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A Sustainable Livelihood Approach in a World Heritage Area: Ayutthaya, Thailand

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
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by
Patranit Srijuntrapun

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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Abstract

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by

Patranit Srijuntrapun

Poverty reduction is a global issue. To address this problem, many development agencies have promoted an analysis approach known as the ‘Sustainable Livelihood Approach’. It is a way to enhance understanding of the livelihoods of poor people. Tourism is often seen as a form of development that might yield sustainable livelihood. Cultural and heritage tourism can provide significant revenue to local people but it can also have a negative impact on the heritage. The UNESCO World Heritage programme recognizes globally significant heritage and such recognition results in an increase of tourism to the heritage site. Thailand’s ‘Historic City of Ayutthaya’ is a UNESCO listed Cultural World Heritage site.

Conflicts between the preservation of its ancient monuments, their increased use by tourists and the local vendors has increased public awareness of the site. The site is also an urban area which is in close proximity to a special industrial development zone. This has caused labour immigration, urban development and constructions, some of which have invaded the Historic City of Ayutthaya. This has caused rumours that the city may lose its World Heritage status due to the impacts on its heritage value. This has offered an opportunity to explore the potential impact on the livelihood of its local community.

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach was used to frame the research. The methodology component of this approach is ‘Sustainable Livelihood Framework’ that helps in understanding the complexities of poverty and draws out the major factors that affect people’s livelihoods and the relationships between these factors. To collect primary data of five main

factors (livelihood capitals, vulnerability, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes), semi-structured interviews and observations are used as data collection methods in two main parts: 1) people's livelihood and 2) the policy and administration concerning people's livelihood. Content analysis was employed to analyse the primary data. To examine sustainability of livelihoods, primary data of five main factors relating to livelihoods are interpreted through: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) dependence on external support; 3) maintenance of long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) whether the livelihoods undermine the livelihoods of others.

The major findings in this research were that 1) for the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to be used in an area, it should include cultural capital in the framework; the Historic City of Ayutthaya has various cultural contexts which can convert to cultural capital that may sustain livelihoods and determine people's livelihood strategies; and 2) people's livelihood in the Historic City of Ayutthaya is found to be unsustainable. Using self-reliance (independence of external support) as a measure of a sustainable livelihood is inappropriate in the urban context because urban areas depend on external cash income and external natural resources. Substantive findings included that people in the Historic City of Ayutthaya have less dependence on the World Heritage status of the site than might be the case elsewhere.

Keywords: World Heritage site, Sustainable Livelihood Approach, sustainability, the Historic City of Ayutthaya, cultural capital

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Glossary

Baht:	the basic monetary unit of Thailand.
Chedi:	a dome-shaped building built as a Buddhist shrine and containing relics of the Buddha
His Majesty the King:	His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej has reigned since 9 June 1946 to the present.
Prang:	a Chedi which has had its style influenced by Khmer architecture.
Prasat:	a palace or temple which has had its style influenced by Khmer architecture
Rai:	the Thai unit of area. 1 rai is equal to 0.16 hectare.
Tambon:	an administrative subunit in Thailand which is below district (amphur) and province (jangwat).
Wat:	a Buddhist temple in Thailand.
Wihan:	a Buddhist building in which images of Buddha is enshrined.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 An Overview of the Study

In 2007, there were rumours that the Historic City of Ayutthaya would lose its World Heritage site status because of the threat of encroachment by tourism businesses and buildings. Moreover, stalls and shops around the historic site are threatening its values and reducing the picturesque nature of the area (*Ayutthaya might be removed from UNESCO's World Heritage list*, 2007). This drew my attention to this site.

The Historic City of Ayutthaya is located in Ayutthaya province and is a former capital of Thailand. Ayutthaya has had numerous historic places, reflecting urban prosperity of the past. For this reason, it has been designated a Cultural World Heritage site by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) since December 13, 1991. Generally, it is characterized as an urban area with few natural resources. Most local people are Buddhist, the national religion which has influenced people's livelihoods and their livelihood strategies. In addition, people have been influenced by the patronage and reciprocity rooted in Thai society for a long time. The cultural richness is evident in the architectural structure, residences and abundant handicrafts.

With a great number of historic places in Ayutthaya, the Historic City of Ayutthaya has been visited by many tourists. It became more popular when the Historic City of Ayutthaya was granted World Heritage status which increases public awareness of the site and, consequently, increases the tourist activities at the site. Tourism has influenced people's livelihoods; impacts on livelihoods are both positive and negative (Borges et al, 2011). Certainly, employment of local people in tourism businesses, including sales of goods and services to visitors by the local people is generated. Furthermore, investment in infrastructure that facilitates tourists also provides livelihood benefits to local people (Nyaupane, Morai, Morais, & Dowler, 2006).

At the same time, the surrounding area of the Historic City of Ayutthaya was announced as an industrial development zone, thereby leading to the establishment of five industrial parks. This has caused labour immigration, urban development and construction, and invasion into the Historic City of Ayutthaya, including moving of local youth to the industrial sector. Most

workers prefer living near the Historic City of Ayutthaya rather than living near their factories because of the convenience in transportation, facilities, foods and entertainment houses. The number of workers immigrating to the Historic City of Ayutthaya also results in a growing number of businesses and services, building construction, environmental invasion and perhaps eventually destruction of the ancient city atmosphere in the Historic City. This is a main cause of the rumours of losing the World Heritage site status.

This drew my interest to the relationship between a World Heritage status and the livelihood of local people, consequently leading to a research question that is ‘How does World Heritage status affect local people’s livelihoods in Ayutthaya?’ and consequently ‘are their livelihoods sustainable?’

Interest in ‘sustainability’ has increased in 1980s. It grew when people became aware of future environmental problems. These problems are caused by increased demand for resource consumption, but resources are limited. In 1987, the Brundland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) alerted the world to the need to make progress towards economic development that could be sustained without depleting natural resources or harming the environment. Moreover, the report provided a key statement on sustainable development, defining it as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.43). The Brundtland Commission's work provided the basis for the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, also known as the Earth Summit. Its purpose was to develop a global consensus on measures needed to balance development pressures against an increasingly imperilled environment. In this conference, five documents were approved. One of them is Agenda 21 which is an action plan for sustainable development into the 21st century. Agenda 21 comprises four major parts, the second of which is concerned with combating poverty. Poverty eradication and alleviation enables the poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods which is the long-term objective of this second part (United Nations Sustainable Development, n.d.).

The meaning of ‘sustainable livelihood’ is to support sustainable life. This means that “people’s livelihoods which comprise the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living, should cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future” (Carney, 1998, p.4).

Sustainable livelihood is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development in order to enhance progress in poverty reduction. To build understanding of livelihood, it is necessary to ensure that external support is congruent with people's livelihood strategies and priorities. Moreover, it focuses on the importance of understanding various livelihood components and factors: "(1) the priorities that people identify; (2) the different strategies they adopt in pursuit of their priorities; (3) the institutions, policies and organisations that determine their access to assets/opportunities and the returns they can achieve; (4) their access to social, human, physical, financial and natural capital and their ability to put these to productive use; and (5) the context in which they live, including external trends (economic, technological, demographic, etc.), shocks (natural or man-made), and seasonality" (Ashley & Carney, 1999, p.7). To investigate those components and factors in the Historic City, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework is employed as the foundation for the analysis of how the World Heritage status could impact on current local livelihood and site management and conservation.

The major findings in this research were that 1) the sustainability of natural resources is not set as major goal for those local people. Thus, no strategies bring about livelihood outcomes concerning improved food security and more sustainable natural resource uses; 2) the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to be used in an area that culture has influenced on people's livelihoods must include cultural capital in the framework; and 3) people's livelihoods in the Historic City of Ayutthaya seem to be unsustainable.

1.2 Research Aim

The overall aim of the research is to explore the sustainability of local livelihoods based on or influenced by the World Heritage status of Ayutthaya, therefore the research question is 'How does World Heritage status affect local people's livelihoods in Ayutthaya?' and consequently 'are their livelihoods sustainable?'. This will shed light on the sustainability, or otherwise, of the current local livelihood systems. In order to address these questions, further questions need to be considered, especially: 'are there changes in vulnerability context, livelihood capitals, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes for the Ayutthaya community?'.

The local livelihood consequences from being a World Cultural Heritage site and the effects of governmental structures on local people at the site are identified as part of this research.

1.3 Research Contribution

There has been considerable use of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach in studies of rural development but few attempts to apply the method explicitly to an urban area and there appears to have been no explicit application of the Sustainable Livelihood methods to a World Heritage site. The study area, the Historic City of Ayutthaya, is not only an area that tourism has an influence on local people's livelihood because of being a Cultural World Heritage site, but also the urban area's developments in infrastructure and quality of life continue to grow due to urbanization and industrial expansion. In addition, culture and tradition are important in creating identity and the local economy.

Understanding the effect of the World Heritage status on the livelihood of the local community of Ayutthaya will enable better protection and the mitigation of the impact on future sites elsewhere as well as on Ayutthaya. At a theoretical level, it is expected the research will provide an insight into the applicability of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to World Heritage sites in a culture such as Thailand's.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the seven remaining chapters are organized as follows:

Chapter 2 briefly sets the bio-physical and socio-economic context of the study. The focus is the Historic City of Ayutthaya, Thailand. It also includes the difference between urban and rural livelihoods and the Ayutthaya development context. The effect of being a World Heritage site, both the positive and negative impacts on the area and local people are considered, including removal of the World Heritage status and news on removal from the World Heritage status.

Chapter 3 discusses aspects of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, the development of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, the concept of sustainable livelihood and the features of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. In addition, sustainability is discussed under four aspects: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) livelihoods not dependent upon external support; 3) the livelihoods maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) livelihoods do not undermine the livelihoods of others.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology. The research approach, strategy and methods of data collection and analysis employed in the study are presented. The theoretical lens (framework) of enquiry and the research design are also discussed, including the sampling and triangulation strategies. Research constraints and ethical considerations are also discussed.

Chapter 5 presents the different livelihood capitals, i.e., financial, human, natural, physical, social and cultural capital which have influence on people's livelihood.

Chapter 6 presents the contexts of the vulnerability context in terms of shocks, trends and seasonality. It also includes transforming structures and processes.

Chapter 7 provides the context of the livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes.

Chapter 8 draws together the conclusions from the research findings in the thesis. Differences between the study area and the rural area are discussed, followed by the impacts of the World Heritage site and additional capital: cultural capital. To address the research question, it concludes with conceptualizing sustainability under four headings: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) livelihoods not dependent upon external support; 3) livelihoods maintaining the long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) livelihoods not undermining the livelihoods of others.

To make the thesis structure clearer, Figure 1.1 (page 18) presents the relationship between different chapters to show a whole picture of this thesis. The second part provides basic knowledge and information for the study. This part contains three chapters (chapter 2, 3 and 4). It starts with chapter 2 outlining an information and knowledge about the geographical, economical, social, and environmental context. In addition, it covers the Ayutthaya development and conservation practices and the removal of the World Heritage status. All these have reflected the conditions that have influenced the peoples' way of livelihood. Chapter 3 explains the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as a tool and examines and determines the dominant factors concerning to the local people's livelihood, as well as analyzing livelihood sustainability. Chapter 4 illustrates the process of qualitative research, data collection procedures, and data analysis under the conceptual framework of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach.

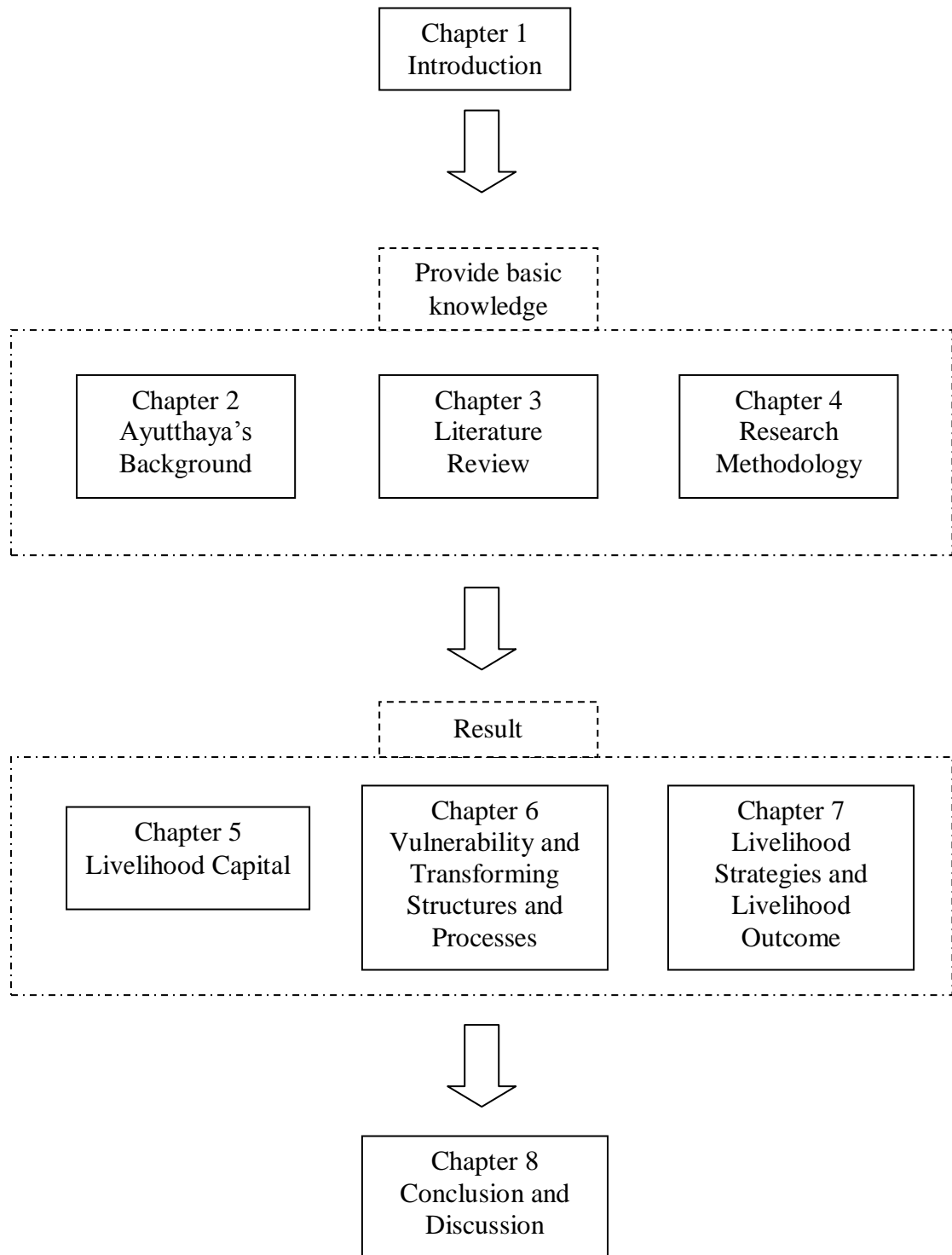


Figure 1.1 Thesis Structure

The third part of the thesis presents the results of this study. It consists of three chapters (chapter 5, 6 and 7). After data collection under the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, the five major factors influencing livelihoods (capital, vulnerability context, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies, and livelihood outcomes) are investigated to provide better understanding of the local people's way of living. Chapter 5 presents the results of the first factor that is capitals. They are crucial components of livelihood and they are considered core factors in pursuing on the livelihood activities. They include financial capital, Human capital, natural capital, physical capital, social capital and cultural capital. Chapter 6 illustrates the effect of the vulnerability context and transforming structures and processes. Vulnerability depicts the shocks that have a severe impact on local people's livelihood, and are inclined to affect people's capitals directly as well as the way people make a decision in pursuing to the livelihood strategies. Transforming structures and processes clarifies the local organization and local policy that may have influence the people's living and the ways that people access to capital, livelihood strategies, and vulnerability. Chapter 7 presents the livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Livelihood strategies provide the information concerning livelihood strategies the people have implemented to achieve their need for livelihood while livelihood outcomes demonstrates the local people's need and their response to new opportunities or threats. The subtopics in each chapter are shown in Figure 1.2.

Lastly, to summarize the results of the study and to achieve the objectives of this study of livelihood sustainability, chapter 8 presents the interpretation of data from chapters 5, 6 and 7 under the conceptual Sustainable Livelihood Approach and discussion.

