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This paper explores cultural heritage and tourism as interconnected socio-cultural industries. It addresses a concern that cultural heritage and tourism are often regarded as separate worlds, and certainly separate realms of enquiry. This conceptual separation means that tourism policies often focus on statistics, infrastructure or tourist facilities. While these areas undoubtedly require careful consideration, this article suggests that an understanding of tourism in relation to cultural heritage needs to move far beyond such material, logistical issues. Accordingly, the paper offers five analytical themes, which together explore the interconnections between tourism and cultural heritage. Far from exhaustive, the five sections presented here highlight a number of reasons why it is vital to theoretically examine tourism and cultural heritage as mutually constitutive socio-cultural industries.

To illustrate the arguments made, numerous examples are drawn from the World Heritage Site of Angkor, Cambodia. Designated as a landscape of 'cultural heritage', Angkor is witnessing an extremely rapid growth in both national and international tourism. It will be seen that within this situation a language of cultural heritage conceives the site in predominantly material terms; as a physical space that can be protected and isolated from the outside world. As an alternative, the analysis offered here actively explores Angkor's relationship with a series of broader environments, most notably the increasingly pervasive environment of global tourism. It is suggested that ideas of cultural heritage need to be examined through the travel programmes offered by tour operators, the images and texts of promotional brochures, the rhetoric of management policies, as well as the understandings and values of those who consume heritage: i.e. tourists, both domestic and international. Theoretically therefore, cultural heritage is understood as a series of intersecting narratives, discourses, representations and practices.

Angkor: A Decade of World Heritage

Angkor was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1992. Situated in Northwest Cambodia, and stretching across an area of 400km², the landscape incorporates four main elements: tropical forest, areas of cultivated land, a number of villages, and the architectural legacy of the Angkorean period. Given the difficulties of early-1990s Cambodia, the priority for international assistance at that time unsurprisingly centred upon the safeguarding and conservation of Angkor's monumental structures. Indeed, with Cambodia emerging from a period of history characterised by civil war, genocide and Vietnamese occupation, stringent efforts were made to legally, spatially and politically isolate Angkor from its immediate surroundings.

At that time Cambodia's social and physical infrastructure were essentially shattered and the population was suffering from endemic poverty after two decades of turmoil. However, as the country continued to stabilise over the 1990s, Angkor began to find itself in a crossfire between agendas of conservation and development. Attempting to advance a nationwide,

sustained programme of socio-economic development, the Royal Government identified international tourism as a principal engine of growth. Oriented around Angkor, this thrust towards development would, however, bring the government into conflict with an international community which perceived tourism as the principal threat facing Angkor. Within such a political environment, discussions of cultural resource management and tourism became conceptually separated, even opposed, a situation firmly illustrated in a strategic document on Angkor published by UNESCO in 1996:

> Tourism threatens to damage this Khmer cultural legacy far more swiftly and decisively than did any ancient invaders, or even the clandestine raiders of today. Savage, unregulated commercial ventures purposely designed to facilitate the 'consumption' of Angkor, exploiting the Khmer heritage only in order to siphon private profit out of the region if not out of the country, constitute a current and very real threat (UNESCO 1996:166).

Patently, such a rhetoric was underpinned by a strong desire to insulate Angkor's material culture from the detrimental impacts of tourism. The resultant discourse of 'cultural tourism', which has emerged in recent years, has therefore set out to minimise the impact of a rapidly expanding tourism market. Accordingly, conferences on tourism have focused on the provision of 'high quality' facilities such as hotel zones, transport facilities and visitor centres. Although such a conceptualisation of tourism successfully protects Angkor's physical structures, it inadequately recognises how tourism and heritage operate as cultural industries. By purely focusing on the management of facilities and ideas of 'quality tourism' there is little understanding of how tourism and heritage come to define each other, re-shape each other and intersect in ways that produce new forms of cultural production. It is to these very issues that I now turn.

