ASIAN CITIES

Adèle Esposito

Urban Development in the Margins of a World Heritage Site

In the Shadows of Angkor

Amsterdam University Press

International Institute for Asian Studies

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For Nathalie and Charles

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Abbreviations

ADHOC	Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association
AFD	Agence Française de Développement
AHA	Angkor Handicraft Association
AIMF	Association Internationale des Maires Francophones
APSARA	Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap
APUR	Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme
ARTE	Architecture Recherche Technique Environnement
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCEOM	Bureau Central d'Etudes pour les Equipements d'Outre-Mer
CDC	Council for the Development of Cambodia
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CSCNC	Cambodian Superior Council of National Culture
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême Orient
EHESS	École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
EIC	Economic Institute of Cambodia
ENSAPB	École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FUNCIPEC	Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIE	Groupement d'Intérêt Economique
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICC-Angkor	International Coordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor
ICEA	Ingénieurs Conseil & Economistes Associés
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFLA	International Federation of Landscape Architects
INALCO	Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales
IPRAUS	Institut Parisien de Recherche Architecture Urbanistique Société
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KOICA	Korean International Cooperation Agency
LEAP	Livelihood Enhancement and Association of the Poor
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights

MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MGC	Mekong Ganga Corporation
MLMUPC	Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RED	Regional Economic Development Program
RUFA	Royal University of Fine Arts
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SMDP	Shoemart Development Corporation
SOCHOT	Société Cambodgienne de l'Hôtellerie et du Tourisme
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
YTL	Yeoh Tiong Lay
ZEMP	Zoning and Environmental Management Plan for the Angkor Region

Glossary of Khmer terms

Baray បារាយណ៍
Headley (1977) gives the following definitions of the term *baray/baaraay*: 1) 'a light'; 2) 'a wide or open country, a wide plain'; 3) 'a place, region, country, open spot'. More specifically, he defines the *baaraay t*ik *tlaa* as an 'ancient Khmer reservoir in Siem Reap province'. However, De Bernon (1977) views this translation as problematic:

> [T]he word baray is, by the way, unknown in the epigraphic vocabulary. None of the first lexicographers [...] makes use of this term to designate a hydraulic structure. In the title block of the general map in his guide to the Angkor monuments, written in Khmer, Huot Tāt uses the transliteration *pārāy* to designate the large bodies of water enclosed by dikes that we are familiar with, but does not give any other information about them.

De Bernon goes on to explain that other authors agree on the Sanskrit origin of the term *pārāyana*. This term appears in the expression *pārāyana dik thlā* 'to designate a type of large reservoir in the Siem Reap region'. In their view, a Sanskrit word unknown in the inscriptions may have served to form a term in the regional vocabulary of Siem Reap. This might have been introduced during the period between the fall of the Angkor Kingdom in the fourteenth century and the establishment of the French protectorate (*époque moyenne*) or possibly in more recent times.

Boeung បឹង
Lake. More precisely, this word designates a trough that gives shape to a lake or a large pond fed by natural or artificial channels during the rainy season and used to store water for agricultural use during the dry season (Starkman and Blancot, 1997).

Borey ប៉ុរី
Sanskrit toponymic affix designating cities and other urban spaces. It has become a separate word in Khmer, but there is no consensus on its origins and exact meaning. For many Cambodians, the term designates the ancient Khmer capitals. For others, it is a bounded, rectangular inhabited space, sometimes surrounded by walls. A third definition associates the *borey* with ancient toponyms no longer used in Khmer. In postcolonial Cambodia the

term was used to designate residential areas or groups of public facilities. During the Vietnamese occupation, it signified public administrations and their residential estates, where public officials used to live. Since the end of the 1990s, the term has come to be used of residential developments which may include a dozen to several hundred shophouses (Fauveaud, 2014).

Chas ចាស់
Old. Term used of both objects and people.

Kaet ខេត្ត
Province, region, territory.

Kandal កណ្តាល
Central.

Khum ឃុំ
Commune. Administrative unit established by the French protectorate in 1908, grouping several villages (*phum*) together (Delvert, 1961).

Kompong កំពង់
Harbour, port.

Kraom ក្រោម
Low, below, lower than.

Krong ក្រុង
City, town.

Leu លើ
On, above, towards.

Neak ta អ្នកតា
Divinity, expression of energy, spirit associated with a specific village community; it maintains the link between the villagers and their land, water, and ancestors.

Okhna ឪកញ្ញា / ឪកុញ្ញា
Honorific title once granted to important Khmer dignitaries. A sub-decree resurrected it in 1994, specifying that the title would be given to those individuals who make a US$100,000 donation to the Cambodian government

and show 'an ostensible commitment to direct some of their wealth towards the greater good' (Sek and Henderson, 2014).

Phnom ភ្នំ
Mountain, hill, height.

Phsar ផ្សារ
Market place, fair.

Prasat ប្រាសាទ
Ancient temple, tower, monument, beautiful building, palace.

Prek ព្រែក
Natural or excavated channel, stream, tributary of a river, enclosed water-courses that receive water from a river; artificial breaches that link a river or a water-wheel with a source of stored water (Starkman and Blancot, 1997).

Phum ភូមិ
Village. Delvert (1961) says that this word generally designates any temporary or permanent inhabited place. According to the administrative system established by the French protectorate in 1908, a *phum* is a group of families living in houses built close to each other and recognizing the authority of a village leader.

Pteah ផ្ទះ
House.

Sala សាលា
House, building, room, school. The term is often used to designate semi-open buildings built by the roadside for travellers who want to stop and rest. With the addition of suffixes, several other terms are created: for instance, *sala kdei* (tribunal), *sala kaet* (provincial headquarters).

Sangkat សង្កាត់
Part, quarter, district, section. The term *sangkat krong* សង្កាត់ ក្រុង designates a district within a city.

Srok ស្រុក
State, region, country, royal court, nation, territorial subdivision of a province. The term is also used to designate a village or home town.

Stung ស្ទឹង
Small river, river tributary.

Teukdey ទឹកដី
Territory (from *teuk* ទឹក, water and *dey* ដី, land).

Thmey ថ្មី
New.

Tonlé ទន្លេ
This word means river (Antelme and Bru-Nut, 2001), but it is also used to refer to lakes and to the sea. In the geography of Cambodia, *Tonlé Sap* specifically indicates 1) the confluent that flows into the Mekong in Phnom Penh; 2) the Cambodian lake which is the largest freshwater resource in Southeast Asia.

Trapeang ត្រពាំង
Pond, marsh. This term is often used to designate the ponds used for water storage, which are laid out along the four points of the compass in line with Angkor cosmology (Starkman and Blancot, 1997).

Wat វត្ត
Buddhist monastery, more precisely 'the plot of land on which a monastery is located' (Headley, 1977, p. 970). This word can also designate tradition, discipline, practice, and respect.

Note on transliteration
Different transliterations of Khmer terms are available in British and American English. This book follows those that I have found most frequently in academic sources and tries to maximize the likelihood of a non-Khmer speaker's attempt to read Khmer words.

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Author's Preface

Since colonial times, Angkor has captured the attention of the international heritage community and has been seen as one of the most important archaeological sites in the world. It has also become a major international tourist destination, especially after being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992. Today, it is visited by more than two million tourists every year. Tourism plays a significant role in the reconstruction of the national economy. Cambodia has gone through twenty years of turmoil: the dictatorial regime of the Khmer Rouge, the civil war, and the Vietnamese occupation destroyed social organizations, economic growth, and the transmission of culture and traditions. When Cambodia eventually regained its status as an independent and sovereign country in 1991, its political, social, and economic systems had to be rebuilt from scratch with the assistance of the United Nations. Reconstruction efforts coincided with the recognition of Angkor as the heritage of humanity, only one year later. International fame bolstered hope for economic development, while at the same time it aroused concern for the reconstruction of the national identity based on Cambodia's archaeological heritage. Angkor has come under the spotlight of post-war development. It has monopolized the institutional concern for heritage, preventing other forms of legacy from being recognized as valuable. The focus of cultural policy in Angkor has gone hand in hand with the convergence of wealth and investment in Siem Reap. In 2007, this town, located six kilometres away from the main temples, was still surrounded by one of the poorest rural areas in the country.

The sharp contrasts between celebration and indifference, wealth and poverty, caught my attention when I first visited Cambodia as a postgraduate student in 2005. Developers and speculators have invested large amounts of capital in Siem Reap during the last twenty years. However, the town has lacked any kind of cultural policy or programmes for urban conservation and planning. While the focus of scholarship has mainly been directed to the magnificent remains of Angkor, I became interested in its urban surroundings, which embodied an intriguing contradiction between cultural marginality and economic centrality.

