the temple's library. The World Monuments Fund started working to conserve Phreah Khan. The Royal Angkor Foundation, supported by Hungarian and German governments, carried out restoration work on Preah Ko temple in Rolous. The Indonesian Team for Safeguarding Angkor started to restore the entrance gates to the Royal Palace. An Italian team conducts work to stabilize the Pre Rup complex. The German Research Team funded by the Federal Republic of Germany arrived to do an in-depth study of the causes of degradation of the apsara reliefs at Angkor Wat with the aim of conserving them. The latest team is Chinese which is restoring the Chau Say Tevoda temple (APSARA, 1998: 160-163).

The International Coordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor (ICC) was created after the first Intergovernmental Conference on the Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor, held in Tokyo in October 1993. In 1997, the Committee decided to create an ad hoc group of experts, responsible for advising APSARA on technical solutions to specific problems as well as comprehensive questions related to the safeguarding of Angkor.

The ICC organizes annual technical meetings, co-chaired by the French and Japanese ambassadors with participants from the Cambodian government and UNESCO, aimed at following up and examining new developments in site preservation and management, and new research findings, in order to provide policy recommendations for the authorities concerned.

**b. Management at the national level**

APSARA was created by Royal Decree in 1995. APSARA, in collaboration with other governmental agencies, is responsible for:

1. Protecting, maintaining, conserving and improving the value of the archaeological park, the culture, the environment and the history of the Angkor region as defined on the World Heritage List.

2. Refining and applying the master plan on tourist development according to the five zones, defined in 1994 in the Royal Decree on the protection and management of Siemreap-Angkor and taking action against deforestation, illegal territory occupation as well as anarchy activities in Siemreap-Angkor.

3. Finding financial sources and investments.

4. Participating in the policy of cutting down poverty of the Royal Government in Siemreap-Angkor.

5. Cooperating with the Cambodian Development Council on the investments of all the projects that are involved with APSARA Authority's mission.

6. Cooperating with ministries, institutions, funds, national and international communities as well as international governmental institutions and non-governmental organization on all projects related to APSARA Authority. (Royal Degree 1995 on the establishment of APSARA Authority)

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In order to safeguard and preserve the world heritage site, zoning was implemented and five zones created, namely:

Zone1: Monumental Sites: areas which contain the most significant archaeological site 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. They will most frequently surround Monumental sites, providing protection to adjacent areas of known or likely archaeological importance. Zone 1 and 2 require intensive management aimed at integrating archaeological and visitor interests with local interests and needs.

Zone 3: Protected Cultural Landscapes: areas with distinctive landscape characteristics which should be protected on an account of their traditional features, land use practices, varied habitats, historic buildings, 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: Other important archaeological sites, but of less significance than Monumental Sites, that require protection for research, education or tourist interest. The sites and areas are subject to regulations aimed at controlling damaging activities similar to those applying to Protected Archaeological Reserves.

Zone 5: The Socio-economic and Cultural Development Zone of the Siemreap region: Covers the whole of Siemreap province. It is the largest zone to which protective policies apply. (Royal Degree 1995 on the establishment of APSARA Authority)

APSARA Authority was structurally transformed in June 2001 when Vann Molyvann, APSARA's director was removed from his post and replaced by the Vice President Bun Narith. The major reform of APSARA was the introduction of two new departments in order to stir tourism development. It was a political maneuver to accelerate economic resources for tourism. The creation of a new Economic Development Department signified the transition of APSARA into a commercial interest oriented body. Besides economic interests, the removal of Vann Molyvann, who is close to the King and keeps his distance from the ruling Cambodian People Party (CPP), serves the political interest of CPP in terms of having a full control over the Authority. The ability to control and manage Angkor implies, according the Cambodian leaders' belief, the uncontested strength and power of the leader (Winter, 2007: 71).

Within the APSARA authority, there are the following departments: the Tourism Police Unit, the Intervention Unit, the Heritage Police, the Department of Personnel, Finance and Communications, the Department of Monument and Archaeology 1, the Department of Monument and Archaeology 2 (with different responsibilities), the Department of Angkor Tourism Development, the Department of Urbanization, the Department of Demography and

Development, the Department of Water and Forest, and the Environmental Management System Unit. Each department has different functions and responsibilities but they also coordinate to deal with specific issues.

## Conclusion

The chapter has presented the historical background of the Angkor period and the resources in Angkor Park and conservation efforts by APSARA in cooperation with the international community. Angkor World heritage site combines both tangible and intangible heritages which provide unique integrated cultural values to attract both researchers and visitors alike. The restoration works carried out by many international and national teams have started dynamically since the early 1990s in which various governments and international organizations are involved.

Being listed as a world heritage site, Angkor reaches out to large audiences who are interested in exploring one of the wonders of the world. The ruins of Angkor as perceived by most of the visitors present the true nature of Angkor. The forests in the Angkor Park together with its living ecosystem provide great values added to the temple complex. The harmony of cultural and natural heritages can be seen in the Park.

The preservation of local traditional performing arts and rituals and the smiles of local people in the Park complement greatly the tourist experiences. Besides visiting and learning about temples, visitors and tourists can enjoy talking with local people and experiencing local cultures through participation in the local cultural events.

Overall, Angkor Park accommodates incomparable tangible and intangible heritage resources. Based on these resources, tourism development has been expanded very fast. Conservation and management of the tourism industry and especially the heritage sites have been strengthened but still there are great challenges that are not being met.

# CHAPTER 4: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN CAMBODIA

## Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the historical development of Cambodia and the role of tourism in shaping the Cambodian political economic development since the early 1990s when Cambodia opened her door to the outside world. In addition, the chapter also provides a general overview of tourism products and development and examines the impacts of tourism in general on socio-economic development and the environment in Cambodia.

## 4.1. The modern political and economic development of Cambodia: An overview

The concepts of a modern political system in Cambodia were introduced by the French Protectorate which stationed and administered Cambodia from 1863 to 1953. Government system especially taxation were implemented with the supervision and management of the French *Resident Supérieur*. Even the national identity and nationalism were also renovated and promoted by France at the time. Discourse on Angkor gained momentum after the 1907 Franco-Siam treaty allowed the return of Angkor back to Cambodia. For instance, the Cambodian court dance was revitalized during the French colony period (see Sasagawa, 2005). France also promoted Angkor tourism to European travelers through various exhibitions such as the *Exposition Universelle* in 1867 and later on with the establishment of the *Musée Guimet* in Paris in the late 1880s which stored many artifacts from Angkor temples. A series of reproduction of Angkorean arts were presented in Marseilles in 1906 and 1922. The most remarkable of all was the *Exposition Coloniale Internationalle de Paris* in 1931 which was the most fabulous and elaborate exposition displaying Angkor as the center piece of the show (Winter 2007: 36-38). Morevever, the development of the steam boat and a waterway connectioning between Saigon and Phnom Penh contributed to the development of the tourism industry during the time. Tim Winter noted that:

> The display of Angkorean architecture and artifacts within France was also propelled with, and influenced by, the development of the site for touristic consumption. Up until the end of the nineteenth century visits to Angkor were described and written up as trips of exploration, rather than tourism. After docking in Saigon, voyagers would transfer to another boat for the upriver trip to Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia 1886 onwards. The introduction of regular steam boat services by the *campagnie des messageries fluviales* around this time would significantly ease the journey between the two cities. Given that efforts to develop trade and transport links over the coming two decades continued to focus on the region's internal waterways, the great lake Tonle Sap remained the principle point of access for excursions to Angkor. And with the first cars not arriving in Cambodia until the 1900s, a daily trip out to the temples involved elephant rides or bumpy trips on wooden carts along pathways and the limited network of Angkorean roads. (Winter 2007: 39)

After ninety years as a French Protectorate/Colony, the Kingdom of Cambodia finally gained its independence in 1953. The modern state system provided a short period of development and prosperity in the Kingdom during the 1950s and 1960s under the *Sangkum Reastr Niyum*. The external political security environment did not allow Cambodia to enjoy peace and prosperity for long. Cambodia fell into the trap of the Cold War in the 1970s and 1980s. The country went through great loss. Violent regime changes put the country into turmoil.

After independence, Cambodia has gone through six major changes in social, political and economic systems: the Kingdom of Cambodia (1953-1970)[16]; the Khmer Republic (1970-1975); the Democratic Kampuchea/ Khmer Rouge Regime from 1975 to 1979; the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 1979 to 1989 which later changed its name to the State of Cambodia from 1989 to 1993; and the Kingdom of Cambodia from 1993 until now.

The Khmer Rouge or Pol Pot regime was the most destructive which brought Cambodia to ground zero. After the genocidal regime from 1975 to 1979, the Cambodian economic and social structure was almost completely destroyed. At the end of the Cold War, the Cambodian conflict was resolved with the intervention of the five permanent members of the United Nations (China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States), resulting in the Paris Peace agreement in 1991. This peace accord allowed the United Nations Peace Keeping Operations Forces to come in to preserve political stability and security in Cambodia in order to arrange the general election in 1993. The election allowed Cambodia to establish a new government with a constitution mandating plural democracy and respect for human rights.

The Cambodian economic system was transformed from a command or centrally planned economy to a market-oriented one in 1989 under the reform policy of the State of Cambodia. Beginning in 1989, private property rights were reintroduced, along with privatization of the state-owned enterprises and investments, and prices and the exchange rate were allowed to float. However, the economic reform of 1989 was the key to strengthening the state's power to mobilize and administer or to gain political power rather than for economic development (Hughes, 2003: 21; Peou, 2000: 62). The move to the free market economy increased social stratification, enriching those in power, particularly those with power over the privatization of land and resources, and created large groups of marginalized and property-less poor (Hughes, 2003: 32-3). Only after the establishment of the Kingdom of Cambodia in 1993 under a constitutional monarchy was Cambodia's economy allowed to grow. From 1993 to 1996, Cambodia's GDP grew at an average rate of 6.1 percent in real term, climbing from US$2.2 to US$3.1 billion. Nevertheless, growth slumped dramatically in mid-1997 following factional fighting in Phnom Penh in July and the impact of the Asian financial crisis later that same year. GDP increased by just one percent in real terms in 1997 and 1998. The economic slowdown, coupled with continued high population growth, led to a decline in Cambodia's per capita GDP from US$292 in 1996 to US$247 in 1998. After total peace was achieved in 1999, economic conditions recovered considerably between 1999 and 2006 with an annual average growth of about 8 percent.

[16]Norodom Sihanouk gave up his throne to his father, Norodom Suramarit in 1955, and became a Minister under the kingship of his father. He became the Prime Minister during the reign of his father from 1955 to 1960, after that the Head of State from 1960-1970.

The Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen reported in his speech on April 14, 2007 that:

> In general, the performance of economic and public finance policies of the Royal Government from 2004 to 2006 realized annual economic growth rate on average at 8.3 %. From 1999, after the country has regained full peace, the average economic growth was 9.5% and inflation rate were kept low at the rate of 5% per annum. Income per capita went up 6% on average from $247 in 1994 to $500 in 2006. International reserve increased by 11 folds from $100 million in 1994 to $1,097 million in 2006. The total export increased by 8 folds from $463 million in 1994 to $3,556 million in 2006. (Hun Sen, 2007b)

The living conditions have also improved quite modestly. Life expectancy at birth increased from 52 to 60 years for men and from 56 to 65 years for women, mainly through rapidly declining infant and child mortality. Material living conditions improved substantially according to indicators on housing conditions and ownership of consumer goods. But such growth does not benefit all Cambodians. It results in a large gap between the rich and the poor[17].

Cambodian demography shows that the Cambodian population is still at an early stage of a baby boom. It implies that the Cambodian labor force is increasing rapidly which creates both opportunities and challenges for Cambodia. The labor force plays an important role in economic growth but if the government cannot provide enough employment for the young Cambodian labor force then it will create a social problem.

[17]Ministry of Planning, National Institute of Statistics, available at http://www.nis.gov.kh/SURVEYS/CSES2003-04/summary.htm, accessed on June 14, 2007

**Table 7: Population estimates for Cambodia 1994 and 2004 by sex and age.**

| Age Group | Total 1994 | Total 2004 | Men 2004 | Women 2004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 1,915,000 | 1,531,000 | 777,000 | 754,000 |
| 5-9 | 1,762,000 | 1,779,000 | 902,000 | 877,000 |
| 10-14 | 1,500,000 | 1,818,000 | 925,000 | 893,000 |
| 15-19 | 855,000 | 1,705,000 | 876,000 | 830,000 |
| 20-24 | 899,000 | 1,443,000 | 717,000 | 726,000 |
| 25-29 | 851,000 | 815,000 | 388,000 | 427,000 |
| 30-34 | 759,000 | 852,000 | 407,000 | 445,000 |
| 35-39 | 560,000 | 802,000 | 379,000 | 423,000 |
| 40-44 | 458,000 | 710,000 | 334,000 | 376,000 |
| 45-49 | 354,000 | 520,000 | 214,000 | 306,000 |
| 50-54 | 290,000 | 417,000 | 171,000 | 245,000 |
| 55-59 | 238,000 | 313,000 | 131,000 | 182,000 |
| 60-64 | 202,000 | 245,000 | 103,000 | 141,000 |
| 65-69 | 153,000 | 186,000 | 77,000 | 108,000 |
| 70-74 | 92,000 | 138,000 | 57,000 | 81,000 |
| 75+ | 98,000 | 165,000 | 66,000 | 99,000 |
| Total population | 10,990,000 | 13,439,000 | 6,526,000 | 6,914,000 |

Source: Ministry of Planning, National Institute of Statistics, http://www.nis.gov.kh/SURVEYS/CSES2003-04/table%201.htm, accessed on June 29, 2007

Cambodian economic development currently can be mainly attributed to the agricultural sector, and the garment and tourism industries. About 85 per cent of the Cambodian population

lives in the rural areas and more than 75 per cent of them are employed in the agricultural sector. From 1993 to 2005, agriculture contributed about 25 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Lim, 2006: 9). The Cambodian government regards agriculture "as a priority sector for the Royal government." The agriculture sector now accounts for about 30% of GDP and has actively contributed to reducing poverty (Hun Sen, 2007a).

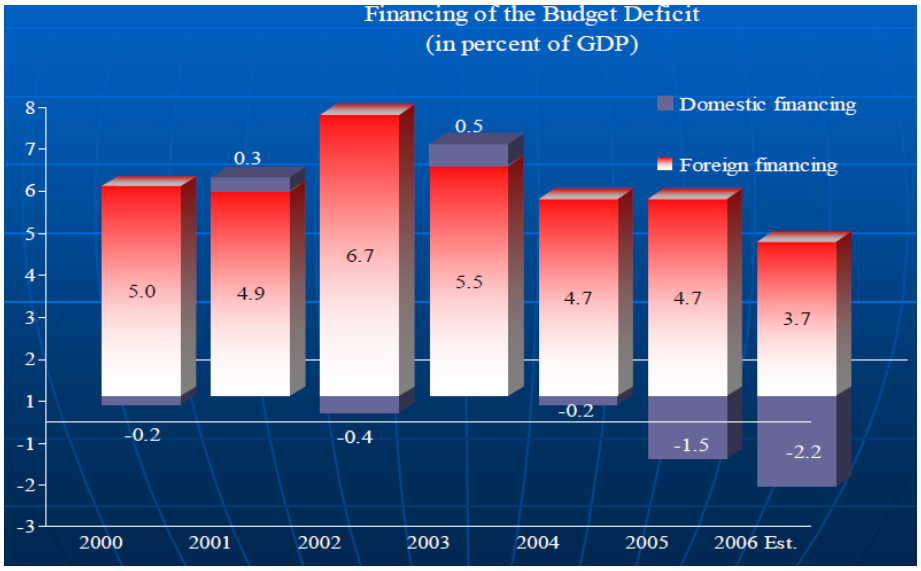
The textile industry contributing three quarters of total Cambodian exports plays an important role in reducing poverty in Cambodia due to the fact that the entry salary for workers is about 50 US Dollars a month, well over the poverty line of 30 US Dollars per month. Female workers are mainly employed in the industry, and it does not require high level of education or working experience (Yamagata, 2006a). The garment sector absorbs 10 percent of the total labor force and accounts for about 14% of GDP. This is expanding, with exports rising by 20 percent in 2006. Note that the top managers of the industry are 76.8% ethnic Chinese from the Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and neighboring Southeast Asia while only 7.9 percent of the top managers are Cambodian (Yamagata 2006b: 9).

Tourism is the second largest income contributor to the Cambodian economy after the garment industry. In 2005, income from tourism accounted for 832 million US Dollars, or about 13 per cent of the Cambodian Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and it provided annually about 200,000 jobs for the Cambodian people. In 2006, tourism generated revenue of 1.594 billion US Dollars, about 16% of Cambodian GDP, and provided about 250,000 jobs (Ministry of Tourism, 2007). The tourism industry has become one of the main catalysts for Cambodian economic development. The Cambodian leaders have recognized the significance of tourism in their policy as Hall and Ringer note that "International tourism to Cambodia has natural appeal for both the national government, seeking additional sources of revenue, and for the tourism industry looking for new opportunities and destinations" (Hall and Ringer, 2000: 179).

In spite of the indicators showing economic growth and development, there are many constraints on reducing poverty and sustaining economic growth in Cambodia. The distribution of the growth is not equal, and the poor seem to be left out of the benefits of economic development. The level of socioeconomic inequality between the urban and rural areas is enlarging due to fact that the main driving forces of economic growth are the garment and tourism industries which are mainly based in the urban areas (World Bank, 2007).

The Cambodian government has been facing a serious budget deficit (an excess of expenditure over revenue). Foreign financial assistance plays a vital role in financing the budget deficit. A large amount of foreign aid flows into Cambodia but criticism of its effectiveness has gained momentum. Sophal Ear (2007: 68) argues that "Despite more than five billion dollars in aid, infant and child mortality and inequality have worsened" and governance seems also to have been worsened.

**Figure 8: Financing of the budget deficit**




Source: IMF, "Cambodia: Fiscal performance and the 2007 budget", available at http://www.imf.org/External/country/KHM/rr/2007/eng/032707.pdf, accessed on June 29, 2007

Regarding the governance issue, the patronage system and corruption are the main barriers to fair economic development and business activity, adversely impacting the investment environment and poverty reduction (Sok Hach, 2005). Cambodia is a society embedded in a very strong patronage system regulating all social and political relationships (Ledgerwood and Vijghen, 2002: 143). Socially and politically, Cambodia is replete with very strong patronage networks through which both patrons and clients strive to seek "crucial means of gaining access to resources and increasing one's status," thus causing this relationship to be characterized by "distrust and suspicions" (Hinton, 2004: 122-5). People who are placed in weaker positions are very likely to give their loyalty to those in relatively higher positions in exchange for protection (Chandler, 1992: 105). Such a social and political system can limit the promotion of democracy and development in Cambodia.

### 4.2. State, tourism and Cambodian identity

Tourism, a global industry and phenomenon, is liable to be influenced by forces of politics, economics, and culture. Meethan notes that "[we] can no longer think of tourism in simplistic terms as being either a blessing or a curse, nor in terms of providing an easy route to modernity, nor as an index to underdevelopment…The development of tourism is seen as a way to diversify and expand economic activity…" (Meethan, 2001: 64). In addition, Sharpley suggests that "Tourism is seen not only as a catalyst of development but also of political and economic change." (Sharpley, 2002: 13).

Tourism has been regarded as an engine for growth and poverty reduction. Both developed and developing countries design their policies to generate benefits from the tourism industry as Hall suggests "Many governments around the world have shown themselves to be

entrepreneurs in tourism development" (Hall, 1994: 27). Tourism deserves encouragement and support from the government (Jeffries, 2001). "Although tourism is an activity sustained mainly by private initiative, governments have traditionally played a key role in its development…" (WTO, 1996).

Tourism is linked to cultural nationalism. Since the nation is an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983), tourism has strong impact of imagination and re-creation of national cultures, for instance in the case of Asia and Oceania (Grabum, 1997: 194). For Picard and Wood (1997), they emphasize the role the state as an important actor in the process of cultural imagination and re-creation. They argue that "the relationship between tourism and ethnicity is mediated by various institutions, but none more important in most instances than the state" (Picard and Wood, 1997: 2).

Tourism policy involves the "interests, values and power of those who formulate them" (Hall, 1994: 172). "In an increasingly complex world, tourism cannot be understood in a vacuum. A proper understanding of this important activity must situate it within, and refer constantly to, the social, economic and political context in which it is rooted" (Hall and Oehlers, 2000: 91). Tourism is a new form of nationalism in which traditional art performances and costumes represent the national identity of the host country (Yamashita *et al.*, 1997: 22-23).

The state is interested in tourism not only for economic reasons but also for promoting national identity and nationalism.

> The cultural identity that tourism projects to the international market simultaneously relates to the process of nation-building. Elements of tourism are at the same time the ingredients of nationalism: the identification with a place, a sense of historical past, the revival of cultural heritage, and the national integration of the social group. (Leong, 1997: 72)

Since national culture, under globalization, seems to fall into a dilemma of being lost through transnational integration into the "global village" or trying to preserve local and ethnic identities (Friedman, 1990), it is necessary for the government to think strategically how to deal with this. Cambodia is very concerned about losing its culture. Tourism is seen as one of the tools for dealing with the problem of identity. The presence of tourists can be viewed by the local people as a sign of cultural identity (Wood, 1997: 2). Tourism constitutes an arena where issues of cultural identity are related to the process of nation-building (Pelleggi, 1996). For instance, "the cultural heritage of the Yogyakata area has shaped the (international) image of Indonesia, as government propaganda has used architectural structures like the temples and the sultan's palace and expressions of art like the Ramayana dance to promote Indonesian tourism world-wide" (Dahles, 2001: 20).

The Cambodian state is no exception. Cambodian identity had been lost along the way because of external intervention, French colonialism, and civil war (Gottesman, 2003: 14-5). While Cambodians had been aware of Angkor at the time of the French discovery, they did not see the ruins as "evidence of a Cambodian Kingdom" (Edwards, 1999: 155). Before the French

Protectorate, people living near the Angkor Monument regarded the monuments as a religious site. They did not think of Angkor as a symbol of national pride (Edwards, 1999: 156).

> The perception among Khmer that their culture has been lost, or being lost, is pervasive. The destruction from years of warfare, the horrendous losses during the years of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979), [were] followed by the presence of their traditional enemies, the Vietnamese… (Ledgerwood et al, 1994: 1)

Angkor which was rediscovered by Henri Mouhot, a French traveler and natural historian, in 1860 has become the symbol of Cambodian identity and nationalism (e.g. Gottesman, 2003: 14; Sasagawa, 2005: 439). The APSARA authority, the single supreme authority in charge of Angkor's preservation and tourism management, states in its mission that "Angkor encompasses the civilization of our ancestors…Angkor is a unique cultural heritage, a living testimony of our past, and the foundation of our identity as a nation. Angkor continues to contribute to Cambodia's evolution."[18]

After centuries of socio-cultural transformations and changes, particularly after the colonial period, the Khmer traditions have been reconstructed through what Hobsbawn and Ranger call the "inventions of tradition" (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983). Similarly, Legerwood *et al*. (1994: 6) argue that "The term 'Cambodian culture' is an intellectual construct and the 'Khmer traditions'…have long undergone transformations wrought by both endogenous and exogenous forces."

The Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen (2002) raised a concern that "[i]n the present world, conserving and developing national cultures has become a prerequisite for all the weak nations in the strong current of globalization…they have to face with challenges and to stand influences of foreign cultures that have more economic and technological power than them." Tourism is a two edged sword, it could damage the local culture and it also can strengthen local culture by giving meaning to it through the tourist lens.

It is generally believed that tourism has become not only the engine for economic growth but also for the political legitimacy and the national and cultural identity of Cambodia. This is a normal phenomenon in developing countries, particularly post-conflict countries such as Cambodia.

> Tourism is an important industry that brings in much needed foreign currency to Cambodia. Welcoming North Americans, Europeans and Japanese also gives the Cambodian government a good chance to demonstrate its political stability. In other words, the ruins are Cambodia's international showcase.[19]

[18] APSARA, Available at http://www.autoriteapsara.org/en/angkor.html

[19]Yoshiaki Ishizawa, *The Asahi Shimbun*. February 23, 2005

### 4.3. Tourism products and infrastructure

In the 1960s, Cambodia used to be one of the most famous tourist destinations in Southeast Asia with annual tourist arrivals from 50,000 to 70,000 (Lam, 1996). But decades of civil war and particularly the genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge almost totally destroyed the tourism industry in Cambodia. After conflict resolution in the early 1990s and with strong support from the international community, Cambodia returned to peace and socio-economic reconstruction. Since the 1990s, tourism has developed very fast in Cambodia. The Cambodian government views tourism as one of the most important foreign exchange earners and employment providers in post conflict Cambodian economic development. In addition, tourism is also seen as the tool for enhancing the image of Cambodian culture and history with hope of erasing the other image that Cambodia is well-known for mass killing fields and land mines.

#### a. Tourism products

##### *Natural heritages*

Cambodia is home to both natural heritage tourism products. There are six national parks in Cambodia covering about 22,000 sq km (about 12% of the country). These national parks were destroyed during the civil war and were not re-established until 1993. The most important national parks are: the National Park of *Bokor* Mountain (a mountainous area) occupying a 1000m-high plateau on the south coast overlooking *Kampot* province; *Ream* National Park (a coastal area) including a marine reserve and just a short distance from Sihanouk Ville; *Kirirom* national park, 675m above sea level in the *Chuor Phnom Damrei*, 112km southwest of Phnom Penh; and *Virachay* bordering with Laos and Vietnam in northeastern Cambodia. Besides these parks, Cambodia accommodates other ecotourism spots such as Tonle Sap Lake and its floating village, the Mekong River, and beautiful beaches along the coastal area.

##### *Cultural heritages*

There are more than one thousand ancient temples in 14 provinces in Cambodia especially the Angkor temple complex in Siem Reap Province, the Sambor Prey Kuk temple complex in Kompongthom Province, and the Preah Vihear Temple in Preah Vihear Province. Moreover, there are other historical buildings which can attract many tourists. These include the Royal Palace, built in 1866 during the reign of King Norodom, located in Phnom Penh overlooking the Mekong River, the National Museum (Musée Albert Sarraut during the French Colony), built in 1920, located to the north of the Royal Palace, which contains a lot of precious ancient objects relating to Cambodian art and history; and Tuol Sleng Museum which presents the crimes committed in the Khmer Rouge regime. There are also festivals such as the Khmer Year New and Water Festivals, which also can attract many tourists.

All these cultural assets make Cambodia a unique place for cultural heritage tourism development. As a result, heritage tourism has been growing very fast in Cambodia. Most tourists come to visit Cambodia to learn and experience Cambodian history, art, and culture.

**b. Tourism Infrastructure**

Transport

The Cambodian transportation network comprises roads, waterways, railroads, and air routes. The main transportation in Cambodia is by road. There are about 4,235 kilometers of national roads and 3,675 kilometers of provincial roads. Many travel companies are transporting tourists by bus and car. The railways connect Phnom Penh with *Kompong Chhnang*, *Pursat*, *Battambang*, *Sisophon*, and *Poipet*. The Phnom Penh- *Sisophon- Poipet* route is 386 kilometers and the Phnom Penh-*Kep*-Sihanouk Ville route is 264 kilometers, but very few tourists are traveling by this means due to the lack of quality and service.

Waterways in Cambodia can be grouped into three: the Mekong River system, the Tonle Sap system, and waterways at the gulf. There are also some waterway transport companies that transport tourists between Phnom Penh and Siem Reap through the Great Lake/ Tonle Sap, with some tour boats taking the guests to visit the Great Lake and other islands in Sihanouk Ville.

There are two international airports, Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, and two regional airports, *Kong Keng* in Sihanouk Ville and *Ratanakiri* in *Ratanakiri* Province. There are 14 international air transportation companies and 3 local flight companies. Most tourists arrive by air. Domestic transportation is operated mainly by tour and travel companies with good quality and low prices.

Hospitality facilities

Accommodation facilities play an important role in tourism development. The following tables show the growth in the numbers of hotels, guest houses, restaurants and other facilities over the last few years.

**Table 8: Number of Hotel and Guesthouse**

| Year | Hotel | | Guesthouse | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Room | Number | Room |
| 1998 | 216 | 8,247 | 147 | 1,510 |
| 1999 | 221 | 9,115 | 186 | 1,897 |
| 2000 | 240 | 9,673 | 292 | 3,233 |
| 2001 | 247 | 10,804 | 370 | 3,899 |
| 2002 | 267 | 11,426 | 509 | 6,109 |
| 2003 | 292 | 13,201 | 549 | 6,497 |
| 2004 | 299 | 14,271 | 615 | 7,684 |
| 2005 | 351 | 15,465 | 684 | 9,000 |
| 2006 | 351 | 17,914 | 742 | 9,166 |
| 2007 | 395 | 20,470 | 891 | 11,563 |

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2007

**Table 9: Number of Restaurants, Massage Salons, and Sporting Clubs**

| Year | Restaurants | Massage salons | Sporting clubs | Souvenir shops |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2002 | 505 | | | |
| 2003 | 624 | | | ` |
| 2004 | 713 | 56 | 17 | 40 |
| 2005 | 719 | 56 | 17 | 40 |
| 2006 | 747 | 53 | 53 | 40 |
| 2007 | 920 | 190 | 50 | 32 |

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2007

**Table 10: Number of Travel Agencies and Tour Operators**

| Year | Travel agencies and tour operators | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Head offices | Branch Offices | Total |
| 2001 | 166 | 70 | 236 |
| 2002 | 186 | 73 | 259 |
| 2003 | 186 | 84 | 270 |
| 2004 | 208 | 94 | 302 |
| 2005 | 237 | 99 | 336 |
| 2006 | 277 | 105 | 382 |
| 2007 | 333 | 118 | 451 |

Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2007

Financial services

There are currently 15 commercial banks and two remaining public banks run by the state, the Rural Development Bank and the Foreign Trade Bank. Currently, only foreign-owned banks offer modern banking facilities (Lomen, 2006:136). Some commercial banks such as Cambodia Mekong Bank, Canadia Bank, and ANZ Royal have introduced and installed automatic teller machine (ATMs) in several parts of the two main cities, Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. Credit cards such as Visa Card and American Express are accepted by some restaurants, hotels, and shopping centers. In general, financial services are improving in Cambodia, making it more convenient for tourists.

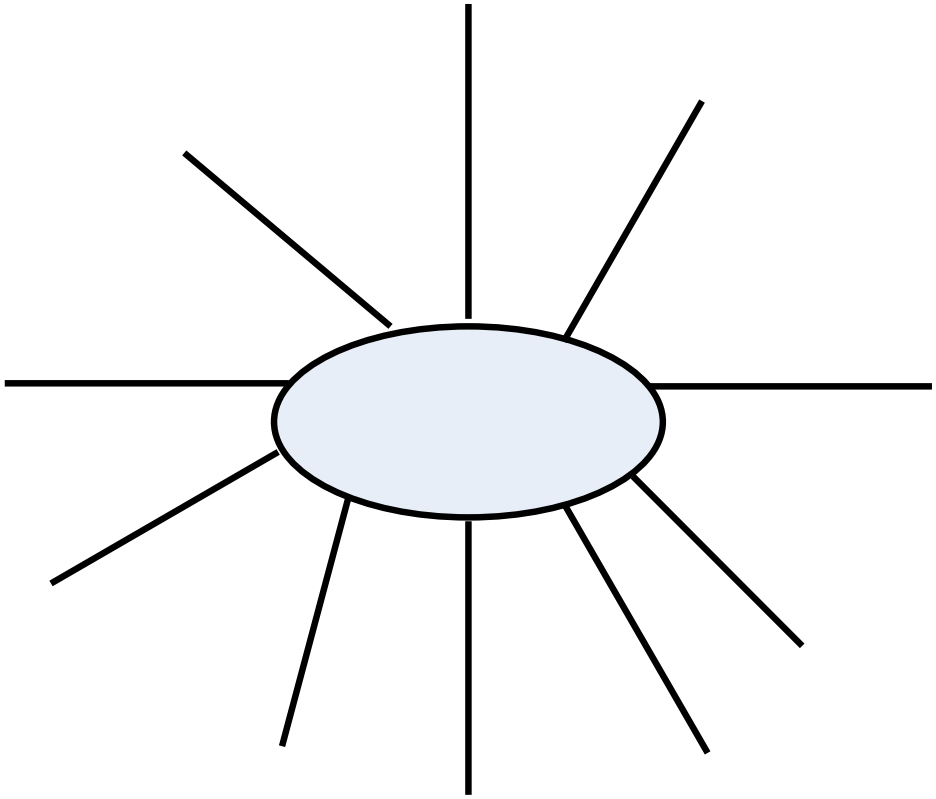
### 4.4. Tourism promotion policies

To understand the politics and public policy of tourism development and planning in Cambodia, textual analysis of the speeches and talks by the Prime Minister Hun Sen is necessary since the speeches influence the agencies and institutions issuing and implementing tourism policies. Cambodia is strongly embedded in a patronage system and a top-down decision making process (Chan & Chheang, 2008). It is therefore useful to analyze the talks of the leaders in order to understand the general policy. The Ministers and other national and local authorities are willing to design their policies and implement them in accordance with the speeches made by the Prime Minister. Based on such context, this section uses the discourse of power theoretical framework to code and analyze the speeches of the Prime Minister in order to understand tourism planning and management policies in Cambodia.

Speech is a verbal record of a communicative act and a text which "permits communication over time and space, and permits words and sentences to be examined both within and out of their original contexts" (Goody, 1977:78, cited in Xiao, 2006:807).

The textual analysis of the power discourse for Cambodia's tourism is made possible by reviewing all the speeches by Hun Sen from 1998 until April 2008 which are available in English language at Cambodia New Vision homepage (http://www.cnv.org.kh/). Only important speeches pertinent to tourism development and planning were selected and analyzed. Consequently, thirty eight speeches were found and coded. According to the contents of the speeches, the constructs of the power discourse could be drawn which tourism and economic development at the center and other variables supporting the center.

**Figure 9: Construct of the power discourse**



The tourism issue has figured quite remarkably in these speeches. From them, a discursive diagram can be drawn in which tourism as economic development is the hub while other issues play as spokes such as security, infrastructure, stakeholders collaboration, natural and cultural heritage preservation, tourism products development and marketing, travel facilitation, human resource development and trainings, and regional cooperation and integration.

*The Hub: Tourism and economic development*

The speeches focus more on the economic benefits of tourism. The government views tourism as one of the most effective tools in poverty reduction in Cambodia through

Environmental Protection



Stakeholders collaboration
Tourism

employments, tax revenues, and other spillover effects in other sectors, particularly agriculture, handcrafts and souvenirs production, and construction. Tourism is one of the top five national development priorities of Cambodia. In addition, tourism play a vital role in realizing the Cambodian national development strategy called “Rectangular Strategy” focusing on promoting economic growth, employment, equity and efficiency in public sector.

The speeches many times mention about the role of tourism in socio-economic development in Cambodia. This demonstrates the attentions paid by the Cambodian government in respect of the perceived and real benefits deriving from tourism industry.