Conceptions of heritage

Invariably, within discussions of heritage, cultural forms such as music and dance are seen as examples of a 'living heritage'. In contrast, architectural landscapes are typically valued and preserved as a cultural heritage of a time past. It will be suggested here that such a reductive distinction simplifies, and thus often ignores, the complex value systems ascribed to both material and non-material cultural forms. In focusing on Angkor, it will be seen that a cultural resource management policy based around monumental conservation fails to appreciate how the site is valued as a form of 'living heritage' within a context of domestic tourism.

To illustrate this it is first necessary to return to the initial conceptualisation of cultural heritage brought to Cambodia by the international community. In December 1993, the inaugural meeting of the International Coordinating Committee for the Safeguarding and Development of Angkor (ICC) took place in Tokyo. In the virtual absence of a Cambodian tourism industry and alarmed at the large scale disrepair of the temples in the early 1990s, the ICC justifiably focused attention on the need for emergency restoration and preservation. Dominated by experts in archaeology and architectural conservation, the ICC essentially conceived Angkor as a material heritage of the 'ancient' past; a vision which largely reproduced an earlier French colonial construction of Angkor. Focusing on the structural preservation of temples, there was little recognition of the site, and the monuments therein, as a living, contemporary landscape. Indeed, within a rational, science-based discourse of

architectural conservation, anthropological or sociological understandings of Angkor - both in historical and contemporary terms - were firmly neglected.

Fig. 1: Picnicking outside Angkor Wat over New Year (T. Winter).

By implication, a particular spatial representation emerged which firmly regarded Angkor as a 'dead' cultural heritage of the past. Far from unique, such a framing reproduced a common process whereby ideas of cultural resource management are discussed in normative terms within a 'world heritage' language of 'universal value' and 'authenticity', a language commonly buttressed by the universalising principles of science. Indeed, this framing of Angkor clearly resonates with Bender's concerns regarding the frequent instrumentalisation of landscape within a language of heritage:

> More often than not, those involved in the conservation, preservation and mummification of landscape create normative landscapes, as though there was only one way of telling or experiencing. They attempt to 'freeze' the landscape as a palimpsest of past activity ... freezing time allows the landscape or monuments in it to be packaged, presented and turned into museum exhibits (Bender 1999:26).

It is therefore suggested here that freezing Angkor in this way has neglected how such a landscape can serve as a form of 'living heritage' within a context of domestic tourism. Over the course of the twentieth century Angkor, and in particular Angkor Wat, has become a deeply symbolic icon of a Cambodian national and cultural identity. In addition to being revered on a populist level, a glorious vision of Angkor has also remained central to post-independence politics. Perceived to be the pinnacle of Khmer civilisation, the temples and irrigation systems of Angkor served as an important historical reference point for the revolutionary ideology of the Khmer Rouge (Barnett 1990). In appropriating Angkor as a political resource, the Khmer Rouge also removed all opportunities for Cambodians to celebrate the site as a form of collective heritage. Within a context of forced migration and collective labour, travelling to Angkor for either festivals or personal visits was strictly forbidden. Despite such a political appropriation, Angkor's endurance as an immensely symbolic landscape for the Cambodian people has been further enhanced by the suffering endured in recent decades.

Over the last decade, Angkor has become an increasingly popular venue for the annual festivities of Khmer New Year. With Cambodians increasingly able to travel from all over the country, visitor numbers today are estimated to be in the region of a third of a million[1]. Stretching over four days in April, the celebrations are characterised by an interweaving of leisure, tourism and religion. In the absence of any formally organised celebrations, time is typically spent picnicking, driving around in open-top vehicles, swimming, or visiting Angkor's architectural sites. In addition to visits to the temples of the Angkorean period, regular offerings are also made at a number of modern Buddhist monasteries, many of which have been re-built within the last fifteen years.