In my own early life in Turin, a secondary city in northwest Italy, my first experiences of the urban environment generated a sense of marginality. I lived in the southern suburb of Mirafiori, which had mostly been built after the Second World War to house the rising industrial proletariat employed by the Fiat car factory. Blocks of residential buildings had mushroomed in the rural landscape and pushed out the farms. The post-war history of the

urbanization of Mirafiori was 'transparent' in public consciousness and policy. As children, we learnt little about how and when our neighbourhood was built. Moreover, collective perceptions of this disadvantaged suburb tended to be negative, at a time when heroin addicts were intimidating the other residents. I had the impression that the environment where I lived had no history, and that only my personal memories could make it pleasant and valuable. As a teenager, I discovered the centre of Turin: when I travelled from the dull, urban periphery to the exciting centre every Saturday afternoon, I had the feeling that being a suburbanite made it impossible for me to experience beauty on a daily basis. Later, as an architecture student, I started looking at the suburbs of my childhood with fresh eyes. I remember taking dozens of pictures of roads and spaces, which my newly acquired knowledge enabled me to situate in their historical context. I discovered hidden features of the city from the early 1920s and the remains of a sixteenth-century castle. History, I saw, had always been present, though beauty was less visible in the industrial suburbs than in the historic centre. This awareness prefigured the municipal policies that introduced conservation and redevelopment projects for Turin's industrial heritage and Mirafiori only a few years later. In my personal experience, the wide gap that separated the town of my childhood from my first fieldwork site was bridged by the desire to uncover the meaning and beauty of an urban landscape widely perceived as insignificant. My early experience as an urban citizen nourished my research, impelling me to look at the political and social structures that cause meanings, knowledge, and alternative aesthetics to be concealed and overlooked. Siem Reap has been a crucial case study, because it has allowed me to investigate the dualistic opposition of a significant archaeological park and a more recent urban development largely perceived as having no meaning. By acknowledging the artificial nature of this opposition and, at the same time, its rootedness in society, I hope to have suggested some possibilities of overcoming it.

At Siem Reap-Angkor, power alliances between government institutions and private developers have become entrenched during Cambodia's recent history, and have intersected with the global politics of international heritage. They are kept alive and even reinforced by the present political situation. The reconstruction of Cambodian institutions has established a neopatrimonial political system in which personal interests prevail through the use of socially constructed tactics, confirming and strengthening the legitimacy of those who own and perform power. This system generates extreme inequality and authoritarian behaviour. It mirrors the unscrupulous drive for prestige and social recognition, which wealthy Cambodians associate with the power to act in space, often to the disadvantage of those who cannot secure sufficient resources or connections with powerful individuals. A number of scholarly

works have condemned the misuses of power and short-sighted strategies of some Cambodians. They have identified the patronage system as one of the main obstacles to the establishment of the rule of law, and constructed an image of Cambodia as a country that must be educated in the values of heritage, sustainable development, and institutional accountability. Without denying the quality and usefulness of these works in fostering political and social change, as I read them I felt uneasy, since I had the impression that they were imposing an external, overarching gaze and claiming the right to say what was 'good' and 'bad' for Cambodia. I sensed the influence of that gaze on my own early perception of disruptive urban dynamics, and I realized how powerful it was, weaving a web of concepts and beliefs that distanced me from direct experience of my own fieldwork.

My own approach has emerged from that discomfort. It consists of analysing rationales, structures, and mechanisms. Within these broad categories, I have paid special attention to urban planning, policies, and legislation in the field of land management and urban development, and political discourse, as well as strategies and tactics shaped by those involved in the processes of territorial and urban transformation. Large amounts of development assistance from outside the country function to convey the donors' preferred development models. Foreign consultants perform their authority as experts in a country still reconstructing its intellectual and professional elite. The inextricable connections between the private and the public sector dictate the directions of urban development, to the detriment of the disadvantaged segments of the population. The academic literature expresses severe criticism of the Cambodian state and the country's political economy. In line with this, sections of this book develop a critical analysis of the failure of urban planning, the consequences of land speculation, and intense construction activity in the Siem Reap region. However, during my fieldwork, I maintained a distance from this critical framework of analysis. When I interviewed some of those who have been responsible for negative urban transformations, I tried to focus on the individual expression of meanings, aspirations, and self-interested calculations, which construct these people as subjects. My efforts to present an understanding of individual and collective systems of meanings and objectives reflect my positionality as a researcher and my philosophy as a human being. I do believe that genuine understanding of the real nature of a situation, a person, or a society makes transformation more likely. Such an understanding might even be more effective – and certainly more respectful of the capacity for individual and collective self-determination – than a proactive but directive approach to defining desirable directions for change. This approach to the understanding of contemporary Cambodian politics and its roots in national trauma and insecurity thus constitutes, for me, a form of political engagement.

A Map of Southeast Asia and Cambodia

Introduction

The archaeological park of Angkor includes the major monuments of the ancient Khmer capitals, built between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, with ruins and monuments dotting a landscape of tropical forest, cultivated land, and rural communities (Winter, 2008). UNESCO established this park as a consequence of the listing of Angkor as a World Heritage Site in 1992. Aiming to preserve the monuments' physical authenticity and visual integrity, international experts proposed that only projects for heritage conservation and tourism management should be allowed within the precincts of the park. Its boundaries are marked by small, red pillars displaying the symbol of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Beneath the symbol, a double arrow indicates the perimeter of the archaeological park. These pillars are sometimes found in the countryside, where they arbitrarily distinguish an 'inside' and 'outside' of the park in rural and village environments where neither monuments, nor tourists are in sight (Figure B). A hierarchy was thus established in which a different status was assigned to spaces that often had similar physical and social characteristics, but which arbitrarily fell inside or outside the perimeter of the archaeological park, depending on their distance from the major monuments.

The establishment of the park led to the formation of a 'heritage territoriality', that is to say a territory composed of different spaces separated by boundaries, subject to specific sets of regulations, and infused with diverse social and cultural meanings. In particular, the creation of the park has generated what I call a 'non-heritage space'. I use this neologism to designate an area excluded from heritage recognition, but within the orbit of the heritage site. This space undergoes intense transformation because of its proximity to and concomitant exclusion from heritage status. Here, a politically and socially constructed distinction allows for the implementation of tourism-related developments that would be forbidden within the archaeological park. The non-heritage space therefore absorbs the carry-over effects of tourism growth, but is excluded from the recognition of values that its own legacy and traditions may possess. By the same token, it is also 'freed from' the constraints and regulations that are likely to accompany heritage recognition. It can thus be used as a space of development, where aspirations for social change, economic growth, and modernization find their way through new plans and projects.

Pressure for the development of this non-heritage space has been particularly strong in the vicinity of Angkor. Only recently emerging from the

dictatorial regime of the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979), war, and foreign occupation, Cambodia (Figure A) began to embrace economic liberalization in the 1980s under the Vietnamese administration. The Paris Accords signed in 1991 inaugurated peacekeeping and national reconstruction, and accelerated the liberalization process. Extremely permissive legislation on investment[1] has gradually opened the country up to foreign capital and projects. Tourism has been viewed as a profitable 'light industry', which can provide quick returns on investment while requiring modest initial capital (Hall and Page, 2000). For this reason, tourism has played a role of paramount importance in the restructuring of the Cambodian economy, accounting for 29.9 per cent of GDP in 2015 (Table C). The World Heritage Site of Angkor has catalysed and concentrated a remarkable development in tourism, with a 10,000 per cent increase in international tourism between 1998 and 2008 (Winter, 2008).

Villages, agricultural areas, and open fields form the non-heritage space of Angkor. At the heart of this space, six kilometres from the main temples, lies Siem Reap. In precolonial times, the town was simply a conglomeration of villages strung out along the river of the same name. The French Protectorate established Siem Reap as a provincial capital and a tourist resort when the first archaeological park of Angkor was created in 1925. After Cambodian independence in 1953, Siem Reap maintained these functions, although tourism development was in its infancy. The UNESCO World Heritage listing confirmed the town's focus on tourism; today, it accommodates more than two million tourists a year (Sor, 2016b).[2] International experts attempted to re-list the Siem Reap-Angkor region as a cultural landscape under the UNESCO World Heritage system in subsequent years. The cultural landscape would have covered a surface approximately equal to the area of Siem Reap Province (10,000 km^2), and would have included minor archaeological outposts, villages, and natural areas, as well as Siem Reap town, in an all-encompassing system of special conservation regulations. However, these attempts failed. As available sources do not elucidate the reasons for this failure, it is only possible to make assumptions. The re-listing of Angkor as a cultural landscape would have extended a binding regulatory system to the entire Siem Reap province. The enforcement of this system would have restrained development pressures in the region. Developers would have been obliged to conform to specific land use and construction rules. In Chapter 2, we will see how reluctant developers were to comply with planning measures

1 See Cambodia Law on Investment (5 August 1994) and Amendment to the Law on Investment of the Kingdom of Cambodia (24 March 2003).

2 http://siemreaptourism.gov.kh (accessed 13 May 2016).

that foreign consultants tried to implement in Siem Reap town. For its part, the Cambodian government supported the developers' claims for the deregulation of construction activity in the expanding urban area, in line with its intention to use Angkor as a major catalyst for investment and economic growth. In this context, the listing of Angkor as a cultural landscape would have put a brake on the process of growth as imagined by the political and economic elites. In contrast, the separation between a heritage and a non-heritage space accommodates the government's combined strategy of heritage conservation and tourism-related development.