> The country currently has comparative advantages within some sectors of its economy, in particular the agricultural sector, the agro-industrial businesses, labor-intensive manufacturing and tourism. These sectors should form the foundation for the take-off of the Cambodian economy. (Hun Sen 21 December 1999)
>
> Build up potential of tourism sector to become an important engine for economic growth and poverty reduction through job creation, increased income, and improving standard of living. (Hun Sen 07 February 2001)
>
> The key sources of our economic growth continue to be tourism and the garments industry (Hun Sen 07 August 2002)
>
> Tourism opens up borders and economies, yet enables opportunities to develop internal markets for a wide variety of high value-added production activities, employment and services (Hun Sen 03 November 2002)
>
> Tourism will offer us jobs and will also absorb some of our people's products (Hun Sen 25 January 2003)
>
> In the intensive promotion of tourism: Cambodia and the rest of ASEAN has placed great store on the long-term economic benefit arising from tourism (Hun Sen 16 June 2003)
>
> Tourism continues to be at the forefront of Cambodia’s economy (Hun Sen 4 September 2003)
>
> The outcomes and other achievements obtained from the effort of developing the tourism sector are the real evidence of success in contributing to the implementation of the Royal Government’s Rectangular Strategy which focuses on promoting Economic Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency in public sector (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

Tourism is seen as an engine of growth with magnetic power attracting other sectors to develop and connect to it. Tourism in Siem Reap has attracted many Cambodians from other regions to come to find jobs. In other words, tourism pushes domestic people movement in Cambodia.

> The tourism sector over here not only provides jobs for the locals but it also attract citizens from all over the country to come here, from nearby or far away, to work in tourism-related services and businesses (Hun Sen 08 December, 2005)

In order to reduce poverty effectively through tourism, the government pays special attention to employment and income creation for the local people. The government recognizes the leakage of tourist revenues through the importation of materials and agricultural products from the neighboring countries to meet the demand of hotels and restaurants. To deal with this issue, the government encourages and supports local farmers and producers, particularly the farmers living in Siem Reap province, home of Angkor Wat, to produce these goods instead. "One village one product" is considered as an effective tool in reducing leakages and promoting local community development.

> 30% of revenue from tourism was leaked out of country through imported foreign goods to serve the tourism sector in Cambodia. Therefore, to patch the leakages we need to develop some kinds of local production programs by conducting comprehensive study to find out the potential products that can be used to promote the local economy（Hun Sen 05 June 2005）

> The strengthening of tourism infrastructure and the guarantee of the connection between tourism and agricultural field is a crucial factor for enhancing the living standard of the people (Hun Sen 20 November 2006)

*The Spokes: Tourism management and development*

Security and safety for tourists

Political stability and security are among the most important elements in tourism development in Cambodia. After experiencing prolonged civil war and armed conflict, international tourists and travelers had an image of Cambodia as a dangerous place, famous for land mines and killings. Tourists started visiting Cambodia only from the mid-1990s when the armed conflict was over and security was restored.

The Cambodian government always emphasizes stability and security as the cornerstones of economic development and tourism promotion in Cambodia. Security at the tourist destinations is stronger than elsewhere in the country. Tourist polices were created for preserving security and safety for the tourists.

> [what] we need to provide is safety, security for the Japanese investors as well as tourists (Hun Sen, 17 August 1999)

> [political] stability and security in the country, which is vital for tourism development. (Hun Sen, 27 February 2002)

> [with] the security, political stability and social orders ensured the development of transport infrastructure, such as highways, rural roads and bridges, is a key to development of tourism (Hun Sen, 08 May 2003)

> [the] Royal Government has drafted a law on tourism management and implemented measures to strengthen the capacity of tourist police to provide security for tourists (Hun Sen, 14 March 2005)

Infrastructure and tourism facilities development

Tourism infrastructure and facilities are the main priority in planning and development. The Cambodian government has tried to invest in building basic infrastructure such as highways, roads, electric power plants, water supplies, and international airports. With the support of the international financial institutions and donor countries, some basic physical infrastructure has been constructed but this is still at a very low level.

> Tourism development requires the development of infrastructure and other tourism-related facilities (Hun Sen 28 February 2002)

> [the] market is built is serving the need for tourist development in Siemreap as well. We have to take into consideration the need for building and strengthening the infrastructures (Hun Sen 18 March 2002)

> A more comprehensive road network will open up and link Cambodia's economic and tourism opportunities (Hun Sen 20 June 2002)
> [an] appropriate physical infrastructure in response to the basic need of development in tourism (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)

> [open-sky] policy is the key policy innovation that has enabled the rapid growth of our tourist industry （Hun Sen 06 December 2002)

> The Royal Government has been developing some main infrastructure such as road, water and electricity supply, telecommunication network etc. toward key tourism attraction places…Moreover, the improvement in tourism supplies and services such as hotels, guest houses, restaurants, transports, tour agencies, tourism resorts and other places have shown the improvement in the quality of tourism services and products in line with Cambodia tourism policy to induce longer stay, more spending and return visit (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

> [bridges] and roads are still our hope and necessary mean to promote economic growth and contribute to social development, especially tourism sector, which its revenue was about 17% of GDP in 2007 and about 1 million tourists visited different temples in Siem Reap provinces (Hun Sen 5 April 2008)

Stakeholders collaboration: private, NGOs, and government

Collaboration between the public, private sectors and civil society is considered to be a factor propelling tourism development in Cambodia. The private sector plays an important role in providing tourism services while the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) support sustainable tourism and poverty reduction in Cambodia.

> I urge the Ministry of Tourism to work closely with the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Land Management, Urbanization and Construction, as well as with relevant ministries, provincial and municipal authorities to develop the entertainment sector and to improve services to cater for tourists. (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

> The most crucial issue is to work in partnership with the private sector to implement all action plan related to tourism sector development (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

> [we] shall work closely with the private sector to develop tourist destinations (Hun Sen 16 November 2002)

> The Royal Government has cooperated with private sector to establish a professional association in order to strengthen the quality of services, encourage the attraction of direct international flights to Seam Reap, and continue expanding and improving infrastructure, sanitation and healthcare for tourists (Hun Sen 14 March 2005)

> I would like to appeal to all people, officials in all ministries and institutions, related authorities, private sector, development partners, national and international non-government organizations to continue providing your support and contribute to the development of Cambodia's *"Cultural and Natural Tourism"* sector to develop a successful and sustainable tourism sector (Hun Sen 12 November 2007)

> The Ministry of Tourism must act as the core agency in terms of policies, techniques, and expertise. At the same time, the Ministry of Tourism must cooperate closely with private sector to continue improving the quality of tourism services (Hun Sen 22 December 2007)

Cultural heritage preservation

The Cambodian government considers cultural heritage preservation is the cornerstone of tourism development in the country. Cambodia is attractive to international tourists due to her unique culture and history.

> Culture has contributed and is contributing to the country's development through its promotion of cultural tourists…The conservation and promotion of advancement of the national cultural heritage and civilization is an absolute will and determination of the Royal Government (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)

> Cambodia will seek to promote the sustainable management of our heritage and natural resources through specific policies and measures, so that these contribute to continuing national growth while remaining intact as national patrimony (Hun Sen 06 December 2002)

> [in] order to prevent child trafficking and sex in tourism and with support from World Vision and other organizations, we have established Council for safety in tourism, which is in the process of active implementation (Hun Sen 16 November 2004)

Environmental protection

Environmental issues are quite new for Cambodia especially within the framework of tourism development. The incorporation of environmental protection and tourism development started from the end of the 1990s when the environmental issues came to the surface in Angkor Park and other tourist destinations. The main environmental concerns are the increasing problems of solid waste and river pollution.

> Attention should be given to developing measures to promote the protection of the environment and our cultural heritage according to the concept of "sustainable tourism development" (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

> We are also encouraging ecology-friendly tourism management, to ensure the sustainability and permanent beauty of the monuments and Siem Reap (16 November 2002)

> Historical, cultural and natural tourist sites have been managed and reorganized with good protection of natural and cultural environment (Hun Sen 08 May 2003)

> The growth of cities and expansion of tourism sector in the future will inevitably have an affect on the provision of water and unpredictable environmental changes that could lead to ecological imbalance in the coastal, marine and wetland areas, and will have an impact on other vulnerable elements (Hun Sen 01 April 2004)

Human resources development

Tourism studies have been developed in Cambodia since the early 2000s. Human resources in tourism planning and development are the big challenge for the country. The lack of education and training especially for the people living close to the tourist destination is pushing the local people outside the beneficial circle of the tourism economy. Therefore, training and education in tourism is given special attention by the government.

> The important work is the training of human resources to a level of high knowledge and with sufficient capability in both national and international standards (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)

> Tourism vocational training schools were established; technical staff and employees have been trained both at home and abroad (Hun Sen 08 May 2003)

**Table 11: Number of trained tour guides comparing with licensed tour guides as in parentheses**

| Languages | For the Year 2007 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Phnom Penh | | Siem Reap | |
| | Total | Females | Total | Females |
| English | 365 (105) | 98 (29) | 984 (750) | 66 (43) |
| Japanese | 99 (43) | 25 (13) | 653 (562) | 164 (124) |
| French | 112 (43) | 44 (17) | 203 (161) | 38 (24) |
| Chinese | 79 (39) | 1 (0) | 220 (176) | 49 (33) |
| Korean | 2 (1) | 1 (0) | 88 (74) | 6 (4) |
| Thai | 21 (7) | 13 (4) | 254 (209) | 33 (22) |
| German | 35 (19) | 8 (6) | 76 (68) | 7 (5) |
| Spanish | 19 (9) | 0 (0) | 80 (72) | 3 (3) |
| Italian | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 21 (20) | 1 (1) |
| Russian | 2 (0) | 0 (0) | 30 (27) | 4 (4) |
| Vietnam | 0 (0) | 0 | 7 (6) | 1 (1) |
| Total | 734 (266) | 190 (70) | 2,616 (2,125) | 372 (264) |

Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2007

Tourism products marketing and promotion

There are many tourism products in Cambodia but the problem is that marketing and promotion of the products is still very poor. Currently, most of the tourists come to visit Cambodia to see Angkor and not other places. It is necessary to promote other cultural and natural attractions for tourists in order to keep them to stay longer in Cambodia.

> The Royal Government has also devoted more attention to the development of the tourism potentials of areas other than Siem Reap. We should promote attractions that enable greater tourist traffic in under-served areas, as well as longer stay and increased spending by tourists. Thus, the Royal Government encourages the development of

> access to eco-tourism destinations such as Mondulkiri and Ratanakiri, beach tourism in our sea access areas to the South, the upgrading of Kang Keng airport in Sihanoukville and the promotion of initiatives such as the night markets (Hun Sen 07 August 2002)
>
> The Royal Government is preparing a master plan for tourism development and diversifying tourist destinations into other cities such as Sihanoukville (Hun Sen 14 March 2005)
>
> We need to transform from "Natural Tourism" to "Man-made Tourism" which depends mainly on processing and services (Hun Sen 08 December, 2005)
>
> In the future, there will be a systematic connection of the four priority regions and it will transform Cambodia into a key destination country in the region…tradition and culture, and people's friendliness is also a major tourist attraction (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

Legal measures (Visas)

Cambodia was the first country in Southeast Asia to introduce an e-visa. This provides convenience for the tourists. The visa procedure is very simple. Tourists planning to visit Cambodia can apply for Cambodian Visa through online process. So they don't need to go to the embassy and consulate. In addition, tourists could get visa on arrival at border checkpoints and at international airports.

The Royal Government always support and encourage the development of tourism sector through facilitating travelling procedures and transportations for tourists within the regional framework. Cambodia has adopted the implementation of "Single Visa" between Cambodia and Thailand on 17 December 2007. This is the key in travel facilitation and a regional role model to facilitate tourists' entry, without having to apply for visa at many locations, meaning that they can apply for their visa at a single place only in order to visit Cambodia and Thailand. Single Visa Agreement will also be applied to Cambodia-Vietnam, Cambodia-Malaysia, and Cambodia-Singapore in the future.

> To encourage tourists to spend more time and money in Cambodia, the Royal Government has implemented actions to ease travel and entry: streamlined issuance of visas, especially for ASEAN citizens, strengthened security for tourists, and new services and recreation areas. Cambodia has also prioritized eco-tourism programs (Hun Sen 4 September 2003)
>
> To attract more tourists, Cambodia and Thailand are prepared to introduce the ACMECS Single Visa by adopting the ACMECS minus X formula. We will set up an IT system to facilitate this visa scheme (Hun Sen 3 November 2005)

> The Open Sky policy and other active policies to ease and facilitate transportation, policy on offering Visa on Arrival, Visa K and E-Visa are showing off their attractiveness to tourists (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

Regional cooperation

Cambodia always considers regional integration as its top foreign policy. In terms of tourism development, Cambodia needs the support from the regional groupings such ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion to create a joint policy to attract more tourists to come to the region. Bangkok and Hochiminh International Airports are the main gateways for tourists coming to visit Cambodia. It is important to integrate transportation infrastructure in the region. High ways connecting Phnom Penh and Siem Reap with Bangkok and Hochiminh City facilitates tourists to travel with cheap bus transport.

> Apart from making efforts to expand the domestic market for tourism products, we are conscious of the great potentials of ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion. (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

> ASEAN should be pro-active in enhancing intra-ASEAN cooperation in other areas by utilizing all ASEAN internal growth potentials, such as cooperation in tourism. This can be implemented by transforming ASEAN into a single tourism destination (T-ASEAN) (Hun Sen 11 March 2002)
> Apart from the efforts deployed to open up domestic tourist markets, we are conscious that there is a great potential to link up the ASEAN and GMS tourist markets (Hun Sen 15 May 2002)

> ASEAN as a Single Tourism Destination (Hun Sen 04 November 2002)

> In addition to trade and human resource development, areas of cooperation include tourism, advanced informational technology and health care (Hun Sen 05 November 2002)

> The people living in the sub-region need the development of safe transportation and traffics, they need peace and safety free from natural calamities, they need food security as well as tourist sites, entertainments and enjoyment with the nature and cultural wealth along the banks of the river (Hun Sen 29 November 2003)

> [the] development of the areas surrounding Angkor, particularly linked to the tourism, cultural and natural destinations of neighbouring countries such as Thailand and Lao PDR (Hun Sen 08 June 2004)

> [the] true partnership between Asia and Europe will help strengthen economic, tourism and trade relations and promote investments (Hun Sen 07 October 2004)
>
> I urge ASEAN and China to accelerate the development of tourism in the region, through linking key tourist destinations in ASEAN and China, implementing "open sky policy" and facilitating tourist visa, in order to increase the flow of tourists into our region (Hun Sen 19 October 2005)

In a political system in which the power of the Prime Minister is relatively absolute, the words of the Prime Minister are equivalent to national policy. To understand tourism development and planning in Cambodia, it is appropriate to analyze the speeches of the head of the government. Analyzing the discourses of power in Cambodia is therefore another way of looking at tourism planning and development in developing country.

### 4.5. Tourist arrivals in Cambodia

In the 1960s Cambodia used to be one of the most popular tourist destinations in Southeast Asia with between 50,000 to 70,000 annual visitors (Lam, 1996). Insurgencies, civil war, and the killing fields for a long time prevented Cambodia from welcoming tourists. During the totalitarian and killing regime, Democratic of Kampuchia (1975-79), Cambodia completely shut its door towards to outside world. No one knew what was happening inside Cambodia during that time. After the end of the regime in 1979, civil war was going on between the Phnom Penh government and the Khmer Rouge and two other non-communists factions until Paris Peace Agreement in 1991. During this time, only a very few brave visitors came to Cambodia. After the conflict resolution and peace building from 1991, tourists started to visit Cambodia. In 1991, there were about 25,000 and in 1992 there were about 50,000 people but many of them were UN personnel. Peace keeping forces and other UN staff accounted for 22,000 of the total international tourists to Cambodia. Statistics on tourist arrivals were officially recorded from 1993. There is an average of more than one hundred percent annual increase of tourist arrivals to Cambodia from 1993 to 2007 (Table 12).

The top ten countries of origin of tourist arrivals in Cambodia in 2006 were South Korea (16.79%), Japan (9.31%), the United States of America (7.28%), Taiwan (5.01%), China (4.74%), Vietnam (4.56%), Malaysia (4.53%), Thailand (4.53%), the United Kingdom (4.34%), and France (4.23%) (Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2006).

In 2007, the top ten countries of origins were South Korea (16.37%), Japan (8.04), United States of America (6.83), Vietnam (6.23), China (5.88), Taiwan (5.86), Thailand (5.04), France (4.47), United Kingdom (4.17), and Malaysia (4.17). China and Vietnam became the main sources of tourists after Korea and Japan. Thanks to direct flight between Siem Reap and Seoul, the creation of packaged holidays by Korean tourism operators, and Cambodia tourism promotion in Korea, many Korean tourists come to visit Cambodia.

The reasons for the drop in the number of tourists in 1997 were political instability in the aftermath of the armed conflict and the Asian financial crisis. In 2003, the SARS epidemic which spread in the region also damaged the tourism industry in Cambodia.

**Table 12: Tourist arrivals to Cambodia from 1993-2007**

| Year | Visitor Arrivals | | Average Length of Stay |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Change (%) | |
| 1993 | 118,183 | 00 | N/A |
| 1994 | 176,617 | 49.44 | N/A |
| 1995 | 219,680 | 24.38 | 8.00 |
| 1996 | 260,489 | 18.58 | 7.50 |
| 1997 | 218,843 | -15.99 | 6.40 |
| 1998 | 289,524 | 32.30 | 5.20 |
| 1999 | 367,743 | 27.02 | 5.50 |
| 2000 | 466,365 | 26.82 | 5.50 |
| 2001 | 604,919 | 29.71 | 5.50 |
| 2002 | 786,524 | 30.02 | 5.80 |
| 2003 | 701,014 | -10.87 | 5.50 |
| 2004 | 1,055,202 | 50.53 | 6.30 |
| 2005 | 1,421,615 | 34.72 | 6.30 |
| 2006 | 1,700,041 | 19.59 | 6.50 |
| 2007 | 2,015,128 | 18,53 | 6.50 |

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Annual Report on Tourism Statistics, 2007

## 4.6. Economic impact of tourism in Cambodia

After decades of civil war, particularly the killing fields of the late 1970s during the Khmer Rouge regime, Cambodia started from what is called “year zero”. The basic socio-

economic, cultural and physical infrastructures for development were almost completely destroyed. After the international intervention in the early 1990s, Cambodia was able to emerge from the darkness with some hope for the future. Socio-economic development has taken place quite remarkably in the last two decades. Tourism is one of the most important industries contributing to economic development success in Cambodia. The Cambodian government started to create a general tourism authority in 1988 and Ministry of Tourism and other departments to support the tourism industry in the early 1990s.

Tourism has played an important role in reconstructing the Cambodian economy, improving local community development, and eradicating poverty in Cambodia. Tourism provides many economic benefits such as foreign currency earnings, direct and indirect benefits to the national economy, employment for the Cambodian workforce, and it plays a role as an accelerator of other sectors of the economy such as services, manufacturing industries and agriculture.

With the number of international tourists coming to visit Cambodia standing at over one million per year in the last few years and reaching over two million in the current coming decade, the tourism industry definitely helps to reduce poverty in Cambodia. The former Minister of Tourism, Veng Sereyvuth said: "Tourism is the answer for the future of this country. It is the most active and most powerful force in the economy… tourism generates a lot of benefits to the guy down the street, down in the village… Be it the vegetable grower, or handicraft [seller], the moto taxi [drivers] in the village, the spread is enormous"[20]. Former Minister of Tourism, Lay Prohas, stated that "Tourism is the only sector of the economy which can have a positive, almost immediate impact on poverty reduction through growth, unlike agriculture which needs a longer timeframe…Our biggest potential field in Cambodia is tourism… Tourism creates jobs and brings steady income for the nation and leads to development." Ly Korm, president of the Cambodian Tourism and Service Workers Federation, said "the industry is now a major employer…Now about 660,000 people get jobs in the tourism industry, compared to about 330,000 in factories"[21].

At the same time, however, tourism in Cambodia faces many challenges. Moeung Sonn, President of the National Association of Tourism Enterprises, argued that Cambodian tourist package costs are higher than those of her neighbors and that "more of the income from tourism in Cambodia goes to private foreign companies than to the national budget or local economy."[22]

It is observed that Korean tourists "usually come and visit two or three countries on the same trip and usually only stay two or three days [in one place]. They stay in Korean-owned hotels and eat at Korean restaurants, so it's not desirable from the point of view of Cambodian people".[23] Most of the products even some types of vegetables are imported from neighboring countries to supply the hotels and restaurants in Cambodia, particularly those in Siem Reap. Boua Chanthou, the director of a local NGO, PADEK, said the lack of homegrown supply was a

[20] *Phnom Penh Post*, January 17-30, 2003
[21] *Phnom Penh Post*, May 4-17, 2007
[22] *Phnom Penh Post*, August 27-September 9, 2004
[23] *Phnom Penh Post*, November 3-16, 2006

result of policy neglect and stressed the need for government subsidies to encourage agricultural diversification.

> "We have tried to help farmers produce lemongrass and lettuce and other produce for hotels… But it's difficult to get the farmers to commit because they worry the buyers will not come. Then, if they're offered construction work in Siem Reap, off they go and we have no products for the buyers."[24]

It is estimated that approximately "30% of revenue from tourism … leaked out of [the] country through imported foreign goods to serve the tourism sector in Cambodia" (Hun Sen, 2007b). To deal with this problem, the Cambodian government has issued some development policies aiming at improving the capacity of the small and medium enterprises to provide goods and services, encouraging high quality agricultural production for the tourist market (Ministry of Tourism Report, 2007). A development project called "Green Belt" supported by JICA and the Cambodian government was initiated to provide support for the farmers living in and around the Angkor Park to grow good quality vegetables and other agricultural products to supply the tourism industry in the region.

### 4.7. Social impact of tourism in Cambodia

Besides the economic impact, tourism also has other impacts on Cambodian society, as Cambodia, long isolated from the outside world, comes to grips with other cultures. So-called "modernization" which generally refers to "Westernization" is blooming among the younger generation in the country especially those areas encountering tourists from the West. The demonstration effect of tourism on local culture (such as in relation to dress and romantic encounters) is one of its cultural and social impacts.

Tourism has adversely impacted Cambodian society through the spread of HIV/AIDS. Cambodia experienced a rapid growth of the epidemic from the 1990s with the arrivals of United Nations forces and international tourists. In addition, most of the sex tourists come to visit Cambodia through Thailand.

The former Minister of Women's Affairs, Mu Sochua, said the country is on the child sex tourism map. The former Minister of Tourism Veng Sereyvuth also admitted that the country has a problem with sex tourism, which carries an enormous cost by deterring "normal" tourists from visiting. He said "I'm outraged at this stuff and also at the internet that gives out information specifically about child sex… My proposal is that the authorities must take appropriate measures in all these places. They must be punished for their crimes and the punishment must be severe to send a proper signal to these people that they will pay the price if they do it"[25].

To counter the negative impacts deriving from tourism, the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism has established a Committee for the Safety of the Child in Tourism. This committee operates on two levels, the national level and the municipal and provincial level. In order to curb

[24] *Phnom Penh Post*, June 15-28, 2007
[25] *Phnom Penh Post*, January 17-30, 2003

child sex tourism, the Cambodian government wants to increase public awareness through education and other administrative programs. In addition, cooperation with NGOs is also emphasized. However, constraints still exist in the implementation process particularly the corruption issue which is rampant in Cambodia. Some government officials, especially the police, cooperate with the human traffickers.[26]

### 4.8. Tourism and cultural development

Tourism is improving the image of Cambodian culture and people and it somehow makes Cambodians feel proud of their nation.

Like other countries in Southeast Asia, tourism has a great influence on cultural development in Cambodia. Khmer Art performance has been reconstructed after the prolonged civil war, to present to tourists. Many performances, especially Apsara dancing, are available at some big restaurants, hotels, and theatres. Moreover, Cambodian traditional scarves especially made from silk, art and craft goods made from wood and stone, and other souvenir products that represent Cambodian art and culture are being mass-produced to meet the demand from tourists.

The Cambodian Cultural Village which was built in 2003 not far from Siem Reap town is a showcase for Cambodian cultures to tourists although it is criticized by some experts as too much cultural commercialization and does not really represent Cambodian identity. Thousands of visitors come to visit the village every day. The cultural village park demonstrates the local customs and practices of the ethnic groups living in Cambodia including Chinese and Muslims. The cultural village aims to introduce ethnic diversity in harmony in Cambodia.

The linkage between tourism and cultural re-creation as has been observed in other cases in Southeast Asian countries is present in Cambodia. Art performances have been transformed to some extent to meet the increasing tourist demand. Some local people revitalize traditional cultural values with some modification without proper consultation with the cultural conservationists or experts such as *Trot* performance which is popular in Siem Reap province. *Trot* performance taking place only during Khmer New Year (normally in mid April) is practiced by the local people to ask for a lucky and prosperous new year. But sometimes it is celebrated to attract tourist attention which does not really reflect on its originality and belief system.

Tourism could also lead to the loss of local cultural values. For instance, Angkor Wat temple is used for religious ceremonies celebration; but due to the high number of tourists visiting this temple, it is difficult for the local people to carry out the ceremonies.

[26] Interview with the project manager asked not to be identified on February 6 2007. He manages Cambodian NGO dealing with child sex tourism in Cambodia.

## Conclusion

Cambodian political and economic development has experienced more challenges than opportunities in the last decades. Since the 1990s, Cambodia has tried to transform itself into a democratic and market oriented country. However, the issues of corruption and governance are still at the forefront of socio-economic development. With an increasing labor force looking for jobs and a governmental budget deficit, tourism is seen as a solution to both of these problems. Cambodia has both great natural and cultural tourist attractions and tourism has been growing remarkably in Cambodia since the early 1990s. This growth helps the Cambodian people looking for jobs and incomes generated from the industry. Both direct and indirect impacts of tourism on socio-economic development in Cambodia are coming to the fore. The Cambodian government views tourism as an efficient foreign exchange earner, employment provider, income generator, and promoter of national identity or prestige.

The national tourism policies introduced by the Cambodian government include security and safety for tourists; Infrastructure and tourism facilities development; Collaboration between stakeholders, including the private sector, NGOs, and government; Cultural heritage preservation; Environmental protection; Human resources development; Tourism products marketing and promotion; Legal measures such as e-visa and visa on arrival; and Regional cooperation.

Besides the positive impacts of tourism on socio-economic and cultural development, there are also some negative impacts of tourism especially the spread of HIV and AIDS and child sex tourism if no proper controls are in place. Moreover, too much cultural re-creation to satisfy tourists could lead to the loss of cultural authenticity.

# CHAPTER 5: TOURIST PERCEPTIONS

## Introduction

Sustainable tourism is impossible without the participation of tourists. Tourist motivations to visit a place are the main factors affecting the decision to travel. Tourist perceptions give meaning to the tourist destination and play an important role in relation to issues of sustainability. Poria argues that tourist perceptions are at the core of heritage tourism (Poria *et al*., 2003). This chapter, therefore, examines tourist's perceptions of their visits to the Angkor World Heritage Site. Siem Reap town and Angkor Park are considered as the Angkor heritage tourist destination. Angkor Park and Siem Reap town are integrated into one tourist destination given Siem Reap provides hospitality and tourism services including local cultural events and experiences while Angkor Park consists of temple complexes and areas of natural beauty with traditional local villages.

## 5.1. Tourist perceptions and motivations

Cultural heritage tourism is composed of "customized excursions into other cultures and places to learn about their people, lifestyle, heritage and arts in an informed way that genuinely represents those cultures and their historical contexts" (Craik, 1995: 6). Tourist perceptions determine the values of the destinations. Graham *et al*. (2000: 2) stated that "people in the present are the creators of heritage, and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it [as] the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes". To understand tourist perceptions and experience, it is essential to know the context within which tourism operates and tourists become engaged. Ryan argues that "*Texuality* is important in the post-modernist approach to understanding human behaviour" (Ryan, 1997: 18, original italics). To understand tourist motivations and experiences is a difficult task given the great diversity among tourists from different cultures and backgrounds. Tourist experience are complex and difficult to generalize and studies of this issue are still little developed (Cohen, 2004: 23; Dann, 2004).

Holiday motivations can be categorized as the need for relaxation, social contact, mastery (tourists feel they are superior to local people and consume tourism products and services which they rarely do on an everyday basis), and intellectual stimulation (Ryan, 1997: 71). Motives behind tourists selecting different types of pleasure vacation and destination can include socio-psychological motives (escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation) and cultural motives (novelty, curiosity, adventure, the desire to learn about new and different cultures, education) (Crampton, 2004).

The motivations of individual tourists are influenced by personality, lifestyle, past experiences, and personal circumstances, including family situation and disposable income. In addition, a person's experience of life also impacts their mode of travel (Cohen, 1979). Tourists, similar to pilgrims, search for familiar, sacred, and exotic places to enhance their experiences and it is not totally correct to say that tourists look only for "authenticity" (Urry, 2002: 11-12).

Places are characterized by meanings we give to them and the nature of the experience is shaped by the experience of travel (Suvantola, 2002: 29-39). In general we could say that

tourists seek both superficial experiences (Boorstin, 1972) and perceived authenticity (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1988). Based on those assumptions, Swarbrooke and Horner (2007) concluded that there were six interrelated factors determining tourist motivations to visit a particular place: physical environment, emotion (similar to superficial experiences), personality, personal development, status, and cultural values (similar to perceived authenticity).

According to Cohen (2004), in general, tourists pursue different modes of experience, including "the recreational mode", the "diversionary mode", "the experiential mode", "the experimental mode", and "the existential mode". The recreational mode is the kind of recreational experiences to be found in entertainment such as going to the cinema, theatre, or watching television. The diversionary mode is a movement away from the center (i.e. daily routine and life style) to find alternative environments for the "forgetfulness" of the center in order to forget about everyday life while on holiday. The difference between recreational and diversionary tourists is that recreational tourists adhere to the center; they look for things similar to normal everyday life while diversionary tourists escape from the center and find a "center-less" space. The experiential mode means that tourists seek for new authentic experiences and meanings. The experimental mode also focuses on authentic experience, but these types of tourists try to explore various things and places until they can find something suitable for their needs and desires. The motivation of the existential mode of tourists is stronger than that of the experimental tourists, since the existential tourists commit themselves to finding a new, external "spiritual center" different from their own society and culture.

Against the argument that place is solely determined by perceptions, Gnoth (1997) provides an additional view on factors influencing tourist perceptions by including the real situation or environment at the destination in addition to the tourist's value system. The attributes and sources of the place and the lenses or perspective of tourists reflect the general perceptions of tourists towards the place. In other words, space and value system are the integral elements determining the tourist perception.

In the context of heritage tourism analysis, it requires to analyze and balance both the perceptions and the reality.

This chapter attempts to explore and understand the experiences and perceptions of tourists during their visits to Angkor Park and Siem Reap town. How do Cohen's categories relate to the tourists at Angkor? Are they in "the recreational mode," the "diversionary mode," "the experiential mode," "the experimental mode," or "the existential mode"? Is there a particular type of tourist that predominates in Angkor? Are tourists' motives related to other variables such as nationality or region, generation, and level of education? Is there any relationship between tourist motivations and tourist perceptions? How do tourists arrange their travel and their mode of traveling? Do their real experiences meet the expectations? Are tourists satisfied with their visits? Will they recommend Angkor to others?

### 5.2. Research method

To understand tourist perceptions in regard to Angkor heritage tourism, structured questionnaire were distributed and free style interviews were conducted with tourists at Siem Reap International Airport, the Angkor heritage site, and in the town of Siem Reap. The

purpose of the survey was to reach as diverse a group of people from as many different countries as possible. The survey was conducted in two stages: the first pilot survey in February 2007, and the second survey from December 2007 to March 2008. As a result, 219 completed questionnaires were returned from the international tourists from different countries of residence (see table 1). In order to have a broader perspective from both international and local tourists, the author decided to conduct another 23 face-to-face interviews with Cambodian tourists visiting Angkor during their Chinese New Year holiday on 12 and 13 of February 2008. So in total there were 242 respondents in the survey. Most of the questions were designed to be answered using a five-point scale (1: very little, 2: little, 3: medium, 4: much, 5: very much) (See the questions in Appendix 1).

### 5.3. Profile of respondents

The majority of tourists were visiting Angkor for the first time, which accounted for more than 80% (n=195) of all respondents. Most of the respondents were aged from 20 to 59; including 66 between 20 and 29, 74 between 30 and 39, 60 between 40 and 49, and 28 between 50 and 59. Some 82% of the tourists had education higher than high school, including vocational training (16.9%), bachelor's degrees (41.7%) and masters or doctoral degrees (22.7%). However, the majority of the tourists had neither previously studied cultures, nor had culture related employment (n= 188, or 77.7%). This means that cultural tourists do not necessarily have culture-related education backgrounds or work. Tourists learn from their encounters and experiences. As a Cambodian tour guide observed "Many of them come here without much knowledge of Angkor. They come and learn here. I don't know how much they learn but at least they learn something."[27]

**Table 13: Have you been in the area before?**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Yes | 42 | 17.4 | 17.4 | 17.4 |
| | No | 200 | 82.6 | 82.6 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

[27] Author's interview on February 9, 2008

**Table 14: Gender**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Male | 144 | 59.5 | 59.5 | 59.5 |
| | Female | 98 | 40.5 | 40.5 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Table 15: Age**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Under 20 | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| | 20-29 | 66 | 27.3 | 27.3 | 28.5 |
| | 30-39 | 74 | 30.6 | 30.6 | 59.1 |
| | 40-49 | 60 | 24.8 | 24.8 | 83.9 |
| | 50-59 | 28 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 95.5 |
| | Over 60 | 11 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Table 16: Highest level of education**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | High School | 43 | 17.8 | 17.8 | 17.8 |
| | Bachelor degree | 101 | 41.7 | 41.7 | 59.5 |
| | Vocational education | 41 | 16.9 | 16.9 | 76.4 |
| | Master or Doctoral Degree | 55 | 22.7 | 22.7 | 99.2 |
| | Missing | 2 | .8 | .8 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**Table 17: Is your current occupation or former occupation or your education background connected with culture?**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Yes | 54 | 22.3 | 22.3 | 22.3 |
| | No | 188 | 77.7 | 77.7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

## 5.4. Research findings

### 5.4.1. Tourist motivations

Tourist motivations and purposes determine tourists' visits. The central question in this section is, what are the factors causing tourists to visit Cambodia, particularly the Angkor Heritage Site?

Cambodia is a destination for cultural tourism rather than ecotourism although ecotourism products are available and the country has great potential to attract international ecotourists. Culture, history, and the people are the main assets of the tourism industry in the country. Cambodia is typical of Southeast Asian civilization, with influences from both India and China. One Japanese tourist explained her motivation to visit Cambodia as follows: "Each individual has different travel motive. Some wants to see Angkor and some wants to see Asia

as a whole. For the Japanese tourists, they want to learn more about Asian culture and language."[28]

Authenticity can be found in Cambodia given that it has not yet totally modernized or developed. A tourist from Australia stated that "It is good to visit Cambodia now because modernization hasn't really taken place. You can see many things which you can't see anywhere else."[29]

According to the survey, the main purpose of people's visits was to learn something new (mean = 4.05), understand local culture and history (mean = 4.52) and experience the atmosphere (mean = 4.05). This implies that many of them are relatively active heritage tourists, which are defined as "those whose purpose is to undertake a specific heritage experience of one kind or another" (Timothy and Boyd, 2003:63). Very few tourists expressed an interest in entertainment (mean = 1.93) (See Table 18). It seems therefore that tourist motives are generally in the experiential mode in which they aim to learn about new things such as the culture and history of their destination. In addition, they also express an interest in living in a new atmosphere different from their daily routine, similar to the diversionary mode as described by Cohen (2004).