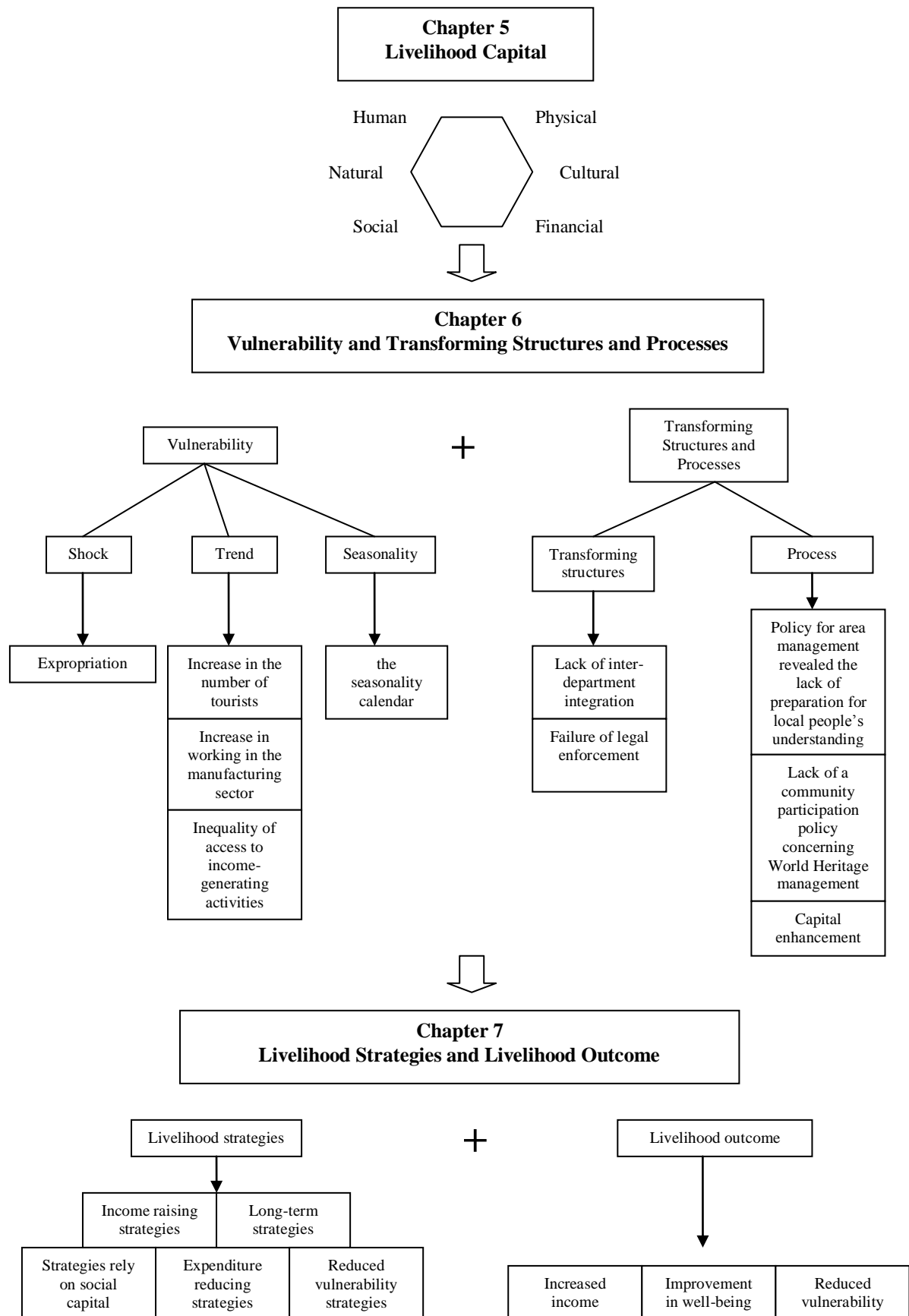


Figure 1.2 Results Structure

Chapter 2

Ayutthaya's Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the background to Ayutthaya. To conceive Ayutthaya community more clearly, it is necessary to make sense of the meaning of community prior to the investigation of the fundamental information in different areas; physical, economical, social, natural resources and environment, culture and governance. All these aspects reflect the urbanization of Ayutthaya that is unique and distinctive from rural areas. The difference between urban and rural areas will be discussed in the following section. In addition, to gain a deeper understanding of the study area, the context of Ayutthaya development focused on area conservation and growth. Becoming a World Heritage site results in both positive and negative effects which will be addressed in the next section. The subsequent effects arising out of the study area resulted in widespread rumours that the study area would be removed from the World Heritage list. Discussion on the removal of World Heritage status will be presented in the final section.

2.2 Meaning of Community

To understand Ayutthaya community clearly, the meaning of community should be considered. The term community can be defined as “a group of people who share a common sense of identity and interact with one another on a sustained basis” (www.socialsciencedictionary.com) or “a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common” (www.oxforddictionaries.com). Two major uses of the term can be distinguished: 1) the territorial and geographical notion of community (neighbourhood, town and city), and 2) the relationships concerning the quality of the character of human relationships without reference to location (Gusfield, 1975). The two usages overlap.

McMillan & Chavis (1986) proposed a definition with four elements. First, is ‘membership’ that is, the sense of belonging to or of sharing a feeling of personal relatedness. Second is ‘influence’, that is, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members. Third is ‘reinforcement: integration and fulfilment of needs’, that is, the feeling that members’ needs will be met because of support from their membership of the

group. Fourth is ‘shared emotional connection’, that is the commitment and belief of members, sharing history, time and experiences together. Some communities such as an urban community, however, may consist of individuals from different occupations whereas a rural community is more likely to consist of those the same occupation and reliant on the same natural resources.

Urban communities have been characterized as an aggregation of different people and diverse occupations which have not relied on the same natural resources. Ayutthaya is also considered an ‘urban community’.

2.3 Ayutthaya Community's Background

Ayutthaya was the capital of Thailand for 417 years. The city was set up by King Rama I on April 3, 1350 and was ruled by 33 monarchs until 1767. After being destroyed by fire in 1767, Ayutthaya was not resurrected as the capital. Ayutthaya is located in the centre of the upper-central part of Thailand 76 km from Bangkok, the capital of Thailand (Figure 2.1) (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). After becoming a World Heritage site, public awareness of the area grew and consequently increased tourist activities at the site. More tourists caused the threat of encroachment by tourism businesses and much building on to the area, resulting in rumours about the loss of the World Heritage status (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008). To understand the Ayutthaya community, it is important to understand fundamental information about community in the different areas.

2.3.1 Physical Setting

2.3.1.1 *Topography and climate*

Ayutthaya is located in a flood plain without mountains or forests; the majority of the area is rice fields. However, there is growth in industrial sectors in several districts in Ayutthaya, resulting in the creation of five industrial estates and one industrial park (Sudchaya, 1995). Ayutthaya is also surrounded by four rivers: the Chao Phraya, the Pa Sak, the Lopburi and the Noi, which altogether are 200 kilometres long. These four rivers are linked by about 860 small and big canals (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). In the past, Ayutthaya was promoted as ‘the Venice of the East’ because of its characteristic as a water city (Tourism Authority of Thailand, n.d.(b)). Because most areas are only approximately 4 metres higher than mean sea level (MSL), flooding in the rainy season becomes the most important issue in the province. The centre of Ayutthaya, which is called ‘the City Isle’, was designed as a water city (Figure 2.2). The city plan was developed with

knowledge and experience learnt extensively from nature. Three main streams not only bring forth the abundance of natural resources to the City Isle, the rainfall in rainy season can lead to flooding. Therefore, the city authorities maintain the existing canals and dig more canals to prevent the city from being directly flooded. The canals allow excess water to drain out of the city rapidly. Thus, the City Isle appears to be a city with a lot of canals linked inside and outside the city (Ayutthaya Provincial Administration Organization, n.d.).

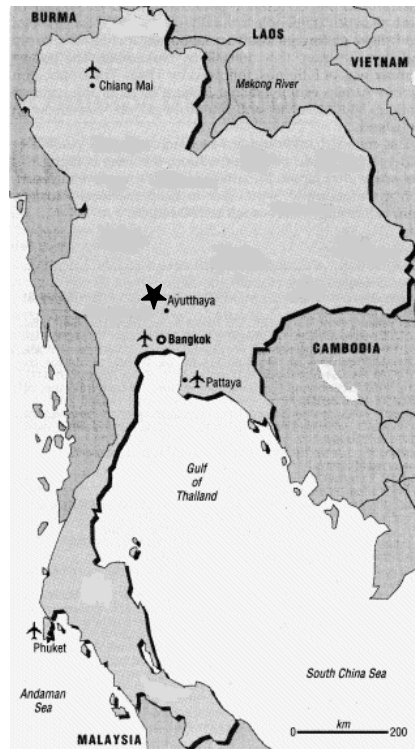
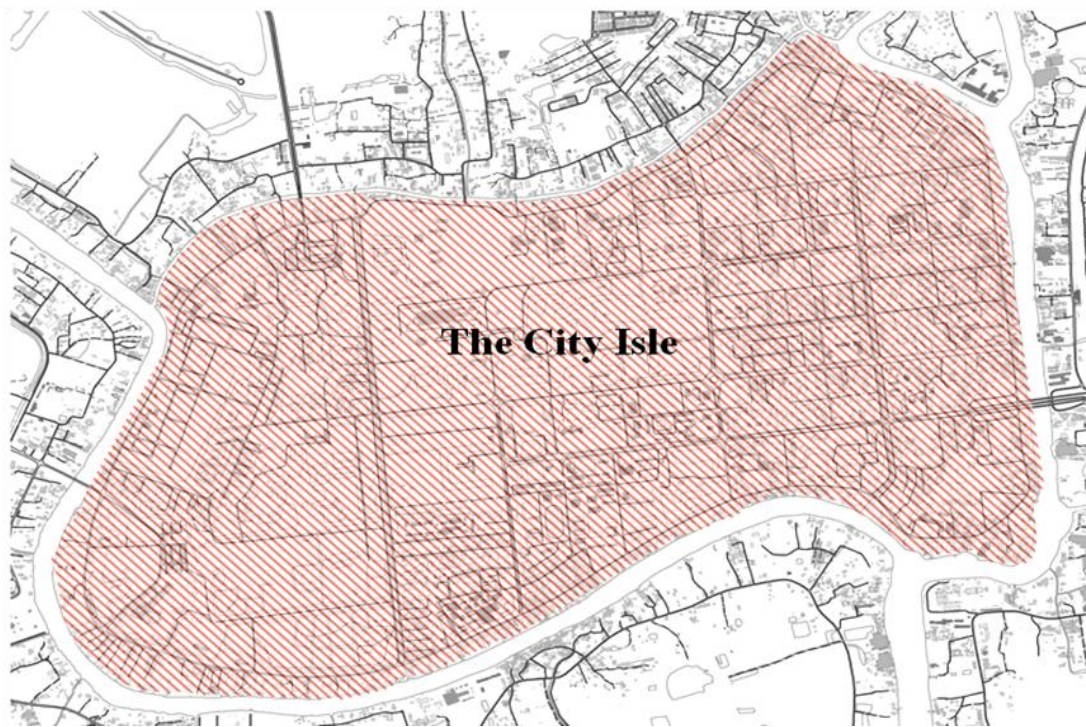


Figure 2.1 Location of Ayutthaya within Thailand.

Source : Local Government in Asia and the Pacific: A Comparative Study, (n.d., p.1)

Ayutthaya's climate is hot and humid. The climate is influenced by two types of monsoon – the northeast monsoon in the cold season and the southwest monsoon in the rainy season. This results in long continuous rain (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). The climate in Ayutthaya is defined in three seasons: 1) the rainy season begins from late May or early June to October. It rains frequently in August or September, which are regarded the wettest months; 2) the winter runs from November to January and; 3) the summer goes from February to April, which is the hottest part of the year (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province, 2008).




 The City Isle

Figure 2.2 The City Isle in Ayutthaya, Thailand.

2.3.1.2 The Study Area: The Historic City of Ayutthaya

The City Isle is the location of the Grand Palace and temples of which there now exist only the remains of over 500 palaces and temples that are tangible evidence of former political and cultural importance. UNESCO approved a part of The City Isle, which is known as The Historic City of Ayutthaya, (Figure 2.3) as a Cultural World Heritage site on December 13, 1991. It was designated as a World Heritage site under the cultural criterion (iii) which says *‘to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared’* (Appendix A). All reasons apply. First, Ayutthaya reflects the remarkable genius in its location and its city-planning scheme. This was beneficial in defending the city from enemy attacks and, being the centre of trading, this also contributed significantly to the wealth, power and prosperity of ancient Ayutthaya. Secondly, the city-planning of Ayutthaya had a significant influence on the construction of Bangkok: the structural arrangements, names of places, royal barges and life styles. Thirdly, its physical, historic and civic evidence has existed since ancient times to make the Historic City of Ayutthaya unique among historic cities. Finally, with the magnificent architectural designs of monuments such as Chedi, Prang, and Prasat, the Historic City of Ayutthaya represents distinctive Thai architecture that is now irreplaceable (Ayutthaya Provincial Administration

Organization, n.d.). The Historic City of Ayutthaya, the study area, covers 1,810 rais (approximately 289.6 hectares).

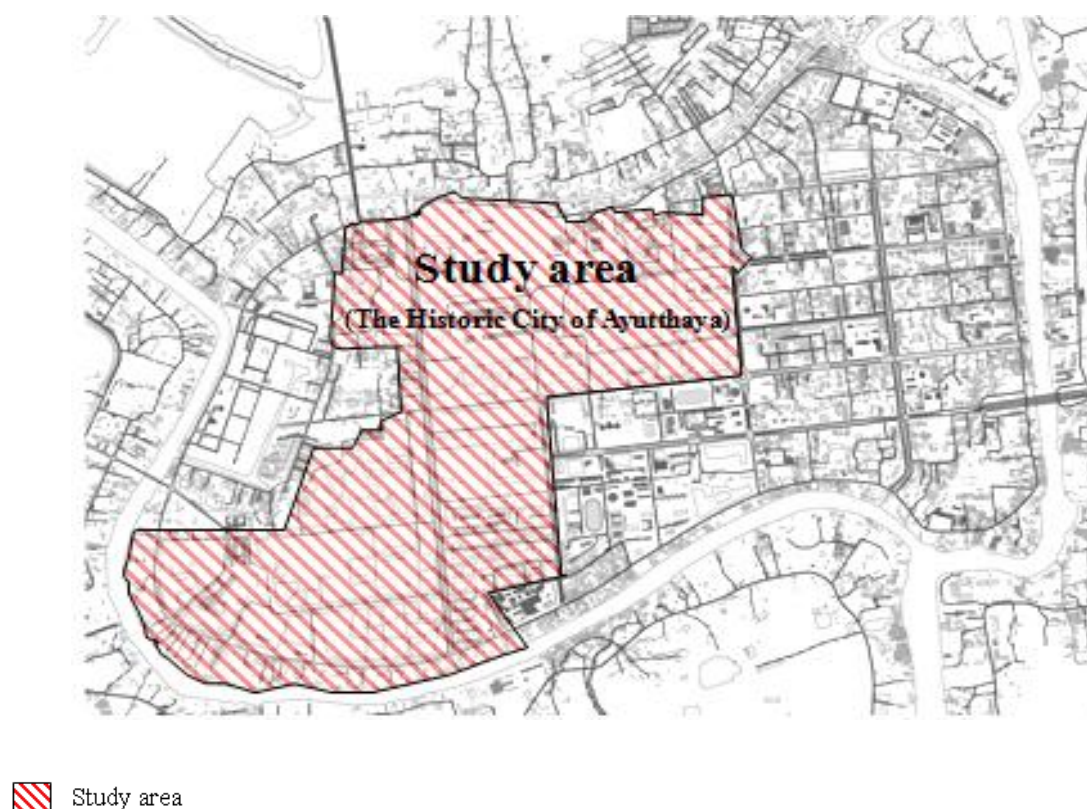


Figure 2.3 The study area: The Historic City of Ayutthaya, Thailand.

2.3.2 Human Setting: Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The population of Ayutthaya has increased slightly over recent years (Table 2.1; Figure 2.4). The population of Ayutthaya in 2008 was 769,126 (371,557 males and 397,569 females), with a population density of 298 per km². The population recorded by age class is shown in Figure 2.5. The biggest group comprises middle aged people rather than elderly or youth. This is because the birth rate is low and public health care is better, resulting in people living longer. This society is nearly an aging society — “one in which more than 7% of the population is over the age of 65” (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009, p.6).

Table 2.1 Population of Ayutthaya province with birth rate and death rate: 2003-2009.