Consequently, Siem Reap's urban space is subject only to ordinary regulations in the areas of construction and land transactions, as is the rural territory which surrounds the urban core. Approximately 150 hotels, an equivalent number of guesthouses, several golf courses, museums, and commercial activities were built in the town between 1992 and 2008. The town and its surroundings have been highly exposed to development projects directly or indirectly related to the tourism economy. The borders of the non-heritage space have been pushed further and further out as property developments have been implemented. Intense urban transformation has restructured the area, reshaped architectural and urban forms, and triggered extensive reconfigurations of the social and political relations among those active in the fields of conservation, tourism, and urban development.

In the eyes of developers, the non-heritage space has appeared as a promised land of unbridled individual freedom. The divide between the heritage and non-heritage spaces has become increasingly sharp as the international celebrity of the ancient Khmer capitals has encouraged intense development on the margins. National and foreign investors have acquired an unconditional trust in the open-ended process of tourism development. This unshakeable faith has encouraged volatile investment, property development, and numerous small-scale architectural projects. While investors have expanded their power over ever larger areas of urban land, ordinary families, residents, and other users of local facilities have seen their capacity to own, shape, and occupy the urban space weakened. Siem Reap's urban community of citizens has been 'deprived of leadership and stewardship by the actions and attitudes of people both present in and absent from these environments' (Markusen, 2004, p. 2303). Significantly, Siem Reap province was still the third poorest in the country in 2007, with an estimated 52 per cent of the population living below the national poverty line.[3] The rural

3 The poverty line is established at 2,000 Riels or US$0.50 per day (GTZ, 2007; Hauser-Schäublin, 2012). Within the province, differences exist between the districts. The northern ones, such

surroundings of the World Heritage Site, now partially included in the perimeters of Siem Reap municipality, are forgotten places on the periphery of 'a place of hyper-growth' (Ong, 2006, quoted by Winter, 2008).

It is my aim here to examine the conditions that led to the formation of this forgotten place in the vicinity of the World Heritage Site. The origins of these conditions, I argue, can be found in the World Heritage system and, more particularly, in the theoretical and methodological foundations that have determined how heritage has been perceived and managed in Cambodia since colonial times. I examine the dialectic between the peripheral position of Siem Reap in the politics of heritage and its concomitant centrality to economic dynamics. I view this as a particular manifestation of the deeply rooted discursive dualism that tries to reconcile 'conservation' and 'development' in heritage policies, especially in developing countries. On the one hand, heritage must be conserved and therefore protected from the threats represented by modernization and tourism-related transformations. On the other hand, it is seen as a source of economic growth that can be exploited to develop domestic and international tourism and also help to generate images of places and cities that enhance their uniqueness and resulting comparative advantage on the competitive global market (Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Prigent, 2013). The consequences of this dialectic have concerned both planning and development, and the conflicts and disconnections between these two raise questions about how the power to determine urban transformation has been distributed, exerted, contested, and subverted in Siem Reap. International donors and consultants have positioned themselves as 'cultural brokers' (Lewis and Mosse, 2006) in the field of planning – that is to say, as mediators between different cultural and professional systems who ought to be able to import international knowledge in the field of heritage and urban planning into the local context of Siem Reap-Angkor, while also managing the reconstruction of the Cambodian political and economic system. In the specific context of Cambodia, where urban knowledge was destroyed with the mass killing of intellectuals and professionals during the Khmer Rouge period, they have maintained a stranglehold on urban planning. This has, however, had little impact on the urban fabric; the politics of urban planning has only marginally contributed to the transfer of knowledge and capacities that foreign sponsors look for. For their part, developers have benefited from underhand agreements with

as Srei Suam, Angkor Chum, Varin, and Svay Len, are the poorest, because they are far away from the main hub of development in Siem Reap, their soil is not very fertile, and there is little agricultural diversification (Hauser-Schäublin, 2012).

officials and members of the political elite, which have left them undisturbed in the material production of the city.

The history of urban governance in Siem Reap disproves the belief that the state is the main regulator of development for the public good. Rather, a neopatrimonial system has been established in Cambodian politics, which 'features a combination of a modern bureaucracy and personalized patron-client relationships within a traditional system of patrimonialism, with no clear distinction between the public and the private realms' (Un and So, 2011, p. 294). Patrimonialism can be traced back to pre-Angkorian times, when Hindu values favoured the emergence of a trend towards personalized power. Kings were viewed as demi-gods (*devaraja*) and granted absolute power (Sahai, 1970, quoted by Rabé, 2009). As early as the ninth to twelfth centuries, statues representing 'persons of distinction' as Buddhist and Hindu divinities bore witness to the existence of a 'cult of big men' (Coedès, 1947, quoted by Rabé, 2009). Buddhists believe that their social position is the result of merit gained during previous lives. For this reason, they rarely contest social hierarchies, but respect the leaders' moral authority and expect them to assist the lower strata of the population (Pak, Horng, Eng et al., 2007). These leaders often act as benefactors (*saborashon*) by making donations to pagodas and disadvantaged local people in exchange for their loyalty and political support (Formoso and Stock, 2016).

At different periods, patron-client relations determined the distribution of political power. During the French Protectorate, Cambodian civil servants were in charge of tax collection. This prestigious role allowed them to accumulate personal power through direct connection with French administrators. In postcolonial times, Norodom Sihanouk presented himself as the father of the nation. He relied on personalized, absolute power, which enabled him to annihilate his political enemies. He described the Cambodian poor as the 'little people', for whom he showed paternal affection (Jeldres, 2005; Chandler, 2003, quoted by Rabé, 2009). Even the Khmer Rouge, who claimed to have collective leadership, gave Pol Pot a leading role at the head of the party and the state (Pak, Horng, Eng et al., 2007).

Patrimonial structures have changed in the context of contemporary economic liberalization (Rabé, 2009). Through family alliances established by marriage and the accumulation of economic resources and opportunities, a power elite of tycoons has centralized power (Formoso and Stock, 2016). In this situation, low-income people with limited social capital often have no other option than to co-operate 'with dominant classes in order to maximize their own security' (Rabé, 2009, p. 282). The state has endorsed the leading role of the economic and political elite. It has been enmeshed in

networks of diplomatic and tactical alliances, which have diverted international development assistance to the advantage of particular interests. The internationally driven efforts to direct the establishment of the rule of law in Cambodia led to the formation of an 'unconsolidated democracy' (Linz and Stepan, 1996) in which elements identified with democratic government can coexist with authoritarian practices (Keang Un, 2006). This system benefits the elites in power who resist undertaking reforms. Civil society and social movements are discouraged, as major threats to the stability of the system. This understanding of the political and economic context helps me to reflect more broadly on the role of contemporary Cambodian cities in the context of national economic liberalization, the emergence of Cambodian political and economic urban elites, and the shortcomings of international development doctrines which often appear disconnected from local politics.

I approach the non-heritage space as a political and social arena. I draw here on the metaphor of the arena as it has developed in the field of political anthropology (Dartigues, 2001), where it has been interpreted in several ways: as the place of political activity, the structural centre of social order (Geertz, 1983), a critical point of intersection between social systems (Long, 1989), the meeting place for heterogeneous and strategic groups (Olivier de Sardan and Bierschenk, 1993), and the encounter between allies who exchange various kinds of resources (Darré, 1996). In the arena of Siem Reap, alliances and enmities are constantly being played out. However, the use of urban space is not confined to the role of a backdrop for the performance of politics and economics: 'Buildings serve as a reminder of the practices of the past and the starting point for both the performance of unfinished fantasies and the desire to overcome troubling memories and remake oneself within, as well as beyond, one's particular time and place' (Kusno, 2010, p. 3). Following Kusno, I see architecture and urban design as semiotic activities that strive to combine two apparently competing objectives. Architectural forms are used as reminders of history, tradition, and heritage; at the same time, they make it possible to envision urban modernity.

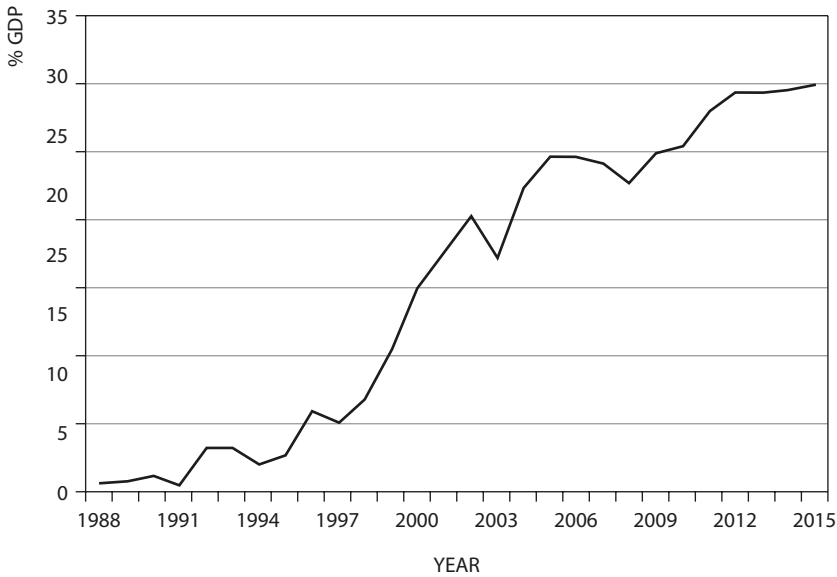
Since colonial times, urban space in Cambodia, and in particular in the capital Phnom Penh, has been conceived as a 'semantic production': that is to say, it was used to give material form to political and ideological strategies and contributed to the construction of national identity (Fauveaud, 2011). In colonial times, architectural and urban projects enhanced exoticized representations of local traditions. Tradition was imagined as a fragile construct, opposed to modernity, which Western influences

Figure B UNESCO signpost indicating the boundaries of the Angkor archaeological park

Photo by the author, 2015

would irremediably compromise. After Cambodian independence, the architectural style developed by a group of Cambodian architects (including Vann Molyvann, Lu Ban Hap, Chhim Sun Fong, Seng Suntheng, and Mam

Figure C Total contribution made by tourism and travel to Cambodia's GDP



Source: World Travel and Tourism Council, 2016; table: http://knoema.fr/atlas/Cambodge/topics/Tourisme/Contribution-totale-du-tourisme-et-voyage-au-PIB/Contribution-totale-au-PIB-percent-proportion; accessed 21 July 2016

Sophana) created original architectural assemblages combining national tradition with the International Movement. Their style was later named 'New Khmer Architecture' (Collins and Ross, 2006).