**Table 18: Tourist motivations/purposes**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Learn new things | 242 | 4.05 | .826 | .053 |
| To be entertained | 242 | 1.93 | .717 | .046 |
| Culture and History | 242 | 4.52 | .548 | .035 |
| Experience atmosphere | 242 | 4.05 | .884 | .057 |

How tourists describe their holiday is important for understanding their expectations and the experiences they are seeking. Tourists coming to visit Angkor described their visits mainly as a touring holiday (53.7%) or cultural holiday (42.6%). There is not much difference between these two terms but it demonstrates the level of seriousness among tourists towards the destination. For instance, in this case there are more than 40% of tourists described their holiday as cultural, suggesting that they really wanted to learn about local culture and history. Tourist motivations and tourist descriptions of their holidays are interrelated. Learning about history and culture suggests cultural tourists "experiencing the atmosphere" (See table 19).

**Table 19: Describe current holiday**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|

[28] Author's interview on December 4, 2007
[29] Author's interview on December 12, 2007

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cultural holiday | 103 | 42.6 |
| Touring holiday | 130 | 53.7 |
| Ecotourism | 5 | 2.1 |
| Others | 4 | 1.7 |
| Total | 242 | 100.0 |

### 5.4.2. Tourist motivations and region

There is slight difference in tourist motivations between Asian tourists and non-Asian tourists. The survey showed that non-Asian tourists tend to want to learn about new things, local culture and history, and experience the local atmosphere and environment a little more than Asian tourists (See tables 20, 22, 23). Neither Asian nor non-Asian tourists come to Siem Reap or Angkor to be entertained, although Asian tourists seem slightly more interested in entertainment than non-Asian tourists (See table 21). The result is quite interesting in the sense that non-Asian tourists are curious and interested in learning about Asian culture slightly more than Asians themselves. This is probably because Asian tourists think they are more familiar with Cambodian culture than non-Asian tourists, for example food and cultural values.

**Table 20**: **Learn new things * Region Crosstabulation**

| | | Region | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Non Asia | Asia | |
| Learn new things | Disagree | 0 | 5(2.06%) | 5 |
| | Neutral | 15(6.19%) | 46 (19%) | 61 |
| | Agree | 50 (20.66%) | 42(17.35%) | 92 |
| | Strongly agree | 57 (23.55%) | 27(11.15%) | 84 |
| Total | | 122 | 120 | 242 |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 32.150[a] | 3 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 35.080 | 3 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 30.464 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 242 | | |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 32.150[a] | 3 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 35.080 | 3 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 30.464 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 242 | | |

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.48.

**Table 21: To be entertained * Region Crosstabulation**

| | | Region | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Non Asia | Asia | |
| To be entertained | Strongly disagree | 54 (22.31%) | 16(6.61%) | 70 |
| | Disagree | 66(27.27%) | 54(22.31%) | 120 |
| | Neutral | 2 (0.82%) | 49(20.24%) | 51 |
| | Agree | 0 | 1 (0.41%) | 1 |
| Total | | 122 | 120 | 242 |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 66.130[a] | 3 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 78.182 | 3 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 60.691 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 242 | | |

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .50.

**Table 22: Learn Local Culture and History * Region Crosstabulation**

| | | Region | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Non Asia | Asia | |
| Culture and History | Neutral | 2(0.82%) | 4(1.65%) | 6 |
| | Agree | 34(14.04%) | 71(29.33%) | 105 |
| | Strongly agree | 86(35.53%) | 45(18.59%) | 131 |
| Total | | 122 | 120 | 242 |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 26.522[a] | 2 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 27.036 | 2 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 24.216 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 242 | | |

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.98.

**Table 23: Experience atmosphere * Region Crosstabulation**

| | | Region | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Non Asia | Asia | |
| Experience atmosphere | Strongly disagree | 0 | 1(0.41%) | 1 |
| | Disagree | 2 (0.82%) | 6(2.47%) | 8 |
| | Neutral | 20(8.26%) | 39(16.11%) | 59 |
| | Agree | 40(16.52%) | 45(18.59%) | 85 |
| | Strongly agree | 60(24.79%) | 29(11.98%) | 89 |
| Total | | 122 | 120 | 242 |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 20.195[a] | 4 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 21.014 | 4 | .000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 19.601 | 1 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 242 | | |

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .50.

### 5.4. 3. Tourist motivations and its correlations with age and education

There are correlations between tourist motivations and age, and tourist motivations and education. Age and level of education have positive correlations with tourist motivations to learn new things at the destination (.214 and .156), and learn about local culture and history (.210 and .206). Education has a negative correlation with tourists' motive to be entertained (-.217) (See table 24). This implies that cultural tourists tend to have higher levels of education and are older in age than other tourists.

**Table 24: Correlations: Tourist motivations with generation and age**

| | | Learn new Things | To be entertained | Learn Local culture and history | Experience atmosphere | Age | Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kendall's tau_b | Learn new things | 1.000 | -.274(**) | .321(**) | .222(**) | .214(**) | .156(**) |
| | | . | .000 | .000 | .000 | .000 | .005 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | To be entertained | -.274(**) | 1.000 | -.255(**) | -.248(**) | -.091 | -.217(**) |
| | | .000 | . | .000 | .000 | .101 | .000 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Culture and History | .321(**) | -.255(**) | 1.000 | .207(**) | .210(**) | .206(**) |
| | | .000 | .000 | . | .000 | .000 | .000 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Experience atmosphere | .222(**) | -.248(**) | .207(**) | 1.000 | -.036 | .090 |
| | | .000 | .000 | .000 | . | .511 | .105 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Age | .214(**) | -.091 | .210(**) | -.036 | 1.000 | .028 |
| | | .000 | .101 | .000 | .511 | . | .607 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Education | .156(**) | -.217(**) | .206(**) | .090 | .028 | 1.000 |
| | | .005 | .000 | .000 | .105 | .607 | . |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| Spearman's rho | Learn new things | 1.000 | -.306(**) | .348(**) | .251(**) | .248(**) | .180(**) |
| | | . | .000 | .000 | .000 | .000 | .005 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | To be entertained | -.306(**) | 1.000 | -.273(**) | -.283(**) | -.106 | -.251(**) |
| | | .000 | . | .000 | .000 | .099 | .000 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Culture and History | .348(**) | -.273(**) | 1.000 | .221(**) | .233(**) | .227(**) |
| | | .000 | .000 | . | .001 | .000 | .000 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Experience atmosphere | .251(**) | -.283(**) | .221(**) | 1.000 | -.041 | .104 |
| | | .000 | .000 | .001 | . | .523 | .105 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Age | .248(**) | -.106 | .233(**) | -.041 | 1.000 | .032 |
| | | .000 | .099 | .000 | .523 | . | .619 |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| | Education | .180(**) | -.251(**) | .227(**) | .104 | .032 | 1.000 |
| | | .005 | .000 | .000 | .105 | .619 | . |
| | | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 |

### 5.4.4. Accommodation and duration of stay

The majority of tourists stay in the hotels (68.6%) and the rest (28.9%) stay at guesthouses. The distinction between hotels and guesthouses is the different price. Guesthouses are cheaper than hotels. Most of the backpackers stay in guesthouses rather than hotels. Tourists stayed mainly for two nights (36.8%), three nights (30.6%), or four nights (16.9%).

Table 25 shows that tourists visiting Cambodia generally stay in hotels since the price is affordable for many tourists, but they stay only for a short time two to three nights only (See table 26). The short duration of stay reduces the economic benefits for the local people.

**Table 25: Accommodation**

| Accommodation | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Hotel | 166 | 68.6 |
| Guest House | 70 | 28.9 |
| Others | 6 | 2.5 |
| Total | 242 | 100.0 |

**Table 26: Duration of stay**

| Number of Nights | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 11 | 4.5 |
| 2 | 89 | 36.8 |
| 3 | 74 | 30.6 |
| 4 | 41 | 16.9 |
| 5 | 15 | 6.2 |
| 6 | 3 | 1.2 |
| 7 | 5 | 2.1 |
| 8 | 1 | .4 |
| 9 | 1 | .4 |
| 10 | 1 | .4 |
| 15 | 1 | .4 |
| Total | 242 | 100.0 |

### 5.4.5. Trip arrangement

There are two types of travel arrangement: all inclusive packages arranged through travel agents and tours operators accounted for 43% of tourists, while independent travelers made up 57%. Backpackers tend to make their own travel arrangements without concrete plans (see table 28). Regarding accommodation reservations, most of the independent tourists and backpackers normally did not book in advance via the internet and travel agents. They just look for their accommodation upon arrival.

**Table 27: Trip arrangement**

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | All-inclusive package | 104 | 43.0 |
| | Self Arrangement | 138 | 57.0 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 |

### 5.4.6. Mode of traveling

Of the tourists, 37.6% were traveling with a tour group, 22.3% with a friend, 16.1% with their families, 14% with their partners, and 9.9% alone (See table 28). This means that the level of interaction and communication between and among tourists is high but there is less interaction with the local people.

Different age group tends to travel differently, especially among the Japanese tourists. One Japanese tourist observed that "For the old people, they tend to travel in a tour group but for the young ones they prefer to go alone or with friends."[30] The older the tourists, the higher the tendency to travel in a tour group because it is more secure and convenient for them.

**Table 28: Mode of traveling**

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Alone | 24 | 9.9 |
| | With friend | 54 | 22.3 |
| | With your partner | 34 | 14.0 |
| | With a tour group | 91 | 37.6 |
| | With your family | 39 | 16.1 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 |

[30] Author's interview on December 4, 2007

### 5.4.7. Tourist perceptions

In general, before coming to Cambodia, tourists perceive Cambodia as a relatively dangerous place due to the fact that country has recently suffered from armed conflicts, land mines, and crimes. But after they arrive and experience the local political environment, they feel safer than they expected. A Japanese tourist noted that:

> We thought that Cambodia was a dangerous place because we watched some TV programs about Cambodia and we learned that there were many landmines here. Moreover, we heard from the others that it was not so safe to travel alone in this country. There were widespread pickpockets and crimes. However, after coming here we realized that it was not as dangerous as we had thought. It is quite safe and peaceful here. We really enjoy our trip.[31]

Similarly, another tourist from Turkey said that "they told us to be careful even at the border from Thailand to Cambodia, they told us to be alert to pickpocket and robbery. They told us 'watch your wallet, watch your passport!' But when we come here, there is no problem. I think it was exaggerated."[32]

It is interesting to note how tourists' perceptions towards Cambodia were shaped. Most of the tourists are exposed to world news either through TV programs or other news sources. The media has a really strong impact on tourists' perceptions of the destination.

Security and safety have improved quite remarkably in recent years to guarantee that Cambodia is a safe place for tourists. This is one of the determining factors in tourism development. The next step would be is to inform tourists from outside about the reality that Cambodia is not as dangerous as expected.

Against such background, the survey was conducted to understand the tourist perceptions in regard to the issues of authenticity, museum and cultural attractions, festivals and events, customs and tradition, linguistic diversity, cultural distinct region, multicultural region, local food and services, local environment, local atmosphere, and local price. The findings are shown in table 29 and discussed below. It should be noted here that perceptions and ratings might be influenced not just by the situation on the ground but also tourist expectations.

Before coming to the Angkor Heritage site, tourist expectations could be influenced by their friends, relatives, tourism promotion, mass media, movies, books, and educational background. Tourists will have differing levels of expectation.

In this study, tourist perceptions toward the attributes of the Angkor Heritage Site were analyzed and rated with an average mean of 2.5 Scale. All the variables are taken from the questionnaire.

[31] Author's interview on February 8, 2008

[32] Author's interview on December 14, 2007

**Table 29: Tourist perceptions**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Authentic sights | 242 | 4.32 | .856 | .055 |
| Museums and cultural attractions | 242 | 3.48 | 1.027 | .066 |
| Festivals and event | 242 | 2.71 | 1.101 | .071 |
| Customs and traditions | 242 | 3.77 | 1.029 | .066 |
| Linguistic diversity | 242 | 1.98 | .759 | .049 |
| Cultural distinct region | 242 | 4.27 | .750 | .048 |
| Multicultural region | 242 | 2.00 | .720 | .046 |
| Regional gastronomy (food) | 242 | 3.69 | .993 | .064 |
| Accommodation | 242 | 3.52 | 1.007 | .065 |
| Transportation/traffics | 241 | 3.05 | 1.075 | .069 |
| Hospitable local people | 242 | 4.44 | .686 | .044 |
| Lively Atmosphere | 242 | 3.18 | 1.019 | .065 |
| Local services and products are expensive | 242 | 2.38 | .801 | .052 |
| Air pollution | 242 | 2.48 | .747 | .048 |
| Litter (garbage) | 242 | 3.62 | .801 | .052 |
| Garbage bin is not enough | 242 | 3.65 | .871 | .056 |
| Noise | 242 | 2.74 | .843 | .054 |
| Entrance fee to Angkor site is expensive | 242 | 2.64 | .919 | .059 |
| Information for tourists is not enough | 242 | 3.45 | .906 | .058 |
| Disturbance caused by the beggars (kids) | 242 | 2.69 | 1.092 | .070 |

Local people are a major asset to the tourism industry in Cambodia. Friendliness and wholehearted hospitality offered by the locals towards the tourists rank top in tourist perceptions (mean = 4.44). Authenticity ranks second (mean = 4.32), culture ranks fourth (mean = 4.27), and customs and traditions rank fifth (mean = 3.77). Angkor historical monuments are the central attraction for the tourists. In addition, authentic local culture, customs and traditions give added value to the Angkor temple complex.

The perceptions of tourists of Angkor as "ruins" or a "lost city" are common. Tourists not only view the beauty and the greatness of the temples but also feel the past.

> Angkor is very unique in terms of art, history, and culture. I come here to explore the ruins of Angkor. Now, I am reading books on Angkor. I have found out that the Khmer Empire is so great. Only for the period of about 400 years, they could build such amazing temples.[33]

Cambodian food which is a combination of authentic Cambodian taste and flavors with Thai, Chinese, and Vietnamese cooking is another main attraction in the tourism industry. Tourists are generally satisfied with the regional food (mean = 3.69). But there are some problems in terms of hygiene and cleanliness.

> Cambodian food is very good. Japanese people really like Cambodian food because it is similar to Japanese food (vegetables, fish, and meat…) and Cambodian rice is also good.[34]

> The problem for tourist maybe the cleanliness of the food; we don't feel good sometimes after eating the food here but it is delicious.[35]

Besides Angkor temple complex, there are other local cultural and historical attractions such as Angkor National Museum (officially opened in 2007), the Preah Norodom Sihanouk-Angkor Museum (officially opened in 2007), and the Mines Museum (officially opened in 1997). Other cultural attractions include the Cambodian Cultural Village (officially opened in 2001) and traditional art performances (i.e. Apsara dance) at some big hotels and restaurants. The museums and cultural attractions attract tourists and improve tourists' experiences (M: 3.48). Tourists are generally interested in experiencing these side attractions.

Tourists do not perceive Angkor Park and Siem Reap town as a multilingual (mean = 1.98) or multicultural region (mean = 2.00) although several languages are spoken by the local people (i.e. English, French, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai) and a small number of foreigners are working in the region mainly in the tourism industry.

Hotels and guesthouses are the main accommodation for tourists. Tourists are generally satisfied with their stay (M: 3.52). While hotels are popular among high and

[33] Author's interview with a *Tourist from Australia* on February 8, 2008

[34] Author's interview *with tourist and volunteer from Japan* on December 4, 2007

[35] Author's interview with a Japanese tourist on February 8, 2008

medium class tourists and package tour group, the guesthouses are popular among budget tourists who travel and stay longer in the area and region.

Siem Reap is the gateway to the Angkor temple complex. The city is still small in terms of population, with 127,000 people, but it has unique attractions for tourists of its own, such as *Phsar Chas* (Old Market) and the old town of Siem Reap with its French colonial style buildings, souvenir shops, restaurants with different cuisines from different countries, bars, pubs, massage salons,[36] and street fruit and food stands. Tourists enjoy the night life in the most famous street called "Pub Street" and in the night market. Tourists generally expressed their satisfaction with the lively atmosphere, although the score for this was not high in comparision with other factors (mean = 3.18).

Transportation in Siem Reap is relatively good compared with other provincial cities. Main streets and small roads have been constructed connecting Siem Reap with Angkor Park and other parts of Cambodia. In general, transportation is considered by tourists to be relatively acceptable (mean = 3.05), except for the traffic jams in front of Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat in the rush hours (around 9am and 6pm), and the lack of respect for traffic rules.

Pedestrian walkways for tourists who prefer to walk around the city are very limited given that the town was not specifically designed for pedestrians. This is the problem of urban planning in Cambodia in general. Cars are allowed to park on the side of the roads and in front of the buildings, and block the walkway. Tourists express their mixed feeling regarding traffic and transport in Siem Reap, Angkor.

> The infrastructure is still developing. We could not enjoy walking on the street since there is not enough space. The traffic here is somehow dangerous. Some people don't respect the traffic rules, making it difficult to cycle here. Another problem is there are so many people entering the temples at the same time. If they could rearrange the tourist circulation in the Park then it would be good. For me, I don't want to see many cars and buses in the park. I prefer to see more bicycles![37]

> The traffic rule is not the same in Europe but it works. We haven't had any accident so far, so we are happy, so happy.[38]

Festivals and events to serve the tourists are still limited. Tourists do not really enjoy festivals or special events in the region (mean = 2.71). Many efforts have been made to promote festivals and special events in Angkor Park and in Siem Reap province such as a marathon, exhibitions, conferences, and cultural performances in front of Angkor Wat and at various places in town. But these are seasonal and temporary events which are not sustainable as tourist attractions all the year round.

Events and festivals arrangement have to comply with the principles of sustainable heritage management and national cultural identity. For instance, recently, the illumination of

[36] These facilities and services are not for the sex tourist industry, but there are some places where the sex industry operates secretly and illegally.

[37] Author's interview with a *tourist from Australia* on February 8, 2008

[38] Author's interview with *a tourist from Belgium* on February 7, 2007

Angkor during the night is criticized by some experts as overcommercialization of a sacred place and damaging to the stone.

Tourists don't have many problems with the price of local services and products (M: 2.38), air pollution (mean = 2.48), noise pollution (mean = 2.74), entrance fees to Angkor site (mean = 2.64), or disturbances caused by beggars and kids (mean = 2.69). It was found that local services and prices are satisfactory for tourists. Although there has been an increase of vehicles on the street, air pollution is not yet a major concern. Street children and beggars are decreasing dramatically thanks to the assistance of several NGOs working in the region.

> It is ok, for the Europeans the price is cheap. But we should realize that most of young Europeans who come here are students and they have to work and they want to travel a long period. They don't come for few days. So if they come in a long period, low price is good for them including hotel, accommodation, and food also.[39]

> I am satisfied with my trip here and the price here is much cheaper comparing with the price in Japan. For the Japanese travelers, I think it is cheap for them. But for me, I stay here for a long time so I feel a bit expensive for me. The gasoline is so expensive here comparing with the income of the local people.[40]

> There were many beggars "*Som Loui*". But now it is decreasing in number. In Siem Reap town, there used to be many kids asking for money. But now there are less and less. And I am worried where they are now. Do they have food to eat or they die or go to other places. For the Japanese tourists, we are surprised to see beggars since there are no such thing in Japan. They don't know what to do with the beggars. What should they give? What should they help them?[41]

> I think there are many children [that] don't go to school and sell some products to tourists. They use children to earn money. Poverty is the main problem.[42]

Local prices are a bit higher than neighboring countries (Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam). This is partially due to the dollarization of the Cambodian economy. US dollars are widely used in Cambodia due to the rapid fluctuation and high rate of inflation of the local currency (the *riel*). A tourist from France said "the price here is more expensive than Thailand. I think because they use US dollars here instead of the domestic currency. It is bad."[43]

Litter in Siem Reap city is damaging the tourist experience to some extent (M: 3.62). There are not enough trash bins (mean = 3.65). Angkor Park is generally clean, but the problem is in the city which has the largest concentration of hospitality services. Trash can be seen almost everywhere in the city. The most serious case is Siem Reap River in which plastic bags and other forms of solid waste are polluting the river and producing bad smell.

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[39] Author's interview with a tourist from Belgium on February 7, 2007

[40] Author's interview with a tourist from Japan on December 4, 2007

[41] Author's interview with a tourist from Japan on December 4, 2007

[42] Author's interview with a tourist from France on December 14, 2007

[43] Author's interview with a tourist from France on December 14, 2007

> There are some issues of tourism here, garbage is one of them. For Japanese we don't feel comfortable to throw away trash. It would better if there are more trash bins in the public place especially on the streets.[44]

Tourists felt there was not enough information available in the region (mean = 3.45). Besides the tourism office in Siem Reap, there are leaflets and magazines freely distributed in some hotels, guest houses, and restaurants. But there are limited maps and information available on the street. Many tourists find it difficult to reach their destinations due to the lack of information and signboards.

> Overall, I think it is ok. Maybe at every temple, there should have information showing the history of the temples. I went to Mexico and there they provided us the information. Maybe they want us to have a tour guide so they don't put the information in front of the temples.[45]

### 5.4.8. Tourist motivations and perceptions

In order to understand the relationship between tourist motivations and tourist perceptions, an attempt was made to understand the underlying patterns using SPSS software and factor analysis.

Theoretically, in order to be suitable for factor analysis, a data set should have a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value higher than .6 and Bartlett's test of sphericity should be statistically significant at $p<.05$. In this case, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value is .771 and Bartlett's test is significant at .000. It is therefore suitable to do factor analysis here.

**Table 30: KMO and Bartlett's Test**

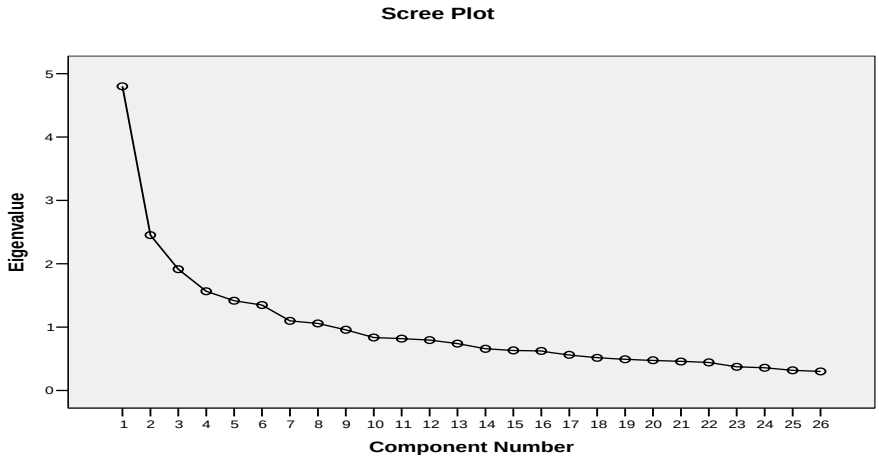
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. | | .771 |
| Bartlett's Test of Sphericity | Approx. Chi-Square | 1522.587 |
| | Df | 325 |
| | Sig. | .000 |

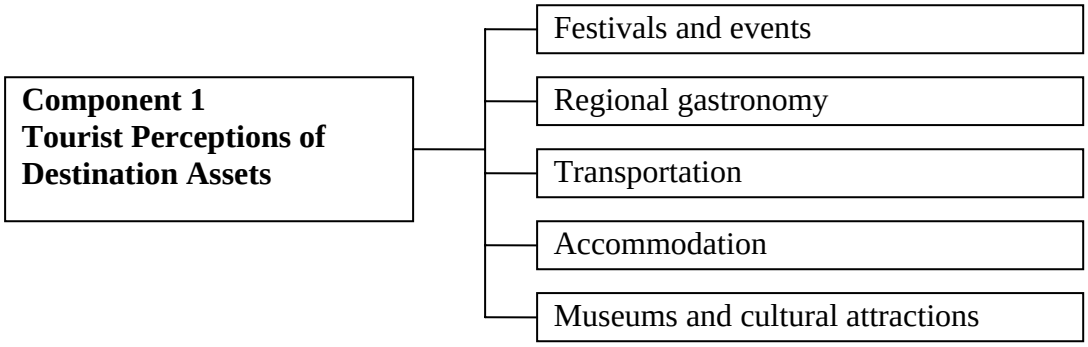
After running factor analysis in SPSS, seven main components with Eigenvalues bigger than 1 were identified based on analysis of total variance (Table 31) and pattern matrix analysis (Table 32).

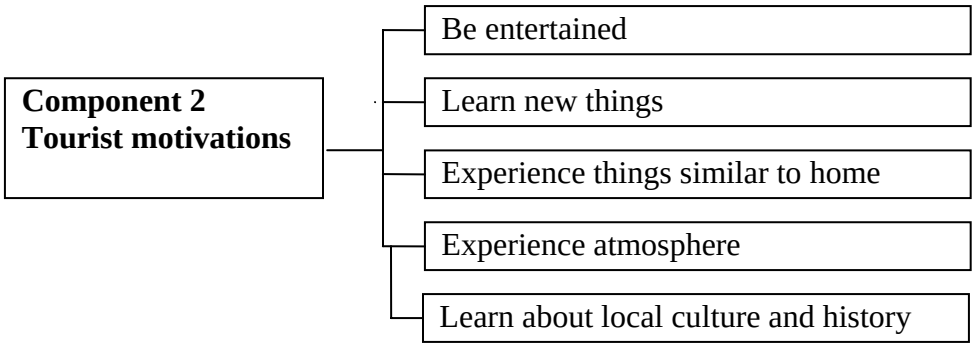
**Figure 10: Scree Plot**

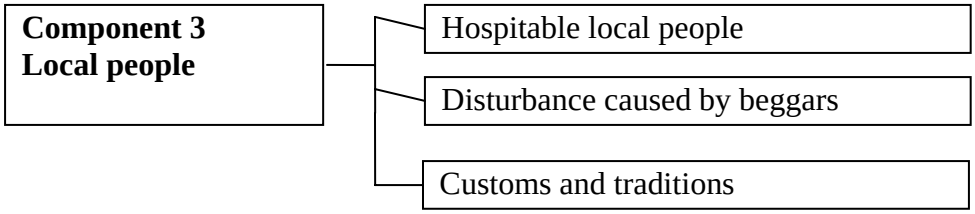
[44] Author's interview with a tourist from Japan on December 4, 2007

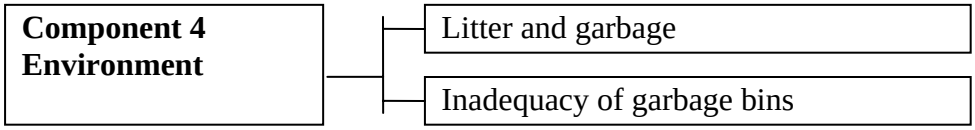
[45] Author's interview with a tourist from USA on December 14, 2007

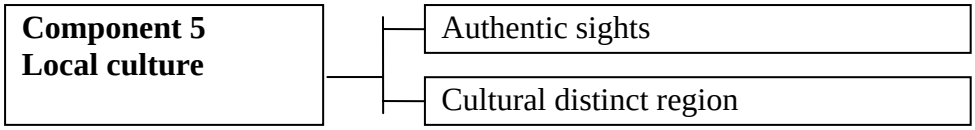

Scree Plot
Eigenvalue
Component Number
0
1
2
3
4
5
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

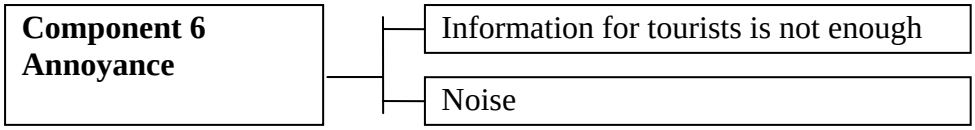

Component 1
Tourist Perceptions of Destination Assets
Festivals and events
Regional gastronomy
Transportation
Accommodation
Museums and cultural attractions


Component 2
Tourist motivations
Be entertained
Learn new things
Experience things similar to home
Experience atmosphere
Learn about local culture and history


Component 3
Local people
Hospitable local people
Disturbance caused by beggars
Customs and traditions


Component 4
Environment
Litter and garbage
Inadequacy of garbage bins


Component 5
Local culture
Authentic sights
Cultural distinct region


Component 6
Annoyance
Information for tourists is not enough
Noise

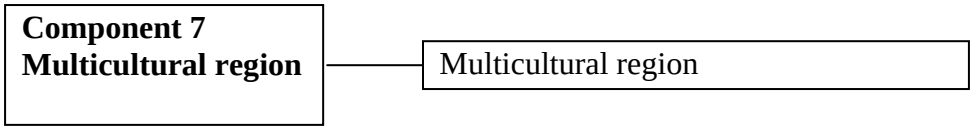

Component 7
Multicultural region
Multicultural region

**Table 31: Total Variance Explained**

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | | Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings(a) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total |
| 1 | 4.064 | 19.351 | 19.351 | 4.064 | 19.351 | 19.351 | 3.370 |
| 2 | 2.295 | 10.926 | 30.278 | 2.295 | 10.926 | 30.278 | 2.803 |
| 3 | 1.603 | 7.635 | 37.913 | 1.603 | 7.635 | 37.913 | 1.953 |
| 4 | 1.442 | 6.864 | 44.777 | 1.442 | 6.864 | 44.777 | 1.825 |
| 5 | 1.246 | 5.934 | 50.711 | 1.246 | 5.934 | 50.711 | 1.907 |
| 6 | 1.052 | 5.009 | 55.720 | 1.052 | 5.009 | 55.720 | 1.388 |
| 7 | 1.003 | 4.777 | 60.497 | 1.003 | 4.777 | 60.497 | 1.274 |
| 8 | .912 | 4.343 | 64.840 | | | | |
| 9 | .868 | 4.132 | 68.972 | | | | |
| 10 | .811 | 3.864 | 72.836 | | | | |
| 11 | .731 | 3.483 | 76.319 | | | | |
| 12 | .715 | 3.406 | 79.725 | | | | |
| 13 | .635 | 3.023 | 82.749 | | | | |
| 14 | .585 | 2.784 | 85.533 | | | | |
| 15 | .553 | 2.634 | 88.166 | | | | |
| 16 | .481 | 2.290 | 90.456 | | | | |
| 17 | .474 | 2.259 | 92.715 | | | | |
| 18 | .444 | 2.113 | 94.828 | | | | |
| 19 | .407 | 1.938 | 96.766 | | | | |
| 20 | .366 | 1.743 | 98.509 | | | | |
| 21 | .313 | 1.491 | 100.000 | | | | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

**Table 32: Pattern Matrix(a)**

| | Component | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Festivals and event | .755 | | | | | | |
| Regional gastronomy (food) | .699 | | | | | | |
| Transportation/traffics | .646 | | | | | | |
| Accommodation | .634 | | | | | | |
| Museums and cultural attractions | .436 | | | | | | |
| Local services and products are expensive | | | | | | | |
| To be entertained | | .757 | | | | | |
| Learn new things | | -.702 | | | | | |
| Experience things similar to home country | | .658 | | | | | |
| Experience atmosphere | | -.601 | | | | | |
| Culture and History | | -.524 | | | | | |
| Hospitable local people | | | .769 | | | | |
| Disturbance caused by the beggars (kids) | | | -.764 | | | | |
| Customs and traditions | | | .495 | | | | |
| Litter (garbage) | | | | .840 | | | |
| Inadequacy of garbage bins | | | | .690 | | | |
| Authentic sights | | | | | .881 | | |
| Cultural distinct region | | | | | .424 | | |
| Information for tourists is not enough | | | | | | .837 | |
| Noise | | | | | | .587 | |
| Multicultural region | | | | | | | .876 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a Rotation converged in 12 iterations

**Table 33: Component Score Coefficient Matrix**

| | Component | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Learn new things | -.007 | -.287 | -.079 | -.104 | .114 | -.096 | -.137 |
| To be entertained | -.070 | .312 | .038 | .003 | .113 | -.094 | .010 |
| Culture and History | -.111 | -.215 | .149 | -.055 | .094 | .181 | .357 |
| Experience atmosphere | .098 | -.246 | .100 | .145 | -.044 | -.063 | .001 |
| Authentic sights | -.025 | -.003 | -.023 | .016 | .488 | -.056 | -.059 |
| Similar to your country (history and culture) | .104 | .274 | .018 | -.001 | .010 | .039 | .048 |
| Museums and cultural attractions | .072 | .032 | -.054 | -.031 | .294 | .074 | .347 |
| Festivals and event | .290 | -.033 | .021 | .150 | -.151 | -.014 | -.017 |
| Customs and traditions | .140 | .091 | .327 | .222 | .008 | .119 | -.159 |
| Cultural distinct region | .067 | -.005 | .136 | -.054 | .233 | .272 | .004 |
| Multicultural region | .002 | .009 | -.004 | .007 | -.039 | -.018 | .593 |
| Regional gastronomy (food) | .258 | -.057 | .074 | -.016 | .018 | .017 | -.057 |
| Accomodation | .184 | -.007 | -.086 | -.099 | .180 | -.044 | .129 |
| Transportation/traffics | .230 | .066 | -.152 | -.158 | .036 | -.054 | -.050 |
| Hospitable local people | -.082 | .021 | .422 | .042 | .172 | .010 | .153 |
| Local services and products are expensive | .190 | .112 | .125 | -.014 | -.206 | .141 | -.142 |
| Litter (garbage) | .005 | .035 | -.034 | .530 | .014 | -.102 | -.047 |
| Garbage bin is not enough | -.002 | -.037 | .043 | .445 | -.019 | .121 | .053 |
| Noise | -.194 | .123 | -.075 | .063 | .270 | .473 | .303 |
| Information for tourists is not enough | .094 | -.061 | .027 | -.030 | -.154 | .567 | -.156 |
| Disturbance caused by the beggars (kids) | -.025 | .056 | -.443 | .129 | .197 | .075 | .102 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Scores.

Correlations among and between the seven principal components were conducted to understand further whether there is any correlation between these factors. Factors or principal components that do not have any significant correlation with each others are deleted. The final product would be the significant correlations between the factors.

**Table 34: Component Correlation Matrix**

| Component | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1.000 | .340 | .257 | -.219 | .181 | .028 | -.030 |
| 2 | .340 | 1.000 | .003 | -.151 | .046 | -.015 | .039 |
| 3 | .257 | .003 | 1.000 | -.030 | .139 | .182 | -.085 |
| 4 | -.219 | -.151 | -.030 | 1.000 | -.052 | .117 | .036 |
| 5 | .181 | .046 | .139 | -.052 | 1.000 | .170 | .373 |
| 6 | .028 | -.015 | .182 | .117 | .170 | 1.000 | .060 |
| 7 | -.030 | .039 | -.085 | .036 | .373 | .060 | 1.000 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

The Component Correlation Matrix is applied to identify the correlations between the factors or components (in this case Component 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). After running the test, the result indicates that Component 1 (tourist perceptions of destination assets) has strong relationship with Component 2 (tourist motivations) with a value of .340. It means that tourists' perceptions are influenced by their motivations.