	Population of Ayutthaya					
Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Population	751,259	740,397	746,919	754,595	760,712	769,126
Births	8649	9975	9908	9746	10350	10289
Deaths	5561	5864	5929	5876	5876	6136

Source : Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, (2009, p.14)

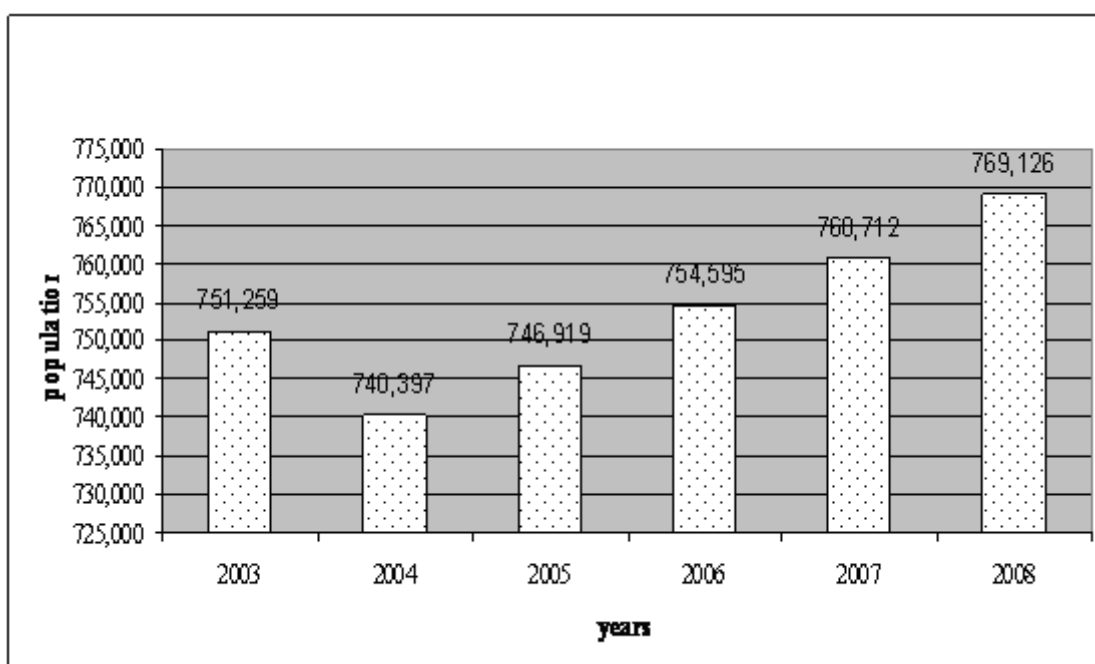


Figure 2.4 Population of Ayutthaya: 2003-2009.

Source : Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, (2009, p.7)

In the area of education, most adult workers have completed less than elementary school (200,769 persons), followed by lower secondary school education (137,342 persons), upper secondary level (105,104 persons), and finally higher level (77,282 persons) (Figure 2.6). The teacher to student ratio was 1:20 for kindergarten to the vocational education level and 1:39 for higher education (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009).

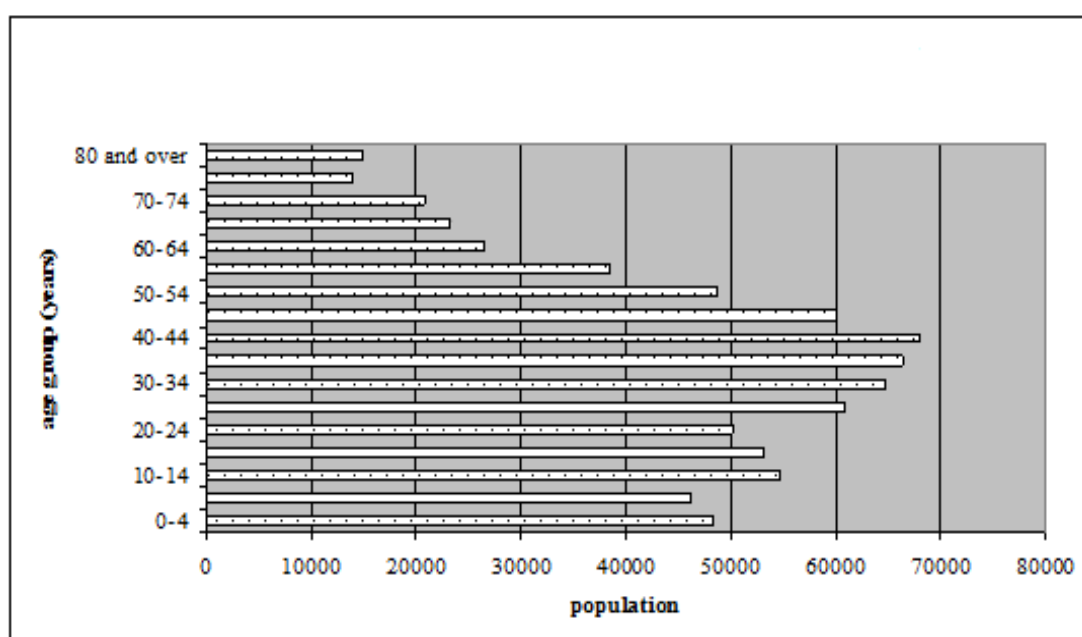


Figure 2.5 The Ayutthaya population by age group: 2008.

Source : Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, (2009, p.8)

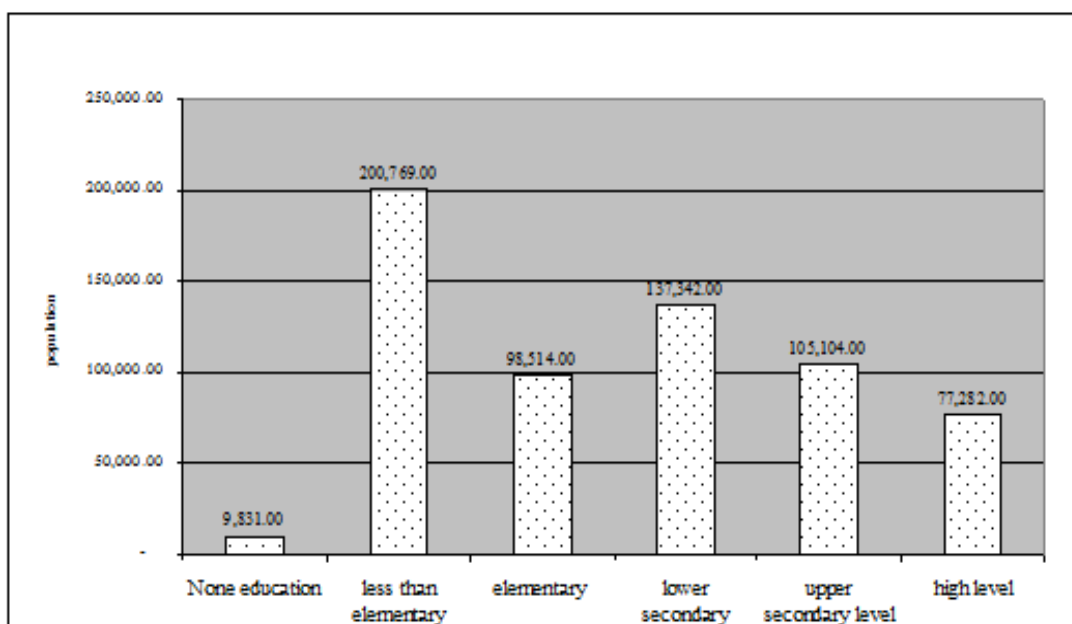


Figure 2.6 Number of persons in Ayutthaya aged 15 years and over by level of education attainment: 2009.

Source : Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.11)

Public health administration in Ayutthaya has focused on medical treatment, sanitation, environment, disease prevention and health promotion together with primary health care, covering the urban and rural area. In Ayutthaya, there is one government hospital, two private hospitals, 18 public health centres and 39 clinics. There are 77 physicians with a physician to population ratio of 1:1,789; 11 dentists with a dentist to population ratio of 1:12,523; 25 pharmacists with a pharmacist to population of 1:320, and 431 nurses with a nurse to population ratio of 1:16,356 ¹ (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009).

2.3.3 Economic Setting

With low productivity and low income in the agricultural sector during the 1980s, the shift from agriculture to the manufacturing and service sectors/tourism became apparent. This shift corresponded with the Fifth National Development Plan to reduce poverty as its objectives. Some of the villages in Ayutthaya had significant changes in their labour force in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors (Table 2.2). The table shows that the labour force in the agricultural sector dramatically decreased, whereas the number in the manufacturing sector increased.

¹ There appeared some discrepancies between the ratio provided by Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office and the population divided by the number of health professions.

Table 2.2 Changes in occupation of the labour force in agriculture and manufacturing sector during 1969/70 and 1989.

Village	Agriculture			Manufacturing		
	1969/70	1989	% change	1969/70	1989	% change
Khayai	30.7	19.9	-10.8	-	12.8	+12.8
Thapnam	68.1	61.6	-6.5	-	10.2	+10.2
Ban Chung	81.0	52.8	-28.2	1.2	17.9	+16.7

Source : Veeravong & Pongsapich, (2001, p.4)

The labour force data correspond with the data about income per household in some villages in Ayutthaya (Table 2.3). Income per household in the agricultural sector dropped over 20 years, while the income per household in the non-agricultural sector significantly rose at the same time for each of these villages.

Table 2.3 Change in income per household in village Khayai and village Thapnam.

Village/income	1969/70		1989/90	
	baht	%	baht	%
Village Khayai				
Total income	28,226	100.0	67,518	100.0
• Farm	6,644	23.5	4,009	5.9
• Non-farm	21,582	76.5	63,508	94.1
Village Thapnam				
Total income	14,561	100.0	69,224	100.0
• Farm	12,587	86.4	23,720	34.6
• Non-farm	1,974	13.6	45,504	65.4

Source : Veeravong & Pongsapich, (2001, p.6)

Similar statistics relating to tourism involvement are not readily available, however, based on data in 1969/70 and 1980, Veeravong & Pongsapich (2001) stated that tourism has been an alternative development strategy for Ayutthaya. In 1988, a Tourism Master Plan for Ayutthaya and its neighbourhoods was completed. Historic sites were identified and travelling loops to visit the different sites were recommended. Moreover, the designation of Ayutthaya as a World Heritage site by UNESCO and being only an hour away from Bangkok appear likely to have contributed to tourism growth. Ayutthaya is now known as one of the main historical and cultural centres of Thailand.

After developing into one of the Newly Industrial Countries (NICs) during 1980s under the National Development Plan, the investment expansion has entered into the outskirts of Bangkok, including districts in Ayutthaya province. In Ayutthaya, manufacturing was the biggest production sector with 353,740 million baht, followed by the retail and wholesale trades with 11,977 million baht and agriculture with 10,725 million baht. Economic expansion was 24.22% from 2007 to 2008. In 2009, there were 235,187 employers over 1,857 industries located in three different industrial estates: Bangpain Industrial Estate (88 plants), Bangwa Industrial Estate (139 plants), and Saharattananakorn Industrial Estate (43 plants). There is also an industrial park; Rojana Industrial Park PCL (176 plants), Factory Land Wangnoi (95 plants) and 1,316 other factories outside the industrial estates (Figure 2.7) (Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, 2010). The location of industrial estates is shown in Figure 2.8.

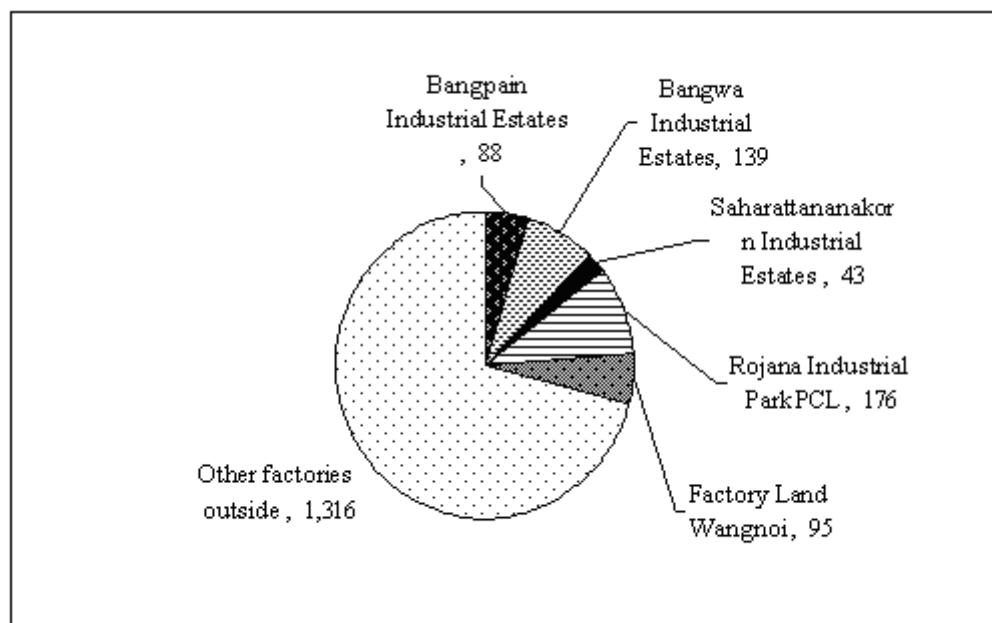
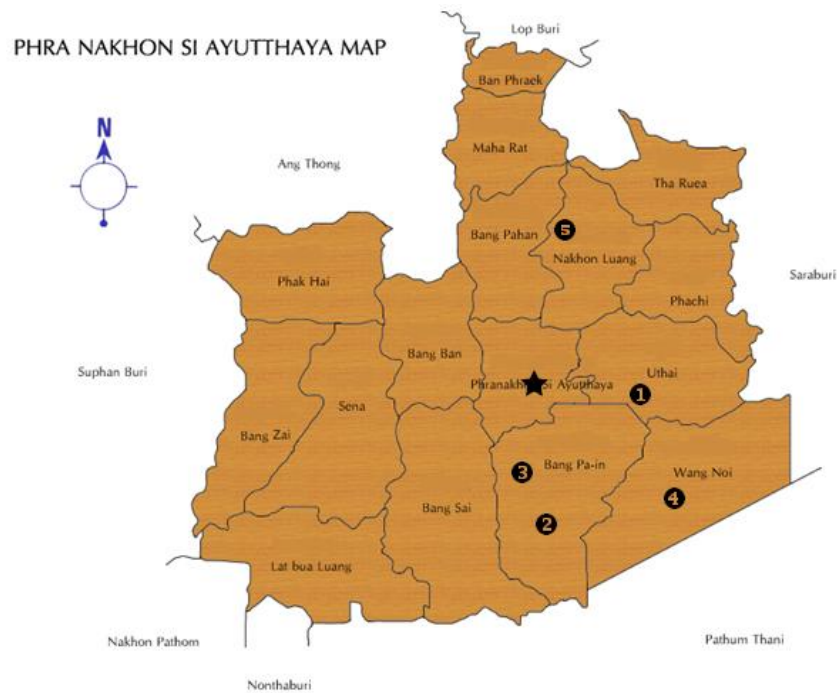


Figure 2.7 The number of factories in various estates in Ayutthaya: 2009.



Source : www.ayutthaya.go.th

- ★ Study area
- ❶ Rojana Industrial Park
- ❷ Bangpain Industrial Estates
- ❸ Bangwa Industrial Estates
- ❹ Factory Land Wangnoi
- ❺ Saharattanakorn Industrial Estates

Figure 2.8 The location of industrial estates in the Ayutthaya area, Thailand.

In recent years, the income generated from the tourism industry has increased annually. In 2008, it generated income of 7,073.49 million baht, an increase of 7.9%, compared with 6,549.53 million baht in 2007 (Figure 2.9). Overall 3,659,402 visitors travelled to Ayutthaya in 2008. Of them, 2,873,217 were Thai and 786,185 were foreign visitors. The number visiting Ayutthaya increased continuously from 2003-2008 as shown in Table 2.4 (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009), although the number of foreign visitors dropped slightly in 2008, probably because of the political crisis in Thailand (Figure 2.10).