In contemporary Cambodia, the dual quest for tradition and modernity is a source of contradiction: images and ideas of urban modernity are so distanced from inherited forms that they arouse the fear that Cambodia's cultural roots will be forgotten. At the same time, ideas of tradition shaped in colonial times still exert a strong influence on contemporary imaginings of the past, and offer a selective understanding of national heritage that Cambodians have largely appropriated. My analysis of contemporary architectural and urban projects unpacks the assemblages of built forms, which combine representations of tradition and modernity. I pay special attention to 'tourist enclaves', those spaces that 'are carefully staged and designed so that [the touristic] performance is somewhat prescriptive' (Edensor, 1998, p. 62). In doing so, I reflect on how tourist architecture negotiates the notion of authenticity, responding to the twofold tourist demand for a taste of heritage and locality, but without foregoing modern standards of comfort. Based on the analysis of colonial

and postcolonial images of heritage and tradition, I propose the notion of 'emotional authenticity' as an analytical framework, which helps us to understand how this negotiation is played out in architectural and urban projects. Emotional authenticity pays less attention to the originality and accuracy of cultural references. Rather, it relies on the ability of an object or space to provoke intense feelings and provide dramatic experiences through selective, strategic evocations of the past and tradition. The analysis of tourism-related projects in Siem Reap brings me to question more broadly the directions of contemporary architectural and urban production. In doing so, I address the complex and convoluted logic that underlies the construction of Siem Reap on the periphery of the World Heritage Site.

Ordinary diversity? A secondary tourist city in Southeast Asia

Robinson (2006) has argued that 'ordinary cities', once on the margins of the world economy, take specific and diverse paths towards urban modernity. So far, she points out, the study of world cities has dominated the directions and paradigms of urban studies. World cities have been viewed as models and winners in a global hierarchy based on economic parameters that subsequently determine the rank of other cities. Bunnell and Maringanti (2010) have called the focus of academic research on such primate cities 'metrocentricity' and argued for a methodological and conceptual reorientation of urban studies, which would place more emphasis on secondary cities. Such cities are broadly defined as those that play a secondary and sometimes marginal role in the world economy. Focusing the spotlight of academic attention on them helps to call into question the knowledge paradigms that have influenced the understanding of contemporary urban phenomena. Following this principle, Chen and Kanna (2012, p. 1) focus on secondary cities from a global perspective in order to 'bring better to light global processes that have been marginalized or neglected in the literature on global cities'. These processes, they write, 'include the emergence of alternative and new cartographies of globalization [...] the role of local, regional, and "deep" (economic, colonial, national) histories in shaping contemporary urban globalization; and the multifarious, complex role of cultural and symbolic structures in urban experience and the construction of global urban circuits'. Franck, Goldblum, and Taillard (2012) have investigated the specific trajectories of secondary cities in Southeast Asia. They argue that Southeast Asian secondary cities share some features

with metropolises; however, they do not fully embody the metropolitan model, nor are they on the way to forming new metropolises. Rather, they experience *métropolisation en mode mineur* ('metropolization in a minor mode'). 'Metropolization', a term rarely used in Anglophone literature (with a few exceptions, e.g. Krätke, 2007), designates processes that were once typical of metropolises, but may affect only specific parts or aspects of a developing city (Leroy, 2000). The term thus encapsulates the possibility that alternative urban models can be developed and leaves the way open to researchers who may want to explore the unique characteristics of such urban trajectories.

The recent development of Siem Reap as an international tourism hub raises questions about the integration of secondary cities into international heritage diplomacy and the global tourism economy through processes of metropolization. Today, Siem Reap is the second largest Cambodian city after Phnom Penh, with approximately 250,000 inhabitants living in the urbanized area of the municipality established in 2008 (Fauveaud, 2015a) (Figure C). Only 30,000 people lived there at the beginning of the 1990s, when a scarred population of refugees was authorized to return to the cities after fifteen years of political turmoil. Until 2008, Siem Reap was a province and a district composed of twelve urban and rural communes. It was only in 2008 that it became a municipality encompassing three additional rural communes.[4] Through this reform, Siem Reap was aligned with Phnom Penh, the national capital, and other Southeast Asian metropolises (e.g. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City), which have also recently experienced the extension of their administrative areas.[5] These reforms have all absorbed rural areas into the perimeter

4 Siem Reap is a province, a district, and, since 2008, a municipality. The province comprises twelve districts, 100 communes, and 921 villages. It covers a surface of approximately 10,549 km² and had a population of 896,309 inhabitants in 2008. Siem Reap district covers a surface of 446 km², of which 340 km² is land area and the other 106 km² belongs to Tonlé Sap lake, the largest source of fresh water in southeast Asia. Siem Reap district had a population of 146,379 in 2006 and has had an average population growth of five per cent since 1998 (DED, 2007). Siem Reap municipality was created in 2008. It comprises 108 villages and eleven communes, which previously formed part of the district, and two additional rural communes.

5 Phnom Penh's master plan, designed in 2003 by the Office of Urban Affairs, integrated twelve additional communes into the area of the municipality, as well as three new satellite cities – Camko City, Boeung Kak, and Koh Pich (Goldblum, 2012). Ho Chi Minh City's municipal area expanded in 2008 to include provinces in the Southeastern surroundings of the city. Following this reform, the master plan expects that urbanization rates in the whole Ho Chi Minh municipal area will expand from 77 per cent to 90 per cent by 2050. In 2008, Hanoi Municipality included Ha Tay Province and Son Tay City in a conurbation composed of an urban core and several satellites.

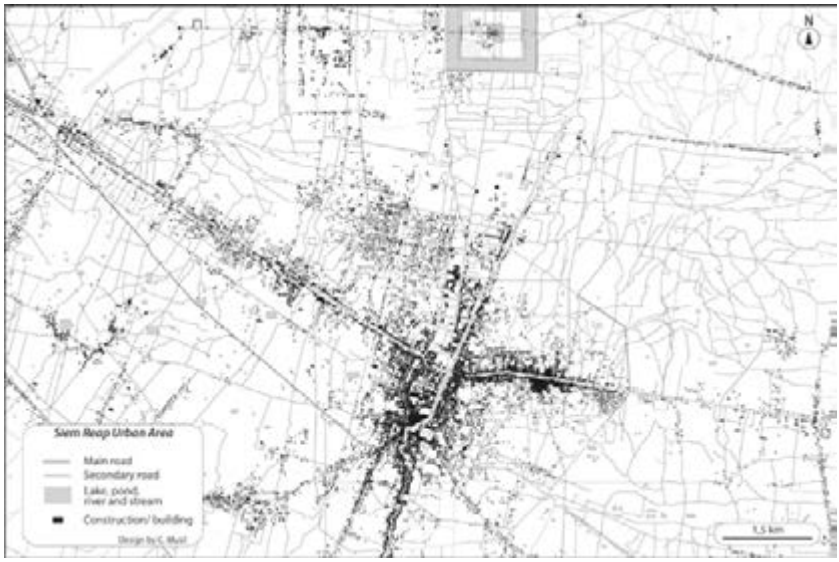
of the municipality. These areas are intended for future developments that often involve urbanization. The urbanization pattern is organized around the development of corridors and new centres in the form of neighbourhoods or satellite cities. 'In a minor mode' the establishment of Siem Reap municipality reproduces this strategy, since it aims to expand urbanization on former rural and agricultural land and involves the construction of several urban complexes with both commercial and residential functions. It also reveals the desire of national institutions to extend to a secondary city the processes of economic and urban development typical of metropolises. Even if Siem Reap cannot aspire to metropolitan status, the strategy is aimed at encouraging its economic dynamism and international connections.

However, Siem Reap's municipal perimeter currently encloses hybrid forms combining rural and urban elements. Typically, urban forms have increased in the years following the Angkor World Heritage listing, with the rapid expansion and increased density of the built areas and concomitant decrease in agricultural and uncultivated land. Transportation networks have developed with the construction of new roads, a harbour, and an international airport. Numerous commercial facilities, including shopping malls and residential complexes echoing the model of the gated community, have profoundly changed the urban landscape, once mainly composed of wooden houses on stilts and other small-scale buildings. In addressing the trajectory of Siem Reap from a village to a fast-developing city, I investigate the strategies and means through which a secondary city overcomes its peripheral position and engages in growth and modernization.