Tourist motivations to visit Angkor Park are driven by two main factors: "Learn New Things" and to "Learn Local Culture and History". They are in the category of "experiential tourists" as described by Cohen (2004).

### 5.4.9. Tourist satisfaction

Although there were some complaints as mentioned above, perhaps surprisingly, nearly all the tourists seemed satisfied with their visit. There were 45.9% (n = 111) who were very satisfied and 47.5 % (n = 115) who were satisfied. There were 40.1% of them who wished to come back to Cambodia and nearly all said they would recommend their friends to visit Cambodia and Angkor. There is huge potential for marketing Angkor by word of mouth (See tables 35, 36, 37).

**Table 35: How satisfied are you with your visits to this area**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Neutral | 16 | 6.6 |
| | Satisfied | 115 | 47.5 |
| | Very Satisfied | 111 | 45.9 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 |

**Table 36: Will you come back to visit Cambodia, Angkor**

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Yes | 97 | 40.1 |
| | No | 38 | 15.7 |
| | Don’t know | 107 | 44.2 |
| | Total | 242 | 100.0 |

**Table 37: Will you recommend Cambodia, Angkor, to your family and friends**

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Yes | 242 | 100.0 |

## Conclusion

The chapter has described tourist motivations, travel arrangements, and perceptions of the destination in relation to site attributes such as authenticity, cultural values, local food and services, transportation, and general satisfaction.

The central argument of the chapter is that in general tourists are satisfied with their visit to Angkor heritage site. Their experiences are enriched by both the tangible and intangible heritages of the destinations. The local culture, history, services and people are most attractive to international tourists. Tourists are happy with their visit although there are some issues such as environmental pollution, sanitation and cleanliness, local poverty, and language barriers, which lead to lack of communication between tourists and local people.

Tourist motives, expectations, and experiences are interconnected, based on which it could prove that the majority of tourists visiting Siem Reap-Angkor are heritage tourists or experiential tourists who want to learn new things, especially about local culture and history. Education, nationality, and age have some impacts on perceptions.

# CHAPTER 6: LOCAL PERCEPTIONS

## Introduction

This chapter examines local perceptions towards tourism development and tourists in Angkor Park and Siem Reap city. It shows that in general tourism is perceived to be a source of employment, income, and cultural development, particularly in arts and crafts. Poverty is still a big issue in the region. The development gap between rich and poor is widening. The increase in living costs is putting more pressure on local livelihoods. The structures of family and community are affected by tourist dollars. The chapter argues that Angkor heritage tourism is facing the issues of local poverty and over-commercialization of the heritage sites. If these two issues are not addressed properly, then sustainable Angkor heritage tourism cannot be realized.

As discussed in chapter 1 on the host and guest perceptions and sustainable heritage tourism, the local community plays an important role in determining the success of tourism development. Without local participation there is no sustainable tourism. Blank puts it in this way: "Communities are the destination of most travelers. Therefore it is in communities that tourism happens. Because of this, tourism industry development and management must be brought effectively to bear in communities" (Blank, 1989: 4). Tourism development should therefore not only focus on economic benefits in general but also the quality of life and empowerment of the local people (Whittaker, 1997).[46]

The impacts of tourism on the local community have been well documented in books, research articles, and reports. The findings always suggest pros and cons, and that there are both positive and negative impacts of tourism on the local community (e.g. Elliott, 1997: 4, Greenwood, 1989: 171, Hitchcock, 1997: 95, Matthews, 1978: 80, Urry, 1996: 215).

It is safe to say that nobody is more aware of, or understands the impacts of tourism, better than the local residents. Local perceptions are necessary to evaluate the impact of tourism on the local economy and society and to understand whether the local residents support tourism development in their region (e.g. Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004, Johnson et al., 1994, Keogh, 1990, Lankford, 1994, Lindberg and Johnson, 1997, Liu and Var, 1986, Perdue *et al*., 1900, Sheldon and Var, 1984, Tosun, 2002).

Understanding the local perceptions helps us to identify the issues and concerns raised by the local community living in the tourist destination, and from that we can develop sustainable tourism. Crick rightly argues that "We need to know the local perceptions and understandings of tourism, we need to know the local perceptions of change and continuity, and we need to recognize that culture is likely to have contradictory things to say about both" (Crick, 1989: 338). "Place-based communities" have become the core of a discourse of sustainable tourism in which environmental, economic, political, cultural and social considerations combine (Richards and Hall, 2000: 5).

Studies of the local perceptions and their link to sustainable heritage tourism are crucial, given that tourism either inadvertently or intentionally leaves its imprint not only on the physical and cultural landscape, but also on the social and cultural life of the local

[46] The suggestion is drawn from a case study in Broome, Australia

community (Kariel, 1982: 1). This chapter thus attempts to understand the local perceptions of the impact of the tourism industry, in order to determine whether the tourism can be sustainable.

## 6.1. Research method

The purpose of the survey was to understand perceptions of the local people regarding tourism development in their community. Structured questionnaires were designed and distributed to local villagers both in the town of Siem Reap and Angkor Park. The field survey was conducted in two stages: a pilot research project in February 2007 and December 2007; and a full survey from January to March 2008. Ten villages were selected in the rural area in Angkor Park and five "villages" which were in fact administrative areas of the town of Siem Reap, which is here called the inner city. For the rural villages, face to face interviews using a structured questionnaire were used to conduct a survey with a sample of respondents who were present in the village. As a result, 252 interviews were conducted with local villagers often with the presence of other family members. In the inner city, 500 questionnaires were distributed to five villages, 100 questionnaires to each village. We gave them three days to complete the questionnaire. As a result, fortunately, we got back 221 completed questionnaires.[47]

**Table 38: Village names and number of respondents**

| Village name | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Anhchanh | 22 | 4.7 |
| Inner City (Chong Kao Sou) | 32 | 6.8 |
| Inner City (Slor Kram) | 31 | 6.6 |
| Inner City (Svay Dongkum) | 23 | 4.9 |
| Inner City (Vat Bor) | 51 | 10.8 |
| Inner City (Vat Domnak) | 84 | 17.8 |
| Kirimeanon | 31 | 6.6 |
| Kok Ta Chan | 22 | 4.7 |
| Kravan | 33 | 7.0 |
| Nokor Krao | 20 | 4.2 |
| O Totung | 32 | 6.8 |

[47] The tactic used to get result of such high return rate was to build relationship with the local villagers and ask the local villagers to distribute the questionnaire. It is hard for the outsiders to do survey due to the lack of trust.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pradak | 16 | 3.4 |
| Ta Ek | 24 | 5.1 |
| Thnal Bandaoy | 22 | 4.7 |
| Thnal Totung | 30 | 6.3 |
| Total | 473 | 100.0 |

## 6.2. Research findings

### 6.2.1. Respondents profiles

There were 473 respondents from 15 villages[48] from Angkor Park and the Inner City of Siem Reap. The level of education of the respondents was very low at the time of the survey. Eighteen percent (n = 85) had never gone to school, 39.3 per cent (n = 186) had completed primary school education, 14 percent (n = 66) had completed middle school (n = 66), and 17.3 percent (n = 82) had completed high school. 2.7 per cent (n = 13) had completed vocational training (13), while 8.2 percent (n = 39) had first degrees, and 0.4 percent (n = 2) had masters degrees. There is a quite a big gap in education level between the rural and urban areas (see Table 39).

**Table 39: Education between urban and rural area**

| | Education | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Primary School | Secondary School | High School | Vocational Training | Bachelor Degrees | Masters Degrees | None |
| Rural Village | 133 | 25 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 81 |
| Inner City | 53 | 41 | 69 | 13 | 39 | 2 | 4 |
| Total | 186 | 66 | 82 | 13 | 39 | 2 | 85 |

### a. Employment

Many respondents were self-employed, accounting for 27.9 percent (132), in addition to 21.6 percent of housewives (102), and 18 percent (85) of farmers. Others were public and private servants, NGO staff, construction workers, and others such as students and Buddhist monks.

[48] For provincial governance, the hierarchy is as follows: group, village, commune, district, and province. Units called "villages" therefore exist both in the rural areas and in the town. These are customary units rather than administrative ones.

The majority of the people living in Angkor Park are farmers or self-employed, selling souvenirs, food and beverages in front of their houses, producing products such as palm sugar, nets, baskets, or raising livestock. The majority of people living the city, on the other hand, are self employed, working for private companies, or staff of NGOs (Table 40).

**Table 40: Occupations in Urban and Rural Areas**

| | Occupation | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Housework | Self-employed | Public servant | Company employee | NGO or IO | Farmers | Construction workers | Others |
| Rural Village | 53 | 68 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 85 | 16 | 8 |
| Inner City | 49 | 64 | 18 | 35 | 27 | 0 | 4 | 24 |
| Total | 102 | 132 | 33 | 41 | 28 | 85 | 20 | 32 |

## b. Domestic migration

Many people from other parts of Cambodia have migrated into Siem Reap town to look for jobs and do business. According the survey, more than 50 percent of the respondents in the inner city of Siem Reap are from other provinces, compared with about 10 percent in Angkor Park. The average length of stay of the migrants in Siem Reap is about 5 years.

## c. Tourism related

Some 41.22 percent of the respondents or their relatives were involved in tourism related businesses and employment. There is a big gap between the people living in Angkor Park and the city. More than 26 percent of the people living the town are connected to tourism, compared with more than 14 percent in Angkor Park. This suggests that most of the people making money out of tourism are not actually living in Angkor Park itself. The average length of involvement in the tourism industry is about three years, which shows that large-scale tourism only started booming in recent years.

**Table 41: Tourism related**

| | Is your family or relative involved in tourism? | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yes (%) | No (%) |
| Rural Village | 14.37% | 38.90% |
| Inner City | 26.85% | 19.87% |
| Total | 41.22% | 58.77% |

**d. Poverty**

The local people in Angkor Park are still very poor. The restrictions[49] imposed by the APSARA authority on villagers in the protected zones adversely impact their traditional ways of living and their livelihoods, which are mainly based on collection of non-timber forest products, such as resin tapping and traditional medicine, small scale forest clearance for rice cultivation, and firewood collection.

There is a big income gap between those people living in the protected zone and those who live in the inner city of Siem Reap. The majority of the people living in Angkor Park are farmers, construction workers either in the Angkor conservation sites or in Siem Reap city, or are self-employed, selling souvenirs, food and beverages in front of their houses, producing sugar, nets, baskets, and raising livestock. The majority of people living the city are self employed, employees in the private sector, especially the construction and hospitality industries, NGO staff, or public servants.

### 6.2.2. Perceived socio-economic benefits

Increasing tourist arrivals in Cambodia are generally perceived as proof of stability and peace in a country which had gone through more than three decades of civil war and armed conflict. A villager from the Angkor Park stated "Tourists come here more and more since we got peace in 1990s. Tourists coming here is a good sign showing that we are living in peace now."[50]

Receipts and income generated from tourism assist local government to preserve and manage the world heritage site of Angkor. A staff member of APSARA said "Tourism provides us some necessary fund for the operation of our conservation project. We need money to restore and preserve the temples. Some percentage from the amount of the ticket sold is given to APSARA authority"[51].

The local people's general perception of tourism's economic impact in the region is positive. They think that tourism provides employment, investment, and business opportunities. In addition, tourism helps to improve local infrastructure and local governance. The local people see that there is a greater chance that they will get jobs in tourism than investing in tourism themselves. A local villager stated that:

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[49] The Declaration issued by Special Commissary for Heritage Protection, Ministry of Interior on November 16, 1999, orders that population who are settling in and next to Angkor Park, and workers who have been working for all services in Angkor Park area as follows:

1. Absolutely prohibit deforestation, vine collection, resins collection from trees, firewood collection and forest clearing for agriculture activities etc. in Angkor Park area.
2. Absolutely forbid to dig up the ground to find the valuable things such as buried treasure, sculptures or digging up hill and ancient road in Angkor Park Area.
3. Do not hunt wildlife, fish in the Angkor moat, and release cows and buffaloes to gaze in Angkor Park area, especially in Angkor Wat ground.
4. Do not enter to the temples ground in night from 7pm to 5am.
5. Educate people's children not to beg or fan the domestic and international tourists that annoy the domestic and international tourists' traveling and also cause our country to be disgraced.
6. People who are still stubborn to violate the declaration, the competence of special commissary for heritage protection will take strong action according to law.

[50] Author's interview on December 5, 2007

[51] Author's interview on February 9, 2008

> In general, tourism is good. It helps to develop the village. After finishing classes at school, the children could sell some souvenirs in front of the temples. They could earn some money by themselves so they don't need the money from their parents anymore. The older kids could work with the construction company.[52]

The average salary of the hotel and restaurant staffs is about US$ 60 per month. Although this is a bit better than for garment workers, they cannot save much due to increasing living costs driven by tourism. For the middle and top managers, the average salary is about US$ 600 for local nationals and more than US$ 2000 for foreigners.

Construction workers can earn about US$ 3 per day. They can save about US$ 1.5 for their families but they have to bring their own lunch boxes and commute by bicycle from their village to the city every day. Health conditions and safety are the main issues for the workers. They cannot get compensation when they get injured or handicapped on duty.

Motor taxi drivers and tour guides can earn more than construction workers and low level hospitality staff. But they mainly depend on the generosity of the guests/tourists through tips. Motor taxi drivers can earn about US$ 200 a month in the low season (April-September) and US$ 350 during the high season (September-March). Tour guides can earn more than US$ 20 per day and about US$ 400 per month. One Cambodian tour guide said:

> Some tourists spend a lot of money on shopping while others don't. I could earn extra money besides working as tour guide we could get some tips from the restaurants and souvenir shops. Some places give us 50 percent of the total price. It means that if the tourist buys a souvenir that costs $100, I could get $50. But it is rare.[53]

The local people think that tourism can help promote local cultural development and education. They have started preserving and developing their local cultures in order to serve international tourists. National identity is promoted by tourism. Handicrafts and souvenir products made from wood, bamboo, and palm leaves are very popular among tourists. The local people have started producing these products both at the household and community levels. Some non-governmental organizations assist local people in training, and branding or marketing products. For instance, *Artisan d'Angkor*, which used to be a non-profit organization with an operational budget which relied mainly on external funding, is now become a self-sustaining social enterprise which provides training and employs hundreds of young Cambodians, usually from underprivileged families and communities.

> The *Artisan d'Angkor* used to be sponsored and supported by the European countries. But since 2002, it becomes a self-sufficient private company. The company helped the poor Cambodians to get job and income through making handicrafts. They provide six months training then we could work in this workshop. We could earn about $100 per month and it is enough for us to live. There are about 2000 visitors per day and some of them buy the souvenirs here. I think tourism is very good because it helps us to get

[52] Author's interview on 19 December 2007

[53] Author's interview on February 9, 2008

more income. I would be good if there are more initiatives on producing handicrafts to sell to the tourists. It is also helping to promote our culture and national identity.[54]

As the local people have been observed by the tourists, they and the local tourist entrepreneurs have gradually come to construct a contrived and artificial "backstage" for the tourists. This has led to the reconstruction and renovation of Khmer culture or "Khmer-ness", which is termed by MacCannell as "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1999). This is based on his original insight in 1973, that there is a continuum from front to back stage, including the front stage of performances for the tourists, bits of back stage which the tourists are allowed to see, and the real back stage that they are not supposed to see (MacCannel, 1973). Apsara dance and folklore dances are presented commercially at various local restaurants and hotels.

Host-guest exchanges are still very limited. The lack of communication makes the local people feel inferior to the international tourists. The locals generally regard tourists either as rich or as aliens from totally different countries or regions. The language is the main barrier to host-guest communication. A tourist from France stated "We do speak to the local people but since we could not use the local language then we find it hard to communicate. We could not study a foreign language in such a short period of time."[55] However, the local people especially young generation is adept at picking up English or other important foreign languages for the tourist trade. Those people migrating from other parts of Cambodia to seek tourism related jobs in the region always have some foreign language ability.

The field survey found out that local people rates employment opportunities the highest (mean = 3.8), higher than business opportunities (mean = 2.55) or investment opportunities (mean = 2.33). This shows the lack of capital investment, human resources, and entrepreneurship in investing in tourism industry (See Table 42). Most of the local people are working as employees in short term contract employment with the tourism industry.

**Table 42: Perceived socio-economic interests**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment opportunities | 473 | 3.08 | 1.279 | .059 |
| Investment opportunities | 473 | 2.33 | 1.312 | .060 |
| Business opportunities | 473 | 2.55 | 1.308 | .060 |

[54] Author's interview with a craftsman at Artisan d'Angkor on 19 December 2007

[55] Author's interview on 14 December 2007

In respect to the perceived positive impacts of tourism on the local people, the survey suggests that tourism helps to preserve local culture (mean = 3.53). In order to meet tourist demand, local people produce and develop more cultural products (mean = 3.03). In addition, tourism provides an opportunity for Cambodia to express its national identity to the world (mean = 3.52). But cultural exchanges between host and guest do not rank so high (mean = 2.65) although they are above average (i.e. over mean = 2.5) (Table 4). The low level of host-guest interaction could lead to some misunderstanding and cultural alienation which possibly negatively impacts on the experiences of tourists and local residents' attitudes and behavior.

**Table 43: Perceived cultural benefits from tourism**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Promote local cultural preservation | 473 | 3.53 | 1.008 | .046 |
| Promote cultural development by the local people | 473 | 3.03 | .965 | .044 |
| Cultural exchanges between tourists and local residents | 473 | 2.65 | 1.146 | .053 |
| Positive impact of tourism on national identity | 473 | 3.52 | 1.021 | .047 |

The impact of tourism on local governance and development is not so high. The local people perceive that the income from tourism assists local governance and development to a small extent (mean = 2.64) although it is above average. This is perhaps due to the inefficiency of the whole governance structure in Cambodia. Tourism is believed to contribute partially to the improvement of local governance and development but with the condition that the existing system is performing well.

Tourism contributes to the improvement of general education for the local children (mean = 3.3); this is quite a positive perception deriving from the local people. After visiting the Angkor Park and learning about the poverty of the rural people living in the park, some international tourists donated money to help renovate and build schools for the local children. The promotion of Angkor Park to the world not only attracts tourists but also donors who want to help develop the park and the local community.

Regarding the physical infrastructure development in the park such as roads, the local people perceive that it has improved but at a very limited level. For the parks and places of entertainment, the mean = 2.36 and for the roads, the mean = 2.95 (Table 5). Witnessing the remarkable increase of tourist arrivals and income generated from this, local people expect to

see more local physical infrastructure development. This is good case of expectation influencing perceptions.

**Table 43: Tourism and local infrastructure development**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tourism income and local governance and development | 473 | 2.64 | 1.015 | .047 |
| Provide park and entertaining places | 473 | 2.36 | 1.051 | .048 |
| Improve road and public goods | 473 | 2.95 | .936 | .043 |
| Provide better education | 473 | 3.30 | 1.005 | .046 |

### 6.2.3. Perceived socio-economic costs

Local residents are facing high inflation partly because prices are being pushed up by tourist dollars. They complain that their livelihood is seriously impacted by high prices (m=4.58). Domestic migration is another issue in the region (m=3.41). Many people from different districts and provinces come to seek jobs and earnings in the region. This creates more problems for the local economy in terms of the lack of basic infrastructure especially water supply and its carrying capacity. In addition, the competition for jobs and businesses also increases the pressure on the local people by depressing wages.

Regarding the living cost, a hotel staff stated:

> The salary of the local staffs at the hotel is just enough to survive but not enough to have a good life. We just get only about $100 per month. With such rapidly increase of living cost, we find it more and more difficult to live with the current salary.[56]

The development gap between the inner city of Siem Reap and Angkor Park is becoming an issue of social justice. One farmer said, " There is development in the urban area but not in the suburbs or rural area. It is not fair." One housewife said "the government must provide rights and opportunities for the poor to enter school the same as the rich". A motor taxi driver mentioned "the poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming richer. What does the government think about this?"

[56] Author's interview with Hotel Staff, New Century Hotel, on January 9 2008

> We are still poor…our kids are still small so they could not get jobs to get money. We don't have knowledge to get jobs. I grow rice and vegetables then sell them to the market. Sometimes we don't have food to eat so I ask my kids to get some money from the tourists[57].
>
> Tourism is increasing very fast here in Siem Reap but I can't see many impacts on the local community development here. It is pity for us! We have a great potential for economic development through tourism. We have Angkor, the inheritance from our great ancestors, but we don't know how to use it properly. We could have reduced to a large extent the poverty here in this country through tourism. Tourism in Cambodia is facing corruption and mismanagement. If you go to the souvenir shops you will know who benefits from selling the handicrafts. Only the middlemen could make money, not the makers. In addition, half of the products are imported from neighboring countries. The people living around the Angkor Park in particular and Siem Reap province in general are still poor. They could not get much benefit from tourism but on the other hand they are the victims of tourism, given that they suffer from the rapid increase of living cost. In order to have a sustainable tourism, it requires a strong participation from the local people. Now we can't see it happening in Cambodia. The poor are becoming poorer while a small group of rich are becoming richer. The government never pays attention to improving the livelihood of the local people here. I feel that some NGOs play a more important role than the local government in local community development.[58]

People in Angkor Park are restricted from developing the region, as laid down in the Royal Degree on Establishing the Protected Cultural Zones in 1994. Such restrictions make it more difficult for local residents to maintain their livelihood.

> As you can see, in the souvenir shops they sell many things imported from other countries. I would like to see more Cambodian products made by Cambodian people. If the quality and art value of the products are similar between the local products and the imported products, then the tourists will buy the imported ones because it is cheaper. So we need to distinguish the local products with higher quality and artistic value. If possible, we should reduce the importation of foreign products in order to improve and promote the local products.[59]

Foreign companies get more of the tourist money than local small businesses. Briton (1996) rightly argues that tourism benefits mainly the multinational companies or foreign owners. A majority of the local people just benefit from a small part of the tourism industry though employment or small enterprises and businesses. The leakage of tourism income out of the local region is a big issue in tourism studies.

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[57] Author's interview with a villager in Angkor Park on 24 December 2007

[58] Author's interview with Professor Prum Tevi, Royal Academy of Cambodia and consultant on community development in Siem Reap on January 5 2008

[59] Author's interview with a craftsman living in Angkor Park on 23 December 2007

Competition in the industry, partly through the influx of outside capital, is pushing down prices so that the more marginal local providers are worst hit. As a local businesswoman complained:

> I think generally tourism is very good for us. The problem we have now is that Korean tour groups and companies don't provide benefits for us. They always travel, eat, massage, and drink at their Korean places, not Cambodian. The Korean travel agencies always bargain with us. When they want to hire a *Tuk Tuk* (the local version of the motor tricycle taxi) for the Korean tourists, they always ask for a cheap price. One day sometimes they give to the Tuk Tuk driver only $4 to $5 while they charge the tourists much higher than that.[60]

It is generally observed that the vertical linkages between hotels, tour operators and airlines can control opportunities for entry into the tourism sector. Such linkages often account for leakages in terms of the amount spent on importing goods and services to meet the needs of tourists. Such leakages occur when the local community is unable to provide a reliable, continuous and competitively priced product or service of a consistent quality to meet the demand.

Most of the products consumed by tourists are imported from other countries because the supply chain in Cambodia is not developed and trusted and some products are not available locally. Some local products, especially handicrafts, are more expensive than the imported ones but better in terms of quality and art. One shopkeeper said:

> I came here to sell souvenirs for about one year. I need to rent a shop here which costs $120 per month. The rent will increase but now we don't know. There are some products made in Cambodia and about half of them are imported from the neighboring countries (Thailand, Vietnam, and China). The imported products are cheaper than the local ones; that is why it is difficult for me to sell the local products. But the tourists don't know which products are made in Cambodia; they thought that all products are made here.[61]

Another shop keeper stated:

> Fifty percent of the products are imported because they are cheaper than the Cambodian ones. For example, this imported handbag costs only $7 while the domestic handbag costs $24. Of course, the quality of the handmade product in Cambodia is much better but for the tourists they just want to buy cheaper ones. They don't know much about the quality of the product. I want to sell Cambodian products, but the problem is the price. The tourists coming here prefer to buy something at cheap price. They bargain a lot.[62]

[60] Author's interview with a local businesswomen on December 26 2007

[61] Author's interview with a saleswomen at the Night Market on January 15, 2008

[62] Author's interview with a saleswomen at the Night Market on January 15, 2008

Regarding the environmental issues, the local people are more concerned with the air and noise pollution caused by tour buses (m=3.09). Local people used to live in peace and tranquility, but now they need to adjust and adapt to the noisy tourism industry.

Apart from high inflation, local residents think tourist spending on the local economy is generally good. Being asked to rate the negative impact of tourist spending on the local economy, the local people rated this lower than average, mean=2.16. It could be interpreted that the more tourist spending the better for the local economy but inflation needs to be controlled otherwise the livelihood of the local people is faced with more difficulty.

In respect to the negative impact of tourism on the local culture, local people raised some concern (m=2.55). Some of the negative cultural impacts from tourism are mainly demonstration effects such as sexy dressing and inappropriate expressions of human relationships, such as kissing and hugging, as well as speaking loudly and wearing caps in the sacred temples.

Tourism, argued by some local observers, could lead to the disintegration of the family structure. Increasing individualism and self interest oriented community can disturb the long established sense of community and extended family integration.

> Now our community is different from before. We are busy now doing business so we don't have time to socialize and communicate with each others. Another issue is the influence of the sexy international tourists on local culture. We are shy to see that.[63]

> In regard to the impacts of tourism on the local people, there are several concerns so far; the family structure has been destroyed day by day. Before there is a strong relationship within the family and the community but now it changes. There are some cases that the family members fighting with each others over land given the land price is going up very fast. Now the people here only think of dollars. Dollars are becoming the goal of their life[64].

According to the survey, it demonstrates that the increase in the price of the products and services, the increase of immigrants from other regions, and the increase in noise and environmental pollution are the main costs of tourism on the local people.

[63] Author's interview with a local resident in Siem Reap city on December 27 2007

[64] Author's interview with Prof. Rethy Chhem, Western Ontario University, on January 5 2008

**Table 44: Perceived socio-economic costs**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Increase in price of the products and services | 473 | 4.58 | .825 | .038 |
| Increase in Crime | 473 | 2.35 | 1.195 | .055 |
| Increase in traffic jam | 473 | 2.89 | 1.368 | .063 |
| Increase in noise and environmental pollution | 473 | 3.09 | 1.274 | .059 |
| Increase of immigrants from other regions | 473 | 3.41 | 1.258 | .058 |
| Negative impacts of the spending of tourists on the local livelihood | 473 | 2.16 | 1.185 | .054 |
| Negative impacts of tourism on the local culture | 473 | 2.55 | 1.198 | .055 |
| Difficulties in living in the tourist places | 473 | 2.41 | 1.299 | .060 |

### 6.2.4. Community requests

The lack of both physical and human infrastructure is the main cause of poverty in the region. Although tourism has developed dramatically, local people could not benefit from it as expected due to the lack of education and government support. The government and non-governmental organizations are called upon to assist local people to get jobs and incomes through training in tourism businesses and foreign languages. Capacity building for the local people is a must; otherwise they can not become skilled or semi-skilled labor in the tourism industry.

The local community ask for more schools (m=3.45), clean water (3.72), employment support (4.64), training (4.71), and support the sell their products to hotels and restaurants (m=4.15). This reflects on the lack of necessary support from the state and the private sector in helping the local people to gain more benefits from the tourism industry (see table 46).

**Table 45: Community requests**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School concern | 473 | 3.45 | 1.141 | .052 |
| Clean Water concern | 473 | 3.72 | 1.074 | .049 |
| The government should provide more job opportunities | 473 | 4.64 | .754 | .035 |
| Need more job opportunities | 473 | 4.64 | .702 | .032 |
| Need more trainings | 473 | 4.71 | .664 | .031 |
| Need more support in selling products to hotels and restaurants | 473 | 4.15 | 1.253 | .058 |

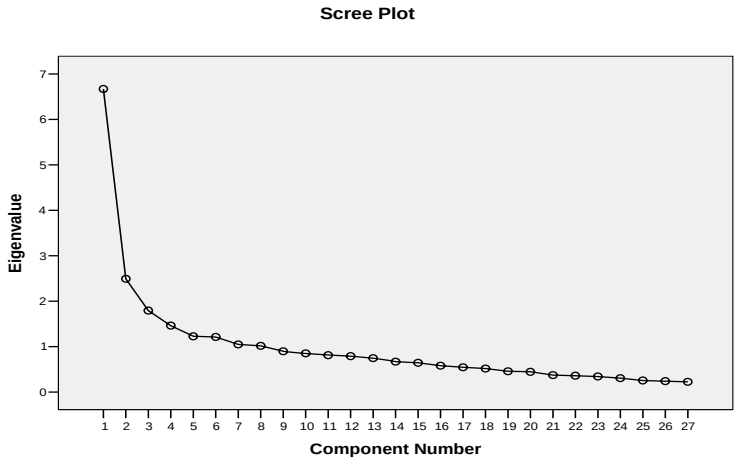
## 6.3. Factor analysis and component correlation

Factor analysis is used to identify a small number of factors that can be used to represent relationships among sets of interrelated variables and to understand correlations between or among the components or factors. In this study, it is necessary to understand these relationships in order to see how local perceptions on different topics are interrelated. KMO and Bartlett's tests show that the data set is suitable for factor analysis, with a value of .847 at the .0001 significance level of .000.

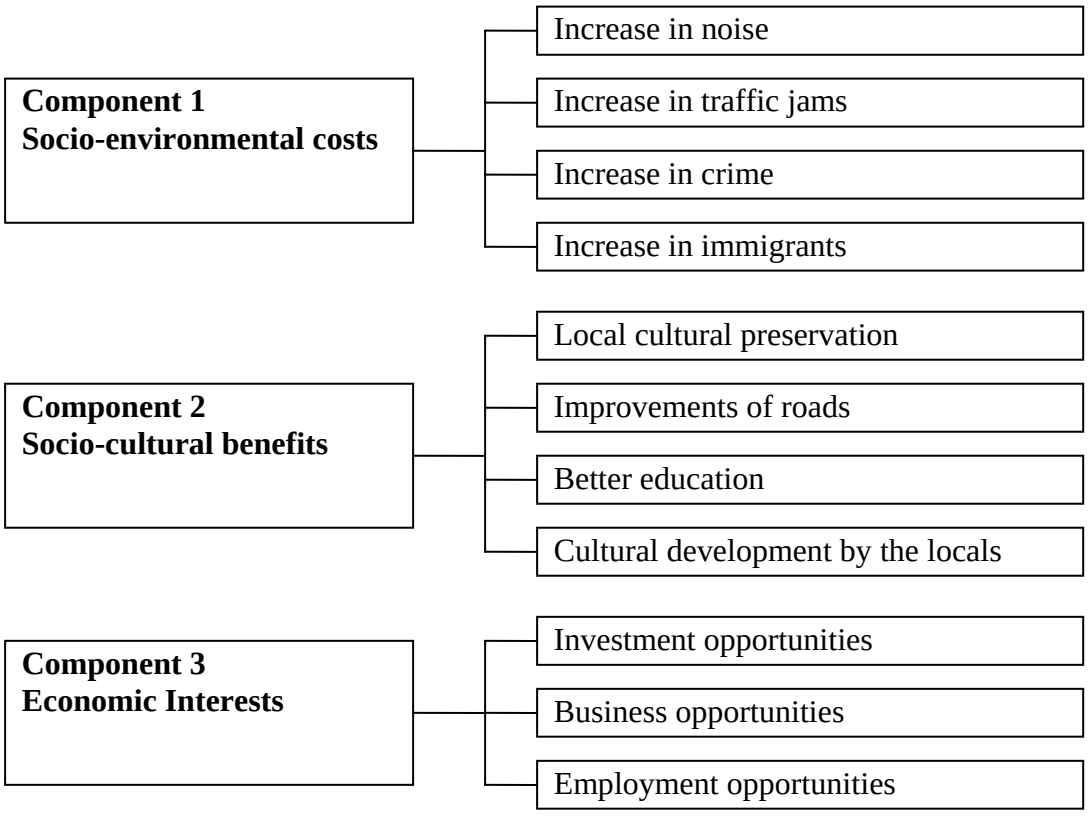
**Table 46: KMO and Bartlett's Test**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. | | .847 |
| Bartlett's Test of Sphericity | Approx. Chi-Square | 4409.743 |
| | Df | 351 |
| | Sig. | .000 |

**Figure 11: Scree Plot**




After running factor analysis using SPSS, seven main components or factors were identified, with Eigenvalues larger than 1.