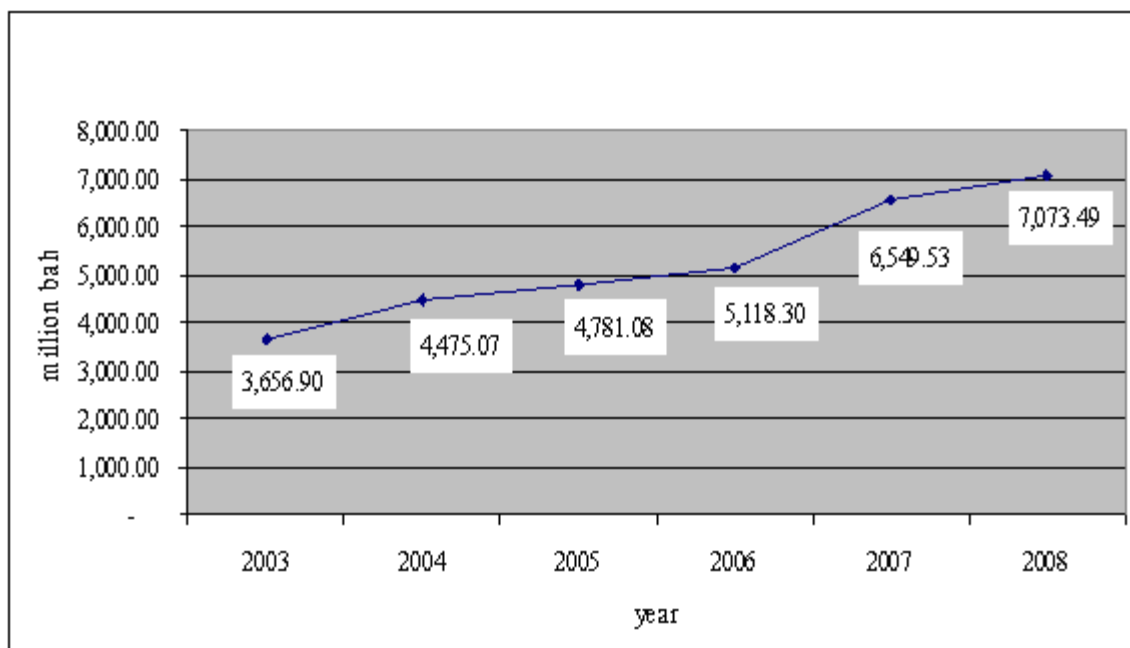


Figure 2.9 Revenue from tourism: 2003-2008.

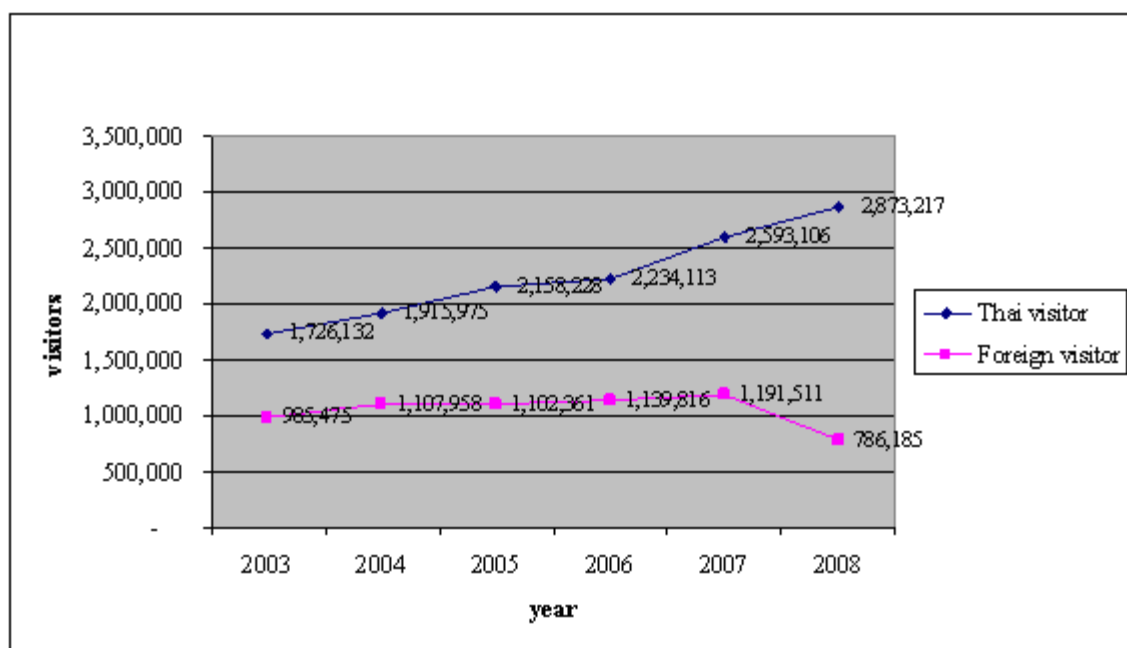


Figure 2.10 Number of visitors: 2003-2008.

Table 2.4 The number of visitors and revenue from tourism in Ayutthaya: 2003-2008.

Category		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Visitor	Total	2,711,607	3,023,933	3,260,589	3,373,929	3,784,617	3,659,402
	Thai	1,726,132	1,915,975	2,158,228	2,234,113	2,593,106	2,873,217
	Foreigners	985,475	1,107,958	1,102,361	1,139,816	1,191,511	786,185
Tourist	Total	447,412	582,661	625,674	773,530	1,099,415	953,212
	Thai	326,383	413,926	455,300	563,765	747,595	585,684
	Foreigners	121,029	168,735	170,374	209,765	351,820	367,527
Excursionist	Total	2,264,195	2,441,272	2,634,915	2,600,399	2,685,202	2,706,190
	Thai	1,399,749	1,502,049	1,702,928	1,670,348	1,845,511	2,287,533
	Foreigners	864,446	939,223	931,987	930,051	839,691	418,657
Revenue (million baht)							
Visitor	Total	3,656.90	4,475.07	4,781.08	5,118.30	6,549.53	7,073.49
	Thai	2,148.46	2,481.69	2,745.17	2,951.15	3,676.56	4,007.51
	Foreigners	1,508.44	1,993.38	2,035.91	2,167.15	2,872.97	3,065.98

- *Tourist: Those who visit the province on their own for any reasons except work or education and those who are not persons living or being educated in the province who must stay at least one night.*
- *Excursionist: visitors who do not stay overnight in the province.*
- *Visitors: Tourists + Excursionists*

Source : Tourism Authority of Thailand, (n.d.(a), p.1)

2.3.4 Natural Resource Setting and Environment

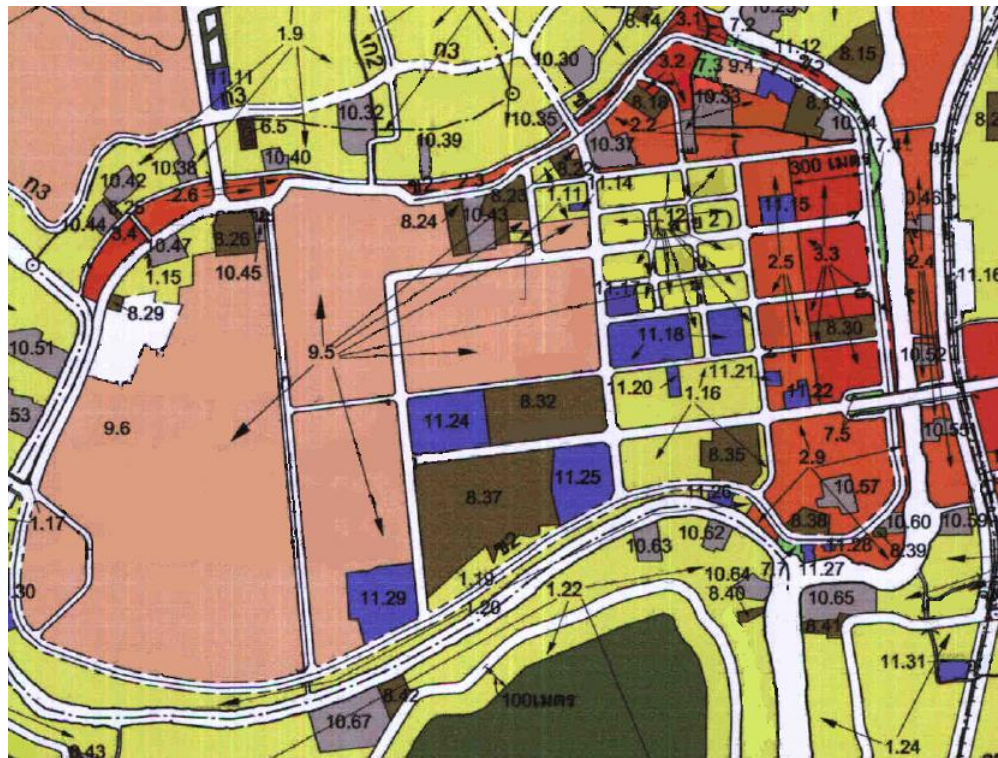
In general, the natural resources available in the area include land, forest and water. In an urban area, much of the land surface is covered by residences, commercial areas and roads. It has public parks instead of forestry areas. Rivers are used for producing tap water and transport, not for aquaculture. In short, there are fewer natural resources available than in a rural area. Garbage and waste also has an influence on the environment.

2.3.4.1 Land resource

As shown in Figure 2.11, the low to high density population areas which are coloured in shades of yellow to red, are on the east of the City Isle. They are also the major commercial areas, for example, the Chao Phrom market and a major transport station of the area. Various levels of academic institutions: kindergarten schools to university are situated mostly on the east of the City Isle whereas tourism businesses such as hotels and restaurants are located along the bank of Chao Phraya and Pa Sak rivers.

For the 1,810-rai study area, the Historic City of Ayutthaya, land use has largely been Thai culture promotion areas, which are pink (Figure 2.11). In this area, development is limited because it may affect the ancient monuments and environmental surroundings. Ownership in the territory of the Historic City of Ayutthaya included two types of title. First King Land or

land owned by the king, and managed by the government (1,687.2 rais or 269.9 hectares), accounts for 93% of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, meaning that virtually all real estate is under the government's ownership. The Treasury Department is responsible for allotting the land for peoples' utility, meaning that people are not actual land owners; they have to pay the Treasury Department a rental on a yearly basis. Secondly, individual title deed land (128.4 rais or 20.5 hectares), accounts for 7% of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, meaning that the real estate is under the people's ownership (The Department of Fine Arts, 1994).



Source : *Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya City Plan*, (n.d., p.23)

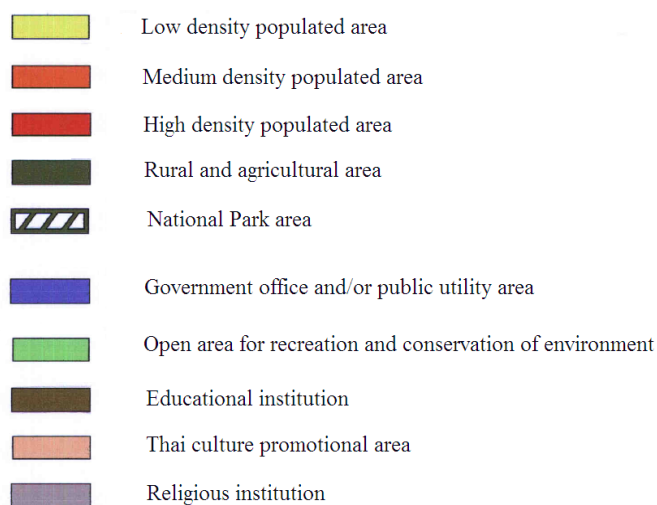


Figure 2.11 Population density and land use in the study area in Ayutthaya.

2.3.4.2 Forestry resource

In the study area, there is no forestry (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province, 2008). The largest public green area is the historic park for which the land use is primarily aimed at tourism and recreation. It consists of parking lots, restaurants and souvenir shops. The role of this historic park for the Ayutthaya people is relatively small because they hardly use that area. Phra Ram park is used as a recreation area providing sport equipment and a petanque yard available for the aged (Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, n.d.).

In those parks and by ancient monuments, long-lived large plants are found. Plants with 90-100 cm diameter trunks mostly include rain-trees (*Samanea saman* Merr), followed by bodhi trees (*Ficus religiosa* Linn), banyan trees (*Ficus* spp.), tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica* Linn) and manila tamarind trees (*Pithecelobium dulce* Benth). Of them, there are a few trees over 100 cm diameter. In the ancient sites in the historic park there are 120-year or older jujube trees (*Zizyphus mauritiana* Lamk), particularly at the ancient monuments such as Wat Prasrisanpet and Phra Ram park (Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, n.d.). Most were planted in the reign of King Rama VI (1910-1925) by Archaic Provincial Governor who invited the people to grow plants such as jujube trees to gather their fruit (Figure 2.12). Moreover, the people who collected the jujubes cleared the untidy and deserted ancient monument.



Figure 2.12 Jujube fruits and jujube trees.

2.3.4.3 Water resource

The feature of the study area is that it is encompassed by rivers. Three main rivers, the Chao Praya River, the Pa Sak River and the Lopburi River, meet together surrounding the City Isle of Ayutthaya (Figure 2.13). The water quality in the three rivers has deteriorated (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province, 2008). This has been caused by wastewater from households

Klong Mahachai, and Klong Makhmrieng (Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, n.d.).

2.3.4.4 Garbage and Waste

At present, approximately 252 tons of garbage is produced daily in the Ayutthaya City Municipality. This is mainly food garbage (44.7%), waste paper (14.3%) and plastic (13.3%) (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province, 2008). The method of waste disposal used is open dumping of the waste on a 30-rai area outside the Historic City of Ayutthaya, 8 km to the west of the community (Figure 2.14). This is the largest waste disposal in Ayutthaya. The capacity of waste disposal plant is 140 tons/day, which does not meet the quantity of garbage generated. Besides the garbage from Ayutthaya, it receives the garbage from 10 neighbouring local administrations inside Ayutthaya province.



Figure 2.14 Open dumping site for Ayutthaya's garbage.

2.3.5 Social Setting

Thai society is a fundamental aggregation of many races, religions and cultures with livelihoods based in Buddhism. Thai society has been an agricultural society for a long time. Most Thai people earned their living as farmers. Consequently, the beliefs and the way of living of Thai people, their values, customs and traditions have been primarily associated with agriculture and nature. Today, business and industry have replaced traditional farming and become the source of employment which generates people's income. The way of living has therefore changed. However, the balance between an agricultural and industrial society remains. Beside agriculture, the basis of Thai society and beliefs stem from a combination of Buddhism and local beliefs concerning Thai Kings and their virtues. This makes people have a profound relationship with Buddhism and King (Thandee, n.d.).

Buddhism, which has most influence on Thai society and culture, is the country's religion. Despite Buddhism being regarded as the core religion in Thailand, all people has the freedom to worship any religion they believe. The people of Ayutthaya believe in Buddhism (95.37%), Islam (3.97%), and Christianity (0.6%). Buddhism has been the religion of Thailand for centuries. Consequently, the temples and priests have a close association with the people. The temple is a hub of the community and is a centre of people's trust. Priests, as temple representatives, serve as the spiritual leaders and the centre of respect, faith and cooperation. The relationship between the temple and the people in the community is harmoniously close from the beginning of the life to demise. Religious ceremonies have been associated with temples and priests most of the time. Thus, almost every community has a temple for religious rites. Moreover, the temple plays an important role in education. In the past, temples served as schools and priests served as teachers or instructors in morals. The temple is also important for society because people meet each other to perform other activities, for example, festive activities, making merit², performing religious rites and the relief of suffering of people. It also serves as community warehouse, traveler accommodation and foster home for sick people through traditional medicine (Suwannapha, n.d.).

The important Buddhist teachings concern karma and rebirth. Karma is the law of moral causation which is a fundamental doctrine in Buddhism. Karma is defined as the "sum of person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate for the next" (www.oxforddictionaries.com). According to the concept of karma, every time we think or do something, we create a cause, which in time will produce its corresponding effects. For example, if a person does a good karma or action, he/she would have a better life in the present and/or the next life. This implies that a people's position in this life stems from their karma or action in the last life. Because of this karma's concept, poor people can accept their low position or poverty. This can reduce a conflict resulting from a difference of position and wealth (Saksung, 2009).

Thai society respects royalty. The king has been highly glorified and worshipped and is regarded as the hub of all Thai people's hearts for centuries, bringing forth love, unity and harmony. The royal institution helps the country to develop due to His Majesty the King's mercy in performing the public affairs beneficially for the country from the past to the

²Making merit means doing good things as mentioned in Buddhism's doctrine such as giving alms, maintaining religious commandment and praying. Buddhist believes that they should make merit regularly to bring them happiness, other good things and overcome any obstacles or misfortune they are suffering. They also believe that their accumulated merit would help them to be in heaven or to benefit them in next life.

present. Especially, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej (1946 – present) has helped Thai people through initiating royal development projects in remote areas. This aims to promote and develop the better way of life.