The case of Siem Reap casts more light on the dynamics at play throughout Southeast Asia. Previous research has shown that secondary cities such as Melaka and Penang have been marginalized in the restructuring of economic systems and commercial exchanges (Sandhu, Wheatley, and Mat Tom, 1983). Ancient capital cities, such as Luang Prabang, have seen their political role declining. Since the 1980s, heritage and tourism have become major programmatic choices for the revitalization of urban and national economies, and for the integration of these secondary cities into regional and international cooperation networks (Dearborn and Stallmeyer, 2010; Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, 2009, 2010; Jenkins, 2008). Heritage recognition has functioned as a major driver of urban change, as it has catalysed demographic and economic flows.

At Siem Reap-Angkor, however, institutional heritage is located outside the city, and the disconnection between the heritage site and the

Figure D Siem Reap urban area in 2005



After JICA 2006, © Esposito 2016)

tourism hub determines some specific processes of urban development. These specificities may not lie in the forms produced, but rather in the processes themselves and their social and economic complications, which have often been obscured by the common notion that, in today's economy, the urban landscape is becoming homogenized (Sassen, 2012). My analysis of these processes moves from economic tactics to their built consequences, and from project design to implementation, and conceives of the shaping of the urban fabric as a collective social endeavour. Inhabitants, small-scale developers, and builders do not draw on highly specialized professional knowledge, nor are they going to produce original architectural and urban models. For these reasons, their projects have to be defined as 'ordinary'. However, they appropriate international references, which reach them from multiple sources (their own travel, magazines, projects implemented in Phnom Penh or built in Siem Reap by foreign chains and investors, etc.) and mould them into the existing urban structure and landscape. They are thus the producers of various forms of diversity that concern the processes of architectural production as well as the built results. 'Ordinary diversity' characterizes the evolution of Siem Reap as a secondary city exposed to international influences triggered by tourism.

Building the city after conflict

Cambodia had just emerged from dictatorship, war, and foreign occupation when Angkor was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992. The turmoil started in the late 1960s. Following the country's independence from the French Protectorate in 1953 and Norodom Sihanouk's rise to power as head of state and leader of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum ('the Community of the Common People') in 1955, Cambodia became involved in the Vietnam-US war: North Vietnamese troops were active in the southwest of the country and the American army responded with bombing campaigns (Winter, 2007). During this decade, the Khmer Rouge movement gradually gained influence within the country, first taking root in the jungle in the northeast and gradually spreading across the countryside. Criticizing the military action of the USA and claiming that it would liberate the country from both the Vietnamese and the Americans, the movement established a close relationship with the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The propaganda of the Chinese Cultural Revolution was disseminated around the country by various groups, including 'the Overseas Chinese, the Chinese Embassy, the Khmer-Chinese Friendship Association (KCFA), the five Chinese language newspapers, and Chinese instructors working with the Cambodian army' (Armstrong, 1977, p. 204). In 1967, a peasant revolt in Battambang region, probably triggered by a land dispute, was violently repressed by the government. It sowed doubt about the consensus enjoyed by Sihanouk among the rural population and fear of a possible move towards revolutionary communism under the double influence of Vietnam and China (Forest, 2008). Sihanouk reacted by intensifying the repression of those suspected of subversive activities. However, his personal power and ascendancy eroded over time. The stability of his political regime was further threatened by economic difficulties, political rivalries, and lack of consistency in his national and foreign policies. This situation created favourable conditions for a military coup, which may have benefited from US complicity (Clymer, 2013). The Khmer Republic was subsequently established, headed by General Lon Nol. Martial law was introduced in order to fight the rise of communism in the country. Its expansion was a response to the penetration of Vietnamese communists into Cambodia and the turmoil caused by repeated American and South Vietnamese bombing and exactions. The 1973 Paris 'Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam' only increased American military intervention in Cambodia and massively pushed the population to embrace communism. The Khmer Rouge rode the wave of popular indignation. They took over in Cambodia and marched

into Phnom Penh in 1975 (Chandler, 2008). They emptied the city of more than three million people, who were forced to relocate to cooperatives and work camps established in the countryside. Siem Reap was evacuated on 17-18 April 1975. A local informant interviewed by Vigers (2005) explained that 'the town was completely destroyed, especially the wooden houses. Only the brick and concrete buildings remained. They pulled down the wooden houses to get firewood, to have some heat [...] to heat up their meals, to prepare their food' (pp. 97-98).

Drawing on Mao Zedong's policy of the 'Great Leap Forward', the Khmer Rouge were ready to provoke a profound and rapid transformation of Cambodian society. Villages, towns, and cities were seen as barriers to the revolution and had to be annihilated. The totalitarian collectivization of economic resources aimed to recreate Cambodian society and reconstruct national identity on the basis of an idealization of the rural past and the peasantry. Nevertheless, Angkor remained an icon during this period; it 'was simply too *Cambodian* to be disregarded' (Chandler, 1996, p. 246, quoted by Winter, 2007, p. 45). Chandler's (1996) analysis of a collection of speeches by the Communist Party of Kampuchea shows that Angkor was cited for its power to mobilize labour and as an example of national grandeur. Furthermore, Angkor was proudly represented on Democratic Kampuchea's flag and was shown to Chinese delegates during a visit in 1977 (Kiernan, 1996, quoted by Winter, 2007).

The Khmer Rouge destroyed urban life, and the pluralism and diversity that it represented, and promoted the idea of a homogeneous population all wearing the same clothes and with similar haircuts. The uniformity of this rural peasantry would eradicate the old society, perceived as corrupted and rotten (McIntyre, 1996). Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain why the Khmer Rouge evacuated the cities (Rabé, 2009): some historians believe that the urban population was moved closer to food resources in the countryside (Hildebrand and Porter, 1976; Vickers, 1999, quoted by Rabé, 2009). Others believe that deportation was part of a strategy to control the urban population, which was generally less supportive of the Khmer Rouge revolution than rural villagers (Kiernan, 1996, quoted by Rabé, 2009). Also, massive evacuations enabled the Khmer Rouge to expel and kill minority groups such as the ethnic Chinese and Vietnamese and hence to better control political dissidents (Ibid.). However, their ideology and strategies did not prevent the Khmer Rouge from implementing a limited programme of urban repopulation in Phnom Penh, which was necessary to achieve their economic objectives. For this reason, some hospitals, factories, and government offices were put into operation again, and local and imported

goods were exchanged among foreign countries, Cambodian cities, and the countryside. The Khmer Rouge regime, in short, did not completely abandon the Cambodian capital; rather, it 'reconfigured the city to meet its political and economic needs' (Tyner, Henkin, and Sirik, 2014, p. 1889).

The purges by the Khmer Rouge regime killed approximately one and a half million people in only four years. Vietnamese troops put an end to these massive killings in 1979, when they invaded the country and established a new government. The People's Republic of Kampuchea lasted until 1989, as a satellite country of the socialist regime in Vietnam (Forest, 2008). The foreign administration helped with the reconstruction of state institutions and social cohesion, although Khmer Rouge guerrillas established an enduring and destabilizing presence in the north. During those years, economic negotiations with Thailand were begun, and diplomat Chatichai Choonhavan spoke of transforming Indochina 'from a battlefield to a trading market' (Becker, 1986). In 1989, the first political and economic reforms in this direction were undertaken: the National Assembly revised the Constitution, the market economy was reintroduced, foreign investment became legal, and private ownership of land reinstated. Cambodia became a neutral and non-aligned country. These reforms led to the 1991 Paris Peace Accords, which declared the independence and sovereignty of the country and condemned the Khmer Rouge regime. The United National Transitional Authority for Cambodia, composed of 22,000 foreigners who lived in the country for a year and a half, accompanied the re-establishment of a constitutional monarchy and administrative, institutional, and political system. It also catalysed the manna of foreign assistance and a first wave of foreign investment.

Cambodia experienced a sudden wave of internationalization after years of stagnation and isolation. Its process of rapid economic development has been mainly driven by the garment and tourism industries. Phnom Penh and Siem Reap respectively have been the centres of growth of these sectors. The new law on investment (1994) and the land laws (1992 and 2001) encouraged the development and exploitation of land for economic purposes and offered a permissive regulatory framework to foreign entities. At the same time, Cambodia's situation as a country under reconstruction has attracted massive flows of international development assistance.[6]

6 International development assistance amounted to approximately 10-20 per cent of GDP between 1991 and 1995 and 10-13 per cent subsequently (De Vienne, 2008). Between 2013 and 2015 alone, Cambodia received 2.03 billion dollars in aid from international donors, 3.8 billion if we include loans; one billion of this was granted by China. Turton, Shaun and Nass, Daniel, 2016, 'Analysis: Foreign donors taken for granted?' *Phnom Penh Post*, 17 June. http://m.phnompenhpost.com/national/analysis-foreign-donors-taken-granted (accessed 20 June 2016).