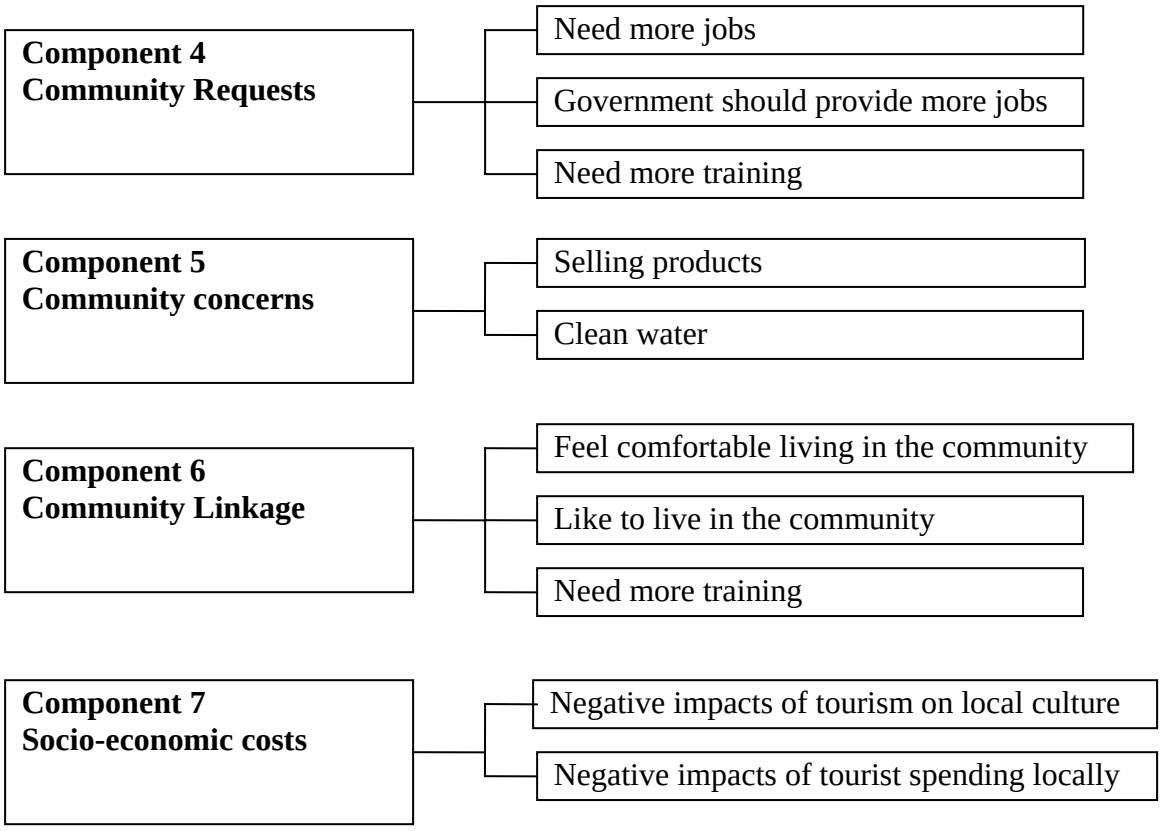

Component 4
Community Requests
Need more jobs
Government should provide more jobs
Need more training
Component 5
Community concerns
Selling products
Clean water
Component 6
Community Linkage
Feel comfortable living in the community
Like to live in the community
Need more training
Component 7
Socio-economic costs
Negative impacts of tourism on local culture
Negative impacts of tourist spending locally

**Table 47: Total Variance Explained**

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | | Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings(a) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total |
| 1 | 5.890 | 25.608 | 25.608 | 5.890 | 25.608 | 25.608 | 4.332 |
| 2 | 2.349 | 10.214 | 35.822 | 2.349 | 10.214 | 35.822 | 3.689 |
| 3 | 1.691 | 7.351 | 43.173 | 1.691 | 7.351 | 43.173 | 3.801 |
| 4 | 1.331 | 5.786 | 48.959 | 1.331 | 5.786 | 48.959 | 1.819 |
| 5 | 1.186 | 5.158 | 54.117 | 1.186 | 5.158 | 54.117 | 3.211 |
| 6 | 1.108 | 4.818 | 58.935 | 1.108 | 4.818 | 58.935 | 1.780 |
| 7 | 1.027 | 4.464 | 63.399 | 1.027 | 4.464 | 63.399 | 2.634 |
| 8 | .826 | 3.593 | 66.991 | | | | |
| 9 | .813 | 3.536 | 70.527 | | | | |
| 10 | .765 | 3.325 | 73.852 | | | | |
| 11 | .737 | 3.205 | 77.057 | | | | |
| 12 | .671 | 2.919 | 79.976 | | | | |
| 13 | .655 | 2.849 | 82.824 | | | | |
| 14 | .652 | 2.835 | 85.659 | | | | |
| 15 | .536 | 2.329 | 87.989 | | | | |
| 16 | .472 | 2.053 | 90.042 | | | | |
| 17 | .453 | 1.967 | 92.009 | | | | |
| 18 | .382 | 1.660 | 93.669 | | | | |
| 19 | .364 | 1.585 | 95.253 | | | | |
| 20 | .340 | 1.478 | 96.731 | | | | |
| 21 | .264 | 1.149 | 97.880 | | | | |
| 22 | .252 | 1.095 | 98.974 | | | | |
| 23 | .236 | 1.026 | 100.000 | | | | |

**Table 48: Pattern Matrix(a)**

| | Component | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Increase in noise and environmental pollution | .935 | | | | | | |
| Increase in traffic jam | .740 | | | | | | |
| Increase in Crime | .717 | | | | | | |
| Increase of immigrants from other regions | .669 | | | | | | |
| Promote local cultural preservation | | .686 | | | | | |
| Improve road and public goods | | .659 | | | | | |
| Provide better education | | .635 | | | | | |
| Promote cultural development by the local people | | .597 | | | | | |
| Investment opportunities | | | .881 | | | | |
| Business opportunities | | | .876 | | | | |
| Employment opportunities | | | .650 | | | | |
| Need more job opportunities | | | | .823 | | | |
| The government should provide more job opportunities | | | | .737 | | | |
| Need more trainings | | | | .529 | | | |
| Need more support in selling products to hotels and restaurants | | | | | .854 | | |
| School concern | | | | | .661 | | |
| Clean Water concern | | | | | .661 | | |
| Feel comfortable to live in the community | | | | | | .768 | |
| Like to live in the community | | | | | | .694 | |
| Negative impacts of tourism on the local culture | | | | | | | .845 |
| Negative impacts of the spending of tourists on the local livelihood | | | | | | | .833 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

**Component correlations**

The result (see table 49) indicates that component 1 (socio-environmental costs) has significant relationships with component 2 (socio-cultural benefits), component 3 (economic interests), and component 7 (socio-economic costs). It implies that when the socio-cultural benefits and economic interests go up, the socio-environmental costs also go up. When socio-environmental costs go up it means that socio-economic costs also go up.

Component 2 (socio-cultural benefits) has a significant relationship with component 3 (economic interests). This implies that when socio-cultural benefits go up, economic interests also benefit.

From this component correlation matrix, it can be seen that tourism involves complex interrelations between different aspects of society and the economy. The benefits and costs created by the tourism industry occur in parallel. When benefits increase costs also increase. It is therefore a huge challenge for tourism managers to balance costs and benefits in an appropriate way. In most cases, tourism developers try to increase the benefits from tourism without paying much attention to costs. In order to have sustainable tourism, costs need to be taken into consideration along with benefits.

**Table 49: Component Correlation Matrix**

| Component | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1.000 | .371 | .415 | .026 | -.453 | -.092 | .381 |
| 2 | .371 | 1.000 | .416 | .104 | -.364 | .067 | .166 |
| 3 | .415 | .416 | 1.000 | .050 | -.333 | .074 | .310 |
| 4 | .026 | .104 | .050 | 1.000 | .017 | .120 | -.170 |
| 5 | -.453 | -.364 | -.333 | .017 | 1.000 | .050 | -.281 |
| 6 | -.092 | .067 | .074 | .120 | .050 | 1.000 | -.137 |
| 7 | .381 | .166 | .310 | -.170 | -.281 | -.137 | 1.000 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

## Conclusion

Tourism plays an important in shaping the Cambodian political economy. Economic reform in Cambodia is strongly supported by the tourism industry. The local community does think that tourism brings jobs and incomes as well as cultural preservation and development. However, the real benefits generated from tourism industry are largely distributed among big foreign and local companies such as airline companies, hotels, and restaurants. Local people can only get a small share of it through small businesses (i.e. selling souvenirs), providing services (i.e. moto-taxis, tour guides), and employment at hotels and restaurants. Construction work is also another source of income for the local residents since hotels are mushrooming.

The benefits deriving from tourism are not effectively distributed among the local residents. The Angkor Park residents are being left behind by the boom in tourism. The unfairness and injustice of income distribution are leading towards social tension among the poor. It is imperative that government should promote pro-poor tourism. Innovation in local products and services is necessary for local participation in the sector, given that "tourism-led development should always conform to the long-term interests of the popular majority instead of the short-term goals of an elite minority" (Brotman, 1996: 48).

The benefits of tourism are relatively high so the costs are also high. The local community is responsible for paying the costs while they get much less benefit from tourism than some outside interests. It is thus necessary for the tourism developers and managers to think about balancing benefits and costs of tourism in a fair manner particularly with the consideration of the poor and underprivileged local people.

Education of the local people about the impact of tourism and empowerment of local people in tourism planning are necessary. It has been argued that "empowerment is the key determinant impelling the communities toward adaptive responses which have contributed to sustainability because of their ownership of and degree of control over the direction of change." (Sofield, 2003:335). Murphy (1985) emphasizes the need for local participation and control over the tourism development process.

# CHAPTER 7: EXPERT PERCEPTIONS

## Introduction

This chapter examines the perceptions of heritage tourism management raised by the expert group including representative from the public sector, private sector, and civil society. The analysis shows that the lack of local participation, environmental degradation, poor urban planning, and economic mismanagement are the top concerns among experts. The tug-of-war between conservationists and tourism promoters is seen to be the center of debate and negotiation between the two groups.

Cultural heritage has a broad role, contributing not only to a sense of national pride and prestige, but also economic development and trans-cultural education (Hassan, 1999: 393). Heritage and tourism have become collaborative industries. Heritage converts locations into destinations while tourism makes them economically viable as exhibits (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 151). The concept of heritage management has arisen in response to the special needs of such a heritage industry. Heritage attractions represent irreplaceable resources for the tourism industry, so conservation is a vital component of their management.

> Heritage sites need to have their own unique attributes emphasized and the interpretation and presentation of the attraction must be such as to accommodate the needs of the visitor while at the same time management has a responsibility to the community to preserve the site for posterity (Millar, 1989:9).

Heritage management is faced with several challenges including a lack of funding, the threat from modernization through the replacement of heritage buildings with new ones, a lack of resources and legal measures to protect the heritage sites, environmental pressures on heritage sites given their carrying capacity, and the lack of participation by both tourists and local residents in preserving the heritage site (Cossons, 1989: 192; Timothy, 2007: xi-xiii).

In order to cope with the lack of funding for the preservation of a heritage site, tourism development is considered as the best tool. But tourism development is a two edged sword. While it can stimulate socio-economic opportunities, it can quickly degrade the archeological sites, natural resources and the cultural fabric of the local community if the development process is unplanned and unregulated.

For Angkor Park, although maintenance and some restoration have taken place since the beginning of this century, in recent years it has been damaged by the erosive forces of nature and man. The monuments have been under threat from armed conflict, antiquities smuggling, monsoon rains, changes in the water table due to new uses of water in the hotel industry affecting the stability of the structures, and the impact of thousands of visitors climbing over the ruins.

This chapter describes the perceptions of the expert group in regard to Angkor heritage tourism management. The experts included in this study are representatives from the office of tourism planning and management in Siem Reap, the Authority for the Protection and Preservation of Angkor (APSARA), the private sector, non-governmental organizations, and

Cambodian researchers in the field of tourism, history, culture and archeology. The interviews focused on the issues of Angkor heritage tourism management. According to their opinions, five main issues were identified, namely power conflict, preservation and conservation of tangible and intangible heritage (temples and local people and culture in the Angkor Park), economic management, environmental management and urban planning, local participation and poverty, and stakeholder collaboration.

### 7.1. Power conflict: A challenge to Angkor heritage management

Power conflict among the ministries, institutions, and decision makers is quite common in Cambodia. This is one of the main challenges to manage the Angkor heritage tourism. Each ministry wants to have power in decision making over the others. People closer to the Prime Minister seem to have more authority and power although they may be lower in terms of official ranking. For tourism management, several ministries and authorities are working together such as the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, the APSARA authority which is under the Cabinet, the Tourism Police Department, and the local provincial government. In addition, many of Cambodia's senior leaders have some financial stakes in luxury hotels and the tourism industry in the form of joint ventures.

Concerning the authority of APSARA in regard to the management of the physical landscape in the protected zones, Tan Sombun mentioned that "we have measures but we find it hard to implement them given that we don't have a sole authority. Construction in the Angkor Park is prohibited, but still there are some cases occurring."[65] In addition, Long Kosal, a staff member of APSARA, stated that the Ministry of Tourism just focuses on tourism promotion without properly consulting with APSARA, which is concerned more with heritage conservation.[66]

The private sector which is mainly run by *Oknhas* ("lords") who have strong connections with senior politicians could have upper hand on resource management, even the entrance ticket to the Angkor heritage site and its site management are managed by the private company. Son Soubert cautiously observed that:

> Despite recommendation in the ZEMP (Zoning and Environment Master Plan) document devised by international experts and Cambodian officials in 1992, despite the International Coordinating Committee (ICC), presided by France and Japan[67], with UNESCO as Secretariat, the whole operation of the Angkor Cultural Management is done as a private company, not a state run organization responsible according to the law with that management, primarily entrusted to the Apsara

[65] Author's interview with Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry, on 17 January 2008.

[66] Author's interview with Long Kosal, Bureau Chief of Administration of APSARA Authority, on 12 February 2009.

[67] It should be noted that France and Japan are the main sponsors in managing Angkor world heritage site. Angkor preservation is part of the development policy for the reconstruction of Cambodia after three decades of civil war and armed conflict.

> Authority, which cannot manage the entrance fees, handled by a private company…[68]

Although there are strict rules about hotel construction management, it is still a main concern among the experts given it goes sometimes beyond the regulation and legal framework, and it damages the overall landscape of the heritage site. Kazuo Orii noted that "those rich businessmen always have political network with the government, normally high ranking government officials in the city, so they could build hotels freely here".[69]

Power conflict among the interest groups and the political economy of rent seeking is widespread in tourism industry development in Cambodia. Politicians want to maximize the use of Angkor to promote national identity as an international showcase. On the other hand, conservationists prefer to have sustainable heritage management rather than a political showcase. Such tensions and differences are one of the main challenges to have sustainable heritage tourism.

> There are many issues regarding Angkor heritage tourism management. Most of all the main issues are the lack of policies and implementation (sometimes we have policies but no implementation), power conflicts between and among ministries or departments concerned (there is no clear cut of authority, for instance the local government does not fully follow our instruction in respect of construction), the lack of infrastructures, the lack of stakeholders collaboration. The politicians view Angkor heritage tourism different from the APSARA authority. The politicians want something big and attractive without serious considerations on sustainable heritage tourism.[70]

The lack of cooperation and coordination between and among the relevant institutions and agencies are posing challenge to the sharing of information particularly in regard to the management of heritage tourism. Kazuo Orii observed that "Each ministry and department doesn't share much information. Information is viewed as a tool to get power. If you know more than the other then you have more power or authority over the other. In other words, you could get more chances to get more money."[71]

### 7.2. Carrying capacity issue

Carrying capacity has become a big concern for many tourist destinations as tourist arrivals increase. The Angkor heritage site is facing being overcrowded with tourists. They climb over the temples and touch them. Their sweat produces acid, which is damaging the

[68] Son, Soubert, Abstract, Rethinking the cultural resources management: The Cambodian case. Paper presented at conference on Rethinking Cultural Resource Management in Southeast Asia. Organised by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 25-27 July 2006

[69] Author's interviews with Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

[70] Author's interview with Long Kosal, Bureau Chief, Administrative Department, APSARA and Chau Sun Kerya, Director of Angkor Tourism Development Department, APSARA, on December 6, 2007.

[71] Author's interviews with Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

stones. Their service demand pushes speedy growth of the hotel industry which leads to uncontrolled landscape change and unsustainable use of underground water. In addition, over-crowding also damages the tourist experiences. The tourist congestion at particular temples is another challenge for heritage site management.

According to an APSARA survey of three temple sites namely Angkor Wat, Banteay Srei, and Ta Prohm, it shows that from 8am to 9am, 30 percent of the tourists visit Banteay Srei, from 10-11am, 20 percent visit Ta Prohm, and from 2-4pm, 30 per cent visit Angkor Wat. The authority is trying to divert reduce the tourists from these three famous temples in order to preserve them and provide a better tourist experience given it is generally argued that tourists don't like to see other tourists.[72]

Various comments on the carrying capacity issue are raised as follows:

> The Angkor area is one of the most interesting places I have been lucky enough to visit. I wish to see more signs explaining that the area is of extreme historical and cultural value and that visitors need to make minimal impact e.g. limit the amount of climbing you do. Unfortunately, if 10,000 people a day climb in, on and around the temples, it will damage the temple structure. Most tourists are aware of this and are respectful, but sadly not all.[73]
>
> Tourism in Siem Reap is faced with carrying capacity issue. How to evacuate tourists is the main concern now. We try to build a triangular heritage tourism trail (Preah Vihear-Angkor-Sambor Prey Kuk). Hopefully, such policy could help reduce the density of tourists at one particular place and it also makes tourists stay longer in Cambodia, which is good for local economic development. In order to have a sustainable tourism, we need to study about the temples and the people. In so doing, we could find some treatments.[74]
>
> We should limit the numbers of tourists visiting the same temples at the same time. It creates pressures for the buildings. We should not allow big buses entering the Angkor Park. We should also limit the number of cars in general in order to protect the environment here.[75]
>
> Mass tourism is an increasing threat of heritage tourism and management. Most of the tourists don't pay much attention to local values, people, and environment. They just come here to see the temples and leave. We need to redirect them to reduce the density in the temple complex. We need to encourage them to visit other places and stay longer.[76]

Based on these comments, it can conclude that mass tourism is damaging both the fragile heritage sites and downgrading the tourist experiences which are essential to sustain heritage tourism. In order to cope with this, tourist education by introducing signboards in

[72] Author's interview with Try Ros, Staff, Observatoir du Publique, APSARA Authority on 17 January 2008
[73] Author's interview with Damien Harvey, Australian tourist, through email on January 18, 2008
[74] Author's interview with Tin Tina, Deputy Director, Preah Norodom Sihanouk Angkor Museum, Siem Reap and Assistant to General Director of APSARA, H.E. Bun Narith on 14 January 2008
[75] Author's interview with Prom Karona, APSARA Staff on February 9, 2007
[76] Author's interview with Melissa Dacles, Operations Manager, Heritage Watch, on 18 February 2008

front of the temples explaining good behavior and diverting the density of tourists at one particular temple at one time are needed. The coordination the travel agencies can be another measure.

### 7.3. Over-commercialization

The Cambodian government is lacking the financial and human resources to preserve and manage heritage tourism in a sustainable way. Almost the whole budget for managing the temple complex is financed from sales of tickets and taxes paid by the hospitality industry. According the contract effective from September 1, 2000, between the government and a private sector company, Sokha Hotels, the first $3 million in receipts is to be divided, with 50 percent for the APSARA Authority and 50 per cent for Sokha Hotels, after the deduction of 10 percent VAT. Above $3 million, 70 percent goes to the APSARA Authority and 30 percent to Sokha Hotels, with provision for renegotiation after 200, 000 tickets have been sold. Out of this revenue, the APSARA Authority remits 5 percent to the Ministry of Culture and 10 percent to the Ministry of Tourism (Durand, 2001: 29).

> Tourism provides us some necessary fund for the operation of our conservation project. We need money to restore and preserve the temples. Some percentage from the amount of the ticket sold is given to APSARA authority.[77]

Financial interests in selling Angkor overweigh the concerns raised by conservationists. Politicians who get part of the benefits allow businessmen to overuse the heritage sites.

> Lack of fund and human resources and overuse of the site for business purpose are the main challenges in managing the heritage site. Regarding the Angkor Wat and Bayon temples management, there is a serious problem of over commercialization of the temple. The temple could not take rest during the night since it is illuminated by the high temperature light by the private company. Although the experts here suggest not doing so but still we could not stop it. There is a conflict between conservationist and the money makers. We could not manage the site without strong participation from the political leaders. Nowadays, the political leaders are similar to money makers so they stand on the side of the money makers not us as professional experts. One of the examples is Angkor National Museum is run by Thai company with the joint venture with the daughter of Prime Minister Hun Sen. Although there are arguments against the name “national museum” but still we could not do anything. The museum is established just to make money not really represent Cambodian culture and history to the world.[78]

Cultural products are invented by the private sector without proper consultation with experts in the field. Tourist dollars are the main motivation for cultural development which

[77] Author’s interview with Prom Karona, APSARA staff, on February 9, 2007
[78] Author’s interview with Tin Tina, Deputy Director, Preah Norodom Sihanouk Angkor Museum, Siem Reap and Assistant to General Director of APSARA, Bun Narith, on 14 January 2008

sometimes does not really represent the real or authentic Cambodian culture and arts. Im Sokrithy, a researcher from APSARA Authority gave a critical comment that:

> When I am crossing the so called artificial "cultural village" or the golf resort, I feel so upset and uncomfortable. They are not good for my eyes (*teous phneak*). They don't represent what we call cultural heritage tourism at all. They misguide the tourists.[79]

The overcommercialization of the heritage sites is posing a threat to sustainable heritage site management. Local experts are worried about this and would like see more goodwill from politicians in preserving the sites. Interest group and money politics need to be balanced with expert/professional policies.

### 7.4. Intangible heritage management

Intangible heritage has been studied by APSARA since 2000. "Living heritage" includes people, culture, and religion. For Cambodia, tourism is very new phenomenon, which is just now emerging. Cambodians came to visit Angkor temples as pilgrims and still most Cambodians do the same. They come here to pray and make a wish. Angkor Wat is at the center of the Khmer people's beliefs. The local people here bow and pray *(sampeas)* in the temples. They are still practicing this. They take off their hats whenever they cross the temples.

The population in Angkor Park increased from 83,816 in 1998 to 100,807 in 2003. This immigration is threatening the cultural identity of the Angkor site as typically "Khmer." There are some measures to deal with this but they are not so effective because of corruption. The local people are not allowed to sell their land to outsiders or anyone else, but some local residents still sell their land to get money. The money they get from selling land is used just for temporary living expenses, not long term investment. The local people are starting to loose their land and become poorer as a result. Their livelihood and culture are being destroyed.

> Now we are doing research on living heritage here focusing on the community context which includes village history and values. If you go around this area, you still can see our traditional ceremonies and customs from a long time ago. Such kind of ceremonies and celebrations are different from other regions in Cambodia. In terms of sustainable heritage tourism, I think we are on the way [but still] far from it. The main issue among all is the loss of local culture. Local culture must be preserved to attract not only tourists but also to develop the local community. Without culture there is no sustainable development. I am worried about the current dynamic development here in this region. We may not be able to see our culture in a short period of time if we don't have effective measures to preserve it. We need to have a

[79] Author's interview with Mr. Im Sokrithy, researcher, department of census study, APSARA Authority on 14 January 2008

> strong and responsible governmental institution and local participation in order to preserve the local culture.[80]

The movement of local people from their original places and with the replacement of outsiders from other districts and provinces can damage the living heritage of the site given the original local people bring with them cultural assets. APSARA authority actually has strict rules to encourage local people to stay and not allow them to sell their land. But in some cases due to the lack of efficient governance structure, some local people sell their land to outsiders and move to live in other places. Whether it is ethical to ask local people to stick to their original place is a question. APSARA needs to convince them about their cultural heritage and the economic value of staying in the Angkor Park. The income from the tourism industry must be fairly distributed to the local people living in the Park.

### 7.5. Economic management

Economic management is an integral part of tourism policy. Several important issues arising from the interviews with local experts are listed and discussed below. They include tourism product development, marketing, tourism infrastructure development, visitor amenities and services, business innovation, foreign companies, and imported products.

#### 7.5.1. Tourism products development

Heritage tourism products should include both tangible and intangible heritage plus nature. This means heritage tourism plus ecotourism.[81] In order to reduce carrying capacity and make tourists stay longer, local government and entrepreneurs are inventing new tourism products by linking heritage tourism to ecotourism.

> In order to improve the tourist experience here in Siem Reap, we need to find more tourism products particularly ecotourism products and local life tours. Just visiting temples is very boring. First day of seeing the temple, the tourists feel "wonderful". After the second day they feel "good" and after a third day they feel "ok". Their experiences are decreasing. Therefore, it is necessary to make them feel better through introducing to more tourism products. Angkor is the main asset. We need to create second, third assets such as Tonle Sap Lake, and cultural village in order to improve tourist experiences.[82]

> Development of tourism products is also important. Besides Angkor, we need to find other products to make the tourists more enjoyable and comfortable. Tonle Sap, golf courses, etc. are other places to refresh the tourists.[83]

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[80] Author's interview with Mr. Im Sokrithy, researcher, department of census study, APSARA Authority on 14 January 2008

[81] Author's interview with Tin Tina, Deputy Director, Preah Norodom Sihanouk Angkor Museum, Siem Reap and Assistant to General Director of APSARA, H.E. Bun Narith on 14 January 2008

[82] Author's interview with Sok Nov, Deputy Director, Business Development Department in Siem Reap, Council of Ministers, on 13 January 2008

[83] Author's interview with Chhouk Vannthon, Bureau Chief, Planning and Marketing Office, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap, on 10 January 2008

Several tourist destinations have been promoted in the vicinity of the Angkor complex, including Kompong Thlok fishing village, in Bakong district. The fishing and forestry communities there try to promote tourism in the area through providing tourist facilities and attractions. Besides fishing, they also grow various types of vegetables aimed at promoting agro-tourism. These two places could attract the tourists who travel by boat to visit the floating village in Tonle Sap Lake. The "One Village, One Product" policy has been implemented, but is slow in attracting tourists to see the unique products of each village.

To support tourism product development, the government needs to have an effective and strategic marketing strategy. Marketing can promote the popularity of the destination and also can damage the essence and values of the destination. McKercher and Du Cros have observed that "Many of the adverse impacts noted in cultural tourism are a direct result of the failure to adopt a marketing management perspective rather than because of it." (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 201). It is therefore necessary to identify potential tourists and their needs and wants, price their products, communicate their appeal to the products, and truly represent tourist products and services provided by the destination.

For the Cambodian case, tourism marketing has been carried out with some international media such as CNN. Angkor has been featured in some documentary programs on the History Channel and Discovery Channel. Moreover, the Hollywood movie "Tomb Raider" has strongly impacted the viewers' perceptions regarding Angkor. Mainly the image of Angkor is portrayed as ruins covered with forests. In general, the perceptions of tourists before coming to visit the Angkor heritage site are strongly influenced by these media.

### 7.5.2. Tourism infrastructure development

` Tourism infrastructure is relatively developed in Siem Reap province. There are projects such as the expansion of the Siem Reap international airport, and the road from Angkor to Banteay Srei is under renovation. Many roads within the city and connecting it with other provinces and districts are under construction, as is the electric grid from Thailand. The renovation of Siem Reap River and water system improvement are also underway, along with installation of more traffic lights, and the creation of more green parks to improve the appearance of the city.

> Linkages between Siem Reap town and Angkor Park should be strengthened in order to improve tourist experiences. Siem Reap is the first tourist arrival and hospitality provision for tourists. It is necessary to improve the accommodation facilities in the town. Luxurious hotel (five stars hotel) is still lacking in SR. There is a good collaboration between the private sector and the Authority. They listened to what we suggested given the hotel industry get huge benefits from Angkor tourism. The private sector wants to have a sustainable tourism as well for the sake of their interests/benefits.[84]

[84] Author's interview with Chau Sun Kerya, Director of Angkor Tourism Development Department, APSARA, on December 6, 2007

### 7.5.3. Visitor amenities and services

Amenities and services for tourists contribute to tourist experiences. It is necessary to have a visitor management strategy ranging from car parking, sign boards, quality of catering, the cleanliness of the toilets, etc. Without these good quality services it is difficult to develop a tourism industry (Parkin *et al.*, 1989: 109). For the case of Angkor, the local government is improving the public services in the region such as the construction of toilets, parking, public telephones, emergency medical service, trash collection, garbage removal and disposal.

> Each heritage site should have enough facilities for the tourists, including parking, information, toilet, souvenir shops, snack bars or restaurants, security and health services … We could not have sustainable heritage tourism if we lack these facilities. Now the APSARA authority is trying to improve the facilities.[85]

> Now we have tourism products but not good tourist services such hotel, restaurants, and transports. So we need to improve this. The government could not do this alone. It needs cooperation among the public-private-and civil society. Now we start standardizing the hotel. We have a team to monitor and evaluate the stars of the hotels. We have a checking list: Location, internal and external facilities, security and safety measures, Cambodian culture, consumption of local products, and charity.[86]

> We have cars for the tourists but we need to provide a good quality. There are associations for car, boat, and other services. These small associations are created to serve the interests of the members and we just provide license and monitor them.[87]

> Parking is a problem. The tour group uses big buses (about 40 person capacity). So we need to find a parking space for them so that they will not shake/vibrate the temples. Smoke produced by buses is another problem. Selling foods in front of the temples also creates some environmental issues. Now we ask them to move far from the temples.[88]

The capacity of hotels and guest houses in Siem Reap has increased from 424 rooms in 1994 to 7,695 rooms in 2007 while in the same period the numbers of international tourists increased from 40,000 to over one million.[89] There is a concern that such unbalanced growth could lead to low rates of return on investment in accommodation due to high competition.

> The increase of rooms surpasses the increase of tourist arrivals. Consequently, strong competition among the hotels is becoming more serious and some hotels will be bankrupt. The hotel association here is not good. It does not work well. They still

[85] Author's interview with Tin Tina, Deputy Director, Preah Norodom Sihanouk Angkor Museum, Siem Reap and Assistant to General Director of APSARA, H.E. Bun Narith on 14 January 2008

[86] Author's interview with Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau. Ministry of Tourism. Siem Reap Office, on January 10, 2008

[87] Author's interview with Chhouk Vannthon, Bureau Chief, Planning and Marketing Office, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap, on 10 January 2008

[88] Author's interview with Chhouk Vannthon, Bureau Chief, Planning and Marketing Office, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap, on 10 January 2008

[89] based on the reports of the Mission d'Etude Tourisme Angkor- Siem Reap (1994) and the tourism office in Siem Reap (2007)

> have cut throat competition. The tour guide association and travel agent association are better.[90]
>
> There are many issues and pressures for the hotel industry here in Siem Reap. Electricity and water cost are more expensive comparing with neighboring countries. We could not build high building here since it is not allowed according to the APSARA regulations. The salary for the staffs here is increasing while the income is still the same. The quality and safety of food in Siem Reap is still a big issue. Tourists coming to visit here don't want to have stomachache such as diarrhea. So we need to provide a good food for them.[91]

### 7.5.4. Business innovation

Entrepreneurship is one of the factors in sustainable tourism development since tourism products and services are required to deal with increased demand for new types of tourism needs (Lordkipanidze *et al*., 2005). Local entrepreneurs started to invent a business model to attract tourists. Mingling Western and Cambodian ways of management and catering is proving the reason for the success of the small businesses in the area. In the luxury hotels, foreign managers were recruited to manage the business, and the jobs given to local professionals are still very limited. However, knowledge transfer between international and local staff is happening, to judge from my interaction with and observation of the local staffs and middle managers.

> There are many tourists coming here to have lunch and dinner. Most of them come from the West. We serve foreign good in a foreign way of management. Our restaurant and guesthouse emphasize on cleanliness and quality services. It is successful here to run such kind of business.[92]
>
> Normally big hotel like this requires the international managers to manage the hotel because they have more experiences than the local staffs. Tourism in Cambodia is a new phenomenon; we just know it for the last 10 years only so in terms of managing tourism it is difficult for us. Foreigners they have much more experiences. In a foreign country, tourism industry has developed since a long time. Currently, for the management position, it is mainly occupied by foreigners. Hopefully, the foreign managers could share their knowledge and experiences with the local staffs so that in the future we can more Cambodian managers in the hotel industry. We try to integrate Khmer hospitality to our guests. Modern management plus Khmer culture and history is a kind of backbone for our integrated management strategy.[93]

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[90] Author's interview with Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau. Ministry of Tourism. Siem Reap Office, on 10 January 2008

[91] Author's interview with Mr. Mey Plekraksmey, Owner and manager, Angkor riverside Hotel (three stars hotel) , on 16 January 2008

[92] Author's interview with Front Desk Manager, Resmey Angkor Guesthouse and Restaurant, on 15 January 2008

[93] Author's interview with Assistant Front Desk Manager, Sokha Hotel, on 14 January 2008

The Night Market was created by a local entrepreneur to entertain tourists during the night time. Although it only started in 2007, the popularity of Night Market has been growing fast among tourists. Here are the comments from some shop keepers in the night market.

> There are about 800 tourists coming to this market every night (international about 80 percent). Most of the tourists come here to buy souvenir and enjoy their window shopping. They could see some Cambodian art and culture here as well. There are more than 100 shops here and the rent is about $100. We provide electricity and security for the market. The idea behind the construction of this night market is to make money from the tourism industry here and to promote Cambodian culture and income for the local people. The products of the local people here could be sold here so they could get income.[94]

> I came here to sell souvenirs for about one year. I need to rent a shop here which costs $120 per month. I could earn (net income) about $100 per month. But it depends on the season (low and high season). During the low season, sometimes we could not earn enough for the rent. But for us we don't have choice. We sell here during the night time (from 6pm to 12pm) and we work during the day time so we could earn for a living.[95]

Local travel agencies are growing in Siem Reap in response to the increase of tourist arrivals. There is strong price competition among the agencies. They usually have partnership with international travel agencies to sell tour package locally. Travel agents normally have special contract or agreement with hotels and restaurants to get special price treatment.

> Operating a travel agency in Cambodia is very competitive. Some could get profits but some don't. It depends on how we manage the company. For our company, we emphasize of the quality of services with reasonable price. We arrange the tour package for tour groups mainly from Europe. I have some contracts with the overseas travel agencies. We are selling the tour package here in Cambodia. In order to have a good price for the customers, we arrange a special contract with hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, and transportation companies. Normally we could get over 50 per cent discount over the real price. It means that if the normal price is $10 for the walking guest for instance, then we could get $5 for our clients. In average, we could earn over $40 per guest when we arrange the tour for them. So it is quite beneficial for us.[96]

Some hotels are targeting both tourists and business travelers in order to deal with the low season. Not all hotels are successful; some of them are going to bankrupt because of cut-throat competition and the lack of further financial investment.

> In the high season, the room occupancy rate is 80 per cent while in the low season the occupancy rate is about 40 per cent. Competition is a big challenge for us now but for this hotel I think it is performing well. We not only target international

[94] Author's interview with Nget Sreang, Staff, Night Market, Siem Reap, on 15 January 2008
[95] Author's interview with Phea, Shop Keeper, Night Market, Siem Reap, on 15 January 2008
[96] Author's interview with Ek Sokvanna, Manager, Intra Co., on 16 January 2008

tourists but also Cambodian business travelers who are coming here regularly so we are not very much impacted by seasonal changes of tourist arrivals.[97]

### 7.5.6. Foreign companies and imported products

International travel agencies are the main players in directing tour groups. More and more international travel agencies are operating in Siem Reap, or they subcontract domestic travel agencies to operate tour packages. Normally, tour groups are guided to use services run by people of the same nationalities.

**Table 50: Number of owners of travel agencies by nationality from 2001-2007**

| Nationalities | Owners | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
| Cambodian | 118 | 136 | 128 | 142 | 157 | 186 | 224 |
| South Korean | 7 | 7 | 11 | 15 | 28 | 33 | 40 |
| Japanese | 9 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Chinese | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 13 |
| Taiwanese | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Thai | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| French | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Singaporean | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Vietnamese | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Italian | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| USA | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| British | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Indonesian | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Australian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Netherlands | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 |

[97] Author's interview with Meng Hong, Front Desk Manager, Paris D'Angkor Hotel, on 16 January 2008

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sweden | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| German | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Canadian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sri Lankan | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Lao | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Malaysian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Myanmar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Russian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Indian | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 166 | 186 | 186 | 208 | 237 | 277 | 332 |

The lack of local quality and supply chain guarantees are the main concerns raised by the international hotels in explaining their policies to import products and food from other countries particularly from Thailand. The local people are not satisfied with this. They have requested the hotels to support and buy local products.

> The problem of tourism in this area is that most of the meats and drinks are imported from other countries. Almost seventy percent of beverages, meat, and fruits are imported from Thailand, Vietnam, and Australia.[98]

Local businessmen import mass-produced souvenir products with cheap prices from the neighboring countries, Thailand and Vietnam. The lack of knowledge on the part of the tourists in understanding the quality and originality of the crafts creates room for importers and shop keepers to earn money without paying attention to local products which are made by hands.