One of development notions of His Majesty the King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand is ‘Sufficiency Economy’. It is a philosophy bestowed by His Majesty the King as guidance on appropriate conduct covering numerous aspects of life over the past three decades. The philosophy focuses the way to recovery that will lead to a more resilient and sustainable economy, better able to meet the challenges arising from globalization and other changes. According to this philosophy, all development should be based on the middle path and prudent principle in accordance with Buddha’s doctrine that keeps a balance for any actions. The ‘Sufficiency Economy’ approach consists of three components – moderation, reasonableness, and self-immunity. 1) moderation means being within reasonable limits; not too much or not too little, no harm to oneself or others. An example of moderation is moderate production and consumption that does not distress oneself or others. 2) reasonableness means moderate decision-making, or any act should be conducted reasonably, considering the related factors and prospective results prudently. 3) self-immunity means preparedness for outcomes and changes that may occur by considering the possibility of the situation in the future (Calkins, 2008).

Consistent with Buddhist teaching, the Sufficiency Economics approach is initiated by His Majesty the King of the Thais. The essence of the sufficiency economic approach is acceptance and there appears to be little greed. There are many books that have repeatedly observed that Thai people love the king (Sirijuntanan, 2006, Treyong, 2011, Agricultural Land Reform Office, 2006) and BBC news (Head, 2007) made similar comments.

In addition, in Thai society, patronage and reciprocity is embedded. The patronage relationship has been caused by the inequality of opportunity for society members to access resources, honour, authority, wealth and beneficial opportunities. Thus, people with fewer or tougher, opportunities to access resources have developed a patronage relationship with those who are more likely to access the resources in order that they can gain some benefits. In turn, the people with more opportunity to access resources expect something from those with less opportunity of access. This type of relationship is interdependent where the patron is superior to the person patronized. Patronage in Thai society shows its social capital through varying degrees of relationships: family relationship and community and social relationship.

Family relationship or kin relationship is based on the concept of gratitude. Giving birth to a child makes the parent a benefactor of the child who will some day repay them the favour. Among relatives, gratitude develops through providing favours. Therefore, in family relationships, a reward in the pattern of exchanges that is imponderable in monetary value, but invaluable in gratitude. Patronage at the community and social level is a relationship that patronizes between different classes, for example, the relationship between master and slave. It is an interdependent relationship which was advantages and disadvantages (Saksung, 2009).

Reciprocity is a positive and negative response to the behaviour of others and a mechanism to develop cooperation. For example, people exchange labour in the harvest season for community activity where equality exchange has been emphasized. The election and election campaigning system are other examples which occur in Thai society. The hegemonic groups in certain areas use the social capital they have retained from the assistance of the poor and the disadvantaged to recall the social capital when an election occurs. Such explicitly retained capital is potentially able to attract a greater number of votes. In addition, the social capital for public facilities benefits the people in common and is regarded as the establishment of a community network. The people who develop great social capital will be willingly paid back by community members (Saksung, 2009).

The Thai administration has been centralized for a long time. The authority and power have been centralized in the Bangkok metropolitan area, which is a centre of all activities. Although it is now becoming decentralized, decentralization to different localities is somewhat difficult because almost all activities; government, education, religion, art and culture, industry and commerce, have been concentrated in the capital, Bangkok, with an inevitable effect on the current social structure.

2.3.6 Cultural Setting

The concept of culture is critical to understanding community. Culture has many definitions with similar meaning. For example, Linton (1945, p.32) defined it as “a configuration of learned behaviors and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society”. And culture is defined by Damen (1987, p.367) as “learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day-to-day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is mankind's primary adaptive mechanism”. Throsby's definition is “a set of attitudes, practices and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of different societies. Culture is expressed in a particular society's values and customs, which evolve over time as they are transmitted

from one generation to another” (Throsby, 1995, p.202). Moreover, it can be that capital that gives rise to cultural values and whatever economic value it might possess (Throsby, 1999).

Ayutthaya had been a prosperous kingdom in art, history and culture. It also had been a commercial river port where people from various races, for example, Lao, Cambodian, Portuguese, British, French, Chinese and Japanese, immigrated to Ayutthaya. This led to diverse cultures that are transformed from generation to generation.

Culture can turn into cultural capital in three forms: 1) cultural capital in the embodied state: an individual’s knowledge and skill formed by experience, upbringing, educating, etc. It is transmissible passively, which takes time to embody itself upon one’s dispositions of mind and body. Embodied cultural capital is one essential factor in social exchanges and subsequently moving up in society. 2) cultural capital in the objectified state: is in the form of cultural goods (paintings, instruments, work of arts, books, monuments). Objectified cultural capital can be exchanged for financial capital and serve as symbolically conveying the culture embodied in the goods. 3) cultural capital in the institutionalized state: is institutional recognition that is seen in the form of educational qualifications. Institutional recognition guaranteed through qualifications can be exchanged or used to obtain financial capital. This may lead to a higher income or access to higher social networks. It also means the set of shared practices and beliefs commonly accepted by groups of people, institutions, or organizations, such as belief in monarchy, temples and schools that brings about public unity, tradition and social activities (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital is valuable to livelihoods and society in some ways, leading to unanimity and socialization. Economically, it’s monetarily beneficial to individuals and their community. However, cultural capital can vary with changing situations and technology advances. For example, conventional medicine has replaced traditional medicine, which has gradually disappeared. Usually, cultural capital is reduced to ‘traditional culture heritage’, which is seen in the practices and belief patterns mentioned. Such cultural capital could be either in concrete form such as temples, historic places, products – pottery and food – or in abstract form such as traditions, rituals and beliefs. All these are precious and valuable to a community in ways that produce benefits such as generating income from cultural tourism or cultural products. New traditions, rituals, etc., can evolve and become as valuable to community identity as one they may have replaced. It is an invented tradition that is:

“taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values or norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992, p.1).

It is the response to a new situation which has a reference to the old situation, for example, stone carving in various ancient objects and Buddha images. It has been developed in connection with the historic atmosphere of Ayutthaya city, consequently, it has become an income-generating occupation.

2.3.7 Political Organization

Ayutthaya is officially divided into 16 districts, 209 subdistricts and 1,425 villages. The governing structure consists of the Ayutthaya provincial government administrative organization, the town municipality, two city municipalities, 31 tambon municipalities and 123 tambon administrative organizations. There is one senator and five members of parliament elected from Ayutthaya (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009).

The Historic City of Ayutthaya is governed by Ayutthaya City Municipality, which is the local administration. In Thailand, the city municipality governs an area with a population of 10,000 people and a density higher than 3,000 per km² is considered as an urban area (www.dpt.go.th). The municipality's explicit approach to govern the area is to provide benefits and well-being for community members and to encourage communities to solve problems by themselves; community participation should be created among local people by setting up chumchon (communities) in the municipality area (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya City Municipality, n.d.). This, it considers, will enable it to better govern and service the people and empower the community. Thus, 13 communities were established in the Historic City of Ayutthaya (Figure 2.15) based on existing local leadership arrangement.



Figure 2.15 Communities in the Historic City of Ayutthaya.

In the study area, two major organizations are responsible for area management.

2.3.7.1 Ayutthaya Historic Park Office, the Department of Fine Arts

The responsibility undertaken by the Ayutthaya Historic Park Office, the Department of Fine Arts involves protecting, defending, looking after and restoring the historic places, providing knowledge to the general public; secondly, collecting income from admission fees, outlet rentals, land rentals, book and souvenir sales, as state revenues and an archaeological fund, and lastly, to proceed with legal action in case of offences under applicable law. It focuses on conserving and restoring historic sites and surroundings, restricting urban expansion and growth to outside the World Heritage site (The Department of Fine Arts, 1994).

2.3.7.2 Ayutthaya City Municipality

This handles tasks that can be best dealt with locally such as public order and developments in life quality, public health, environment, education, public utilities, the city plan and tourism. In other words, to look after the local livelihood for a better quality of life and safety in all respects of the area (*Municipal Responsibilities*, n.d.).

From size of population, economic context and natural resources, this fundamental data indicated that the study area has been considered as an urban area which is distinct from a rural area in various characteristics.

2.4 Difference between Urban and Rural

The study area is an urban area. To understand the implication on urban livelihoods, it is first necessary to understand how urban and rural are different. The following discussion emphasises developing countries. The situation may be quite different in developed countries.

The terms 'urban' and 'rural' generally are recognized as demographic in nature and vary from country to country. In addition, the differences between urban and rural depend on local core activities. Primary production such as agriculture is considered as a core activity in rural areas whereas industrial production and services are core activities in urban areas. However, the boundaries of urban settlements are usually more blurred than portrayed by administrative delimitation, for example, the interdependency between urban and rural. The city exploits rural resources and population movement is characterized by both temporary and seasonal migration, indicating that more rural people are likely to undertake non-agricultural activities than previously (Tacoli, 1998). That interdependency also includes the markets for food, industrial goods and services, water supply and demand, educational facilities, healthcare and recreation, flows of remittance income and family support networks (Wratten, 1995). Moreover, urban and rural situations appear to have converged over recent years as a result of the internet and advanced technologies, leading to faster, easier, and cheaper telecommunication between urban and rural areas (Hofferth & Iceland, 1998).

Additionally, some areas currently have integrated agricultural activities and non-agricultural activities, making it more difficult to distinguish between urban and rural (McGee, 1987). A growing number of urban households have engaged in agricultural activities while rural villagers' income is increasingly derived from non-farm activities (Bryceson & Jamal, 1997). Significant differences have especially appeared in the social and economic contexts, the environment, health and governance.

The city, generally, is more diverse, especially in culture, because of the aggregation of diverse people who immigrate and seek jobs. Social diversity seems a likely cause of tension and the survival strategies in the urban city are different from those in the rural areas (Wratten, 1995). In addition, the identification of social capital is a valuable resource for

people's well-being, especially in times of crisis and socio-economic change. It has also been found that social fragmentation is greater in urban areas than rural areas. Local friendship ties and attachments are declining in urban areas compared with those in rural areas (Sampson, 1988). This is because of the diversity of people who immigrate into urban for employment. In addition, the neighbour relationship may be fragmented due to social problems, for example, drug addiction, alcoholism, religion or race (Farrington, Ramasut & Walker, 2002). Social fragmentation diminishes the community and inter-household mechanisms of trust and collaboration and occurs as a result of socio-economic conditions, which have been related to income, opportunity, access to infrastructure, services, and political influence in urban areas (Moser, 1998). In contrast, social integration and attachment is more likely in rural than urban communities, resulting in a strengthening of social capital so assistance is more likely found in rural than urban areas (Hoffert & Icelan, 1998). This is because households in a rural community have similar careers and depend on similar resources, which causes mutual reciprocity. For example, during harvest time, households take turns in harvesting their crops and help each other.

The city is a source of employment and a place where people are more likely to rely on cash income to buy products and services. Most cash income comes from the sale of labour. Urban areas provide better infrastructure such as streets, town halls, public plazas, market places, schools, hospitals and libraries (Tacoli, 1998). Because of economic opportunity, an increased number of rural people move into urban areas for career opportunities to improve their life (Wratten, 1995). To survive, urban people, especially in developing countries, undertake various activities that usually are in the informal sector even though they sometimes earn low income and face insecure conditions (Chakrabarti, 2001). Conversely, rural people primarily rely on primary production and this means they have greater access to local food for consumption (Scarborough, 1996).

The urban area always depends on food and natural resource from other areas. It has a significant environmental impact often outside the urban areas and their ecosystem is generally transformed by the generation of urban concentrated wastes (Tacoli, 1998). In urban areas, the government organizations have held the key role of urban environmental management. However, the lack of legitimacy, lack of tax/revenue base, lack of experience and human resources has limited governmental organizations' interest and ability to handle urban environmental management. This results in the urban poor encountering environmental problems from the lack of clean water, sanitation, waste management, access to health

facilities and other social infrastructure (Jeppesen, Andersen, & Madsen, 2006). The urban poor usually face the substandard accommodation and workplace environment that are related to health and well-being. The urban poor live in low-price rented rooms in a crowded environment and they suffer from the proximity to toxic and hazardous wastes, lack of clean water and sanitation, water, air and noise pollution (Farrington et al., 2002). The unhealthy conditions affect occupational competency and performance. Unlike the urban environment, rural people have close links to a more natural environment and, consequently, may have a better appreciation of the importance of maintaining natural resources (e.g. soil quality) (Scherr & Yadav, 1996).

Urban and rural people are involved with governmental structures that rely on the infrastructure and services, and the policy set by the local administration (Farrington et al., 2002). Relationships between people and government agencies are problematic. Wratten (1995) stated that the government fails to solve public issues because the government misunderstands the actual needs of urban people. The problem-solving mechanism has usually been in the format of negotiation and compensation; for example, the cost of reproducing labour, basic foodstuffs (Wratten, 1995). As a result, people are precluded from participation and administration, leading to undermining autonomy (Johnson & Start, 2001). Unlike the other topics discussed above, there is no real difference between urban and rural people and their relationships with the government.

In addition to the understanding of the overview of the study area in financial, physical, social, environmental, and cultural context, it is necessary to make clear the dynamics of Ayutthaya development in order to obtain a better understanding of conservation and development in the area.

2.5 Ayutthaya Development Context

Over the centuries, Ayutthaya has been a very important city. It has been a centre of rice trade and of economics. During the period of the establishment of the new capital, there was the removal of bricks and building material from Ayutthaya for use in Bangkok's construction. This caused the demolition of many old city remains. This continued until the reign of King Rama IV (1836-1868). This may illustrate attitudes towards heritage conservation in this period of time.

The reign of King Rama V (1868-1910) was the beginning of Ayutthaya's conservation. The land in the City Isle of Ayutthaya was declared to be state property, which cannot be owned privately. Surveys of all ancient monuments inside the isle and renovations surrounding the Royal Palace occurred (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008).

Following the 1932 revolution, legislation was enacted that reaffirmed the status of the City Isle as King Land, with the Ministry of Finance taking responsibility for renewal and conservation. The City Isle has been improved and many governmental places have been constructed, for example, the provincial hall and Ayutthaya Wittayalai school. And the City Isle was renovated to become the business and administrative centre (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008). Though one Cabinet attempted to develop the area, the Department of Fine Arts was afraid that the national historic places would be devastated as a result of modern city development. Thus, the Department of Fine Arts proclaimed 69 registered historic places in 1935 (The Department of Fine Arts, 1994). Later, in 1943, the Ministry of Finance transferred some parts of the state land and deserted temples to the public, which became a major cause of invasion into the historic places (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008).

During 1948-1957, the then Prime Minister General Por Piboolsongkram desired to restore the historic places and historic cities in the country to improve the sense of nationalism. The Historic City of Ayutthaya was restored again after the overthrow of the government. Other facilities were prepared for tourists' sightseeing. They included significant constructions, for example, souvenir shops at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, parking lots, a public park surrounding Phra Ram Park. This attracted a growing number of tourists. However, it was usually reported by the tourists that the City Isle was covered with weeds (Sudchaya, 1995). The land was untidy as was the canal and well. This is because the City Isle area is mainly the King Land where people rented residences from Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Treasury Office. The tenants did not improve their untidy land because the premises agreement was entered on yearly basis, and the agreement can be terminated at any time. The ownership in the territory of the historic park (1,810 rais) included two types of titles: 1) land property subjected to King Land (1,687.2 rais or 269.95 hectares), accounted for 93% of overall historic park; and 2) people's title deed (128.4 rais or 20.54 hectares), accounted for 7 % of the historic park (The Department of Fine Arts, 1994).

In 1976, the Department of Fine Arts proclaimed part of the City Isle, covering 1,810 rais, as a historic zone. Such a proclamation authorized the government sector in area protection. The Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961) is the law supporting the key powers, that aims to prevent unauthorised new constructions, and controls the usage of the land of those who live in the area (The Department of Fine Arts, 1994).

After 1976, historic place restoration was put into the National Economic and Social Development Plan No.4 (B.E.1977-1981) so that cultural resources were utilised for tourism purposes. Tourism has consequently been developed; 1982 was the first year that tourism became the highest export earner. In 1985, research and development relevant to Ayutthaya tourism was carried out. The findings indicated that Ayutthaya was a potential tourism province. About 200,000 tourists visited Ayutthaya. Because most tourists (over 90%) were excursionists, tourism income was not core for local people (The Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, 1985).