Undoubtedly, Angkor represents the material legacy of a once glorious past for Cambodians today. However, analysis of this festival also reveals how New Year at Angkor represents a particular time-space moment where the traumatic events of recent decades are simultaneously remembered, forgotten and re-appropriated, The ability to meet people from other provinces, communally swim or picnic, and to be part of an Angkor heavily populated with both Cambodian and international visitors serves as a metaphor for a country in socio-economic and cultural recovery. More specifically, these seemingly mundane activities are actually symbolically imbued with a sense of a population reasserting its cultural, national and ethnic identity after a period of history dominated by US bombing campaigns, a domestic genocidal regime, and the political incursions of neighbouring Vietnam. In this respect, New Year at Angkor represents a convergence of past histories, both glorious and tragic, erased, remembered and transposed into an optimism regarding the future.

Fig. 2: Driving around during New Year: the national flag of Cambodia shows Angkor Wat (T. Winter).

The example of Khmer New Year illustrates how a monumental landscape does not merely remain part of a country's ancient past, but can actively serve as a form of living heritage contributing to the ongoing constitution of national, cultural and ethnic identities. Crucially however, such understandings of domestic tourism are largely ignored within a management framework which conceives Angkor as a landscape of the 'ancient' past. In offering this analysis it is therefore suggested that a rhetoric of 'universal value' and 'authenticity' is far from normative, and actually serves to invoke certain ideological framings of cultural heritage. It can also be seen that heritage imposes particular visions of culture, memory and place; visions which ignore how a sense of cultural heritage is lived and articulated within a context of tourism practice (Crouch, 1999).

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[1] In the absence of any actual data, recent visitor estimates have ranged from 100,000 to 300,000. This lack of data was acknowledged as a significant problem during the ICC technical conference in December 2000 and again at the UNESCO/APSARA workshop on Cultural Tourism in July 2001.

A place in history

As noted earlier, one of the defining features of World Heritage listing was Angkor's spatial, legal and political isolation from its immediate surroundings. This section considers some of the implications of such a process, and explores how the designation of heritage sites as protected landscapes helps create particular formations of culture, history and place within a context of tourism.

Within the less than ideal political and economic situation of early-1990s Cambodia, the ICC clearly had to instigate a framework which protected Angkor through its political and legal isolation. However, this demarcation of a bounded 'site' has also significantly contributed to the emergence of a pattern of international tourism which largely erases understandings of Angkor as a landscape situated within a broader Cambodian territory/history.

Internationally, Cambodia has become synonymous with land mines, war and genocide in recent decades. Indeed, these often serve as the dominant framings through which the country is known for tourists arriving today. This often results in visitors only travelling to Cambodia to see the World Heritage Site of Angkor, rather than visiting the country itself. In this context, tourists typically make little connection between Angkor and Cambodia. It is a situation compounded by Angkor's emergence into a highly interconnected regional tourism industry.

To illustrate some of the implications of this it is worth briefly considering a recently developed commercial project called the 'Mekong World Heritage Tour'. As a joint venture between a number of Southeast Asian-based travel agents, hotels and Bangkok Airways, the project offers an itinerary connecting five World Heritage Sites within mainland Southeast Asia. Facilitated by a highly integrated tourism infrastructure, the tour invokes an imagined cultural topography of a transnational Asian heritage centred around the banks of the Mekong river. Although still in its early stages, this project provides an illustration of how the regional nature of Southeast Asian tourism has led to a situation whereby the average tourist stays in Cambodia for less than two and a half days: just long enough to briefly see the main temples of Angkor (APSARA 2000).

Fig. 3: Classical Cambodian Dance, performed at Angkor Wat (T. Winter)

Given such a situation, tourists develop little knowledge or understanding of how Angkor connects with its immediate national context, either in historical or contemporary terms. By reflecting upon tourism in terms of representations of place, history and culture, we can see that Angkor's designation as an isolated World Heritage Site has significantly contributed to a form of spatial rupturing, where historical and cultural references are both simultaneously erased and invoked.