> As you can see, at the souvenir shops they sell many things imported from other countries. I would like to see more Cambodian products made by Cambodian people. If the quality and art value of the products are similar between the local products and the imported products then the tourists will buy the imported ones because it is cheaper. So we need to distinguish the local products with higher quality and art value. If possible, we should reduce the importation of foreign products in order to improve and promote the local products.[99]

[98] Author's interview with Sok Rotha, Hotel Staff in charge of restaurant management, New Century Hotel, on 09 January 2008

[99] Author's interview with In Yuth, craftsman in Ototing village, Siem Reap, on 19 December 2007

### 7.6. Environmental management

> The protection, enhancement and improvement of the various components of man's environment are amongst the fundamental considerations for the harmonious development of tourism. Similarly, rational management of tourism may contribute to a large extent to protecting and developing the physical environment and cultural heritage as well as improving the quality of life.[100]
>
> Environmental preservation is one of the core issues for sustainable tourism. Natural cultural tourism should be promoted. It means that culture and nature could not be separated.[101]

Environmental issues have become a concern in Angkor Heritage Site and Siem Reap provincial city due to the increase in tourists and domestic immigrants. Most of the hotels are using ground water, which could lead to undermining the foundations of the temples. Sewage produced from the hotels and restaurants is polluting the river. Waste disposal problems include littering and improper disposal of waste generated by tourist facilities. Air pollution results from the excessive use of internal combustion vehicles in Angkor heritage site. Noise pollution is generated by a concentration of tourists and tourist vehicles. Visual pollution results from several factors: poorly designed hotels and other tourist facilities; badly planned layouts and inadequate landscaping of facilities; use of large and ugly advertising signs; and obstruction of scenic views by tourism development. Ecological disruption of natural areas and damage to archeological and historic sites is caused by overuse and misuse by tourists and inappropriate tourism development. Environmental hazards and land use problems result from poor planning, construction and engineering of tourist attractions and facilities.

The following comments were raised by local experts explaining the environmental impacts of Angkor heritage tourism.

> Almost all the hotels use underground water for their operation. There is no reliable record and control over how much water they consume every day. Such practices adversely impact on the sustainable use of groundwater and it may impact the sustainable tourism here since the changing of the underground water flow could impact on the Angkor temples.[102]
>
> Mass tourism is putting pressure on environment. The tour group comes in large number and in a short time. They consume more than the backpackers. They spend less (about $100-200 each) than the backpackers. The backpacker stays longer and spend more than [double compared with] the tour group.[103]

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[100] The Joint Decleration of the World Tourism Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme (1982)

[101] Author's interview with Long Kosal, Bureau Chief, Administrative Department, APSARA and Chau Sun Kerya, Director of Angkor Tourism Development Department, APSARA, on December 6, 2007

[102] Author's interviews with 17, Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

[103] Author's interview with Chhouk Vannthon, Bureau Chief, Planning and Marketing Office, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap, on 10 January 2008

> Environment surrounding the monuments are the problem, especially pollution in Siem Reap River that is water quality of the river [is] also declining; Boeung Tonle Sap is the same issue. So, the environment plays important role to lead the political to tackle such issues. (Mok Mareth, Minister of Environment of Cambodia)[104]
>
> APSARA authority was created in 1995. From 1995 to 2000, it did not do much to preserve the environment given the lack of resources, and conservation of the temples is now the priority. It has had good results in terms of temple conservation and preservation but it still has a problem in relation to the environment. We started to really focus on the environment in 2003. We followed the ISO 14001. We needed principles and mechanism to achieve the goal. We asked the support from Japan. Several Japanese agencies came to help us. Other non-governmental organizations also come here to improve the environment.[105]
>
> In regard to garbage management, we have some good results but there are still some issues. We have a subcontract with a private company in managing the garbage in the Angkor Park. Sorting out garbage is not yet implemented in the region. Solid waste from the hotels and restaurants will be a problem in the future. We don't have measures to control of the use of the underground water. No water treatment facilities in the hotels. But in the future, it may have. For instance before constructing a hotel one requires to have water treatment facilities…There is a serious urban planning and environmental issue here in Siem Reap. There are not enough basic infrastructures such as sewage system, water supply, and sold waste management. There is no effective control system of the environment now in the city[106].
>
> Many hotels don't follow the energy and water saving policies. As you know water is the main issue now in Siem Reap. Almost all hotels are using underground water which is not really sustainable. It can destroy the balance of underground water.[107]
>
> In regard to sustainable heritage tourism…there are serious environmental issues. There are not enough infrastructures to support the tourism industry here. The underground water and solid waste are the top concerns need to be seriously taken into account.[108]

To cope with these environmental issues, local and national authorities have introduced some environmental policies. APSARA authority issued an environmental policy in February 2004[109], following the ISO 14001 Environmental Management System, including

[104] Mok Mareth, Keynote address, In Ishizawa Yoshiaki and Tabata Yukitsugu (Eds) (2006). Culutural heritage natural environment and tourism: New Perspectives on Angkor and Cambodian studies. P.3

[105] Author's interview with Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry, on 17 January 2008

[106] Author's interview with Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry, on 17 January 2008

[107] Author's interview with Sok Nov, Deputy Director, Business Development Department, Council Ministers, on 13 January 2008

[108] Author's interviews with 17, Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

[109] Environmental policy came late due to the fact that APSARA focused more on physical heritage sites conservation than other issues.

measures to make the Angkor Historic site a pleasant and enjoyable place to visit and enhance the living standards of the local residents. Other aims are to keep the whole area of Angkor clean by operating a garbage-separation system; protecting the quality of air and water; preserving environmental and cultural resources for the next generations; promoting the image of Angkor and the APSARA Authority with the implementation of a continually improved environmental management system; respecting environmental laws and regulations; and providing good communication, both internally and externally.

In addition, the APSARA authority introduced a public awareness project to educate local people about the values of the environment, especially the forests in Angkor Park. Cutting down trees is one of the most serious issues in the Park. Tan Sombun, deputy director of APSARA explained that:

> We educate the local people to find other sources of income besides cutting down trees or making their livelihood on forests. It needs time to do this. We could not ban the local people from cutting down the trees because they still rely on the forests for their livelihood…[110]

### 7.7. Urban planning

Chap Nhalyvoud, the then governor of Siem Reap province, said Siem Reap's rapid growth was putting pressure on security, electricity, water, roads and wastewater treatment.[111]Urbanization in Siem Reap is quite fast because of the booming tourism industry, but the response to such urban development is far from sufficient. Now the construction of new hotels and houses is not controlled properly. The local government cannot deal with the issues effectively, given that most of the decisions come from above (higher authority). Such unsustainable urban management and planning is threatening the tourism industry and local development as a whole.

> They should provide more power to the local government and people in managing their city. For the future of this city, it must be controlled and managed by local government and people. The salary of the staffs here is very low. Many talented staffs have moved from the public sector to the private one. This is not good for public governance in general. So they should consider human resources more in order to improve the local governance and development.[112]

> The main issues of developing a sustainable tourism here is the uncontrollable constructions. The ministry of tourism does not have absolute authority to impose on construction. The ministry of land use and planning is the one decides the location of

[110] Author's interview with Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry, on 17 January 2008
[111] Quoted in the Phnom Penh Post, Issue 13/14, July 2 - 15, 2004

[112] Author's interviews with 17, Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

the construction. Such improper construction damages the view of the city and the environment.[113]

### 7.8. Local participation

Local participation in tourism is very important. Without the local people, it is difficult to manage the site. The local people must understand the value of the heritage sites as they are the main protectors of the sites. But since poverty is still a big issue for them, they don't think much about preservation of the temples or the beauty of the surrounding. The locals here cannot get a high income jobs given their low level of education. The tourism industry requires language skills, but they don't have them, so they still continue cultivating their land, which is not enough for them to make a living.[114] Local poverty plus the lack of pro-poor tourism development is the top concern among the local experts. Their comments are expressed as follows:

> Poverty is the most important issue here. The local people do not get much benefit from the dramatic growth of tourism industry in Angkor. The lack of education and trainings are the main root causes of the lack of opportunities to get jobs in hotels or restaurants.[115]

> In regard to the impacts of tourism on the local people, there are several concerns so far; the family structure has been destroyed day by day. Before there is a strong relationship within the family and the community but now it changes. There are some cases that the family members are fighting with each others over land given the land price is going up very fast. Now the people here only think of Dollars. Dollars is becoming the goal of their life.

> Tourism is one of the forms of capitalism which makes people become money-oriented engine. I want to see how people live here before the tourist arrivals. I want to see the real Cambodian society not a disoriented capitalist society as now. People here are more concerned with money than culture. Well, we could not over-generalize such social change but it is a tendency

> The government is so corrupt (the central and local government). The businessmen always bribe the powerful politicians to have chances to do business here. True businessmen find it hard to run their business here.[116]

> Corruption is very serious in Cambodia. If I want to run my own business, I need to pay under the table money. Although it is not mentioned in the law, it has become a custom now, part of our life. Because of corruption, there is no social justice. The poor become poorer while the rich become richer. Most of the tourists coming to visit here don't know this. They just stay in a nice hotel, eat at good restaurants, and

[113] Author's interview with Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau. Ministry of Tourism. Siem Reap Office, on 10 January 2008

[114] Author's interview with Tin Tina, Deputy Director, Preah Norodom Sihanouk Angkor Museum, Siem Reap and Assistant to General Director of APSARA, H.E. Bun Narith on 14 January 2008

[115] Author's interview with Melissa Dacles, Operations Manager, Heritage Watch, on 18 February 2008

[116] Author's interview with Professor Rethy Chhem, Cambodian Expatriate, Western Ontario University, on 05 January 2008

wonder the temples. They have no idea of what is happening in this region. They think that Cambodia is progressing. Nice places to stay and eat. But, if they go further to the villages in the Angkor Park, they will see serious poverty there.[117]

There are many issues in tourism management in Siem Reap, but I just mention some important elements: poverty is the main issue in implementing the policies. People are poor and illiterate, how could we make them to understand the policies let alone principles of sustainable tourism. People are not aware of what is a sustainable tourism, what is a sustainable development. We need time to educate them before asking them to participate in decision makings. Another issue is infrastructure. The government is so poor so we could not build streets, roads and other tourism facilities without the financial assistance from the donor countries and communities. We still need to build many roads to meet the demand of the increasing tourists. We need to have clean water and electricity. Now we import electricity from Thailand. It is cheaper than the domestic one.[118]

### 7.9. Stakeholders' collaboration

Stakeholders' collaboration is necessary for tourism planning and development and especially in sustaining the tourism industry. Cambodia is faced with a lack of public-public, public-private, private-private, private-civil society, and public-civil society partnership and collaboration. Many concerns were raised by stakeholders during interviews as follows:

We need to combine tourism products and services. Now we have tourism products but not good tourist services such as hotel, restaurants, and transports. So we need to improve this. The government could not do this alone. It needs cooperation among the public-private-and civil society. We have short term trainings for tourism services and we also have some suggestions for the business sectors in improving their service quality. We have a good partnership with the private sector. Now we start standardizing the hotel. We have a team to monitor and evaluate the star standard of the hotels. We have a checking list: Location, internal and external facilities, security and safety measures, Cambodian culture, consumption of local products, and charity.[119]

There are many issues that the private sector is confronting. We don't have a good cooperation or coordination between each others, between the private and the public sector. Normally, we have a good partnership with the foreign tour agencies. So we, the local agents, receive the clients sent by the overseas partners. We could earn quite good money from this.[120]

Regarding tourism planning, we follow the advices from the Ministry of Tourism then we cooperate with concerned institutions (which are above us) namely the

[117] Author's interview with Thong Bunlay, tour guide, Trails of Indochina, on 17 February 2008

[118] Author's interview with Sieng Nam, congressman from Siem Reap province, on 09 December 2007

[119] Author's interview with Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau. Ministry of Tourism. Siem Reap Office, on 10 January 2008

[120] Author's interview with Sok Sreng, General Manager, RTR Tours, Branch Office in Siem Reap, on 18 February 2008

provincial government, the APSARA authority, cultural department, agricultural department, health department, education section, police department. We could not say that we alone develop the tourism industry. It requires cooperation among the main concerned institutions as mentioned above.

We, tourism sector, do some parts. It needs infrastructure development such as tourism services and products. Tourism does not stand alone. It is just part of the main structure. The tourism office here just does one part of the main structure. We try to promote the tourism industry here through learning from our past experiences and the experiences gained from other countries.[121]

In regard to the private-public partnership, there are still many challenges. Currently, we don't have a good relationship between the public and the private sector. It seems to me that the private sector does not have any trust in the public sector. The public sector seems do nothing to promote good business environment. They are sometimes viewed as a constraint to business development.[122]

Tourism has increased very fast in Siem Reap. But it faces several issues. There is a weak cooperation between the hotel, restaurant industries and the public sector. This is one of the main challenges in developing tourism industry here in Cambodia. There are several conferences on public-private partnership but it seems that there is a conflict- hotel industries just focus on their business. They promote their businesses by themselves without the assistance from the government. Many hotels don't follow the energy and water saving policies. As you know water is the main issue now in Siem Reap. Almost all hotels are using underground water which is not really sustainable. It can destroy the balance of underground water. Some hotels they establish casinos which are contradictory to what we try to promote cultural tourism in Siem Reap not gambling tourism.[123]

In terms of marketing, the government and the private sector both support and promote overseas marketing. Sometimes the government invites us to participate in such events as exhibition and marketing.[124]

The Hotel Association here is not good. It does not work well. I applied for the membership there but they don't care. Another issue is the pollution. If you can see here in front of my hotel, the river is polluted. Who wants to stay in such a polluted place? The hotel industries here are exploited by the travel and tour companies. They come here to ask for a discount (from 40 to 60 percent of real price). How could we afford to do that but if we don't make contract with them then we could not receive many guests. So we have no choice but to share with them our profits.

[121] Author's interview with Chhouk Vannthon, Bureau Chief, Planning and Marketing Office, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap, on 10 January 2008

[122] Author's interview with Siv Vuthy, First vice president, Siem Reap Campus, Build Bright University on January 1, 2008

[123] Author's interview with Sok Nov, Deputy Director, Business Development Department, Council Ministers, on 13 January 2008

[124] Author's interview with Assistant Front Desk Manager, Sokha Hotel, on 14 January 2008

We are losing money now. We could not make enough profit to sustain our business. We try to save water and electricity to reduce our expenditure.[125]

## 7.10. Stakeholders' perspective on sustainable tourism

Different views on sustainable heritage tourism management are raised by different stakeholders. Different interest groups have different approaches in looking at the issue. The combination and balancing of these different views present a comprehensive approach towards sustainable heritage tourism.

*Damien Harvey, Tourist from Australia*

Probably the most effective way to promote sustainable heritage tourism is to allow tourists more opportunity to understand the place and understand the need to maintain and preserve it as much as possible. An information booth at the place where tickets are bought might be a possible starting point. Visitors could be strongly encouraged to visit after purchasing a ticket and then watch a 1 or 2 minute presentation on the Angkor complex. This presentation would suggest a few do's and don'ts. This would educate some visitors and remind others about appropriate and respectful behavior when they arrive at the Angkor complex.[126]

*Sok Nov, Deputy Director, Business Development Department in Siem Reap, Council of Ministers*

We need to do many things in order to have a sustainable tourism. Most important of all is to find ways to increase the tourist experiences and good management of the temples and the hospitality industry.[127]

*Ek Sokvanna, Manager, Intra Co.*

In order to have sustainable heritage tourism, I think that we should promote more cooperation among the tour companies. We should not compete so much. We should cooperate and make profits together.[128]

*Siv Vuthy, First vice president, Siem Reap Campus, Build Bright University*

Tourism is the main engine of economic growth in Cambodia. But there are some issues regarding how to manage it in a sustainable way. From my point of view, there should have a strong cooperation between the government, private sector, and the universities. The university is one of the main sectors in promoting sustainable tourism through improving the human resources in the tourism industry. How to have

[125] Author's interview with Mr. Mey Plekraksmey, Owner and manager, Angkor riverside Hotel (three stars hotel) , on 16 January 2008
[126] Author's interview with Damien Harvey through email on January 18, 2008
[127] Author's interview with Sok Nov, Deputy Director, Business Development Department in Siem Reap, Council of Ministers, on 13 January 2008
[128] Author's interview with Ek Sokvanna, Manager, Intra Co., on 16 January 2008

a good service for the tourists is very important for tourism managers and entrepreneurs.[129]

*Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau, Ministry of Tourism, Siem Reap Office*

In order to have sustainable heritage tourism we need to have heritage products. Now we have Angkor Wat. But we need to find more tourism products such as local cultural products. We are trying to promote such kind of products now. Heritage products can also include nature. We have Tonle Sap and other natural tourist destinations which could prolong the stay of the tourists. Furthermore, we need to build an infrastructure to connect these products. Finally, we need to have a strong coordination and cooperation among all stakeholders i.e. public, private, and civil society.[130]

*Mey Plekraksmey, Owner and manager, Angkor riverside Hotel*

In order to have a sustainable tourism, we should have good tourism facilities such as good restaurants, hotels, shopping malls, and especially we should promote festivals here in the region to attract more tourists. Another big issue is "corruption". I am 150% sure that corruption is discouraging the private sector from development in this country. We need to solve this issue in order to have a sustainable development.[131]

*Ven Sophorn, Archeologist, ASI and APSARA Partnership Office*

1-We have to improve the local education to valuate their own culture by let them understanding, implant their love on the intangible and tangible heritage's outstanding. 2-Create an efficient master plan for controlling the number of the tourist flow in the pilgrimage site of Angkor, to make the safety, facilities for tourist traffic entering to the monumental group in the Angkor park, in order to reduce the direct and indirect destruction to the temple and so on. 3-Well communicate with the local and international authority which associated to that field, before allowing them come to work as restoration, research or conservation, let them show the right methodological science applying to the temple, without gaining the site as they own profit, lab or their training school. 4- Progress the local micro business through this tourist management plan in the future, my idea is keeping the balance between the social development and the tourist flow.[132]

*Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry*

[129] Author's interview with Mr. Siv Vuthy, First vice president, Siem Reap Campus, Build Bright University, on 10 January 2008
[130] Author's interview with Thim Sereyvudh, Chief of Tourism Industry and Planning Bureau. Ministry of Tourism. Siem Reap Office, on 10 January 2008
[131] Author's interview with Mr. Mey Plekraksmey, Owner and manager, Angkor riverside Hotel (three stars hotel) , on 16 January 2008
[132] Author's interview with Ven Sophorn, Archeologist, ASI and APSARA Partnership Office, on 29 February 2008

> Talking about sustainable development, we need to take into consideration three dimensions: economy, sociology, and environment. These three factors must go hand in hand.[133]
>
> *Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning*
>
> In regard to sustainable heritage tourism…there are serious environmental issues. There are not enough infrastructures to support the tourism industry here. The underground water and solid waste are the top concerns need to be seriously taken into account.[134]
>
> *Chau Sun Kerya, Director of Angkor Tourism Development Department, APSARA*
>
> Environmental preservation is one of the core issues for sustainable tourism. Natural cultural tourism should be promoted. It means that culture and nature could not be separated.[135]

## Conclusion

The chapter has discussed perceptions from the local expert groups on heritage tourism management issues in Angkor Park, Siem Reap, Cambodia. Several kinds of issues were raised, namely heritage site management, economic management, environmental management, urban planning, and local participation. The lack of local participation from the tourism industry in Siem Reap is the top concern among the experts, followed by environmental degradation, especially water pollution in Siem Reap River and the overuse of underground water which could destabilize the water table.

Safeguarding the site cannot be reduced to consolidation, restoration, and presentation. "Safeguarding involves, first and foremost, giving meaning, seeking to share the value and considering as one's own all that humanity has received from the long cycle of centuries" (Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO). It is therefore necessary to understand and preserve the values and identities of the living heritage and the meanings of the historic buildings.

Differences between conservationists and tourism promoters are prevalent in Siem Reap, Angkor. On one hand the conservationists who are mostly archeologists and heritage sites managers are concerned about the over-commercialization of the temples. On the other hand, the tourism promoters continue to push forward tourism product development, and do not take much account of sustainable heritage tourism, especially the preservation of heritage sites and local culture.

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[133] Author's interview with Tan Sombun, Deputy Director of the ASPARA Authority in charge of the department of human ecology and development and department of water and forestry, on 17 January 2008

[134] Author's interviews with 17, Kazuo Orii, JICA Volunteer, Expert in Environment and Urban Planning. Public official from Yamanashi Prefecture Japan, On January, 2008

[135] Author's interview with Long Kosal, Bureau Chief, Administrative Department, APSARA and Chau Sun Kerya, Director of Angkor Tourism Development Department, APSARA, on December 6, 2007

# CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Angkor temples built at the peak of Khmer Empire from 9th to 13th century are the symbol of Cambodian identity and national pride. Angkor was invaded by Siam in 1431, which forced Khmer Kings to abandon Angkor and move the capital to Longvek, Oudong, and Phnom Penh to the southeast. Angkor was returned to Cambodia under the French Protectorate in 1907 under the Franco-Siam Agreement. Angkor was designated as a Park in 1925 and managed by the French until 1972. From the early 1970s to the early 1990s, Angkor Park was used as a battle zones and military base. Only from 1992, after Angkor became a world heritage site, could preservation and conservation efforts take place again. In 1993, the international community established the International Coordinating Committee for the safeguarding and development of the historic site of Angkor (ICC) with France and Japan as Co-chairs and UNESCO as secretariat. In 1995, the APSARA authority was created in response to the urgent need of heritage site management.

As Angkor has been preserved and managed by the international community and protected from damage from war and antiques smuggling, tourism is creating new pressures for the international and local stakeholders. Angkor has become a point of conflict between competing tourism policies. On the one hand, seeking to continue protection of the sites, the international community and the conservationist group expect Cambodia to adopt policies promoting high quality and sustainable tourism. On the other hand, domestic pressures from tourism developers and local community push the government towards policies to encourage mass tourism.

The government establishes policies to protect the world heritage site in accordance with the standards required by the World Heritage Convention. But economic interests from tourism are posing challenges and pressures to heritage sites preservation efforts. The government, especially the Ministry of Tourism, prefers to promote mass tourism to visit the country through the promotion of the Angkor World Heritage Site under the motto "Cambodia, the Kingdom of Wonder." However, the internaitonal and national conservationist team prefer to develop quality tourism.

With the lack of fundings to support the preservation efforts of the sites and under the polical pressure, the local conservationists need to or even being forced to compromise to allow mass tourism to Angkor but with more sophisticated management measures in to order to preserve the heritage sites and local cultures while at the same time trying to provide good quality tourist experiences.

Tourism accounts for more than 10% of Cambodia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and has clearly stood out in the past decade for its tremendous contribution to growth. Tourism has been the main contributor to growth in the services sector, which has provided the largest sectoral share of GDP. The public and private sectors play an important role in tourism development. For the Cambodian state, tourism development provides not only economic development and poverty reduction but also a national identity and a political showcase.

Recognizing the importance of tourism in socio-economic development and national identity promotion, the Cambodian government attaches great importance to tourism development in the country. Based on the speeches of the Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen, some important government policies regarding tourism development can be discerned as follows: security and safety for tourists have to be provided; infrastructures and facilities need to be developed to meet the increasing tourist demand; collaboration among the stakeholders has to be encouraged and promoted; cultural heritage preservation needs to be strengthened; environmental issues require special attention; human resources development, promotion and creation of new tourism products must be improved; and regional cooperation in Southeast and East Asia in tourism development is necessary.

Angkor Park, emerged as a tourist space, is the most popular tourist destination in Cambodia. Almost all international tourists coming to Cambodia are drawn by the Angkor World Heritage Site. Cultural heritage tourism in Angkor has been increasing rapidly since the late 1990s after the total peace realized in Cambodia in 1998. There are about 1 million foreign tourists who come to visit Angkor annually and this number is expected to increase at 30 percent annually. Such mass tourism creates a lot of opportunities and challenges for the preservation of Angkor. Moreover, tourism has a considerable impact on the local culture and on socio-economic development.

Part of the income from selling entrance tickets to Angkor Park is used to preserve the temples and provide tourism facilities and security in the park. Tourism also generates income for the local people through working with the APSARA authority as temple guards, selling souvenirs, food, and drinks in front of the temples, working in the construction companies to build roads, bridges, hotels, guesthouses, and restaurants, and providing various services in the tourism industry. Local cultures have been revitalized to meet the demands of tourists. Handicrafts made from silk, *Kroma* (Cambodian scarf), small statues of Apsara and Angkor made from wood and stone, and other art crafts have been developed and increasingly produced locally.

Besides the positive impacts of tourism, there are also negative aspects of tourism for the local economy, environment, and culture. The gap between rich and poor is widening due to the absence of an effective or workable pro-poor tourism development. In addition, the local culture and customs have partially changed direction, from serving and entertaining the local people to serving tourists, which could lead to the loss of authenticity.[136] The local environment is being damaged without proper intervention and management from the key stakeholders inclusing the decision makers. Sex tourism, particularly child sex tourism, is becoming a more serious problem in tourist destinations in Cambodia, which is leading to the spread of HIV/AIDS, violations of child rights, and damage to the image of Cambodia which is trying to promote cultural tourism and ecotourism not sex tourism.

As a tourism phenomenon taking place in Cambodia, Angkor provides an additional complexity for the tourism industry in the Southeast Asian region. It provides an example of the different roles played by different actors such as the role of the state in tourism development and management, the role of the private companies in providing tourism

[136] The authentic Khmer culture has been reconstructed under the French colonial period

services, the role of local people in providing cultural experiences for tourists, the role of tourists in the demand for services and experiences, and the role played by local heritage site managers and international experts in conserving the heritage sites in the context of increasing mass tourism. All these roles are both complementary and conflicting with each other. The reconciliation and balancing of these roles based on common interests is extremely difficult but not really impossible as long as there is a good and effective mechanism in place plus political will and collective efforts and participation.

This thesis has applied a triangular perceptions approach to explain the complexity and try to come up with a possible acceptable mechanism to have sustainable heritage tourism. To do this, three key chapters have been developed: chapter 5 tourist perceptions, chapter 6 local perceptions, and chapter 7 expert perceptions. For chapters 5 and 6, quantitative research methods plus qualitative data were used to understand the perceptions of tourists (mainly international tourists) and local residents (those who are living in Angkor Park and Siem Reap town). Through this host (local peole)-guest (tourists) perceptions analysis, a negotiation and reconciliation process can be done. Tourists are generally satisfied with their visit. The historical and cultural assets of the Angkor Heritage Site and local community are tourist magnet. For the local people, they are happy with the presence of tourists but with some concerns such as the very unfair economic distribution of incomes generated from the tourism industry, and the degradation of the local environment. As far as cultural issues are concerned, the local people seem not to worry so much. They seem to have more positive views on the impacts of tourism on the local cultural development.

Discussion about the host-guest perceptions, in this case it requires including the third party, which is the expert group. The expert group (discussed in Chapter 7) plays a significant role to influence the experiences and perceptions of tourists and local people through institutional settings and policies regarding heritage site management, local economic development, tourism facility development, and other services for tourists. For instance, regarding the economic distribution of tourism receipts (income), the role of the expert group including policy makers is to create a more balanced dynamic economic mechanism such as introducing appropriate taxation and entrance fees, and use these revenues to invest in education and training for the local people, supporting the local people to produce and sell their products to the tourism industry, providing special privileges or treatment for the local people in employment, and other tools to encourage people to invest in their cultural economic development, meaning providing economic values to local cultural perservation.

Through the process of the research, the thesis provides some modest contribution to methodology and theories on tourism in general, and heritage tourism in particular as follow.

### 8.1. Methodological contributions

The study began by reviewing the available literatures on heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability. It analyzed the case of Angkor heritage tourism, based on available and accessible governmental documents, reports, news sources, and especially data collected from the field surveys.

The case study research method is suitable for conducting studies on tourism. Tourism is an inter-disciplinary academic field which applies multiple data collection and

analysis from different perspectives. To assess and build up theories on sustainable heritage tourism depends on the nature of the context. Angkor heritage site is a good example to be investigated given it is an emerged tourist space and touristscape.

The case study research method was used to understand and explain the relationship between heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability in Angkor world heritage site. Multiple research tools and methods were used to collect and analyze the data. Structured questionnaires were designed for the international tourists and local residents. In addition, heuristic and ethnographic approaches were used to collect data from the tourists, local residents, government officials and other experts in the field of tourism development and heritage management in Angkor.

Qualitative and quantitative data collection should be combined to examine the case of tourism development and its impacts. The case study research method is suitable to do this. Fieldwork proves effective and fruitful, given that the researcher needs to observe directly and personally the dynamic and complex interactions among three main stakeholders: tourists, local residents, and experts/managers.

It is cost effective and time efficient to distribute questionnaires to tourists in the waiting lounge of the departure terminal in the air port. Tourists like to share and talk about their experiences but the way to approach them should be flexible and understandable. Restaurants and Cafe Shops would also be good places for good conversation with tourists.

Regarding the interviews with local residents, it is important to build a relationship of trust first. Recruiting local research assistants is very helpful given they have local networks, understand local culture and geography, and have better and effective communication with local residents. Talking with the local expert groups is the most challenging part of data collection. It is advisable to know people working in the field who have strong networks in the region. Through their networks, it is possible to contact relevant informants for the interviews, which otherwise is very time consuming.

The study shows that a triangular approach which combines tourist perceptions, local residents' perceptions, and expert perceptions can be used effectively to examine heritage tourism in general, especially within the framework of sustainable tourism.

### 8.2. Theoretical contributions

After examining the case of Angkor Heritage Tourism, Cambodia, theoretical contribution to the general knowledge of tourism can be drawn as follows:

- Heritage tourism is a complex social, economic, and political phenomenon which cannot be understood from just one theoretical perspective. It requires broad examination of the interconnectedness between all the stakeholders, especially tourists, local residents, and experts.

- The state is the main architect in designing tourism policy. Besides the economic interests of the tourism industry, there are political and cultural interests. National identity, national pride, political legitimacy, and ethnic harmonization can be among the objectives of the state in tourism development in the broader context of national economic development.

- Tourism is a phenomenon of development in which national economic and political interests outweigh local interests. Local people, in most cases, are left behind from tourism development and participation. Economic interests generated from the tourism industry are generally not distributed in a fair and ethical manner. This results in widening development gap.

- Tourism development in developing country is often faced with and influenced by the shortsighted interest groups who just consider their short term benefits and interests rather than broad interests in the longer term. Such thinking leads problems such as the over-commercialization of the tourism products, especially heritage sites, local culture, and degradation of the local environment.

- The conflict of power and interests among key stakeholders including policy makers is a challenge for sustainable heritage tourism management.

- There is always a conflict likely between conservationist groups and tourism developers/promoters in which, in most cases, the tourism promoting group holds more power to influence the policies than the conservationists. For the conservationist group, they wish to see high quality tourism with less number of tourists but with high economic returns. But for the tourism developers, they wish to see mass tourism development. This case probably only applies to Cambodia not elsewhere.

- The imbalance between heritage conservation and heritage commercialization is the core issue in heritage tourism management. It is impossible to have sustainable heritage tourism unless there is a balance between the two.

- As far as tourist perceptions and experiences are concerned, the study proves that tourist perceptions of the destination's assets are strongly related to and influened by tourist motives.

- Only well regulated economic dynamism can protect cultural heritage. The revenues from tourism have to be effectively distributed and the economic values of both tangible and intangible heritages have to be protected.

- Local attitudes towards tourism development are determined by the involvement of local people in the tourism industry; for instance people living in the town of Siem Reap have more positive perceptions towards tourists than the Angkor Park villagers.

- Tourism benefits and costs have a positive correlation. It means that when the tourism benefits increase so do the tourism costs. How to increase tourism benefits and reduce costs? To cope with this issue, it requires developing quality tourism. The quality tourism here refers to the way to enrich tourists with better experiences and encourage them to stay longer and spend more. One of the policy options is to diversify tourism products.

- Local participation and good collaboration among policy makers and key stakeholders with balanced common interests are the basic foundation for sustainable heritage tourism.

### 8.3. Empirical contributions

Heritage tourism has been growing rapidly in Cambodia particularly since the 1990s. Tourism can bring benefits to the local community living in Siem Reap city/town and Angkor Park, indeed to the whole country. Tourism also provides the main source for funding the

conservation of the archeological sites of Angkor. However, uncontrolled and improperly managed modern mass tourism can lead to the destruction of Cambodia's cultural heritage both archeological sites and an irrersible loss of intangible traditional cultural heritages.

The questions remain of how to provide sustainable heritage tourism in such a context. The thesis has addressed the issues of Angkor heritage tourism by examining three sets of perceptions: tourist perceptions, local residents' perceptions, and expert perceptions. From this triangular perspective, Angkor heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability can be examined.

***Tourist perceptions***

Tourists generally view the Angkor heritage site as one of the most attractive sites in the region in terms of cultural and historical value. Angkor Park resources which include both tangible and intangible heritages are unique and attractive to tourists. In general, tourists are very satisfied with their travel to Angkor heritate site plus the accommodative town Siem Reap. The aims of the tourists are to learn new things and experience local culture and history. From their travel motivations, it is safe to say that they are generally active heritage tourists.

Visiting Angkor world heritage site is the primary purpose of the tourists. Learning about local cultures is secondary objective. Local services such as food and accommodation and the local people are the other main complementary assets of the tourism product. But at the same time there are some issues/concerns raised by the tourists such as the lack of food hygiene in many of the street restaurants, lack of information for tourists, lack of walkways for pedestrians, and local environmental pollution.

***Local resident perception***

The local people perceive that tourism is a source of employment, income, and cultural development especially handicrafts production and art performance. Tourism development in the area proves that Cambodia is in peace and stability. The local people are generally happy with the presence of tourists except for the increase in living cost partially driven by the tourism industry, and disturbances caused by tourists flooding the temples especially during traditional and religious ceremonies. In addition, demonstration effects such as sexy dressing and improper sexual behavior in public concern the local people, particularly the older generation.

Local residents only get small proportion of the income generated from tourism industry. Local poverty and the lack of participation in tourism are the other main issues in tourism development in the region. People living in Angkor Park are left far behind comparing with the people in the town of Siem Reap in terms of employment and business operations. The gap between the rich and poor in the region is widening.

Local culture has been revitalized particularly Apsara dancing, and some traditional art performances have been transformed to attract tourist attention for economic benefits; for instance *Trot* performance. Traditional handicrafts especially made from silk and wood have been developed together with the tourism industry. Local people are trying to get benefits from tourism by all means but the lack of education, capital, and entrepreneurship constraint them from doing so.

***Local expert perceptions***

Tourism in the region is facing a lack of local participation, local cultural changes, a poverty reduction scheme, environmental degradation, poor urban planning, and economic mismanagement. Differences between conservationists and tourism promoters are seen to be at the center of debate and negotiation between the two groups. General sentiment from the expert group reflects growing dismay that Angkor is becoming over-commercialized and overexploited.

Regarding the environmental issue, the top concern is the massive use of underground water which can destabilize the foundation of the temples. Water pollution resulting from improper development of sewage and solid waste disposal systems for hotels and other facilities is another problem in the region.

## 8.4. Policy options

Currently, tourism in Cambodia is facing with the lack of local participation and pervasive poverty, over-commercialization of the heritage sites, and environmental degradation particularly the overconsumption of ground water. The tendency of the current tourism development in Angkor needs to be modified.