One of the important issues for Ayutthaya tourism related to the environment and the surroundings. Modern construction was not in harmony with the past building, so Ayutthaya failed to represent the uniqueness of the historic city and cultural resources were not represented as well as they could have been. Because of the landscape and construction discrepancy between the past and present, the area did not fascinate the tourists' attention as much as it should (The Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, 1985).

After registering World Heritage status on December 13, 1991, the role of the Historic City of Ayutthaya was more likely to be part of tourism economic development. On the other hand, the other side of the City Isle has changed economically and socially. The industrial sector has increasingly expanded. Initially, Ayutthaya city was an agricultural town and rice was the major economic crop; most industries involved the rice crop, for example, rice mills and liquid and alcohol refineries, sesame extracting plants, noodle and biscuit production plants (Sudchaya, 1995).

After becoming one of the Newly Industrial Countries (NICs) during the 1980s under the national development plan, investment in industry has expanded in the outskirts of metropolitan Bangkok, including several districts in Ayutthaya, which were designated as

investment promotion zones, resulting in five industrial estates and one industrial park (Sudchaya, 1995).

Overall, the economic structure of Ayutthaya during 1987-1994 was industrialized with high growth. As a result, the City Isle changed as the city changed over that period. The industrial growth resulted in a greater number of labourers migrating into the industrial and service sectors. A growing number of residences, town houses, rental houses and dormitories emerged. As a result, a growing use of land has occurred in response to the changing economics. Morning and evening traffic has become congested with passenger buses traveling between Ayutthaya city and plants located on the outskirts of the island and districts. Also, the night markets have become crowded. The migrating workers usually stayed near the City Isle because of the convenience of transportation, facilities, food and entertainment houses (Junpinit, 1996).

The effect of the changing economics and society, in the view of city plan scholars, was that the environment surrounding the historic places and urban structure was degraded, the historic places, surroundings and traditional atmosphere were affected by, for example, digging, land fill, construction, road construction and extension regardless of the historic places and surroundings. Urban development must be set apart from the historic city so that changes bring forth harmony and congruence (Eiem-anant, 1994).

Therefore, the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya was registered to control the changes in the Ayutthaya environment and surroundings. The Master Plan primarily serves as a guideline in pursuit of operations on the 1,810-rai historic area. Meanwhile, the conservation approach not only applies to the old monuments, but also to the environmental surroundings. Controlling urban growth is necessary for conservation. According to the conservationists and city planners, urban growth should occur away from the historic places. Thus, the modern development should be controlled not only in the Historic City of Ayutthaya, but also in the adjacent areas (Eiem-anant, 1994).

The context above shows that there is a conflict of area management at both the national level and the local level. At the national level, there is a conflict between ancient monument preservation and industrial development. The cabinet decided to propose the Historic City of Ayutthaya as a World Heritage site aiming to conserve the historic places in the area and, at the same time, they promoted the surrounding area of the Historic City of Ayutthaya as an

industrial park, leading to labourer migration and urban development invading the area. At the local level, there is a conflict concerning the major goals and core activities of two major local organizations, i.e, the Department of Fine Arts and the Ayutthaya City Municipality. The Department of Fine Arts is responsible for conserving and restoring historic sites and surroundings, restricting the urban expansion and growth to outside the World Heritage site. The Ayutthaya City Municipality is responsible for developing the local people's quality of life and contributing to urban development and infrastructure.

Today, in the historic area, the Department of Fine Arts, by the virtue of The Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961) and other laws, applies these laws in controlling the changes and contributing to the protection for the Historic City of Ayutthaya. Under the authority of The Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961), the Department of Fine Arts designated the boundary of the historic places within which any construction relevant to the City Isle, either government sector or private sector, shall be consented by the Department of Fine Arts. The requirements for building control, activity control, special usage, size, height and building design have been defined clearly (Phengtako, 1996). Several measures of particular importance have been taken to manage the Historic City of Ayutthaya site are the municipal acts that control development and the Department of Fine Arts' Master Plan.

2.5.1 Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya

The Master Plan is a detailed plan for controlling everything that happens in the designated area. It comprises major parts as follows:

- Archaeology, Historical and Ancient Monuments: to conserve and renovate the historical and ancient monuments in the Historic City of Ayutthaya.
- Development and Improvement of Infrastructure: to develop transportation, an aqueduct, waste management and flood control, including improving electrical and running water systems.
- Improvement of Environment and Landscape: to improve the environment and landscape in the Historic City of Ayutthaya and a traditional handicraft village for tourism.
- Development and Improvement of the Community: to relocate houses and constructions out of the Historic City of Ayutthaya and improve people's livelihood in the community.
- Relocation and Improvement of Land Use: to relocate beverage factories out of the Historic City of Ayutthaya and construct a National Maritime Museum.

- Academic and Tourist Service: to provide historical information to those who are interested in and benefit from education.
- Economy and Social: to support and revive local culture which creates income for local people both directly and indirectly.
- Development of the Human Resource and Office of the Historic City: to increase manpower and develop the quality of the human resource, including constructing a historical city administrative office and an ancient monument conservation office (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008).

From 1987 until now, the implementation of the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, which included exploration, research and renovations of ancient monuments, has been significant. Moving a liquor factory to another area was also accomplished. But it has been less effective in the expropriation of households that intrude into ancient monument areas and the development of human resources and local crafts. These might be because local people are unaware of the importance of their local ancient monuments. The monuments may not be important to them. Currently, the plan is still to be fully implemented.

2.5.2 Defining Area: The Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act B.E 2535 (1992)

An important process in the conservation and development of historic cities in Thailand is to define the conservation area in which The Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act, B.E. 2535 (1992) is involved. The Ministerial Regulations issued under this Act assign the historic city as conservation area where the value of arts and development control have been emphasized, and the protection measures have been set forth as follows:

- Assign land use for conserving nature and keeping it from affecting the natural ecology or cultural environment.
- Neither acts nor activities that jeopardize or affect natural ecology or cultural environment are allowed.
- Assign type and size of projects or activities that will be undertaken by state, state enterprise, or private sectors in such areas to take account by reporting an Environmental Impact Assessment.
- Designate area management, scope of responsibility and obligation to the related government organizations for cooperation and coordination to bring about the effective performance and to conserve the nature and cultural environment in such area.

- Impose other protection measures as deemed reasonable and necessary to the area (*The Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act, B.E. 2535, 1992*).

2.5.3 Controlling Activities in the Area: City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975)

In addition to designing the conservation area specifically through the implementation of the Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act B.E. 2535 (1992), the City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975) also requires the control of land use, activity and the transportation network under the scope of the respective city. The City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975) has been enacted to pursue development in the desired direction and design the direction for new city growth and historic city conservation simultaneously and effectively. To position and develop the city plan in accordance with the City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975) effectively, the comprehensive plan and specific plan have been implemented. For Ayutthaya, the comprehensive plan 1992 has been employed while the specific plan has been developed for the isle of Ayutthaya and the neighbouring area (*City Planning Act, B.E. 2518, 1975*).

Regarding the historic area, utility land is marked in pink (Figure 2.12). This is for promoting activities which are harmonious with the local culture and art. In addition, neither dangerous activities nor pollution-generating activities, for example, industrial factory and nightclubs are permitted (*Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya City Plan, n.d.*).

2.5.4 Construction Control: Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961), and Building Control Act B.E. 2522 (1979)

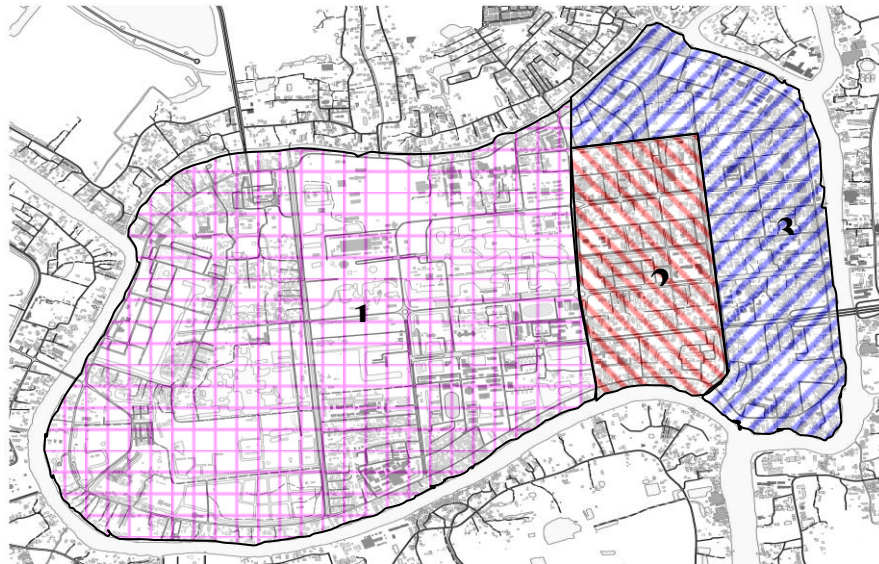
The Historic City of Ayutthaya was proclaimed as an ancient monument. Any changes of construction shall be subject to the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961), stating that no people are allowed to construct buildings in the territory of ancient monuments registered by Director-General without permission from the Director-General. In cases where the building is constructed without permit, the Director-General has the authority to withhold and demolish the construction or part construction within sixty (60) days of notice. Any infringement of the order of The Director-General shall be an offence of refusing the order of an officer. The Director-General shall command an order to proceed on demolishing the construction or part construction, provided the owner of the construction has no right to claim damages against the demolisher for whatever reason (*Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504, 1961*).

Therefore, the Building Control Act B.E. 2522 (1979) is another law, aiming to control the construction in ancient monument areas and surroundings. According to the Act, the local administration has the authority to enforce other local laws to bring forth the development of historic monuments appropriately.

The details of building controls include width, length, height, overall building area and proportion, safeguarding systems, public health systems, shape and other details. For example, 1) the building shape must be a gable roof or Thai-style roof to create harmony with the historic city (Figure 2.16), and 2) the building height must avoid hiding ancient monuments and the surrounding landscape. The land is divided into three zones (Zones 1, 2, and 3) in which it is provided that the height of the building from the ground to the most upper ceiling in each zone must not exceed 8 m, 12 m and 15 m respectively (Figure 2.17) (*Building Control Act B.E.2522, 1979*).



Figure 2.16 Thai styled roof of tourist police station and Tourism Authority of Thailand Office.



- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1 | The most upper ceiling in this zone must not exceed 8 m. |
| 2 | The most upper ceiling in this zone must not exceed 12 m. |
| 3 | The most upper ceiling in this zone must not exceed 15 m. |

Figure 2.17 Building height control areas in City Isle, Ayutthaya, Thailand.

The Ayutthaya development shows that there are various factors affecting the study area. Those factors are urbanization, industrial estates, and the World Heritage status. Being a World Heritage site may cause impacts in different areas.

2.6 The Effect of Being a World Heritage Site

UNESCO encourages the protection and preservation of mankind's natural and cultural heritage around the world that is considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. Nomination for World Heritage status and the expected benefits are international activity that is an international commitment but the World Heritage management and maintenance is a local or national activity. World Heritage status is technically the international instrument used to protect cultural and natural heritage. It recognizes that culture and nature are important resources and there is a need for management and maintenance. Through the status, the historic and natural heritage of any country could serve as tourist attractions and so gain a greater share of the international tourism industry. For these reasons, developing countries see World Heritage status as a potentially important contributor to development. Generally, increased public awareness of historic sites and their outstanding values has resulted from being a World Heritage site (Hawkins & Khan, 1998). But many tourist attractions are renowned before becoming a World Heritage site. Being a World Heritage site just increases

visibility through public information administered by the World Heritage Committee, host state and the private sector (Drost, 1996), leading to an increased number of tourist activities on site. Consequently, there will be a range of positive and negative impacts on the area and local people.

2.6.1 Negative Impacts

The growing number of tourists affects World Heritage sites, especially if the growth is unplanned or very rapid and beyond the capacity of the site's infrastructure and management systems to cope. The increase in visitors may cause congestion, heavy traffic, incompatible infrastructure development, noise pollution, litter, wastewater and gas emissions. Another issue that can result from tourism growth involves unplanned and invasive infrastructure development and devaluation of the sites (Borges, Carbone, Bushnel & Jaeger, 2011).

Sometimes, it is assumed by the local community that being a World Heritage site increases the number of tourists, bringing about both positive and negative changes. The negative consequences also cause conflict among local communities and management authorities (Pendlebury, Short & While, 2009), threatens the integrity of the historic site (Borges et al, 2011) or even disturbs the tranquility of the original way of community livelihood (Jimura, 2011). For instance, the exclusion of people from the core zone surrounding the World Heritage site (Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve) resulted in a loss of income for local people such as income from being guides and porters. This caused the majority of peoples' negative attitude (75%) toward conservation (Maikhuri, Nautiyal, Rao & Saxena, 2001). In some areas surrounding urban World Heritage sites such as the Historic Centre of Lima in Peru, many street vendors were displaced. Moreover, discrepancies between urban World Heritage site management and conservation have occurred, for example, the urban World Heritage sites in Bath, Edinburgh and Liverpool where urban World Heritage site management at a local level could not cope with the problems in the World Heritage site. Other problems also occurred with urban World Heritage site management where goals of urban planning and city management and other planning policy mechanism was inconsistent. Such problems generally occurred in the developed countries, not only the United Kingdom. Moreover, the local people, tourists, or even urban leaders looked for economic opportunity in the urban World Heritage site to enhance their community's economy (Pendlebury et al., 2009).

2.6.2 Positive Impacts (Opportunities)

The overarching benefit of ratifying the World Heritage Convention is that of belonging to a set of universal properties that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth. A World Heritage site can draw on international cooperation and receive financial assistance for heritage conservation projects from UNESCO and others. For developing countries, funding from being a World Heritage site is about US\$4 million annually for each World Heritage site. Moreover, emergency assistance can be provided in the event of damage caused by human-made or natural disasters (UNESCO, 2011b). In addition, being a World Heritage site brings about international contributions, regional and local political support (Smith, 2002; Pendlebury et al., 2009).

Furthermore, increased public awareness of the site and of its outstanding values have resulted from being a World Heritage site and, consequently, increased the tourist activities at the site (Smith, 2002), especially in the areas where there has never been a tourist attraction such as Shirakawa-mura, Japan (Jimura, 2011). Furthermore, being a World Heritage site has promoted local products and increased the local people's earnings (Jimura, 2011). In Jiuzhaigou, a World Heritage site in China, tourism does not only generate income for management activities and creates a greater number of jobs but also creates benefits for local communities and local government (Borges et al, 2011). In Australia, studies demonstrated that the economic contribution of World Heritage Areas generated AUD16.1 million in annual direct and indirect national output or business turnover. Ninety-five percent of that income is derived from visitor expenditure in these sites (Borges et al, 2011). Arguably, when the tourist activities respect sustainable tourism principles and are well planned and organized, it is often assumed that they will improve the local economy in the long term (Hawkins & Khan, 1998). Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher (2005) stated that in Luang Prabang, most of the tourism business and employment opportunities had come into being after its designation as a World Heritage site. However, they provided no evidence demonstrating that the growth in tourism was caused by the World Heritage site designation. The growth in tourism may have occurred without such recognition.

In addition, tourism to a World Heritage site stimulates new infrastructure, services, businesses and products, new employment and educational opportunities. Likewise, Kilwa Kisivani – the World Heritage site in United Republic of Tanzania - provides transport infrastructure development to facilitate the convenience of tourists, improve the capacity of

the local community and to improve their skills in tourism services. For example, Canaima National Park in Venezuela and Shiretoko in Japan represent effective mechanisms for community involvement and collaboration and ultimate development. Further, heritage site designation nurtures the consciousness of the World Heritage protection and conservation among local people and tourists (Borges et al., 2011). Importantly, it enhances the pride of the native culture of local people (UNESCO, 2004; Evans, 2002).

There are also threats to World Heritage sites. If World Heritage sites increase employment and income to areas, then it could be assumed that the loss of World Heritage status would have a negative impact on income.

2.7 News on Removal from the World Heritage status

By late May 2008, the Historic City of Ayutthaya was rumoured to be in danger of removal from the World Heritage list. This worried some Thai people, particularly Ayutthaya people, because of the potential to affect the reputation of Thailand and lead to a reduction in the number of tourists (Ayutthaya Educational Institute, 2008). The activities causing concern were: intrusion, the quality of repairs, the loss of dignity of historical atmosphere and untidiness.