The weak but developing institutional system, the substantial weight of the tourism economy in the politics of national reconstruction, and the extensive intervention of foreign entities in several fields including heritage, development assistance, and investment, have been major determinants of the politics of urban development in Siem Reap. Volatility, dependence, and haste have characterized the processes of urban expansion and transformation. The existing literature on Siem Reap has criticized these recent dynamics: it has focused on urban sprawl, the destruction of the historical fabric, environmental dangers, poverty, and social justice, and has proposed sometimes pessimistic evaluations of current urban trends. For instance, Hetreau-Pottier (2011) asks whether undergoing processes of urban transformation corresponds to a 'first phase of "deculturalization"' in which Siem Reap is simply perceived as a 'consumer item' (p. 15). The dangers and risks associated with the overexploitation of natural resources have been identified (Hauser-Schaüblin, 2011), and the unequal participation of the population in development processes has been seen as a major shortcoming of the development pattern (Baromey Neth, 2011). Lack of updated planning and failed implementation of urban plans are among the city's main contemporary problems: 'Taken as a whole, it is difficult to convey adequately the dizzying array of tourist-related developments that are sprouting up in seemingly random fashion throughout Siem Reap. Not only are master plans often out of date due to the fast pace of development, but they are often difficult to access, and their enforcement can be problematic' (Heikkila and Peycam, 2010, p. 298). This literature has generally been fascinated by urgent problems in need of quick solutions. For this reason, it has failed to understand the whole picture of urban politics over longer time frames. My objective is to consider the recent development of Siem Reap across a wider spectrum, investigating the ideas, role, and evolution of Cambodian urbanism and predicting future developments in the fields of planning and architecture.

To do this, I draw on an emerging subfield of urban studies that looks at Cambodian cities. Research on Cambodia has mainly focused on rural environments. Colonial narratives have certainly contributed to directing scholarly attention to rural areas, as they depict Cambodian villages as idyllic expressions of an archaic tradition, while describing human settlements as chaotic and crowded and attributing the foundation and planning of the 'modern city' (Rabinow, 1995) to the French Protectorate. In addition, years of turmoil have caused the cities to stagnate. For this reason, urbanization rates are still low (21 per cent between 2011 and 2015) compared to other countries

in the region.[7] However, the urban economies generate approximately 50 per cent of the national GDP.[8] The discrepancy between urbanization rates and the cities' economic weight raises questions about the future of the cities, which are undergoing dramatic urban transition.

Some research into this transition has already been conducted, but has almost exclusively focused on Phnom Penh. As Percival and Waley (2012) observe, 'urban issues in Cambodia have been under-researched compared with cities in other South-east Asian countries' (p. 2875). Two major avenues of investigation can be identified. The first looks at the urban consequences of neopatrimonialism and economic liberalization (Fauveaud, 2011, 2014, 2015, 2016; Springer, 2010, 2011, 2013). The politics of urban land is central to this avenue of research, which examines the evolution of the Cambodian land system since colonial times (Carrier, 2007; Un and So, 2011).

Neopatrimonialism is characterized by pervasive patron-client relationships, operating along clan and family lines, which shape the distribution of power and processes of decision-making in every field of social life. Associated with forms of authoritarianism based on the ascendancy of top-level patrons and political leaders, neopatrimonialism reorders the city in a way that maintains the privileges of the political elites on the level of the nation state and secures the interests of capital on the global level (Springer, 2010). This system enables the accumulation of land in the hands of a few people (Springer, 2011, 2013). As urban land is seen as a source of enormous profit, they exercise coercive power and symbolic violence to ensure their stranglehold on this valuable good. They also capture inflows of regional and international capital and are able to direct programmes of urban redevelopment (Fauveaud, 2015a).

Far from increasing social justice, the reconstruction of the Cambodian legislation and state apparatus has been instrumentalized to the advantage of the elites. Violence in the urban environment is normalized through various forms of institutionalization (Springer, 2011). These authorize operations of eviction and urban cleansing (Blot, 2013), which erase informality from central urban areas (Clerc, 2010), promote modernized urban images in central urban locations, and produce urban spaces that are showcases of internationalization processes (Fauveaud, 2014b).

7 During the same years, Thailand had an urbanization rate of 47 per cent, Indonesia of 53 per cent, and Laos of 36 per cent (data.worldbank.org).

8 Sidgwick, Erik and Hiroshi Izaki, 2013, 'Urbanization and Growth', *Phnom Penh Post,* 27 November. http://www.phnompenhpost.com/analysis-and-op-ed/urbanisation-and-growth (accessed 5 May 2016).

Another avenue of investigation, closely intertwined with the first one, focuses on the processes, people, and types of project that reshape Phnom Penh as a metropolis. Apart from the most powerful patrons and wealthy investors, a multitude of smaller-scale developers, owners, and families participate in the development of the Cambodian capital. Fauveaud (2014a, 2015a) has investigated their modus operandi and relations with the institutional environment from a socio-geographical perspective. His research shows that individuals and groups shape strategies that enable them to benefit from the specific situation of Cambodia, where an under-regulated institutional environment is opening up numerous opportunities for personal profit. Looking closely at processes of metropolization, Goldblum (2012) shows the complexities of the spatial and physical production of the Cambodian capital. New Cambodian institutions are challenged by the double objective of reconstructing the modern nation state and mastering the physical restructuring of the city.

The transformation and extension of Phnom Penh are marked by several types of project that are profoundly altering its organization and landscapes: mega-projects (Paling, 2012) such as satellite cities (Goldblum, 2012; Percival and Waley, 2012), and residential developments called *borey* (Fauveaud, 2015b, see Chapter 3). These projects, in many cases sponsored by foreign direct investment (FDI) from other Asian countries (China and South Korea are predominant), introduce global urban references (Percival and Waley, 2012). This 'inter-referenced' urbanism (Ibid.), which echoes 'an eclectic array of cities throughout the region and the world' (Paling, 2012, p. 2895), reflects the desire of private developers to fill the gap that separates Phnom Penh from other Asian metropolises, although projects constructed in Cambodia are often smaller and less ambitious. This 'modesty' indicates the still uncertain regional and international status of the Cambodian capital, mainly due to its unstable and volatile economic and political situation.

My research draws substantially on this body of work. The urban transition of Siem Reap presents similar challenges for Cambodian institutions, which have to deal with potentially disruptive processes of urban transformation. Through the double analytical framework of neopatrimonialism and neoliberalism, it is possible to grasp the complex array of networks of power and influence that determine land allocation and the success (or failure) of planning. My analysis of agents of development addresses the collective tactics that negotiate the law and make urban development a 'secretive affair' (Springer, 2011). It does so by investigating the specificities of these tactics in the context of a resurgent urban economy monopolized by the presence of a major tourist and heritage site. One of the original features of my approach

is its interdisciplinary character (drawing on history, discourse analysis, architecture and urban studies, anthropology of development, political economy, and sociology) and the diversity of the entwined perspectives from which I look at urban politics. The vast majority of urban research on Cambodia has been focused on Phnom Penh; it is thus timely to explore the urban transition of a secondary Cambodian city in which expectations and resources are being catalysed to create exponential economic and urban development.

Understanding the politics of heritage from the margins

Siem Reap has a marginal position in the politics of heritage due to a complex set of reasons and decisions taken ever since colonial times. The grandiose heritage of Angkor has dazzled decision makers at the national and international level, who have formulated an 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006) celebrating the role of historic monuments in the construction of Cambodian national identity. The academic field of critical heritage studies has deconstructed discourses produced and disseminated by international organizations and nation states. It has cast more light on the political nature of heritage and called for a pluralistic attitude to the assessment of heritage and identity values (inter alia Harrison, 2013; Winter, 2012; Waterton and Watson, 2013). In the case of Asia, scholars of critical heritage studies have examined the consequences of World Heritage listing on places, societies, and cultures, and have questioned the local relevance of international heritage systems (Chapagain and Silva, 2013; Winter and Daly, 2012; King, 2016). Knowledge and arguments developed in this field are highly relevant to my work on Siem Reap-Angkor, where the authorized heritage discourse has overlooked minor forms of heritage and the ordinary built legacy.

By 2010, Angkor housed approximately 100,000 people in some 30 villages scattered around the archaeological park. However, the heritage policies that followed the listing of Angkor as a UNESCO World Heritage Site paid no attention to the 'living dimension' of the site (Miura, 2004) and focused on the high culture of monumental remains and material architecture. In contrast, several researchers have looked at these villages and communities (Miura, 2004, 2011; Gillespie, 2009, 2012; Luco, 2008, 2016). They have showed that a narrow definition of heritage has dispossessed villagers of the capacity to engage in a thoughtful relationship with their past, and has neglected the value that local dwellings, landscapes, traditions, and crafts may have for them. Researchers have also examined the tensions between the villagers'

aspiration to benefit from the economic development of Cambodia and the restrictions on their daily life imposed by the regulations for the World Heritage Site.[9] In particular, Miura calls for an anthropological approach to the understanding of heritage, which would include ownership claims by the local people. In a similar vein, Lloyd Rivera (2009) has assessed Cambodian legislation and suggested that it should further encourage the involvement of local communities, and take into consideration local customary systems in the shaping of localized approaches to the 'living traditions'.