The fundamental foundation for sustainable tourism is based on the Joint Declaration of the World Tourism Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme (1982) which states that:

> The protection, enhancement and improvement of the various components of man's environment are amongst the fundamental considerations for the harmonious development of tourism. Similarly, rational management of tourism may contribute to a large extent to protecting and developing the physical environment and cultural heritage as well as improving the quality of life (WTO and UNDP, 1982).

In this study, based on the case study of Angkor heritage tourism, several specific policy recommendations are suggested namely increasing tourist experiences, increasing local participation, diversification of tourism products, key stakeholder collaboration, rebalancing interests, and targeting quality heritage tourism.

### 8.4.1. Increasing tourist experiences

In order to increase the tourist experiences, heritage sites have to be carefully preserved and authenticity has to be provided to heritage tourists. Festivals and events are "unique leisure and cultural experiences, powerful travel motivators and facilitators of community pride and development" (Derrets, 2004: 32). The local government and private sector should promote more cultural events in order to provide added value to the Angkor World heritage site. In addition, tourism services such as transport, accommodation, and food should be improved to meet the demand of high class tourists.

The issues of cleanliness, hygiene, personal safety and security, and information for tourists must be improved. The general local behavior and perceptions toward international tourists as the rich and wealthy should be rectified through local public education about tourist motives and expectations.

### 8.4.2. Increasing local participation

The issue of development and poverty reduction is the cornerstone of sustainable heritage tourism. As Nuryanti suggested, heritage tourism is "more than planning and management issues for developing countries; they are fundamentally the problems of development" (Nuryanti, 1996:249). Conservation of heritage areas is unlikely to succeed if the surrounding communities do not support, or if they feel alienated from, the site and its associated management processes (Worboys *et al.* 2001; Green 2001). It has been recognized 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).

Local people should be trained to work and do business in tourism industry. The local government, private sector, and NGOs should empower the local community much more. Local concerns should be seriously taken into consideration.

### 8.4.3. Diversification of tourism products

The economic volume of tourism receipts for Cambodia can be increased without raising the total number of visitors by introducing longer stays and more diversified tourism products and activities. Cambodia has great potential to encourage international tourists to stay longer thanks to a great amount of unexplored tourism products such as eco-tourism and ethnic tourism products. Ecotourism products include the Tonle Sap Lake, the Mekong River, Mekong Dolphin, the Coastal Area of Sihanouk Ville, Kep, and Koh Kong, long range of mountain and tropical rain forests, and mangrove forests. Ethnic communities living in the Northeastern part of Cambodia can attract large groups of tourists. All these tourism products need to be publicized and marketed in the same basket with the Angkor world heritage site in order to connect Angkor with other places. It is expected that with this strategy, the highly concentrated tourism in Angkor can be partially reduced. But, whether this strategy works is still unknown.

### 8.4.4. Key stakeholders collaboration

Key stakeholders here refer to those who design and plan tourism development policy. In order to have sustainable heritage tourism, it must have an effective communication channel and mutual understanding and interests among relevant stakeholders especially between tourism developers and heritage sites managers and conservationists. It requires a balancing and win-win collaboration approach to deal with heritage tourism planning and development.

### 8.4.5. Rebalancing interests

It is necessary to transform the power conflict and conflict of interests into permanent resources actively serving the common interests. How to rebalance the interests among the key stakeholders in this case tourists, local people, and local experts should be introduced. The policy makers who have authority over planning and management are the most responsible for this effort. A platform should be established to promote tegular dialogue and confidence building among the key stakeholders can be the first step then it can develop to conflict resolution to provide acceptable common interests for all players.

### 8.4.6. Targeting quality heritage tourism

The common interest that should be realized is the promotion of a form of "high quality heritage tourism" that can resist the destructive effects of "mass tourism". This means creating a mutually beneficial relationship between cultural elements and the economic benefits of tourism. How to encourage local people to preserve authentic cultural values is the main challenge. It can be done as long as economic interests are attached to the cultural values. Homestay progam and local cultural events in the village can attract tourists and provide income for the local people. Angkor heritage tourism should aim at high spending tourists which could offer high economic returns with minimal impact.

## 8.5. Constructed theory on sustainable heritage tourism: Holistic approach

After examining different perceptions regarding Angkor heritage tourism and the issues of sustainability, a theory of sustainable heritage tourism is constructed to reinforce the existing theories on the subject and academically contributes rather limited to the existing literatures of sustainable heritage tourism.

Sustainable heritage tourism requires participation from three key actors namely tourists, local people, and the local expert groups. But it should be noted that many of the most pressing problems are multifaceted, involving a web of interrelated causes that it is impossible to address except a triangular perceptions analysis. It needs to be noted that reality can go beyond these perceptions. The triangular perception approach provides another methodological and analytical vantage point based on problems examined broadly through the actors' perspectives.

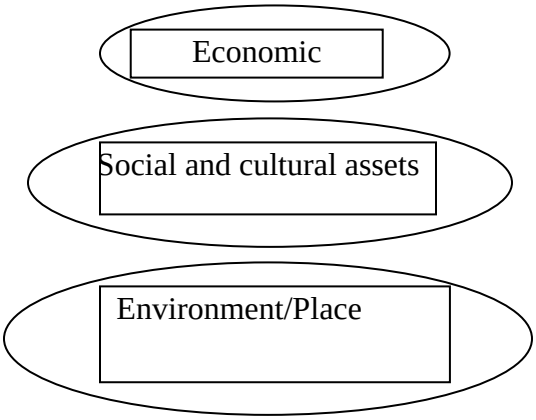
Satisfactory tourist experiences with positive and beneficial participation from the local people plus the sound management of the heritage tourism from the key experts group, including relevant policy makers, are the bottom line to having sustainable heritage tourism. A balance of interests and participation of these three actors is necessary.

Tourist experience depends on tourist motivations, expectations, and the tourist destination itself which includes both tangible and intangible heritage products. Tourists's perceived authenticity of the destination is the cornerstone of heritage tourism. It is therefore necessary for the local people and expert group preserve the historical and cultural assets of the tourist destination.

Positive and beneficial local participation depends much on the local political economic structure. The capacity building for the local people to understand and integrate their cultural values in the tourism industry, and get benefits from tourism is strongly required. Unless they learn about the economic value of preserving local heritage they would not appropriately participate in heritage tourism. The role of the state particularly the local authority is to assist the local people to do so.

Expert group perceptions are important to examine the current issues of heritage tourism based on what improvement and redirection of heritage tourism development policies can be carried out in time. The collaboration among the key expert groups to find the common interest and ground for sustainable heritage tourism management is a must.

Based on the perceptions from tourists, local people, especially local experts, a holistic approach towards sustainable heritage tourism is constructed as follows with three pillars and six principles:




1. Conserve and preserve the heritage sites and environment

2. Respect the integrity and authenticity of the local culture

3. Integrate the cultural heritage with the livelihood of the local community

4. Encourage intercultural dialogue between host and guests in order to improve tourist experiences and local participation

5. Provide solutions to development needs of local communities (especially capacity building)

6. Stakeholder collaboration with balanced interests and common objectives (especially in a dynamic economic benefits distribution)

The heritage site and its environment are the first pillar for sustainable tourism; social and cultural development and preservation should be the second pillar, while economic development and interests should be the third.

***First Pillar: Environment/Place***

The place here refers to physical heritage sites and the surrounding natural environment. According to the triangular perception analysis, place/environment is the most important asset of heritage tourism. The conservation and preservation of the heritage sites (temples) is necessary to sustain and develop heritage tourism. The main motivation of the tourists is to visit the temples. For the local people, the temples are the symbol of their nationhood and national identity.

The Angkor heritage tourism case study demonstrates that the current development of modern construction around Angkor Park and the massive use of underground water can destabilize the structure of the Angkor temples and improper sewage disposal is seriously damaging the environment of the heritage site. It is thus necessary to manage the place and environment. The existence of the place and environment give meaning to both tourists and local people. Without place there is no tourism. It is therefore compulsory to conserve and preserve the heritages sites and environment as the first priority.

***Second Pillar: Social and cultural assets***

Intangible heritage is of great value and adds to the tangible heritage site. The preservation of local cultural values is important not only for the tourists searching for authenticity but also for local community development given culture can not be detached from development. Strong and integrated family and social structure are a precondition for sustainable development. The maintenance of traditional spatial and social organization and landscape can also attract cultural tourists to the community. It is therefore safe to argue that conservation, preservation, and integration of local cultural and social assets/heritages at the tourist destination and the livelihood of the local community must be a second priority or on equal basis with the first priority for any tourism development policy.

***Third Pillar: Economic interests***

Financial resources are needed to preserve and manage heritage sites. Income from tourism is necessary for the local community development. Economic management such as the construction of hotel and other hospitality services in the tourist destination plays an important role in tourism development. Good services contribute improved tourist experiences.

The imbalanced relationship of power among the complex interconnected network of tourism industries and businesses creates uneven socio-economic development which in turn leads to the destabilization of the tourism industry. The dynamic and ethical distribution of economic interests in the tourism industry is necessary to have sustainable heritage tourism. Capacity building for the local people to get employed in the tourism industry is one of the tools.

In short, in order to have sustainable heritage tourism, the three pillars of sustainable heritage tourism (place/environment conservation and preservation, social and cultural heritage conservation, and economic generation) have to be upholding with the six key principles.

## Call for redirection of tourism development in Angkor

The current tourism development in Angkor Park is going in the opposite direction from a holistic approach. Economic interests are the first objective while other issues such as heritage site management and local landscape preservation come after. It is therefore necessary and urgent to reconfigure the structural management of Angkor heritage tourism in order to safeguard its future.

# APPENDIX 1: VISITOR QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey is part of a research project conducted by Ritsumeikan Center for Asia Pacific Studies (RCAPS). The aim of the study is to find out about visitors to cultural events and attractions, their motivations, activities and impressions. We very much appreciate your participation in this research, and all responses will be treated confidentially.

SECTION A: YOUR VISIT OF THIS AREA

1. Where is your current place of residence?
Country……..

2. Have you ever been to this area before?
☐ Yes ☐ No

3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(Pease, circle a number from 1 to 5)
1: strongly disagree
2: disagree
3: fair
4: agree
5: strongly agree
I am visiting this area to learn new things
Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree
I am visiting this area to be entertained
Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree
I want to find out more about the culture and history of this area
Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree
I want to experience the atmosphere of this area
Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree
I am visiting primarily for sightseeing
Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Agree

In what type of accommodation are you staying?
☐ Hotel ☐ Guest House ☐ Second residence
☐ Self catering accommodation
☐ Bed & breakfast/room in private house
☐ With family & friends ☐ Other

5. How many nights are you staying in this area?
Write in number……

6. What is the primary purpose of your current trip?
☐ Holiday ☐ Cultural even
☐ Business/Conference ☐ Other
7. How would you describe your current holiday?
☐ Cultural holiday ☐ Touring holiday
☐ Ecotourism/nature holiday ☐ Other

8. How did you arrange your trip?
☐ All-inclusive package (transport and accommodation booked via travel agent/tour operator) (go to Q9)
Transport booked separately
☐ Booked via travel agent
☐ Booked via internet
☐ Made own travel arrangements directly (phone, fax)
☐ Nothing booked in advance
Accommodation booked separately
☐ Booked via travel agent or tour operator
☐ Booked via Internet
☐ Made own travel arrangements directly (phone, fax)
☐ Nothing booked in advance

9. What sources of information did you consult about this area before you arrived here?
☐ Family/friends ☐ TV/Radio
☐ Previous visit ☐ Internet
☐ Newspapers/Magazines ☐ Guide book
☐ Tour operator brochure ☐ Tourist board
☐ Travel agency ☐ Other
……
10. What sources of information have you consulted in this area?
☐ Tour guide ☐ Guidebooks
☐ Family/friends ☐ Local brochures
☐ Tourist information center ☐ TV/Radio
☐ Internet ☐ Other
☐ Tour operator brochure ……..
☐ Newspapers/Magazines

11. Have you visited or are you planning to visit any of the following cultural attractions or cultural events in this area?
☐ Museums ☐ Heritage/crafts centre ☐ Art galleries
☐ Temples/ Monuments ☐ Religious sites ☐ Historic sites ☐ Classical music events ☐ Traditional festivals
☐ Pop concerts/Dance ☐ Theatres ☐ Cultural village
☐ Tonle Sap/Great Lake ☐ Kulen Mountain

12. Are you traveling:
☐ Alone ☐ With friends ☐ With your partner

☐ With a tour group ☐ With your family ☐ Other

13. To what extent do you personally connect the following images to this area?
Authentic sights
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Similar to your country (history and culture)
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Museums and cultural attractions
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Festivals and events
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Customs and traditions
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Linguistic diversity
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Cultural distinct region
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Multicultural region
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Regional gastronomy (food)
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Accommodation
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Transportation/traffics
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Hospitable local people
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Lively atmosphere
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Local services and products are expensive
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Air pollution
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Litter (garbage)
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Garbage bin is not enough
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Noise
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Entrance fee to Angkor Site is expensive
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Information for tourists is not enough
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much
Disturbance caused by the beggars (kids)
Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

14. How satisfied are you with your visit to this area, on a scale from 1-10?

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

15. Can you indicate how much have you spent (or will spend) during your stay?

No. of people……. Currency……..
Travel ……..
Accommodation ……..
Food and drink …….
Shopping ……
Attractions admissions …….

SECTION B: YOURSELF

16. Please, indicate gender
☐ Male ☐ Female
17. Please, indicate your age group
☐ Under 20 ☐ 20-29 ☐ 30-39
☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60 or over
18. What is your highest level of educational qualification?
☐ Primary School ☐ Secondary School
☐ Bachelor degree ☐ Vocational education
☐ Master or Doctoral degree
19. Annual income
Write in number…….
20. Is your current occupation (or former occupation) or your education background connected with culture?
☐ Yes ☐ No
21. Will you come back to visit Cambodia, Angkor?
☐ Yes ☐ No
22. Will you recommend Cambodia, Angkor, to your family and friends?
☐ Yes ☐ No

Comments:……
……
……
……
…….

# APPENDIX 2: LOCAL RESIDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey is part of a research project conducted by Ritsumeikan Center for Asia Pacific Studies (RCAPS). The aim of the study is to find out the impacts of tourism on local community development in Siem Reap. We very much appreciate your participation in this research, and all responses will be treated confidentially.

SECTION 1: YOURSELF

Sex
male
female

Age group

18-29
30-39
40-49
50-59
60 or over

Educational level

Primary School
Secondary School
High school
Vocational training
Bachelor degree
Master of Doctoral degree

Occupation

Housework
Self-employment
Government officials
Private companies
Other ( …….. )

Family members?

Immigration background

Where were you born?
Duration of stay here Siem Reap, Angkor?

Do you or your relatives involve in tourist business?

Yes, no

if your answer is ‘a’, How long have you or your relatives been in this business?.....

SECTION 2: LOCAL PERCEPTION

1. Perceived economic benefits of tourism

a. Employment opportunities

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Investment opportunities

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. More business for local people

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

d. Revenues from tourists for local governance and development

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

2. Perceived social cost of tourism

a. Increase in the price of goods and services

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Increase in crime rate

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. Increase in traffic congestion

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

d. Increase in noise and pollution

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

e. Increase in in-migration (people from other places coming to your village)

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

3. Perceived social benefits

a. Provide an incentive for the preservation of local culture

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Provide more parks and other recreational areas for local

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. Provide an incentive for the restoration of historical buildings

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

d. Improve the standards of road and other public facilities

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

e. Provide better education for your children

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

4. Perceived cultural cost of tourism

a. Negative effects of high spending tourists on local's way of living

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Negative effects of tourism on the local culture

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. Suffering from living in a tourism destination

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

5. Perceived cultural benefits

a. Development of cultural activities by local residents

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Cultural exchange between tourists and residents

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. Positive impact on cultural identity

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

6. Community attachment

a. Do you feel at home in this community?

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Do you like to live in this community?

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

7. Community concern

a. Schools

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

b. Crime rates

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

c. Recreation and culture

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

d. Clean water

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

e. Transportation (road)

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

f. Environment

Very Unsatisfied Very Satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

8. State of the local economy

a. Government should help to create more jobs

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

b. Need more jobs

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

c. Need trainings in order to find jobs in the tourism industry

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

d. Need more support to sell products to the hotels, restaurants

Very little 1 2 3 4 5 Very much

9. YOUR COMMENTS

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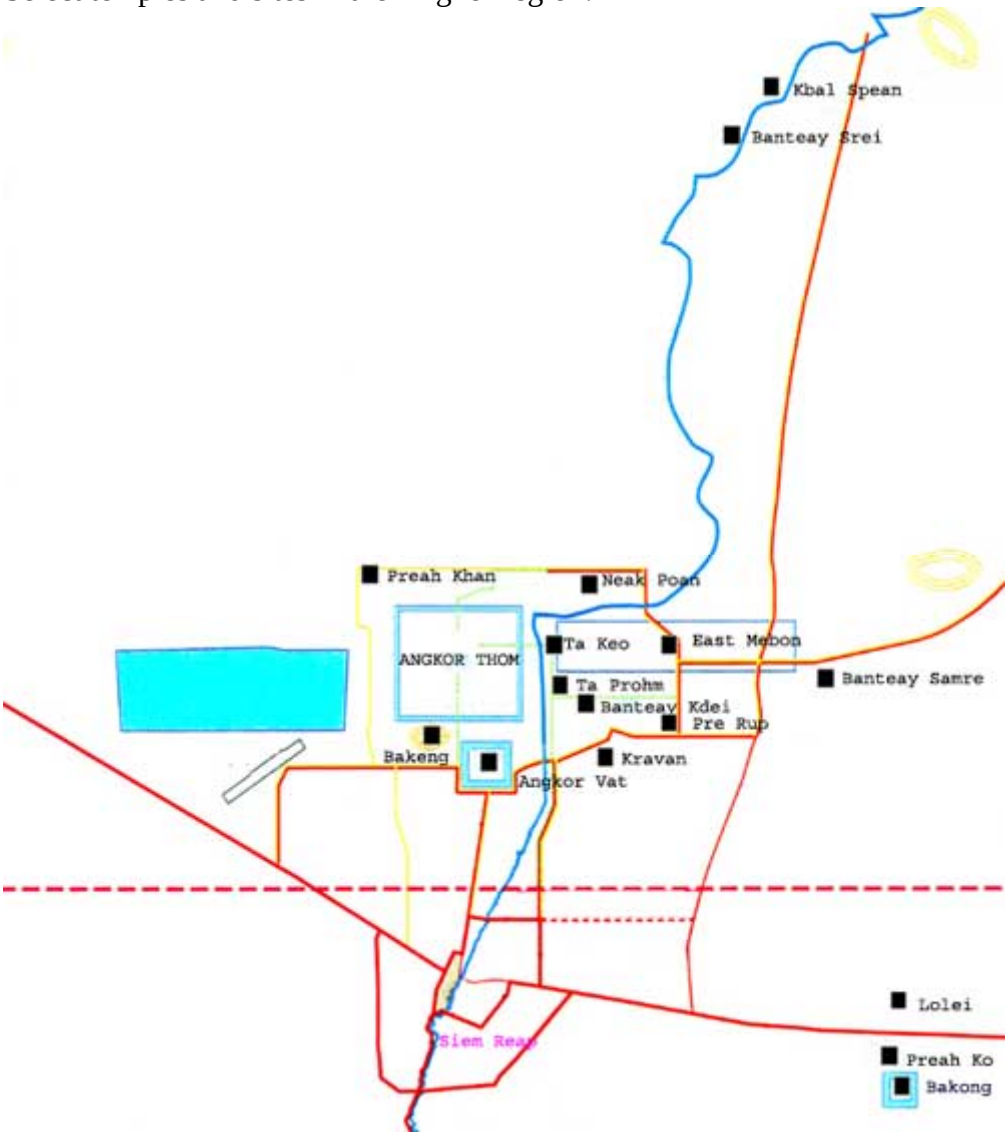
……
……
……

# APPENDIX 3: TEMPLES AND SITES

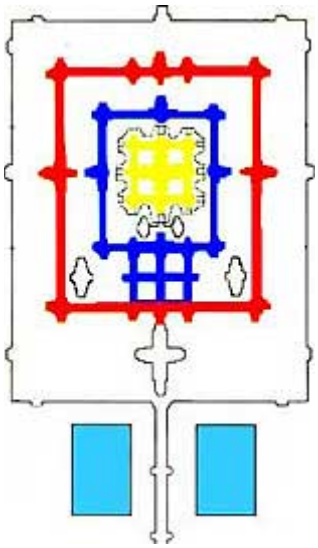
From APSARA Authority (http://www.autoriteapsara.org/en/angkor/temples_sites.html)
Select temples and sites in the Angkor region:




Temples
Angkor Vat
Noted for its architectural and artistic perfection, not to mention its sheer size, Angkor Vat is the most famous and no doubt the most remarkable of all of Cambodia's ancient temples. Combining great technical mastery on an unprecedented scale with extraordinary architectural and artistic innovations, Angkor Vat has a unique place in the long ancient

Khmer tradition of the royal "Temple-Mountain.". Built in the 12th century in the reign of King Suryavarman II, this was the residence of Vishnu, the divine palace in which the King himself was to reside after death. The construction is thought to have taken some thirty years of intensive labor.

In the "Middle Period", notably in the 16th century, Angkor Vat, then known as Preah Pisnulok (the posthumous name of its royal founder), became a site of Buddhist pilgrimage not only for the Khmer people but for much of Southeast Asia, and indeed for other more distant Asian peoples. Today, the Khmer people see in "Little Angkor" (the familiar name of Angkor Vat), the symbol of their nation.
Angkor Wat, forming a rectangle of about 1,500 by 1,300 metres, covers an area including its 190 metre wide moats - of nearly 200 hectares. The external enclosure wall defines an expanse of 1,025 metres by 800, or 82 hectares. It is the largest monument of the Angkor group.



Site
Constructed to the south of the capital (Angkor Thom), Angkor Vat is sited in the southeast corner of the ancient city of Yashodhara built by Yashovarman I and centred on Phnom Bakheng.
The westward orientation of Angkor Vat is opposite to the orientation of sanctuaries dedicated to divinities. In Brahmanic funerary rituals, the rites are performed in reverse of the normal order - the ritual procession does not follow "pradakshina" (keeping the monument to one's right), but rather in the opposite direction, the "prasavya?". Hence, the bas-reliefs are to be viewed in an anti-clockwise direction.

Exterior
The moats surrounding the external enclosure of the monument are bordered by steps with a molded sandstone perimeter, and are five and a half kilometers in overall length.
They are crossed only at two places - to the east by a simple bank of earth, and to the west by a 200 meter-long and 12 meter-wide sandstone-paved causeway, lined with columns along its sides. A cruciform terrace decorated

with lions, precedes this causeway and is bordered by naga balustrades.

The temple enclosure, formed by a high laterite wall incorporates a colonnade of 235 meters composed of a three-part gopura - the towers of which are cruciform in plan and galleries that link with two pavilions at either extremity which served as passageways for elephants.

Kuk Ta Reach

Kuk Ta Reach, the "Sanctuary of the Royal Ancestor" is the traditional name of the series of porticos in this colonnade leading into the interior of Angkor Vat. Of the many divinities and spirits worshipped here, 'Ta Reach' is by far the most important. Embodied in a colossal four-armed statue worshipped in the portico to the south of the main entrance, Ta Reach's protective powers are known throughout the Angkor region. Over the past decades, local caretakers have restored parts of the Ta Reach statue with cement. In 2003, the cement replica head was replaced by the original that had been stored for safekeeping at the National Museum of Cambodia.

Bas-Relief Galleries

The bas-reliefs cover the inner walls of the galleries of the lower enclosure and comprise of panels two meters in height with a total area of more than 1,000 square meters excluding the corner pavilions. Limited to the zone that would have been accessible to the public, they represent legendary and historic scenes for the enlightenment of the faithful.

These galleries, which are open to the exterior and form the temple's third enclosure wall, are sculpted in bas-reliefs representing historical and epic scenes. The friezes were, for the most part, executed during, or shortly after, the reign of Suryavarman II. Only the northeastern corner - the northern section of the eastern gallery and the eastern section of the northern gallery were left bare at that time, to be sculpted later, in the 16th century. These late reliefs are notably inferior in quality of conception and execution, due most probably to a rupture in the artistic tradition between the fall of the capital at Angkor in the 15th century and the 16th-century restoration. The scenes represented are as follows:

1. The Battle of Kurukshetra, between the Pandava and the Kaurava families, from the Mahabharata epic tale.
The reliefs sculpted on the southern section of this western gallery represent a concluding episode of the Mahabharata, a renowned Indian epic tale. This is the Battle of Kurukshetra, when the Pandava and Kaurava clans meet in final, deadly combat. Interestingly, the Mahabharata is virtually unknown in modern Cambodia. Unlike the Ramayana, which continues to permeate all aspects of Khmer culture, the Mahabharata would seem to have faded from cultural practice and memory with the decline of the Angkorean Empire.

2. Historical scenes depicting the reign of Suryavarman II.
The reliefs sculpted on the western section of this southern gallery commemorate a series of historical events from the reign of King Suryavarman II, the founder of Angkor Vat in the 12th century. As the brief inscription engraved next to the image of Suryavarman II identifies this king by his posthumous name, Paramavisnuloka, the reliefs themselves are thought to have been sculpted shortly after his death.

Hell

3. Heavens and Hells: the consequences of one's acts can be pondered as the blessed delight in celestial bliss above while the wicked suffer in agony below.
The reliefs sculpted on the eastern section of this southern gallery represent the 37 Heavens and 32 Hells derived from Indian tradition. The Hells, on the lower registers, are pictured in greater detail than the Heavens above. Each Hell is in fact identified by an accompanying inscription. Thus we read "Avici", "Raurava", etc., names still known and feared in Cambodia.

4. "The Churning of the Sea of Milk".
The reliefs sculpted on the southern section of this eastern gallery represent the "Churning of the Sea of Milk", a popular episode from Vishnu lore. The Gods (northern part) and the Demons (southern part) use the serpent Vasuki as a cord wound around Mount Mandara, emerging from the Sea; pulling alternately on either end of the serpent, together they churn the Sea of Milk in order to extract the nectar of immortality. Seizing the nectar as it is formed, the Gods are victorious, and thus thereafter immortal.

5. Victory of Vishnu over the Asura demons. The reliefs on this northeastern corner (northern section of the eastern gallery and eastern section of the northern gallery) were sculpted in the 16th century, some four hundred years after the original construction of Angkor Vat and the sculpture of most of the temple's gallery walls. These reliefs clearly demonstrate that, though Cambodia had by then become a Theravada Buddhist nation, the Khmers had not yet forgotten their past Brahmanic culture. The scenes on the northern section of the eastern gallery, are thought to have been extracted from the Indian Harivamsa, show the God Vishnu, in the center, singularly defeating the Demons.
6. Victory of Krishna (an avatar of Vishnu) over the demon Bana.
The scenes on the eastern section of the northern gallery, thought to have been extracted from the Indian Harivamsa, show Krishna, one of Vishnu's many avatars, defeating his rival Bana. A variety of Gods are represented here, including Shiva at the western end.
7. Combat between the Gods and the Demons.
All the major Brahmanic Gods, identifiable by the attributes they brandish and the animal mounts they ride, are represented on the western portion of this northern gallery. Each God is shown in singular combat with a Demon. In a similar way to other sculpted galleries of Angkor Vat, the God Vishnu, pictured here in the center of the long panel, is pre-eminent.
8. The Battle of Lanka, from the Ramayana epic tale.
The reliefs of the northern portion of this western gallery illustrate a renowned episode of the Ramayana, the Indian epic tale which recounts the exploits of Prince Rama (an avatar of Vishnu). We see here the Battle of Lanka, in which Rama's monkey army led by the monkey General Hanuman fights the Demon King Ravana's army. Rama's army seeks to rescue his wife Sita, who has been captured and held hostage in Lanka, Ravana's island kingdom.

Preah Poan
The name of this cruciform gallery - 'the Thousand Buddhas' - dates from the Middle Period, when the prestige of Angkor Vat spread across Buddhist Asia. Over the course of time the faithful erected here a great number of statues of the Buddha in stone, wood or metal, hence the gallery's name. Some of the statues still remain while others are exhibited or kept in conservation storehouses. Others have, for diverse reasons, been lost forever. Together, these Buddhist statues testify to an artistic school unique to the temple of Angkor Vat.
The majority of Angkor Vat's 41 inscriptions dating from the Middle Period are found here, on the pillars of Preah Poan. Largely in Khmer, sometimes including Pali

phrases, they date from the 16th to 18th centuries and record pious works performed at Preah Pisnulok by pilgrims, including members of the royal family. The authors inscribe their "vows of truth" and declare their "pure faith" in the religion of the Buddha. These stone inscriptions make an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the ideology of Theravada Buddhism as it became Cambodia's principal and official religion. Inscriptions in other languages, such as Burmese and Japanese, further demonstrate the cross-cultural attraction the temple has long exerted.

Bakan

Originally the principal sanctuary of Angkor Vat's uppermost terrace was open to the four cardinal points, and probably sheltered a statue of Vishnu, the supreme god of the temple. Later, when Angkor Vat became a center of Buddhist pilgrimage, the four entranceways into the central sanctuary were filled in with sandstone blocks; each of the newly constituted walls was then sculpted with a deep relief of the standing Buddha. In 1908 archaeologists opened the southern entranceway. In the place of any original Vishnu statue, they found multiple statue and pedestal fragments, as well as a sarcophagus. Further research carried out in the well of the central sanctuary in the 1930s revealed, at a depth of 23 meters, the temple's original foundation deposits: two circular gold leaves embedded in a laterite block.

A number of inscriptions at Preah Poan and Bakan, along with the artistic style of these Buddha figures, indicate that the enclosure of the central tower and its transformation into a Buddhist sanctuary was a royal work executed in the latter half of the 16th century. This architectural and iconographic transformation translated into space the conceptual transformation of the central Brahmanic sanctuary into a Buddhist stupa. Here the four Buddhas of the past, facing each of the four cardinal points, surround the garbha - the maternal matrix - which encloses Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. The Bakan illustrates in a most spectacular manner the evolution of Angkor Vat over time: as the ancient Vishnuite temple became a sacred Theravadin Buddhist site, Angkor Vat undoubtedly played a primary role in the conversion of Cambodia into a Theravadin nation.

Angkor Vat Today

Angkor Vat has always figured on Cambodia's national flag. The temple symbolizes the soul of the Khmer people, and the lasting grandeur of their past.

Since December 1992, Angkor Vat and other Angkorean monuments have been classed as UNESCO "World Heritage". This is a great honor for Cambodia, and a major national obligation. We are responsible for Angkor's preservation not only before history and in

respect of our ancestors, but also, today, before the entire international community.

Bakheng

In the period before the end of the 9th century, the king Yashovarman transferred the capital of Hariharalaya (in the region of Roluos) to Yashodhara (in actuality 'Angkor') by choosing the small hill of Bakheng (some 60m in altitude), to be the symbolic centre. Phnom Bakheng, in effect was given the Khmer name 'Vnam Kandal', or the 'Central Mountain'.

At the top of Bakheng

On the summit a pyramid was built, comprising of five tiers, surmounted by a central sanctuary that sheltered a linga. This structure differs from all other similar Angkorean architectural models as the interior was not filled with fine compacted sand, but rather this monument is constructed directly on the rock.

An extremely complex study by a scholar has resulted in an understanding of the number of towers and their position in space that demonstrates the ensemble is a materialization of the Indian cosmic calendar.

The 16th century seems to have marked a period of renewal of this place and a conversion to Theravada Buddhism. The temple became a symbolic beacon for pilgrimages to the Angkor region with the quincunx of the highest towers almost completely engulfed within an immense seated stone Buddha (the lower part of this image was still partially visible in the early 1920.

A Middle Period inscription records the name 'Bakheng', or 'Virile' that suggests (despite the fact the central sanctuary was covered by this Buddhist image) the earlier concept of a linga was still present in the historic collective memory. It is curious but significant to note that Muslim pilgrims left an inscription at the monument in Arabic praising Allah. This stele was removed in the 20th century for preservation reasons.

Without doubt we could explain this by the well-known tolerance that characterizes religious history in Cambodia. At the same time, as this is an important pilgrimage site at Angkor, perhaps it was also considered so by others?

Bakong

The Bakong is the first real pyramidal shaped temple built in Cambodia to take the form which researchers have come to call "temple mountain". Before the Bakong, this architectural type had not fully emerged, and even at Ak Yum, on the southern dike of the Western Baray, the form is not yet totally achieved.

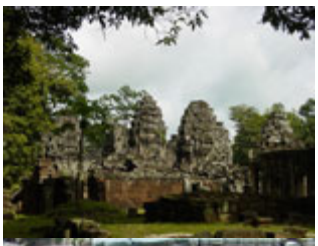
Approach to Bakong

Before entering an enclosure measuring 400 by 300 meters which is surrounded by an exterior wall and a moat somewhat wider than it is deep, we find ourselves in a larger enclosure measuring 900 by 700 meters. In this outer enclosure, ruins and remains of at least 22 sanctuaries are found. These sanctuaries can perhaps be considered satellites of the central complex in that some of them, instead of facing east, turn to face the central pyramid.
The naga (serpent) with seven heads found on the side of the entrance causeway appears here for the first time in the place which will be taken by future naga balustrades. The brick towers, located at the foot of the pyramid, still have their original wooden supporting beams despite the ravages of time.

Banteay Kdei
At this Mahayana Buddhist monastic complex at least two different styles are evident, relating to Angkor Vat and Bayon styles. Various sanctuary towers were also apparently joined only after their construction by a system of galleries and vestibules that exploit the use of the cloister. Changes and additions to the design following the original construction result in the sometimes confused and unbalanced present-day layout.

Terrace with naga and garuda-balustrades

The ensemble is on a single level and consists, within two successive enclosure walls, of two concentric galleries from which emerge towers, preceded to the east by a cloister. This temple is similar in design and architecture to Ta Prohm and Preah Khan, although smaller and less complex.
There is no information concerning the exact dedication of this temple, and a 10th century inscription found in the western gopura of the second enclosure has been noted to have been sculpted on re-used stones possibly from the neighboring temple of Kutisvara.
The east gopura entrance in the outer laterite enclosure (as are the other axial entrances) is surmounted by smiling Lokesvara visages similar to those at Ta Prohm, and the doorway flanked by garudas in each corner. The large Buddhist cruciform terrace immediately in front of the temple



is slightly raised and decorated with naga and garuda-balustrades and lions that are in the Bayon style.
As at Ta Prohm and Preah Khan, there is a vast rectangular hall that perhaps served as a space for ritual dance. The square columns, like those at the entrances to the Bayon, are decorated with paired or single dancing apsara sculpted in low-relief. Bas-relief dvarapala flank the entrances, surrounded by devata. The central sanctuary, which still carries some traces of sculpture, was probably rough-cut in order to receive a metal facing.
The gopura of the third enclosure is cruciform in plan, has internal columns and is covered by vaults. In the internal courtyard and walls of porches are Buddha images defaced in the period following Jayavarman VII's reign. The vaults of these outer galleries, constructed in both laterite and sandstone, has in places, collapsed. Access from the rear of this complex leads to the eastern entrance of Ta Prohm temple.
In 2001, a team from the University of Sophia (Japan) uncovered 274 fragment pieces of Buddhist sculpture while pursuing a research excavation in Banteay Kdei. Most of the excavated statues are sculpted from sandstone and these were found together with a small number of metal artifacts.