2.7.1 Intrusion

The issue of intrusion has been present for a long time, especially construction located on unoccupied temple areas, the destruction of historic sites and claims of land ownership by private organizations. The invaders intruded into these areas both intentionally and unintentionally. Some of them hold a title deed overlapping the territory of the ancient monument. This title deed was from their father and mother despite that fact it was land situated in the historic city.

With area management, the 15 m or higher plants were moved out of the historic city, as well as buildings and the government organizations that were formerly situated in the historic site. The obvious problem about expropriation was a protest by people who refused to move their residences and were dissatisfied with the relocation required by the government and the amount of compensation.

2.7.2 Distorted Repairing of Historic Site

Even though the regulations on historic site conservation have been used as conservation performance guidelines, the restoration of historic sites have been criticized for their inappropriateness. For instance, antique materials and old style materials were replaced by modern materials that looked incompatible and inconsistent with the former ones; the lack of traditional construction experts; inconsistent environment; the lack of knowledge and understanding of restoration of the personnel and staff who had hardly examined the history of the historic site before working there. As a result, the restoration was distorted and deviated from the traditional style.

2.7.3 Lack of Dignity

Some buildings are higher than the historic site. These modern style buildings are unharmonious with the historical atmosphere, resulting in the old style buildings and the beautiful primitive landscape of the historic site being eclipsed by the modern buildings.

One more important issue was the image of the World Heritage site, for example, roads, walkways, electricity poles, were changed in shape and deviated from the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya for historic park development (Figure 2.18). The ancient canals were covered up with concrete; the high voltage power lines passed through the historic park. Also garbage was thrown into the canals and rivers and the parking lot was disorganized and located too close to the historic site. Numerous stores have intruded to the ancient monuments (Figure 2.19).



Figure 2.18 Electricity poles were distorted in shape and deviated from the Master Plan for Ayutthaya.



Figure 2.19 Intrusions into the areas around ancient monuments in Ayutthaya.

2.7.4 Untidiness and Pollution

The untidy element of the city included buildings and construction, public utilities, electricity poles, posters and so forth (Figure 2.20). In Ayutthaya, such untidiness included signs and posters, which eclipsed the aesthetic landscape of the historic city and visitors' sightseeing, placed in different areas along the road. As a result the historic city looked less worthy. Obvious pollution was sound and vibration that resulted from trucks driving on the road. That not only annoyed people, but also harmed or destroyed the ancient monuments and, as well produced dust, smoke emissions and acid rain that have directly affected the ancient monuments.



Figure 2.20 Visual pollution from the alignment of the high voltage power lines near the Ayutthaya World Heritage site.

However, the removal of the World Heritage site is not easy. It will proceed through the removal procedures set out by the UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011a).

2.8 Removal from the World Heritage List

If the World Heritage status is benefiting the community, the threat of its loss could be very significant. There is a formal process by which sites registered can be removed from the World Heritage list. First, the site would be put in the list of 'World Heritage in danger' sites. The World Heritage in danger list aims to inform the international community of conditions that threaten the characteristics for which a property was inscribed on the World Heritage list and that could have negative effects on its World Heritage values. This is intended to encourage corrective action. Major problems that threaten the World Heritage site are armed conflict and war, earthquakes and other natural disasters, pollution, poaching, uncontrolled urbanization and unchecked tourist development (UNESCO, 2011a).

Placing a site on the List of World Heritage in danger requires the World Heritage Committee to allocate immediate assistance from the World Heritage Fund to the endangered property in terms of consultation with the State Party concerned, a programme for corrective measures, and subsequently to monitor the situation of the site. It also provides operations and joint efforts to save endangered sites. This is in order to enable the site to be removed from the List of World Heritage in danger as soon as possible. However if the site cannot maintain the characteristics which determined its inscription on the World Heritage list, the World Heritage Committee would delete the site from both the list of World Heritage in danger and the World Heritage list (UNESCO, 2011a).

To date, 30 sites are included on the World Heritage in danger list. Funding and assistance can be requested from the World Heritage Fund in order to enable a site's removal from the World Heritage in danger list as soon as possible (UNESCO, 2011a). Only two World Heritage sites have ever been removed from the World Heritage site list. Those are the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary and Germany's Dresden Elbe Valley. The Arabian Oryx Sanctuary in Oman became the first site to be removed from UNESCO's World Heritage list because of the decreasing numbers of the rare species and dramatic cutting of the park size by the government (UNESCO, 2007).

The Arabian Oryx Sanctuary was designated as a World Heritage site in 1994. But poaching and habitat degradation in the sanctuary area led to a decline in the numbers of oryx. In 1996, the population of oryx was 450 but it has since dropped to 65, with only around four breeding

pairs, making its future viability uncertain. Besides poaching, the sanctuary's problems included ineffective planning and management, oil and gas exploration and extensive and uncontrolled use of off-road vehicles within the site. With these problems, there is effectively no functioning sanctuary. Moreover, in January 2007, the Sultanate of Oman issued a Royal Decree reducing the size of the World Heritage site by 90% from 27,500 km² to 2,854 km² (UNESCO, 2007).

This action contradicted all the processes adopted by the World Heritage Convention. With the extreme reduction in size, the property no longer had the outstanding universal values for which it was in the World Heritage list and the designation was removed (UNESCO, 2007). The Dresden Elbe Valley was inscribed as a cultural landscape in 2004 but was removed from UNESCO's World Heritage site list due to "the building of a four-lane bridge in the heart of the cultural landscape which meant that the property failed to keep its outstanding universal value" (UNESCO, 2009, p.1).

Thus, the problems in the Historic City of Ayutthaya may lead to significant management changes to avoid being placed on the World Heritage in danger list. However, addressing the problems may have adverse effects on the livelihoods of those currently using the city's status as a cultural capital. Not addressing the risk may mean that those livelihoods will prove to be unsustainable anyway.

2.9 Summary

The literature reviewed has provided insights and understandings into the context of Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya despite no longer being the capital remains an important city. The centre of Ayutthaya, the City Isle, is the location of the remains of over 500 palaces and temples. Hence, UNESCO designated part of the City Isle, called the Historic City of Ayutthaya, as a Cultural World Heritage site on December 13, 1991. This status signifies the intention of UNESCO and the Thai central and municipal governments to conserve the area as the World Heritage. It also increases public awareness of the site, resulting in an increase of tourist activities at the site.

At the same period of designation of the World Heritage site, the neighbouring area of the City Isle was promoted as an industrial park, bringing about greater numbers of labourers migrating into the industrial park and, inevitably, the City Isle. Both tourism and industrial growth have become big factors causing changes in many areas: economic, social and

cultural. The growth of these two sectors also causes many problems, for example, a conflict between conservation and area development and a threat of encroachment by tourism businesses and much construction in the area. This leads to rumours that Ayutthaya will be removed from the World Heritage site. This reflects the poor management of the historic site, and may have significant influences on people's livelihoods, particularly their sustainability.

Generally, Ayutthaya is considered as an urban area. An urban area is a source of employment and a place where people are more likely to rely on cash income to buy products and services. Conversely, rural people primarily rely on primary production and this means they have greater access to local food for consumption. Urban areas are more diverse in culture and greater in social fragmentation than those in rural due to a lot of immigrated people into urban for employment. Moreover, the urban people usually face substandard accommodation and workplace environment that are related to health and well-being but rural people have close links to a more natural environment and, consequently, may have a better appreciation of the importance of maintaining natural resources. However, there is no difference between urban and rural in terms of relationships with the government that people are precluded from participation and administration, leading to undermining autonomy.

Being a World Heritage site normally increases the number of tourists and generates benefits for local communities in terms of job and income for local people. In addition it can stimulate new infrastructure, services, businesses and products, new employment and educational opportunities. However, negative impacts such as environmental problems and exclusion of local people from the core zone can't be avoided. In respect of the removal from the World Heritage list, at present, there are only two the World Heritage site removed from the World Heritage list. Those are the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary due to the decreasing numbers of the rare species and dramatic cutting of the park size by the government and Germany's Dresden Elbe Valley due to the building of a four-lane bridge in the heart of the cultural landscape which meant that the property failed to keep its outstanding universal value.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

After understanding the geographic nature, conservation and developmental model of the study area, including the invasion of residences into the historical places and rumour of removing Ayutthaya from the World Heritage site, it is necessary to better understand people's livelihoods. This chapter presents the Sustainable Livelihood Approach. This is used to examine the way local people live and to investigate the factors relevant to ways of life of the local people to enhance the understanding of people's livelihood. It also includes the development of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, the concept of 'sustainable livelihood', and the features of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, which comprise the five major factors that have affected local people's livelihood. To explore livelihood sustainability, the chapter ends with the conceptualization of sustainability under four aspects: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) livelihoods not dependent upon external support (or if they are, this support itself should be economically and institutionally sustainable); 3) livelihoods maintaining the long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) livelihoods not undermining the livelihoods of others.

3.2 The Development of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach

To understand local people's livelihoods, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach was employed as an instrument to examine the local people's way of living. In the late 1990s and 2000s, many donor organizations were concerned about poverty reduction. These organizations generated or adopted a range of tools and strategies to reduce poverty of which one is the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003).

In 1987, the term 'sustainable livelihood' was first introduced by the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development in a discussion on resource ownership, basic needs, and rural livelihood security. In the United Nations (UN) Conference on Environment and Development 1992, sustainable livelihood was indicated as a means of linking socioeconomic and environmental concerns. It also advocated the concept of sustainable livelihood as a broad goal of poverty eradication (Krantz, 2001). By the late 1990s, the idea of sustainable livelihoods had merged into an approach developed and/or implemented by many organizations (Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003).

In 1991, Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway generated a composite definition of a sustainable rural livelihood. It is applied most commonly at the household level:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation, and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long-term” (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p.7).

The Sustainable Livelihood concept and approach was operationalised by the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) and the British Department for International Development (DFID). Ian Scoones of IDS then proposed a modified definition of Sustainable Livelihood:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living: A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Carney, 1998, p.4).

This new definition was adopted by DFID. The fundamental goal of DFID in adopting Sustainable Livelihood thinking was to reduce poverty and it can be used as a tool for planning interventions, reviewing and evaluating projects, research, policy analysis and development to achieve poverty elimination (Cahn, 2002). Although other organizations, CARE, DFID and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), had by then developed the Sustainable Livelihood Approach from their own perspectives, frameworks and methods, the guiding principles are common to the different organizations (Carney, 2002), which draw a concept of livelihood as “the means of gaining a living, including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets” (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p.9).

Three major agencies: UNDP, CARE, DFID use the Sustainable Livelihood Approach slightly differently. UNDP use the Sustainable Livelihood Approach serving primarily as a programming framework to devise integrated support activities to improve livelihood sustainability among poor and vulnerable groups. The used method is strengthening the

resilience of their coping and adaptive strategies (Krantz, 2001). UNDP focuses on strengths rather than needs of people. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework of UNDP is shown in Figure 3.1.

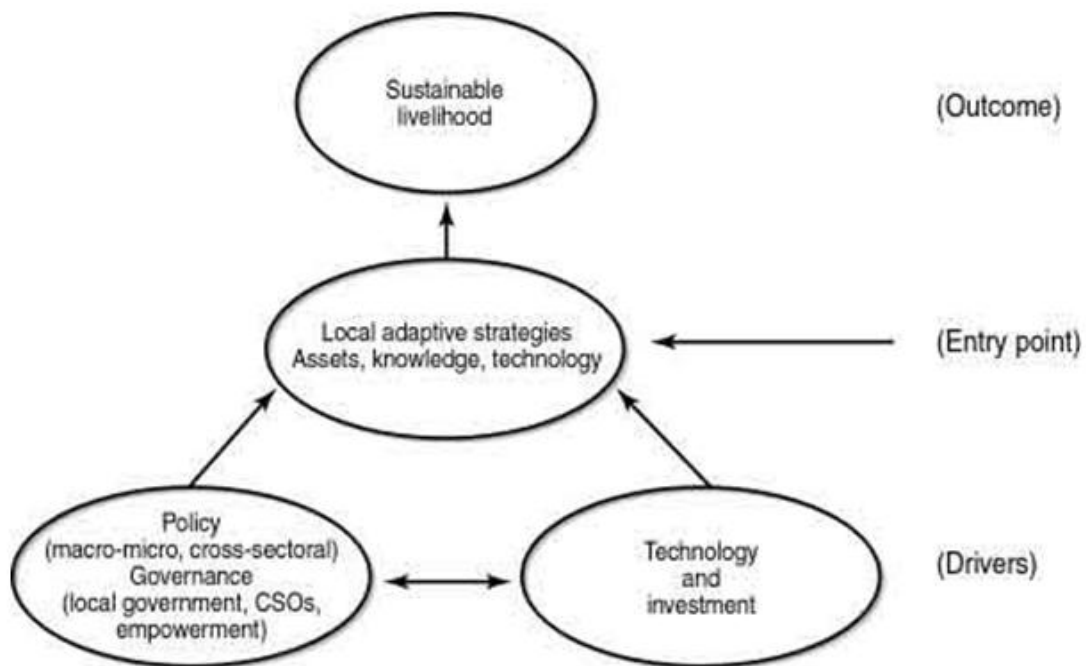


Figure 3.1 Sustainable Livelihood Framework of UNDP.

Source : www.fao.org

For CARE, the program is designed to help the poorest and most vulnerable. It was developed by the ideas of Chambers and Conway concerning the possession of human capabilities, access to tangible and intangible assets and the existence of economic activities. It emphasises strengthening the capability of poor people to enable them to create initiatives to secure their own livelihoods (Krantz, 2001). CARE stresses household livelihood security and is people-centered. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework of CARE is shown in Figure 3.2.

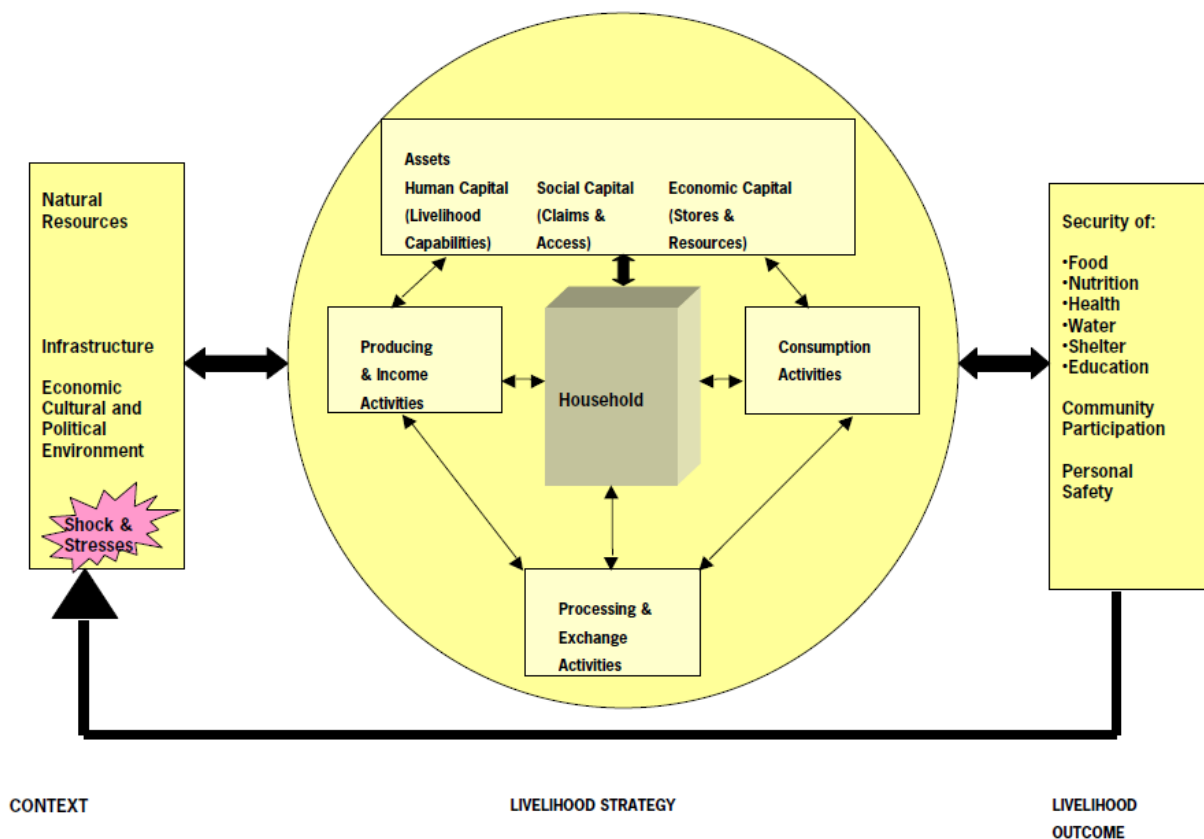


Figure 3.2 Sustainable Livelihood Framework of CARE.