Winter (2007, 2008) adopts an overall approach to the Angkor region. He has looked at the emergence of Angkor as a global heritage site in the context of post-conflict reconstruction, nation-building, and the socio-economic rehabilitation of Cambodia, inquiring into the conflicts underlying the competing agendas of heritage conservation and tourism development. His contribution is particularly valuable, as he has examined the multi-scalar connections among programmes and interested parties, which have contributed to shaping the heritage agenda and have had significant consequences for heritage management, spatial transformation, tourist practices, and daily life. Dealing with the spatial aspect of the site, Butland (2009) has examined the meanings and representations of space, which several categories of local entity communicate through their discourse. She focuses her analysis on texts and oral communications with the goal of challenging the perception of Angkor as an archaeological park and positing the notion of cultural landscape as an inclusive framework to assess the value of heritage.

Despite the prolific output of research on Angkor and the critiques of the shortcomings of the heritage management system, only a few reports and scholarly papers have examined the consequences of World Heritage listing on the surrounding urban environment. Gaulis (2007) discusses the establishment of a planning and management system for the Angkor region, sponsored by international development assistance, following the listing of the archaeological park as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Hetreau-Pottier has studied urban history (2008) and criticized the destruction of Siem

9 This research has taken root in the interest in indigenous societies and their practices, expressed by a small number of researchers since colonial times (Peycam, 2010): Etienne Aymonier (1844-1929), Adhémard Leclère (1855-1917), and Evelyne Porée-Maspéro (1906-1992) were the main figures of this interdisciplinary and human-centred approach to research on Angkor. Later, Georges Condominas (1957), Jean Delevert (1961), and Solange Thierry-Bernard (1964) pursued this research path with their work on contemporary Cambodian society, popular knowledge, and practices. Since the 1990s, this 'humanist' research approach has re-emerged in the newly founded field of 'Khmer studies', which looks at ancient, modern, and contemporary Cambodia from a variety of perspectives in the human and social sciences.

Reap's built heritage as a result of tourism and land speculation (2008b). In a report that presented the town to a group of experts attending an international roundtable,[10] Esposito and Nam (2008) examined the politics of urban development from a variety of perspectives, including tourism, environmental issues, the conservation of the built heritage, planning, and urban service provision. Hauser-Schäublin (2011) has analysed the problems related to the tourism economy, land use, and consumption, as well as their impact on the inefficient distribution of economic benefits in Siem Reap province. Vigers (2005) observes that Angkor and Siem Reap are two distinct entities that have interacted since colonial times. Through the testimony of older Siem Reap residents, he unpacks the memories concealed in the built landscape, which unintentionally haunt the urban environment[11] without being a cause for conscious celebration. Heikkila and Peycam (2010) argue that the economic development of Siem Reap depends on the exogenous meanings given to the archaeological site since colonial times, based on 'use', 'exchange', 'symbol', and 'myth'. They claim that a new economic strategy would re-contextualize Angkor within the broader region where it is located.

No research work has hitherto covered the town of Siem Reap in any significant detail. This lack is symptomatic of a deeply ingrained approach to the study of heritage recognition that has looked at its consequences 'from within' the heritage sites themselves. That focus might seem obvious and legitimate. However, the case of Siem Reap-Angkor shows that the World Heritage listing has engendered new forms of geographical connectivity, multi-scalar power games, and influence peddling among international, national, and local entities, which can only be fully assessed by including the space developing in the orbit of the World Heritage Site, where most of these relations are played out. This is especially true in the case of Cambodia and other developing countries of Southeast Asia where the tourism economy represents a large share of GDP[12] and investment converges on the periphery of the heritage sites. I see the archaeological park as a 'generator of conditions' that have triggered the development of the non-heritage space. Far from being a passive recipient, the non-heritage space creates a relation

10 The PRCUD (Pacific Rim Council on Urban Development) annual roundtable, which took place in Siem Reap in 2008, in collaboration with the Getty Foundation, the APSARA Authority, and the Center for Khmer Studies.

11 Vigers developed this argument following De Certeau, who claimed that 'On n'habite que des lieux hantés' ('We only live in haunted places') (De Certeau, 1990, p. 162).

12 Southeast Asia is the second region of the world for the direct and total contribution of tourism to national GDP (respectively 4.8 and 12 per cent) preceded by North Africa for the direct contribution (5.2 per cent) and the Caribbean for the total contribution (14.6 per cent).

of complementarity and mutual dependence vis-à-vis the heritage space. The latter could not exist as a tourism site without the infrastructures and facilities offered by the former; conversely, tourism is the main driver of the development of the non-heritage space and exerts a strong attractive power on capital, population, expertise, and various other types of resource that converge in the non-heritage space. I look at the multifaceted political, economic, and social interactions between the heritage and non-heritage spaces as a way to understand the politics of urban development on the margins of the heritage site. By doing so, I aim to lay the foundation for a research approach that strives to reintegrate the marginal spaces of heritage recognition into the map of knowledge.

Designing a research trajectory

When I first arrived in Cambodia in 2005, property speculation in Siem Reap had only just started. I could observe the first consequences for the urban landscape: large hotels mushroomed along the main roads, groups of precarious wooden houses disappeared overnight, and fenced but undeveloped land plots were waiting for projects.

I conducted two fieldwork projects of one month each in 2005 and 2006, before settling down in the town in December 2007 for a full year. During the first months, I used to stand in front of the massive hotels for long hours, with cars and motorbikes whizzing by at great speed, in order to draw and then analyse their architectural types and styles. I also used to inventory all the tourism infrastructures built in the city, for the purpose of understanding how rapidly and profoundly they were changing the urban face of Siem Reap. I realized quite quickly that the majority of the new buildings were lacking real architectural quality. Also, they were replacing older houses which, in my view, possessed both historical and aesthetic value. Tourism infrastructures and facilities consumed large amounts of energy and overexploited natural resources with swimming pools and golf courses, which needed to be irrigated on a regular basis. Unregulated urbanization caused traffic problems and land use conflicts, with the city's edges expanding and agricultural space being gradually pushed further and further away.

I was looking at the city through the lenses of the architect and urban planner with a specialization in heritage conservation. As such, I was used to observing, describing, and diagnosing malfunctions in the built space, and I used the tools of design and planning to develop solutions that would

help improve it. Adopting this perspective in Siem Reap, I could not but be highly critical of the disruptive urban transformation taking place. However, I also realized that this approach would confine my work to a normative and prescriptive account of how urban forms and management could be improved if only the structural problems of Cambodian politics could be solved. The direct and unwanted consequence would be a judgemental criticism of institutional weakness and corruption. While researchers working on contemporary Cambodia have often taken a stand against these, I was aware that my individual position as a researcher was different, and that my analytical capacities were directed rather towards the investigation of functioning, processes, collective and individual motivation, and the deconstruction of paradigms. In spite of this internal awareness of my identity as a researcher, I faced the inadequacy of my analytical and methodological tools. I experienced a moment of intense disorientation, which compelled me to retrace my steps and look for alternative approaches.

The result of this inductive exploration has been a substantial shift in the focus of my work, which has moved from the analysis of built forms to the analysis of the social, cultural, economic, and political processes leading to their production. Throughout the year that I spent in Siem Reap and subsequent one-month fieldwork projects undertaken in 2009, 2013, and 2015, I directed my attention to several categories of people actively involved in those processes: planners, public officers, architects, constructors, investors, and small-scale promoters such as expatriates and Khmer families. I deliberately narrowed down my research focus to the 'producers', leaving aside other approaches that could have addressed the inhabitants' own perception of urban transformation, or tourists' practices and understanding of the city (Winter 2007). The reason I focused on producers is that I saw Siem Reap as a fascinating city 'in the making'. I was offered the opportunity to give an account of the intense and frenetic processes of urban transformation between 2005 and 2015.

I analysed the political and professional strategies and the collective tactics of investment in the urban environment. This analysis was rooted in the knowledge of Cambodia's political economy, institutional framework, legislation, and investment statistics, which I compiled on the basis of data provided by government institutions. It developed through a series of semi-directive interviews and questionnaires[13] and the examination of policies

13 107 semi-directive interviews were conducted between 2007 and 2015 with the following categories: international experts, Cambodian public officials, international lawyers working in Cambodia, representatives of professional associations, developers and investors, architects and constructors, NGO managers, owners and managers of tourist facilities, and travel agents

and political discourse. While I did not get much data from interviews with high-ranking Cambodian officials, those meetings encouraged me to analyse political discourse and strategies. I realized how important the silences and omissions, hesitations, and embarrassed smiles were for understanding the complex, conflicting, and sometimes shameful implications of Siem Reap's recent urbanization. I closely associated discourse and tactics with the analysis of proposed or actual processes of spatial transformation. To do this, I used tools that were more familiar to me: drawing and mapping on various scales (the building, the neighbourhood, the urbanized area), the analysis of planning and building permits,[14] and the exhaustive inventory of the approximately 300 hotels and guesthouses built between 1992 and 2008.