Lolei

Lolei is composed of four tower sanctuaries, the remains of the original ensemble that was without doubt more complex. The King Yasovarman consecrated Lolei to the memory of his ancestors, particularly his father, in 893 AD.

Towers of Lolei

Inscriptions on a door jamb

Built in two tiers, the island on which the temple is found is itself located in the middle (but to the north along a north south axis) of the first great Baray of the region, the Indratataka. This large reservoir, measuring 3,800 meters by 800 meters, bears the name of its constructor, Indravarman (the father of Yasovarman) who began to build the reservoir on the fifth day following his coronation, as recorded in a Sanskrit inscription.

The inscriptions in Khmer which can still be admired on all the door jambs present an exceptional interest for two reasons. Their calligraphy is in itself a work of art, a fact noted with emphasis by the first scientific explorers of the 1860s. The inscriptions also provide us with a wealth of details concerning the moment chosen for the consecration of the temple, as well as elaborating on the delicate division of tasks carried out by the several hundred servants attached to each tower.

The name Lolei is really a phonetic corruption, commonly used in Siem Reap Province, of Harihara + alay, the name of the first 9th century Angkorian capital centered on present day Roluos. Even after constructing the island and its sanctuaries, Yasovarman still had the idea to move his capital to the region of Phnom Bakheng, about fourteen kilometers to the northwest of Lolei, site of the future city of Yasodhara. It is not implausible that Yasovarman was building at Lolei while moving his capital at the same time. The choice to establish Lolei at the center of the Indratataka at this time was of specific symbolic meaning and significance since it put the dedicated object (Lolei dedicated to Indravarman) at the heart of the work of the one to whom it was dedicated (the Indratataka built by Indravarman).

Neak Poan

Built by Jayavarman VII before the end of the 12th century, this monument - Neak Poan or the entwined naga - is an artificial island, measuring 350 meters on each side, built in the middle of a reservoir which is also man made. The modern name, Neak Poan, comes from the motif of serpents encircling the base of the central sanctuary.

Central sanctuary on the island in the central pond.

Apsara decorating one of the four side sanctuaries

An inscription notes that it is "a sacred island, drawing its charm from its ponds and clearing away the sins of those who approach it". The ponds in question number four. They were fed by a complex system of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic fountains. The mysterious curative function of its waters was all the more so, given that the myth of the deliverance of a group of shipwrecked sailors by the horse Balaha, a form of Lokesvara, is represented here.
The reservoir, which measured 3500 meters by 900 meters, was originally called Jayatataka or "the reservoir of Jaya [varman VII]". Its modern name is Veal Reach Dak or "plain of the royal reservoir", revealing the collective historical memory of the inhabitants of Angkor who are aware that its four cornered form originate from a Baray, a royal

Banteay Samre

This monument that takes its name from the Samre people is found to the east of the earth embankment forming the eastern wall of the East Baray. There is a legend connecting the naming of this monument with a farmer who mistakenly killed the king then ascended the throne.

Central courtyard

Anastylosis transformed this monument with its well-preserved exceptional ornamentation. Dated to shortly after Angkor Vat, its compact, well-balanced proportions echo other monuments of the period such as Beng Mealea and Chau Say Tevoda.Viewed from the east, the approach is by a 200 meter causeway paved in laterite and bordered by a naga balustrade in the style of Angkor Vat.
The imposing external laterite enclosure wall must have formed, one of the walls of a tile-covered gallery joining a gopura that would have been far more impressive than the existing projecting entrance with portico.
It is interesting to note that many scenes on the pediments of the upper levels have been identified as episodes from the Vessantara Jataka. The presence of Buddhist scenes in a Hindu temple and the fact that in some places certain sculpted motifs, probably also Buddhist, have been mutilated makes a statement about the religious tolerance of the monument's patron. Few temples present an iconography so complete and in such an excellent state of

Beng Mealea

Built in the 12th century, the layout and style of Beng Mealea is very similar to Angkor Vat. Its current state, however, is dominated by the jungle: Trees have grown out of towers and vines entangle columns. Lintels and other building blocks lay around in a tumble and require visitors to climb up and down as they approach the completely collapsed central tower. This is how the early expeditions must have found the temples of Angkor...

Kravan

Surrounded by a moat, crossed at the western side by a small access causeway, the five brick towers are set quite closely, built on a single terrace and open to the east. The brickwork has been constructed with care - the mortar-less joints, which have only a thin vegetal binder, remain absolutely tight.

Bas-relief sculpture in the northern tower.

At Kravan, the visitor can view bas-relief sculpture on the interior brickwork of the sanctuaries. In the central sanctuary chamber, to the left of the entrance can be seen a large figure of Vishnu with his right foot placed on a lotus pedestal supported by a kneeling figure. To the right, there is a second representation of Vishnu mounted on the shoulders of Garuda. The central wall portrays Vishnu with eight arms framed by six rows of standing figures. The northern tower is also sculpted with figures representing Laksmi, the wife of Vishnu. The three remaining towers have undecorated walls.

Preah Khan

In 1191 AD, ten years after his ascension to the throne, Jayavarman VII dedicated the temple of Preah Khan to his father Dharanindra, who is represented in the central sanctuary by Lokesvara, the savior god of Mahayana Buddhism who was much worshipped during Jayavarman VII's reign.

Stupa of the central of Preah Khan

Preah Khan is one of the few monuments to have kept its original name. The founding stele is written entirely in Sanskrit with the name of the temple expressed as Jayacri.

During the Middle Period, a stupa (see photograph) was erected in place of Lokesvara in the central sanctuary. This had the advantage of symbolizing Buddhism in all its forms.

The name Jayacri or Preah Khan means "sacred sword" which was at the same time the coronation name of its royal constructor.

More than a single temple , the monument was in its time a real city with a whole population divided according to their functions. The temple was also a site of Buddhist studies with its retinue of spiritual masters and their disciples.

Banteay Srei

Banteay Srei temple was founded by an important dignitary who served during the reign of Rajendravarman and then in the reign of Jayavarman V. Commenced in 967 AD, this work attracted the support of his brother and sister, as attested by inscriptions on the stone door jambs of the lateral sanctuaries of the central group.

The central sanctuary is covered with intricate carvings

One of the famous apsara

The ensemble is dedicated to the god 'Tribhuvanamaheshvara'. The sculptures are of exceptional refinement and because of this Banteay Srei often earns the epithet 'the jewel of Khmer art'.
At this temple, for the first time pediments appear with stories notably those on the north and south libraries. These exhibit themes related to Shivaism (the demon Ravana shaking Mount Kailasa above which Shiva is enthroned; with Kama arriving to disturb his meditation). Other pediments portray Vishnuist themes such as 'The Rain of Indra' and 'The Killing of Kamsa'.Two other famous pediments from this monument now can be found at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh and at the Musé national des Arts asiatiques - Guimet, Paris. Numerous lintels also display sculptures from Indian mythology.
Proof of the continued occupation and therefore the maintenance of Banteay Srei and the surrounding site called Ishvarapura (with the Siem Reap river as the source of water), is provided by one important inscription of the early 14th century that can be seen on a stone door jamb of the gopura in the third enclosure.
A recent joint project between the APSARA Authority and the Swiss government entitled, 'Conservation of Banteay Srei' officially commenced at the beginning of July 2002.This project is planned for a three-year period from 2002 to 2005. It focuses on the conservation and improvement of the site covering restoration and maintenance of the temple; landscaping of the surroundings and protection of the natural environment in addition to a detailed study of the history of the site.

Preah Ko

The temple of Preah Ko, the sacred bull to whom this complex of stone and brick is dedicated, is bordered by a moat to the north and a moat to the south.
The temple was officially called Paramesvara, a name which means Supreme God and usually designates Shiva. Here, however, the name Paramesvara also is the posthumous name of King Jayavarman II, the founder of the Angkorian empire. Preah Ko was dedicated by Indravarman in 879 AD (CE) to the memory of Jayavarman II, represented in the central sanctuary of the eastern side of the base platform. The side towers were dedicated to the ancestors of Indravarman himself. The rectangular area enclosing the monument measures about 500 meters by 400 meters. The western section may also have once contained other buildings made of less durable materials which served as houses for ordinary inhabitants.
The temple of Preah Ko initiated the tradition of temples dedicated to ancestors which each

subsequent Angkorian king had to build, preferably before constructing the temple which would be dedicated to his own destined cult.
From an artistic point of view, we should try to imagine the six sanctuaries of the platform covered in white, finely carved stucco. One can still see remaining sections of this covering which allows us to glimpse the great refinement which the sculptures of the temple once had.

One of the bull sculptures in front of the base platform

Pre Rup
King Rajendravarman, who engineered the return of the capital from Koh Ker to Angkor (Yashodhara), founded Pre Rup in 961 AD. Constructed in brick and laterite, this temple was constructed slightly after the Mebon that is emplaced at the centre of the Eastern Baray and erected by the same king. Both Pre Rup and the Mebon are situated on the same north-south axis.

View of Pre Rup from across a rice field

Lion on the top platform

The central sanctuary, at the summit of a three-tiered pyramid, enshrined the linga named 'Rajendrabhadreshvara' that through its name was directly associated with the king who venerated the god Shiva.
The stele of Pre Rup is known to be the longest Sanskrit inscription in ancient Cambodia and was not found in the usual place at the immediate northeast corner of the lower level, but rather nearby within a building not far distant. The inscription itself is today stored at the Angkor Conservation.
This monument of admirable proportions has suffered due to the ravages of time. Some breaches in the walls and other collapsed sections as they are in brick, pose particularly delicate technical problems for restoration. Elaborate technical choices for the reconsolidation of these structures have been undertaken that are not necessarily spectacular in the view of the casual visitor. Without a doubt, the restored sections of Pre Rup are excellent models of restoration techniques in brick.

Ta Keo (Preah Keo)
Ta Keo is a pyramid of five levels reaching a total height of 22m - the first two forms the base of two enclosing courtyards, one surrounded by a simple wall and the other by a gallery, while the last three, through proportional reduction are a massive artificial plinth for the quincunx of sanctuaries.

View of Takeo Pyramid

This is the first realization in sandstone of such a structure (generally dedicated to deify nobility) after the temple of Bakheng that crowned a natural hill serving as its core. Ta Keo is constructed with much more care in the systematic cutting and placing of enormous blocks of stone, the arrangement of which can be viewed easily, due to the absence of almost any molding or decoration.
The reason for this temple remaining unfinished is unknown for it was abandoned soon after the start of its ornamentation. By these remaining fragments, this temple dates to the end of 10th century and the early years of the 11th. Inscriptions engraved on the door jambs of the eastern gopura, relating to donations made to the temple (but not to its foundation) date from 1007.
Originally, the access to the monument was from the east across a moat by means of a paved causeway, preceded by lions in the style of the Bayon and lined with bones. Some 500m further to the east is the bank of the Eastern Baray. The external enclosure wall forms a rectangle of 120m by 100m and is in sandstone on a laterite base. The second terrace dominates the first with an imposing molded laterite base and four axial sandstone gopura. From the courtyard, standing in front of the three tiers that form the 14m high central pyramid, one is left with a powerful impression.
The upper platform is square and almost entirely occupied by the quincunx of towers in their unfinished form. These open to the four cardinal points by projecting vestibules. The corner towers are set on plinths and are dominated by the central tower set on an elevated base with the development of its porticoes and frontons adding to its grandeur. Fragments of pedestals and of linga are found both in and around the towers.

Ta Prohm
Known today as Ta Prohm or "Old Brahma", this monument was initially named "Rajavihara" meaning "royal monastery". In 1186 AD, Jayavarman VII consecrated several statues here, the most important of which was that of Prajnaparamita, the personification of the Perfection of Wisdom, a figure whom the King identified with his mother.

Western entrance

Courtyard on the Eastern side of Ta Prohm

Reflecting without doubt a religious ideology, it is only some years later that the King dedicated another temple, Preah Khan, to his father whom he identified with Lokesvara. On an official level, this is clearly in the religious context of Buddhism of the Great Vehicle and, more specifically, in the context of a Khmer Buddhist context characteristic to Jayavarman VII's reign. However, one must be wary of too quick a judgment.
The word vihara in its original use, for example, should not be understood with the Theravadin eye of the modern era. On the other hand, all things considered, the one kilometer by seven hundred meters area delimited by the exterior enclosing wall can perhaps be regarded somewhat as a Vat (the modern Buddhist monastery).
Within the walls, many people of diverse capacities made up a cult. Ordinarily, the visitor enters the monument from the west to approach the heart of the complex. However, one must not forget that the ritual entrance was to the east.

Sites

There are not only temples in the Angkor region, but also secular buildings, city walls, roads and water management systems, pottery production sites, as well as religious sites in natural environments. Angkor Thom is a huge urban complex, surrounded by a wide moat and an impressive wall with five magnificent gates. Inside, both secular buildings such as the Royal Palace as well as temples such as the beautifully carved Bayon remain. Kbal Spean is a sacred site along a river in the hills to the north of Siemreap. The river bed and banks are covered with sculptures of linga and other religious symbols and scenes. Flowing over these sculptures, the water is sanctified before reaching the temples of Angkor. Koh Ker, some 100km northeast of Angkor, was the 10th century capital of Jayavarman IV. It features a 30 meter high temple mountain and is the origin of many large statues which convey a sense of grandeur and movement unique in Khmer art.

Angkor Thom

The Angkor Thom that we see today is the result of at least five centuries of occupation and urban development, including frequent remodeling. It is a succession of cities, which took more or less final form around the end of the 12th century under the reign of Jayavarman VII, though some construction within the city walls post-dates this monarch's reign.

Recent research has confirmed the existence, up until an undetermined date, of a water course running through the city. This may well have been a branch of the O Khlot. Passing through the city on what was to become its north-south axis, the river would seem to have continued past the eastern foot of Phnom Bakheng.

One of the five gates in the wall of Angkor Thom

Remodeling

The remodeling of urban forms which had themselves developed over the preceding 400 years was not a minor undertaking, particularly as Jayavarman sought to render the spatial composition of his city highly symbolic. In addition, the exact definition of the square resulted from a number of unavoidable constraints, such as the existence of the Phnom Bakheng.

The wall, called Jayagiri in period inscriptions, is itself surrounded by a wide moat called Jayasindhu. One inscription explicitly compares this ensemble to the mountain range and

Jayavarman VII

sea of milk which encircle the universe in Indian cosmological conceptions adopted in ancient Cambodia.
Thus Angkor Thom was in its entirety the world created - or recreated after the city sacking by the Chams emerging as ambrosia after the Churning of the Sea of Milk. This explains why the churning episode was represented at each of the five gates giving entry to the city.
We are far from fully understanding the purely functional aspects of the city. An ancient water outlet, known as Run Tadev, is still in use today at the southwestern corner of the enclosure wall. We do not know if the nearby rectangular reservoir, Beng Thom, or the pond known as Trapeang Daun Meas in the northwestern quadrant of the Royal Palace, existed in ancient times.

Sunrise at Bayon, the center of Angkor Thom

A similar structure at the wall's northeastern corner is overgrown with vegetation today. Future research promises to tell us if this was another outlet or, rather, as logic suggests, a mechanism serving to introduce water into the city. Atop the wall at each of its corners, Jayavarman also erected a temple-the Prasat Chrung - along with a stellar inscribed in Sanskrit. The only complete inscription, covering all four sides of the stellar, is that of the southwestern Prasat Chrung.

Ancient water outlet in enclosure wall

Baphuon
The colossal Baphuon temple was most likely also begun under Suryavarman reign, to then be completed by his successor, Udayadityavarman. The Baphuon is notable as Angkor Thom's largest "mountain-temple."
There is then a sandstone causeway - about 200 meters long - formed as a sort of bridge with long paving stones laid on three lines of short columns, followed - perhaps as a result of some miscalculation - by a 5.5 meter wide dike, formed as an embankment between two lateral walls.
Another of this temple's remarkable characteristics is its sculptural decor: framed scenes of daily life or myth, touching in their small detail and naivety.
Abandoned as a capital city, Angkor saw its population numbers plunge, its infrastructures fall into ruin.
The forest was to overcome a good part of the city. Yet in those places still inhabited, architectural modifications for the Buddhist cult could take on spectacular dimensions.
Abandoned as a capital city, Angkor saw its population numbers

Walkway and temple mountain

plunge, its infrastructures fall into ruin. The forest was to overcome a good part of the city. Yet in those places still inhabited, architectural modifications for the Buddhist cult could take on spectacular dimensions.

Temple mountain

Relief

Bayon

The confusion in the plan of the Bayon and the intricacy of its buildings results no doubt from the successive alterations to which the monument was subjected, that are evident just about everywhere.

These changes could well have been made either during the course of construction or at other times so not all necessarily corresponding to the reign of Jayavarman VII.

The Bayon is without a doubt Angkor Thom's most extraordinary monument.

The temple design would seem to have been repeatedly revised over the course of construction such that four different phases have been identified. The principal elements of the final lay-out are as follows:

an orthodox cross encloses the circular central sanctuary

the inner galleries form a rectangle enclosing, in turn, the orthodox cross

Another rectangle - the outer galleries - encloses and communicates with the first through passages on each of the four axes.

One of the specificities of the Bayon is its towers crowned with faces looking out to the four cardinal points. Modern Khmer call them "Prohm Bayon", with the name "Prohm" (Brahma) remaining as a vestige of Cambodia's Brahmanic past. The multiple scholarly attempts to identify the Bayon faces have generally focused on Brahmanic-Mahayanic gods, in view of the religious particularities of Jayavarman VII's reign.

The most frequently cited is Lokesvara, a Buddhist divinity widely venerated during that time. It is also possible that the faces represented that of Jayavarman VII himself, as a new expression of an old Khmer tradition of belief in the apotheosis of kings.

The Bayon is also remarkable for its bas-reliefs, in particular those of the outer galleries. Certain reliefs depict historical

One of the faces adorning the towers

Some of the towers with the faces looking North and East

events such as naval combat against the Cham on the Great Lake .Taking up on the artistic innovations of the Baphuon; others show touching scenes of daily life amongst common people. It is the Bayon, more than any other temple, which materializes the assembly of the principal gods of the Angkorian Empire.

Inscriptions engraved on the doorjambs of the temple's many small sanctuaries tell us that these once harbored statues of different provincial or even local divinities. It is tempting in fact to call the Bayon "Tevea Vinichay", or "Assembly of the Gods", the name of the throne hall in Phnom Penh's Royal Palace.

The central tower of the Bayon once sheltered a Buddha seated on the naga. Cast into the well of the central tower with the 13th-century return to Brahmanism, this statue was discovered and transported for worship and display at Vihear Prampil Loveng in 1935.

Detail of the famous reliefs depicting scenes from everyday life

Early morning worship at Bayon in one of the outer galleries

Buddhist Terraces

The city was still to see some minor construction, modest again in scale but remarkable in its testimony to the spread of a new religion, Theravada Buddhism. Of these original wooden Buddhist worship halls, all that remains today are the stone foundations. Many are still active sites of worship, and may date to the period following the abandon of Angkor as the royal capital. Existent Brahmanic temples such as Ta Tuot were sculpted with Buddhist reliefs.

The Western Prasat Top was to undergo a series of modifications, both architectural and artistic, including the sacred delimitation of the temple with Buddhist border stones (seima).

The Tep Pranam-Palilay area, which may well have been associated with Buddhism since early times, took on greater importance. A group of Buddhist worship halls were built around the Bayon. These satellite temples are known today as Preah En Tep, Preah Ang Kok Thlok, Preah Ngok. Few of these Buddhist constructions can be precisely dated. It is however clear that Angkor was largely Theravadin when, around 1432, after a long series of battles, Siamese troops finally drove the Khmer court out of Angkor.

Towards the end of the 16th century, Portuguese and Spanish adventurers traveled to Angkor. They were fascinated by the "walled city," "one of the wonders of the world," making particular note of the Bayon and the Royal Palace. A handful of Japanese also came to Angkor in the early 17th century. Yet we do not know if these Buddhist pilgrims visited Angkor Thom as they did Angkor Vat.

Around the middle of the 19th century Angkor was "rediscovered" by a British photographer and French explorers and apprehended as an object for study, primarily by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO). Angkor Thom was progressively cleared of vegetation. The Bayon began to exercise its magic on visitors and scholars alike, who continue to study its mysteries to the present day. It is interesting to note, finally, that throughout the tribulations of history, traces of the Angkorian past remain in the collective memory: in both the 16th and 19th centuries, it was local inhabitants who showed the emplacement of the ancient Royal Palace to European visitors.

Eastern Prasat Top

Two inscriptions, one still visible on a doorjamb of the sanctuary entrance, and another engraved on the four sides of a stellar now conserved in Siem Reap, provide relatively detailed information on the history of this small sanctuary - the last Brahmanic temple known to have been constructed in Angkor Thom, and inventoried as "Monument 487".
The significance of this site lies less in its architectural or artistic refinement than in the testimony it bears to the somewhat obscure period following the Mahayana Buddhist reign of Jayavarman VII and preceding the progressive establishment of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia over the centuries to come. The temple was founded by King Jayavarman VIII in the late 13th century in honor of a Brahman priest called Jaya Mangalartha and his mother, Subhadra, in association with an avatar of Vishnu and his consort.

The cult to this mother-son couple was maintained by subsequent generations of the royal family into the 14th century. The founding King Jayavarman VIII was related by marriage to this family whose roots could be traced back to a priest having traveled from Narapatidesa (Burma?) earlier in the 13th century to serve King Jayavarman VII.
While Mahayana Buddhism was not perpetuated after Jayavarman VII's death, this monarch's reign, along with its distinctive architecture and iconography, were to play an important role in the Khmer historical conscience for centuries to come. As a vivid example of continuation of tradition even as the Angkorian Empire went into those worshipping here more than a century after Jayavarman VII's death proudly claimed descendant from this famous monarch and one of his court priests.

Suor Prat

Rumour also had it that the towers of Suor Proat were used for public trial. In the event of an arbitration deadlock, each party would be made to site atop one of the twelve towers for a number of days. When released, the guilty party would be afflicted with illness: a fever or an ulcer...

Two legends are associated with these towers today. One, which has given the name "Suor Proat" or "Tightrope Walking," recounts that tightrope artists performed on a cord tied between the towers during public celebrations.
The second, derived from the Buddhist Jataka tale of Rithisen, tells that the Ogress Santhimear imprisoned "twelve young women", wives of the king, in Suor Proat's twelve towers.

This is the origin of the alternative name "Prasat Neang Pi Dandap" or the "Towers of the twelve young women".

Royal Palace

While the specific chronology is hypothetical, as the first Phimeanakas could be attributable to Rajendravarman's successor Jayavarman V, the symbolism remains remarkable. The present form of Phimeanakas temple is due to Suryavarman I, who waged war against the reigning monarch to seize the throne at Angkor Thom around 1011A.D.

The Royal Palace was remodeled and enclosed by a high wall. Two basic areas were distinguished within the temple grounds by another wall of which only traces remain today. The "public" area included the Phimeanakas and two water reservoirs known today as Srah Srei and Srah Bros. The reservoirs were to be remodeled under the reign of Jayavarman VII or his successors. The famous vow of fidelity required of Suryavarman's civil servants was probably pronounced in the vicinity of the Royal Palace, as the text of the vow is engraved in a number of places here, notably on the doorjambs of the eastern Entrance Gate. Various instruments used to defend the Palace against attack, such as three-pointed metal spikes, have been uncovered here, indicating that the enclosure wall also served as a protective fortress.

Major construction was undertaken at Angkor Thom's Royal Palace under the reigns of Jayavarman VII and his immediate successors. Bas-reliefs depicting aquatic scenes were added, for example, to the lower steps of Srah Srei.

Palace pyramid

Chamber at the top

Pool

Royal Terraces

Most remarkable, however, are additions made to the Palace enclosure front. First, a long terrace was built along the wall and extending beyond both its southern and northern ends. Opposite the Royal Terraces stand two rows of six towers each, known today as Prasat Suor Proat.

View of Royal Terrace

Elephant Terrace
The tall supporting wall of this terrace is sculpted with a variety of images such as an elephant procession or garudas with raised arms seemingly supporting the terrace at its corners . The north wall of the stairs has reliefs which are rich both in their subject matter and in their sculptural treatment. The example shown here represents a kind of polo, a game unknown today.

Detail of Elephant Terrace

Leper King Terrace
The terrace itself represents Mount Meru, the central mountain of the Buddhist cosmos, in a most unusual manner, suggesting the mountain's funerary associations. The terrace is composed of two successive walls. Earth was packed between the two, such that the outer wall literally hid the inner one. That the visitor can now see the inner wall, meant to not be seen, is entirely due to 20th-century conservation work. The layered rows of sculpted images decorating both walls correspond to the different levels of Meru inhabited by fabulous creatures.

Statue of the so called "leper king" when it was still on location

These rows of fabulous creatures, regularly interrupted by the singular figure of a divinity holding a baton, attribute of Yama the God of Death and Justice, or of one of his assessors, are identical on the two walls - with the notable exception that the inner figures bear relatively terrifying expressions. It is this detail in expression which has led scholars to believe that, together, the two walls represent the whole of Meru: its upper levels rising to a peak in the skies are the outer wall; the lower levels represented on the inner wall descend to the unfathomable depths of the serpent world.

Western Prasat Top

The presumably original structures of this temple - a single sanctuary atop a laterite platform - are thought to date to the 10th century, though a 9th century inscription was also discovered here. The temple that we see today, inventoried as "Monument 486", is largely the result of successive transformations made for the Buddhist cult, beginning around the 13th century and continuing at least into the 17th.

Over the course of this period the laterite platform was refaced with sandstone, the existent sanctuary reconstructed using 10th-century decorative elements (pink sandstone lintels and columns). Two additional towers were erected, one to the north and the other to the south of what then became the central structure. The ensemble was abundantly sculpted with Buddhist imagery. Of particular note are the standing Buddhas still somewhat visible on the collapsed facades of the northern tower. Other sculpture, primarily on architectural elements from the three towers, has been arranged by maintenance teams around the perimeter of the temple. The sandstone platform extending in front of the central tower, along with the statue pedestal built at its western end and scattered roof tile fragments, are all that remain of the Buddhist worship hall (Vihear) once standing here, its wooden superstructure having long since perished.

As the fundamental ritual act in the appropriation of this ancient site for Theravada Buddhism in the centuries following the transfer of the capital from Angkor, the temple's sacred terrain was delimited at each of the eight cardinal and intercardinal points by double border stones (seima); though partially buried today, some of these leaf-shaped sculptures can still be seen in their original positions.

Western Prasat Top has a counterpart in Eastern Prasat Top that is found near the road to the Victory Gate. This monument, however, was not Buddhist but rather the last Brahmanic temple constructed by Jayavarman VIII in honour of a high-ranking priest and his mother.

Kbal Spean

'Kbal Spean' is a natural bridge which has given its name to the river it crosses and to the sacred site established along the river for more than a millennium. The majority of Kbal Spean's archaeological vestiges date to the 11th to 13th centuries. From just above the natural bridge to the north, down to the waterfall below, the Kbal Spean river bed is covered with sculptures of linga, the symbol of the God Shiva's supreme essence. Some of the linga is on pedestals in the form of their female counterpart, the yoni.

The river banks, along with basins carved deep into the river bed, are likewise sculpted with a variety of scenes, symbols and inscriptions. The most recurrent theme depicted is the recreation of the world fallen into chaos.

The God Vishnu reclines on the ocean in meditation, absorbing the

Sign at the approach to the Kbal Spean site

watery chaos below; from his navel there grows a lotus flower bearing the Recreator, Brahma.

Flowing past and over these reliefs, the water is sanctified before branching off to form the Siem Reap and Puok rivers which continue south onto the plain and through the temple complexes of Angkor to the Tonle Sap lake.

Koh Ker

Many of the large statues at the National Museum in Phnom Penh came from Koh Ker. The enormous door frames of some of the tower sanctuaries hint at the size of the sacred images once revered here. Careful observers will discover pieces of large, now broken sculptures still laying around between fragments of columns, lintels, etc.

After the Khmer empire had been established in the Angkor area (Roluos), Jayavarman IV moved the capital in 928 almost 100km northeast to Koh Ker. Here a vast number of temples were built under his reign, until his successor returned to the Angkor area about twenty years later.

The Koh Ker site is dominated by Prasat Thom, a 30 meter tall temple mountain raising high above the plain and the surrounding forest. Great views await the visitor at the end of an adventurous climb. Garuda, carved into the stone blocks, still guard the very top, although they are partially covered now.

Prasat Thom, the 30 meter high temple mountain presiding over Koh Ker

Across the site of Koh Ker there are many Prasat or tower sanctuaries. A couple still feature an enormous linga on a yoni that provides space for several people. The outlet for the water that was sanctified by running it over the linga can be seen in the outside wall of one of them. In other cases, three Prasat stand next to each other, dedicated to Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. Most of them are surrounded by libraries and enclosures, many also had moats. At that time, the roofs were still made of wood. Today, only the holes for the beams remain in the stone structures.

The site is still 3 hours away from Siemreap, the area has been demined only recently and basic visitors' facilities are just being built. This makes Koh Ker very attractive for anyone who would like to experience lonely temples partially overgrown by the forest and inhabited only by birds, calling to each other from the trees above.

More information on the Koh Ker style

Fragment of Nandin or Sacred Bull sculpture

# APPENDIX 4: HUN SEN'S SPEECHES

| Date | Titles |
|---|---|
| Hun Sen<br><br>17 August 1999 | Hun Sen's Exclusive Interview to the Kyodo News Agency: |
| Hun Sen<br><br>21 December 1999 | Speech to the Government-Private Sector Forum |
| Hun Sen<br><br>07 February 2001 | Address to the Launching Ceremony of the National Route 6 from Roluos to Siem Reap Town Funded by the Japanese Government Grant Program |
| Hun Sen<br><br>27 February 2002 | Address to the Inauguration of the Pansea Angkor Hotel |
| Hun Sen<br><br>28 February 2002 | Address to the Third Government-Private Sector Forum |
| Hun Sen<br><br>11 March 2002 | Address on The ASEAN Lecture on "Challenges and Promises of ASEAN Integration: A Cambodian Perspective" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>18 March 2002 | Comments during the Inauguration of Phsar Loeu Thom Thmey in the City of Siemreap Province |
| Hun Sen<br><br>15 May 2002 | Address to Investors and Business People on "My Vision for Cambodia" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>20 June 2002 | Opening Address at the Cambodia Consultative Group Meeting |
| Hun Sen<br><br>01 July 2002 | Address to the Inauguration of the UNESCO/JSA (Japanese Government Team for Safeguarding Angkor) Project Office Built by the UNESCO/Japan Trust Fund in Siemreap Town, Siemreap Province |
| Hun Sen<br><br>07 August 2002 | Address at the Sixth Government-Private Sector Forum at the Council for Development of Cambodia |

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| Hun Sen<br><br>03 November 2002 | Keynote Address by Samdech HUN SEN Prime Minister, Royal Government of Cambodia and Chairperson, 1st Greater Mekong Sub-Region Program Summit, Phnom Penh, Kingdom of Cambodia |
| Hun Sen<br><br>04 November 2002 | Press Statement at the 8th ASEAN Summit, the 6th ASEAN + 3 Summit, and the ASEAN + China Summit |
| Hun Sen<br><br>05 November 2002 | Press Statement at the ASEAN-Japan, ASEAN-Republic of Korea, the First ASEAN-India Summit and the South African President's Briefing |
| Hun Sen<br><br>16 November 2002 | Keynote Address at the 8th Asia – Kyushu Regional Exchange Summit |
| Hun Sen<br><br>06 December 2002 | Remarks at the Charity Concert -- Angkor Complex, Siem Reap Province |
| Hun Sen<br><br>25 January 2003 | Selected Ad-lib Address during the Inauguration of a Zoo in Koh Kong Province |
| Hun Sen<br><br>08 May 2003 | Closing Remarks at the Conference of the Ministry of Tourism: "Taking Stock of the Performance 1998-2002 and Directions for 2003" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>16 June 2003 | Keynote Address 36th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting Cambodia: Fully Engaged in the ASEAN Community |
| Hun Sen<br><br>4 September 2003 | Keynote Address at the Conference on Investment in Cambodia: "Investment in Cambodia - The Diamond of Mekong" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>16 October 2003 | Address at the Second East Asia and Pacific Regional Conference on "Poverty Reduction Strategies" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>29 November 2003 | Address at the Opening of the 10th Council Meeting of the Mekong River Commission |
| Hun Sen<br><br>01 April 2004 | Address at the Launching of the Coastal Zone Resource Center in the Independent Beach |
| Hun Sen<br><br>08 June 2004 | Keynote Address at the Opening Ceremony of the Technical Seminar on Cultural Tourism and Poverty Alleviation |

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| Hun Sen<br><br>16 November 2004 | Address at the Conference on Human Trafficking |
| Hun Sen<br><br>07 October 2004 | Statement on behalf of Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar at the Admission Ceremony for New ASEM Members |
| Hun Sen<br><br>14 March 2005 | Remarks at the 8th Government-Private Sector Forum |
| Hun Sen<br><br>05 June 2005 | Address at the Opening of the National Conference on "One Village, One Product" (OVOP) |
| Hun Sen<br><br>19 October 2005 | Keynote Address at the Second China-ASEAN Business and Investment Summit |
| Hun Sen<br><br>3 November 2005 | Address at the Opening Ceremony of the Second Summit of the Heads of Government of Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam on Economic Cooperation Strategy |
| Hun Sen<br><br>08 December 2005 | Remarks at the Opening Ceremony of Sokha Angkor Hotel |
| Hun Sen<br><br>20 November 2006 | Speech at the Cambodia-Korea Business Luncheon |
| Hun Sen<br><br>12 November 2007 | Keynote Address at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Angkor National Museum |
| Hun Sen<br><br>29 November 2007 | Address at the Opening of "Johnny Walker Cambodian Golf Open 2007" |
| Hun Sen<br><br>22 December 2007 | Keynote Address at the Inauguration of Angkor Golf Resort |
| Hun Sen<br><br>13 February 2008 | Keynote Address at the Opening Conference on South-East Asia Cooperation |
| Hun Sen<br><br>5 March 2008 | Keynote Address at the Closing of 2007 Tourism Stocktaking Conference and Direction Setting for 2008 |
| Hun Sen | Keynote Address at the Ceremony to Launch the Construction of the National Road 62 from Tbeng Meanchey to Preah Vihear |

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| 5 April 2008 | Temple, and Road Segment from the Intersection of National Road 62 to Srayorng-Koh Ke |

# APPENDIX 5: FIELD WORK PHOTOS

Interview with owner of the guesthouse

Internet shop keeper is completing the questionnaire

Interviewing with local people

Interviewing with international tourists

Souvenir shop in Siem Reap town

Menu at the restaurant in town

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| On street sellers in front of Angkor | On street seller in town |
| | |
| Departure lounge, Siem Reap International Airport | Craftmen at Artisan d'Angkor |
| | |
| Local villagers are fishing | Moat around Angkor Wat Temple |

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