In addition to dissolving the complexities of Angkor's relationship with its broader cultural, historical and social context, tourism simultaneously installs a commodified vision of Angkorean culture as a metonym for the country. To illustrate this point it is helpful to reflect upon the role of Angkor in the production of other cultural forms within a context of tourism. Today, organised tourism in Cambodia invariably includes a performance of the Apsara dance. Heavily inspired by the carvings decorating the walls of Angkor's temples, the Apsara dance underwent a process of revival and reinvention in the years immediately following Cambodia's independence in 1953. However, within a context of contemporary international tourism, the dance has unproblematically solidified as both the authentic Angkorean dance and the definitive classical dance of Cambodia.

Rebuilding or resurrecting cultural forms such as the Apsara dance has undoubtedly been a vital process within Cambodia in recent decades, and remains so today. However, as an artefact of culture which can be packaged, commodified and exchanged within the market logic of tourism, the Apsara dance has significantly inhibited the cultivation of other forms of Cambodian performing arts. In other words, a model of tourism overwhelmingly dominated by an iconic vision of Angkor has played a vital role in shaping a process of cultural recovery in a country still coming to terms with a period of history in which many of its traditions and art forms were destroyed.

The example of the Apsara dance illustrates the importance of understanding how the signification of a landscape as world heritage serves as a catalyst for a process of cultural production driven by international tourism. Examining tourism as a socio-cultural industry in itself reveals how such a process can lead to a country's culture and past becoming reduced and distilled around a small number of essentialist motifs. In a similar vein, it has also been argued within this section that a stronger theorisation is required of the processes by which policies of landscape management generate particular representations and understandings of history, culture and place within a context of heritage tourism. Common to these two arguments is a concern for a better understanding of how landscapes, people and histories undergo commodification for touristic consumption.

Tourism as a symbolic industry

Underpinning the previous two sections is a departure from merely discussing the materialities of tourist facilities and protected cultural assets. This section continues this theme by arguing that the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage needs to incorporate an understanding of how places, cultures and histories are produced and consumed on a symbolic level.

One of the most enduring images and narratives surrounding Angkor today is that of its rediscovery during the late nineteenth century by the French botanist Henri Mouhot. Invented within a context of French colonialism, this mythical construction of history is powerfully reproduced today within two of Angkor's most popular temple sites: Preah Khan and Ta Prohm. Conserved as partial ruins, these two landscapes aesthetically evoke a memory of a once glorious period of European travel, adventure and colonialism. Rather than representing a memory of Cambodian history, these temples essentially embody a memory of a nineteenth-century European colonial culture.

Unsurprisingly, it is a narrative of history which has been picked up and commodified by the international tourism industry. Today, numerous guide books, brochures, television documentaries and hotels in nearby Siem Reap all draw upon the idea of Angkor as a lost civilisation, reclaimed from the jungle during a golden age of European travel. Moreover, through tourism, Angkor has become a powerful icon of a romantic French *Indochine*. Indeed, within the cultural artefacts of an international tourism industry, Angkor has come to symbolically represent the 'phantasmatic memories of a French colonial golden age' (Norindr 1996: 156). Crucially however, it is a form of cultural production built on the foundations of nostalgia. As a consequence, Cambodia's history is romanticised, aestheticised and stripped of all its contradictions and conflicts. Nostalgia represents a construction of history that can be packaged and symbolically exchanged. Clearly, such a process dissolves and erases many of the complexities, political tensions, and indigenous perspectives of that period. It is also a representation of cultural heritage that denies the legitimacy of a Cambodian voice and reduces history to 'an unproblematic object of visual pleasure and consumption' (ibid.: 158).
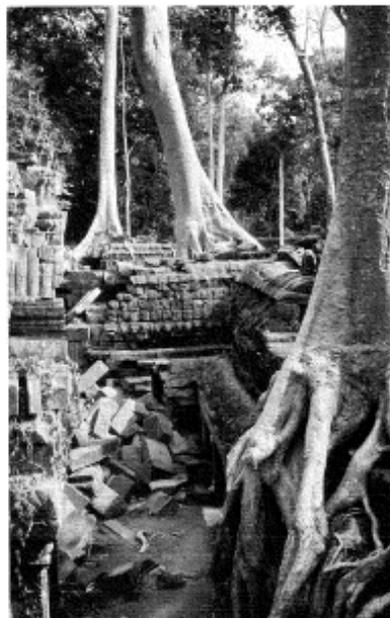

Fig. 4: The 'partial ruin' of Ta Promh temple, Angkor (T. Winter).