I also explored how the making and transformation of the built space is permeated with meanings. The producers of the city appropriate the images, ideas, and agendas of heritage for their own ends, and use them to give form to the urban fabric. The analysis of a sample of tourism-related projects has revealed that producers draw on several 'universes of reference' for architecture, borrowing from different cultural systems and historical backgrounds. To identify the threads of architectural references and borrowings that contribute to contemporary architectural design, I retraced the colonial and postcolonial history of representations of Cambodian heritage, as well as the architectural history of the main types of global tourism facility, such as hotels, museums, and theme parks, arguing that contemporary tourism architecture in Siem Reap assembles inherited colonial representations of places and traditions with models, styles, and a decorative repertoire derived from internationally circulating models.

In the small town of Siem Reap, the Western expatriate community has dominated a large segment of the tourism market, and a small number of influential individuals (both Cambodian and foreign) compose the economic and political elite. I ended up becoming closely acquainted with some of my informants, and in my fieldwork I learnt more through informal conversations in restaurants and bars than from carefully prepared interview guidelines. Moreover, as a PhD student, I was based at the IPRAUS research institute,[15]

and tour operators. Also, 78 questionnaires were submitted to developers, owners and managers of tourist facilities, and real estate agents.

14 Four hundred building permit applications were examined at the Cadastral Office of Siem Reap Province and at the national headquarters of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction (MLMUP). This survey was conducted in 2008 at the MLMUP and in 2009 at the Cadastral Office.

15 IPRAUS is the *Institut Parisien de Recherche Architecture Urbanistique Sociétés* ('Paris Research Institute Architecture Urbanism Societies').

which had formerly been directed by Pierre Clément, one of the main figures of urban and overall planning for Siem Reap-Angkor during the 1990s. Thanks to my position as an 'insider' at the institute, I could easily access a collection of planning documents and maps produced by his architecture office. I also had the opportunity to be involved in the activities organized by the research department in Siem Reap: these included a student workshop in planning and architecture (2004-2005), then the establishment of the Observatoire urbain de Siem Reap/Angkor. Architecture-Patrimoine-Développement ('Observatory of Siem Reap/Angkor: Architecture-Heritage-Development'), which aimed at monitoring the general and urban transformation of the heritage site and the city. In order to avoid introducing a bias in the research process due to my acquaintance with urban planners working as consultants in Siem Reap, I had to create some distance from the professional culture and expert knowledge that was also my own. This was made possible through deep immersion in fieldwork for long periods of time, which enabled me to appreciate the gaps between planning ideas and the realities of the situation that I aimed to examine. Moreover, the expansion of the theoretical framework of the research to the anthropology of development helped me to construct productive critiques of expert knowledge.

I reframed the interdisciplinary contributions derived from analysis of processes and urban forms in terms of an analysis of the heritage system that 'makes them possible' on the margins of the archaeological park. Angkor's nomination files, regular reports by UNESCO, transcriptions and minutes of the meetings of the ICC-Angkor,[16] colonial archives and secondary sources, heritage legislation, and UNESCO conventions and charters helped me identify the knowledge paradigms and structural organization of the World Heritage system as a generator of the conditions for unbridled urban development. By producing a critique of the World Heritage system and its colonial background, I hope the results of my research may be relevant to other heritage sites in developing countries, where intense development pressures have magnified the structural shortcomings of the World Heritage system.

16 The International Coordination Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor (ICC-Angkor) was established during the Tokyo Conference which took place in October 1993 in order to present and discuss all projects to be implemented in the World Heritage Site and its surroundings. The committee brings together various categories of participant including representatives of Cambodian institutions, international organizations, donors, consultants, and experts. The ICC Committee's meetings take place twice a year (one Plenary Session and one Technical Session).

The content and structure of the book

Each chapter presents a specific perspective from which to view the formation and development of the non-heritage space on the periphery of the World Heritage Site of Angkor.

Chapter 1 lays the groundwork for understanding how the non-heritage space was established historically. It examines how the institutional practice of heritage took root in Cambodia in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, under the influence of the French colonial power. An entrenched and stable idea of heritage underpinned this institutional practice. It was grounded in the notion of the 'historic monument' constructed by the European political and cultural elites in modern times. In order to protect the monuments, boundaries marked the limits of the archaeological park of Angkor, first established in 1925. The monuments, the park, and the boundaries constituted the fundamental triad of heritage conservation. However, the implementation of this triad produced a hierarchy of core and marginal spaces in the Angkor region that marginalized other forms of legacy and space; these have ended up on the periphery of the archaeological park – and of heritage recognition. Since colonial times, Siem Reap has been developed as a place for tourists, with little concern for its built forms and landscapes. The World Heritage listing confirmed and even expanded this heritage management system: today, the archaeological park covers a surface of 401 square kilometres and Siem Reap has become a tourist hub accommodating more than two million visitors a year. Analysing the internal inconsistencies and the drawbacks of this system within the Cambodian context, I show that its recent reinforcement has resulted in functional segregation and spatial fragmentation, which exacerbates the social tensions underlying the urban development of Siem Reap.

Chapter 2 analyses the politics of urban planning on the doorstep of the archaeological site. As Cambodia has only recently emerged from war and foreign occupation, international donors have offered substantial technical and financial aid for urban planning. The marginal space of Siem Reap has become central to at least a dozen consulting firms since the 1990s; they have provided ideas, models, and patterns for developing a tourism hub and a sustainable city in close proximity to a major heritage site. In order to do so, they have used planning tools, including zoning and inventories, whose international dissemination is ensured by international consultants working in developing countries. The chapter looks at how planners connect these tools and models with their understandings of local architectural

and urban forms, tropical environments, and landscapes. On the one hand, planners are seen as 'cultural brokers', who transfer knowledge and technical skills in a country seriously lacking trained architects as a result of the massacres by the Khmer Rouge. On the other hand, these planners learn lessons from Siem Reap-Angkor and develop planning models and layouts that draw on local characteristics and traditions. This two-way flow of knowledge helps us to understand aid as an intercultural encounter. It also helps us to address the social entanglements of international assistance in Cambodia. However, social, political, and economic struggles have led to the abandonment of all the urban plans designed for Siem Reap, while projects sponsored by international assistance, including a tourism district and a tourist and commercial harbour on Tonlé Sap lake, are diverted from their original purpose and manipulated for the sake of private profit. Moving beyond the frequent critiques of the inefficacy of international assistance, the chapter views foreign-sponsored planning as a powerful disseminator of ideas, which may penetrate Cambodia's political and professional milieu in the long term.

Chapter 3 investigates the tactics that property developers use to gain the power to act in the urban space, thus defeating planning strategies. These tactics include the diversion of land law, the concealing of information on the origin of investment capital, and the negotiation and gradual diluting of urban regulations. The chapter argues that Cambodian law and administrative procedures contain 'grey zones' that facilitate such tactics. Far from acting as regulators of urban development, state authorities implicitly endorse these tactics through undercover alliances between the political elites and the developers, made possible by the aforementioned structural grey zones in the Cambodian institutional system. First, the chapter discusses the complex power games that govern the shaping of Siem Reap. Next, it shifts from the social, economic, and political dimensions of urban development to its material effects. It analyses the processes of urban transformation in the most strategic sectors of Siem Reap, where a great number of projects have been built in the last twenty years. It also draws attention to the role of the inhabitants in shaping urban space. In Cambodia, the inhabitants have traditionally played an important part in the development of towns and cities and in the transformation of buildings, spaces, and landscapes. While this role seems to be undermined by the rise of an aggressive private sector, the chapter shows how small family-based businesses and Western expatriates maintain a fusion of rural and urban forms in Siem Reap's urban villages. The chapter ends with an analysis of the transition of Siem Reap from a village to an urban area, expanding without constraints towards

the east and west. It investigates the hybrid and complex nature of the urban landscape, which is evolving towards a modernized urban, dispersed environment, while at the same time preserving the legacies of the rural substrate from which it originated.

Chapter 4 looks at another aspect of Siem Reap's position of marginality: the fact that the urban space evades the regulatory power of the state and the international organizations, which impose an official idea of the past and a centralized heritage management system. This marginality enables alternative visions of Cambodia's past and heritage to emerge, expressed through contemporary architectural design. The chapter argues that this design appropriates and synthesizes three sources of architectural ideas: images and narratives, inherited from colonialism, about the Khmer heritage and traditions; models and types of tourist architecture; and motifs, types, and techniques expressing ideas of urban modernity. It asks how these three sources provide inspiration for architectural projects, and how thinking about contemporary Khmer architecture has evolved in the last twenty years, gradually incorporating environmental concerns through the adaptation of the buildings to the climate as well as allusions to local dwelling types, colonial legacies, and Neo-Khmer architecture from the 1960s. Influences from nearby countries are also discussed as important incubators of ideas of urban modernity, which architecture encapsulates as major visual evidence of the economic progress of Cambodian society.

Finally, the Conclusion moves outwards from the case of Siem Reap to the comparative exploration of several case studies from Southeast Asia in which national and local authorities have chosen heritage and tourism as major programmatic domains. I reframe thinking about the consequences of heritage recognition, as well as the dialectical relation of conservation and development and of heritage and contemporary design, within a broader question: how are the multiple forms of the built heritage celebrated, manipulated, reproduced – or forgotten and destroyed – in the making of Southeast Asia's cities today?