In this respect, we can once again see how tourism invokes certain representations of memory, geographical imaginings and formations of Southeast Asian culture. This analysis valuably reveals the importance of moving beyond the materialities of facility management to consider how tourism actually operates as an industry of cultural production, generating symbolic formations of culture, memory and place. It also highlights the need to theoretically grasp the intimate relationship between strategies of cultural resource management and a tourism industry which erases, distils and simplifies with little concern for integrity or authenticity.

Spatialising the economics and politics of cultural production

Up until this point considerable attention has been given to the areas of representations, discourses and narratives. The following discussion complements this by illustrating how these cultural formations emerge from, and reproduce, certain political and socio-economic processes. By considering cultural heritage and tourism in terms of multiple social spaces, it

will be suggested that these areas need to be examined as a series of international networks and flows where the local and global are intimately connected (Meethan 2001).

In previous sections it was argued that Angkor's recent emergence as a destination of international tourism has led to the site's encapsulation within a vision of trans-national world heritage and a nostalgia for a golden era of nineteenth-century European travel. In order to better understand how such framings become institutionalised, it is necessary to situate them within the political and economic realities of a global tourism industry. Today global tourism operates as a highly complex network of tour operators, hotel companies and airlines. By implication, control over Cambodia's tourism industry often lies far beyond the country's boundaries. Indeed, it is typically the case that tourist itineraries and the ways in which Angkor is constructed as a destination emanate from offices in Paris, Tokyo, New York or Bangkok.

A crucial factor shaping the formulation of these itineraries is Angkor's proximity within a highly interconnected regional tourism industry (Teo et al. 2001). Largely due to Cambodia's geographical centrality within Southeast Asia, the country is rarely visited as a sole destination. Instead, it typically serves as an extension to trips to Thailand, Vietnam or other countrieswithin the region. As a consequence, Angkor is drawn into a regionally networked industry largely managed from offices in Southeast Asia's prinCipal metropolitan centres.

The 'Mekong World Heritage Tour', highlighted earlier, offers a good example of a programme conceived within the region, and dependent upon a well established network of accommodation and transport. Routes for this programme have been constructed around the provision of international standard hotels, local travel agents partners, as well as airports and other transport facilities. When combined with the earlier discussion of world heritage sites as enclavic *touristscapes,* an analysis of this programme illustrates how formations of culture, place and heritage are constituted by a fusion of material and symbolic processes. Together, these examples also demonstrate the importance of theorising cultural heritage in terms of an inherent dialectic between non-material representations and the socio-economics of tourism.

The arguments offered here suggest that examining sites such as Angkor merely in terms of their materiality as bounded landscapes remains of limited value. Rather, cultural heritage needs to be conceived in multi-spatial terms where the local, regional and global are understood as fundamentally interlinked. Indeed, theoretically examining cultural heritage in relation to the transnational flows of capital of international tourism successfully responds to Gupta and Ferguson's call for a better appreciation of how 'dominant cultural forms may be picked up and used - and significantly transformed - in the midst of the power relations that link localities to a wider world' (1997:5). In other words, this section has demonstrated the importance of examining cultural heritage as a form of cultural production, and series of cultural artefacts, emerging from the social, economic and political dynamics of a globalised tourism industry.

Theorising cultural heritage, tourism and identity

It is widely accepted that culture, along with ideas of cultural heritage, is often central to the formation of collective identities (Oahles 2001). Landscapes, dance, dress or music commonly play a pivotal role in the constitution of ethnic, cultural or national identities. In continuing the themes of previous sections, it is suggested below that this relationship between cultural heritage and identity constructions also needs to embrace an understanding

of tourism. Exploring the connections between cultural heritage and tourism as sociocultural industries reveals the ways in which tourism comes to define and redefine identity formations.

In many cases cultural heritage is simplistically regarded as the protection and preservation of the 'traditional' or authentic'. This fails to appreciate how the heritage industry is a two-way conversation between the past and present; where the past is remade and reconceived within a discourse of heritage. Instead it is necessary to examine how ideas of the 'traditional' or 'authentic' emerge from, and become reappropriated within, the political, economic and logistical dynamics of a contemporary heritage industry. For example, in Cambodia today, the country's past is actively being recreated, and in many cases reinvented, within an environment of heritage and international tourism which simultaneously installs cultural forms as 'authentic' or 'traditional'. The case of the Apsara dance, as discussed earlier, provides a compelling example of such a process.

This situation has been largely driven by the presence of numerous international organisations. Through a language of cultural heritage the country has become the recipient of aid and expertise from a variety of countries including Japan, France and America. This level of intervention therefore needs to be considered in relation to the cultural values being brought to, and imposed upon, the country. In other words, a discussion of cultural heritage and identity demands an analytical sensitivity towards the broader political dynamics shaping such processes. Indeed, the case of Cambodia also reveals how local voices and values can be marginalised within a hierarchy of international 'expertise' operating in a domestic context characterised by fundamentally weak social and intellectual infrastructures. Clearly such a situation raises important questions regarding the relationship between cultural sovereignty and identity.

Accompanying this international intervention has been a desire within the country to create a strong cultural and national identity as it re-enters a highly competitive regional tourism industry. As noted earlier, a glorious vision of Angkor has emerged as the means for creating a distinct cultural and historical identity within this environment. Given the country's recent history however, the dominance of Angkor and its cultural derivatives, such as the Apsara dance, takes on additional pertinence. In a context where many of the country's cultural forms, both modern and old, were erased or destroyed during decades of national turmoil, international tourism has emerged as a dominant driving force behind a sense of cultural recovery. It is therefore necessary to consider the extent to which the diversity and complexity of Cambodia's cultural past, present and future are being silenced through the creation of a national 'brand' for touristic consumption. It is also important to explore how the imposition of a language of 'authenticity' or 'traditional' via a discourse of heritage or cultural tourism correlates with, and impacts upon, the construction of identities for a population increasingly embracing urbanisation and modernist values.

Beginning with the premise that culture and cultural heritage play a crucial role within identity formations, this final section has emphasised the importance of understanding such processes in relation to tourism. In particular, it has been argued that understandings of cultural heritage need to consider the identity implications of a process whereby a country, its culture, history and people are reduced and simplified around a number of dominant themes. Finally, the importance of examining how such processes are economically and politically fashioned has once again been raised.

Conclusion

Within this brief paper my aim has been to offer some new ways of understanding the relationship between tourism, culture, cultural heritage and ideas of identity. It has been argued that tourism and cultural heritage often exist as separate realms of enquiry. As an alternative, this paper has presented a series of theoretical avenues, which, when considered together, reflect upon these two areas as mutually constitutive socio-cultural industries.

In the first instance, it has been suggested that significant analytical clarity arises from examining the complex ways in which cultural forms, histories and places are abstracted and commodified within a context of tourism. Crucial to such an understanding is a theorisation of tourism and cultural heritage in terms of intersecting symbolic and material processes operating at the local, national, regional and global level. In calling for a critical consciousness towards such processes, the importance of situating models of cultural heritage and tourism within their broader economic, political and social contexts has also been identified. Implicit here is a nuanced appreciation of time and space, whereby the complex relationships between the historical and the contemporary, the local and the global can be theoretically understood.

Tourism can be a very positive force, but at its heart lie fundamental contradictions. The case of Angkor has illustrated that as it reinvigorates and re-creates its host environment, tourism simultaneously simplifies and erases it. Cultivating the theoretical capacity for examining these contradictions is vital if we are to meet the challenges global tourism poses to sites such as Angkor. It is hoped that the arguments presented here offer a small, but instructive, contribution to this body of knowledge.

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