Source : Krantz, (2001, p.16)

For DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Approach, increasing the agency's effectiveness in poverty reduction is its aim. It appears in two main ways. The first is by determining core principles as poverty-focused development activity that should be people-centered, responsive and participatory, multi-level, conducted in partnership, sustainable, and dynamic. The second is by applying a holistic perspective in the support activities. DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Approach is an analytical structure. It creates systematic understanding of the factors that constrain or increase livelihood opportunities, and to present how they relate to each other (Krantz, 2001). The Sustainable Livelihood Framework of DFID is shown in Figure 3.3.

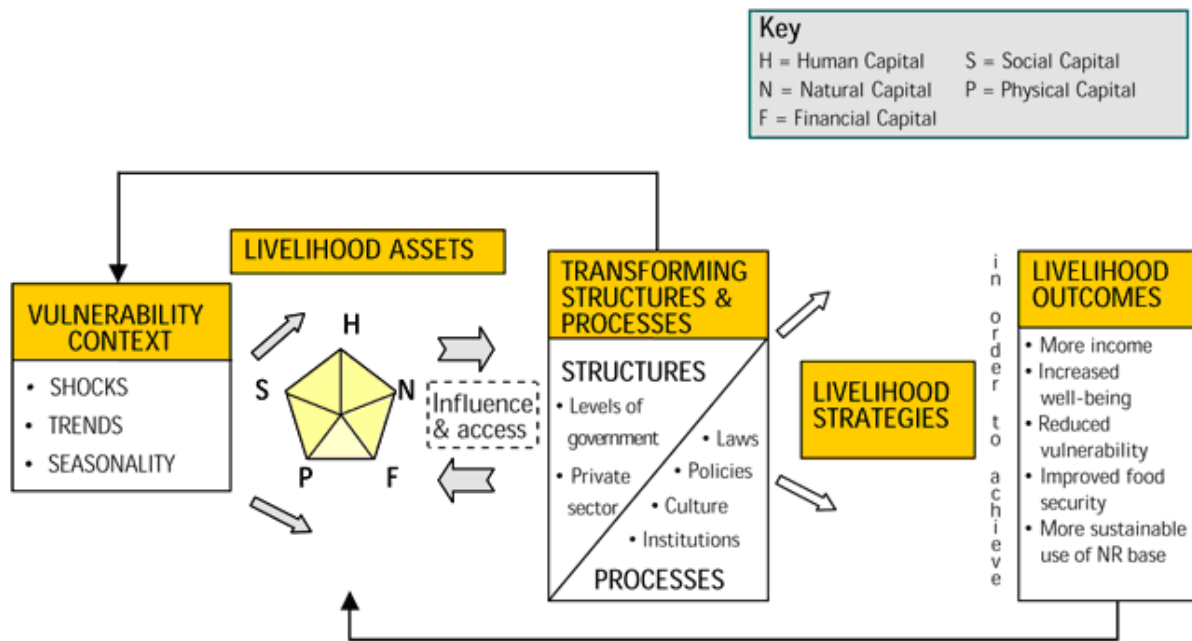


Figure 3.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework of DFID.

Source : Department for International Development, (1999a, p.2)

In brief, UNDP and CARE use the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to facilitate the planning of concrete projects and programmes, while DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Approach is more of a basic framework for analysis than a procedure for programming. DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Approach is therefore suitable for this thesis.

3.3 The Concept of Sustainable Livelihood

The livelihood approach is necessarily flexible in application but it should not be compromised on the following core principles:

People-centred: a livelihood approach puts people at the centre of development. Sustainable development and poverty eradication requires respect for human freedom and choice. Moreover, an understanding of the differences between groups of people and the development of focused interventions is also required (Department for International Development, 2006).

Holism: the livelihood approach attempts to understand what shapes people's livelihoods and how these can be enhanced in a holistic way. Moreover, it is important to recognise the interrelationships between the various factors which constrain or provide opportunities to people's livelihood so that they produce more beneficial livelihood outcomes (Department for International Development, 1999a).

Dynamic: this approach shapes people's livelihoods and institutions and is highly dynamic. Understanding and learning from change can support positive patterns of change and help alleviate negative patterns (Department for International Development, 1999a).

Building on strength: it is important to understand and analyse people's strengths, rather than needs. A key objective of livelihood development is that it will remove the constraints to the realisation of potential. Thus, it is necessary to build on the strengths of people in order to achieve their own objectives (Department for International Development, 2006).

Macro-micro links: development activities tend to focus on either the macro or micro level but the livelihood approach makes an effort to bridge this gap, emphasising the importance of macro level policy and institutions to the livelihood options of communities and individuals. Sustainable development and poverty elimination need to focus on both the macro and micro levels (Department for International Development, 1999b).

The sustainable livelihoods approach seeks to develop an understanding of the factors that lie behind people's choice of livelihood strategy and then to reinforce the positive aspects (factors which promote choice and flexibility) and mitigate the constraints or negative influences (Department for International Development, 1999b).

To answer the research question, this research uses the Sustainable Livelihood Framework as the foundation for the analysis of how the World Heritage status could impact on current local livelihoods and site management and conservation.

3.4 The Features of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Many factors affect livelihoods and community enthusiasm to accept changes in livelihoods. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework has been adapted by a growing number of researchers as a tool for analysing the complex livelihoods of people. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is used as a holistic, structural approach to identify influential factors that are centred on people and important in contributing to community livelihood diversification and livelihood sustainability supported by existing activities.

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is a methodological tool used in the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to improve the understanding of livelihood and associated risk,

vulnerability and poverty. It also identifies the key drivers of poverty, the factors that push people into poverty and the potential interrupters or factors that provide pathways out of poverty (Ludi & Slater, 2008).

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (Figure 3.3) represents the various factors that affect people's livelihoods and the typical relationships between these (Department for International Development, 1999b). The Sustainable Livelihood Framework essentially comprises the following core factors:

Assets or Capitals are the stocks of different types of capital that can be used directly or indirectly to sustain livelihoods. They are the essential aspects of a livelihood to convert the assets into livelihood outcomes. They play a major role in household's strategies to enhance its capabilities. They can give rise to a flow of outputs, possibly becoming depleted as a consequence, or may be accumulated as a surplus to be invested in future productive activities. Assets can be classified into five types:

Human capital is determined by people's attributes such as "the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives" (Department for International Development, 1999b, p.7).

Physical capital consists of "the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods" (Department for International Development, 1999b, p.13). Infrastructure is commonly a public good that is used without direct payment. It comprises affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean and affordable energy and access to information (Department for International Development, 1999b). It provides an opportunity for the sustainability of people's livelihood. For example, a poor infrastructure can obstruct people's access to education, health services and income generation.

Natural capital refers to "environmental capitals such as land, and common property resources with communal management and traditional systems determining access and types of use) or 'free' (open access) natural resources such as water or forests" (Farrington et al., 2002, p.21). It provides resource flows and services (such as nutrient cycling, erosion protection) to sustain livelihoods. Natural capital has a close relationship with vulnerability. Shocks which are

themselves natural processes destroy natural capital. Seasonality changes the value or productivity of natural capital over the year. This can devastate the poor's livelihood (Department for International Development, 1999b).

Social capital means the networks of mutual support that exist within and between households, extended family, and communities where people can access, for example, loans, childcare, food, accommodation and information about career path, employment, and opportunities (Moser, 1998). This also includes the ability to ask for help from neighbours and kin in times of need, support from trade and/or professional associations and political claims on leaders or politicians to provide assistance (Department for International Development, 1999b). Some have contended that strong social capital can enhance the communities move towards a state asking for the improvement of services and public rights (Putnam, 1993, as cited in Farrington et al., 2002). In the context of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, it means the social resource that people use to achieve their livelihood outcomes such as network and connectedness, that increase people's trust and ability to cooperate (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

Financial capital is "the financial resource that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives and contribute to consumption as well as production" (Department for International Development, 1999b, p.15) that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). The main sources of financial capital are available stocks (savings: cash, bank deposits, or liquid assets such as livestock and jewellery, including access to credit) and regular inflows of money (pensions and remittances) (Department for International Development, 1999b). Financial capital is the most adaptable among the five types of assets. This is because it can be converted to other types of capital or it can be used to achieve livelihood outcomes directly, for example, purchasing of food to reduce food insecurity (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

In the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, the cultural aspect appears in many factors. For example, in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework of DFID, the culture aspect is included under a box of transforming structure and processes as a process, along with laws policies and institutions (Figure 3.3). It has influence on the access, mobilization and control of capital. Moreover, culture is included under a part of the vulnerability context. It suggests culture is something that can cause livelihoods vulnerability (Carswell, 2000). However, in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, culture does not appear in terms of capital.

In other research, the importance of culture was addressed in terms of capital to achieve the livelihood. Lautze (2009) stated that culture is meaningful as the components of and dynamics within the livelihood system. Radcliffe & Laurie (2006) indicated that tradition or cultures are survival resources and provide sustainability of rural communities. Traditional skills and knowledge transmitted from generation to generation have produced diverse livelihood portfolios such as artefacts and ritualistic performance. Bebbington (1999) stated that conception of the resources that people need to access a secure livelihood should be wider, especially in the context where people's livelihoods change from being based on natural resources, to being based on other assets including produced, human, natural, social and cultural capital. Daskon & Binns (2010) also supported cultural knowledge and traditions as a resource in the context of reaching sustainable community development. Moreover Cahn (2002) indicated that culture and tradition influenced livelihood according to her research conducted in a rural Pacific island context.

The cultural aspect is explained as an important capital to sustain livelihoods. It is overlooked in term of capital in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, although it has influence on livelihood systems. Daskon & Binns (2010) stated that, in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, cultural factors and the roles of culture in the context of achieving sustainable livelihood should not be neglected.

The word 'cultural capital' was first employed by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in 1970. Its definition is "forms of knowledge, skill, education, any advantages a person has which give them a higher status in society, including high expectation" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.249). William Bowles defines this in another way: "the term cultural capital is used because, like money, our cultural inheritance can be translated into social resources (things like wealth, power and status) and the cultural capital we accumulate from birth can be 'spent' in the education system as we try to achieve things that are considered to be culturally important" (Eames, 2006, p.22). Throsby defined cultural capital as "an asset that contributes to cultural value" or "the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset. This stock may in turn give rise to a flow of goods and services over time that is to commodities that themselves may have both cultural and economic value" (Throsby, 1999, p.6-7). It can divide into 2 forms: tangible and intangible. Tangible cultural capital includes buildings, structures, sites and locations endowed with cultural significance and artworks and artefacts. Intangible cultural capital includes the set of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and values. Throsby (2005) also considers that cultural capital can generate income which is its economic function. It is also

similar to other capitals which it can change over time by several factors such as “exogenous influences affecting the price of the stock (e.g. for an art museum’s collection, these influences arise as a result of movements in the art market), depreciation caused by wear and tear (e.g. from damage to a cultural site caused by tourists) or by catastrophic events (e.g. war), conservation or restoration investment undertaken with the aim of maintaining the asset in good condition” (Throsby, 2005, p.9). There is a variety of possible definitions of culture capital but for this thesis Throsby’s definition is adopted. From above mention, cultural context in terms of capital has been under estimated in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Thus, my research will study cultural capital influencing on people’s livelihood.

The Vulnerability Context: the definitions of vulnerability have an array of different contexts depending on the research area (Gallopín, 2006). For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1997 defined vulnerability as the “extent to which a natural or social system is susceptible to sustaining damage from climate change. Vulnerability is a function of the sensitivity of a system to changes in climate and the ability to adapt. Under this framework, a highly vulnerable system would be one that is highly sensitive to modest changes in climate” (Olmos, 2001, p.3, as cited in Deton, 2010, p.14). In the biophysical and the social field, Blaikie et al. (1994) defines it as “the capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard. It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life and livelihood are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society” (Cutter, 1996, p.532). In the Social Sciences, the most commonly used definition of vulnerability is that of Chambers: “Vulnerability refers to exposure to contingencies and stress, and difficulty in coping with them” (Chambers, 1989, p.1).

Chambers also noted that “vulnerability has thus two sides: an external side of risks, shocks, and stress to which an individual or household is subject: and an internal side which is defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss” (Chambers, 1989, p.1). In contrast, the DFID frames the vulnerability context as only the external environment in which people exist and which affects people’s livelihoods and assets (Department for International Development, 1999b). This study accepts DFID’s framework that conceptualizes vulnerability as a consequence of trends, shocks and seasonality. In addition, the internal side of vulnerability (the lack of means to cope without damaging loss) is discussed in the context of resilience to assess the sustainability people have.

Trends are gradual and relatively predictable. They have a particularly important influence on rates of return (economic or otherwise) to chosen livelihood strategies. They include population trends, resource trends (including conflict), economic trends (both national and international), trends in governance (including politics) and technological trends (Department for International Development, 1999b).

Shocks can be immediate and unpredictable. They include human health shocks (e.g., epidemics), natural shocks (e.g., natural hazard-induced disasters), economic shocks (e.g., rapid changes in exchange rates), and conflict and crop/livestock health shocks (Benson & Twigg, 2007). They can destroy capital directly and can be the result of human health, natural events, economic uncertainty, conflict and crop/livestock health (NZAID, 2006). They can also force people to dispose of capitals as part of coping strategies. Resilience to external shocks and stresses is an important factor in livelihood sustainability (Benson & Twigg, 2007).

Seasonality covers shifts in prices, production, food availability, employment opportunities and health. These seasonal shifts are some of the greatest and most enduring sources of hardship for poor people (Benson & Twigg, 2007).

Transforming Structures and Processes are the institutions, organizations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods by influencing access to capital, livelihood strategies, vulnerability, and terms of exchange. They operate at all levels, from the household to the international arena, and in all spheres, from the most private to the most public. The public and private sector, civil society, and community institutions may all be relevant considerations; laws and culture can also be included (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002). Transforming systems consist of 1) structures and 2) processes.

Structures determine the organizations (both private and public) that set and implement policy and legislation, deliver services, purchase, trade and perform all manner of other functions that affect livelihoods. An absence of well working structures can impede sustainable development and cause the difficulty in capital creation if adverse structures block an access to the implementation of certain livelihood strategies (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

Processes determine “the way in which structures and individuals operate and interact. They include macro, sectoral, redistributive and regulatory policies, international agreements,

domestic legislation, markets, culture, societal norms and beliefs, and power relations associated with age, gender, caste or class” (*Enterprise Development and Sustainable Livelihoods*, n.d., p.4). They may serve as incentives for people to make a decision on accessing to capitals or they enable stakeholders to transform and replace one type of capital with another (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

Transforming structures and processes lay centrally in the framework, and it gives direct feedback to the vulnerability context. While the ecological or economical tendency has been influenced by political structures, the effects of shocks or seasonality has been controlled by market structures; or they may restrict people on the choice of livelihood strategies and may consequently be a direct impact on livelihood outcomes (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). The importance of transforming structures and processes for understanding livelihoods is so vital as it is associated with vulnerability context that determine the choices that are exposed to people in pursuit to their livelihood strategies (Farrington et al., 2002).

Livelihood Strategies denote the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (income, security, well-being, and other productive and reproductive goals). Livelihood strategies include productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices, among other things (NZAID, 2006). People carry on their activities to achieve their various needs at different times and at different geographical locations. Their activities may differ within a household (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). People’s access to capital has a major influence on their choice of livelihood strategies. The more capital people occupy a more range of livelihood strategies people implement to achieve the positive livelihood outcome. In addition, transforming structures and processes can reinforce positive livelihood strategies. They can also increase the efficiency of investment but in other case they can obstruct access to capital and constraint livelihood choice (Department for International Development, 1999b).

Livelihood Outcomes are the achievements of livelihood strategies. They are related to livelihood capital. If capital is what people possess now, outcomes may be regarded as what people obtain in the future through livelihood strategies. Livelihood outcomes may include more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of natural resources, which individuals and households will usually try to achieve. There may be multiple outcomes (NZAID, 2006). Livelihood outcomes, however, are not necessarily coherent and may be incommensurable. It should be considered how they

affect other aspects of livelihoods (e.g. strategies adopted) and the potential to reach a mutually acceptable 'solution' (Department for International Development, 1999b).

There has been considerable use of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach in studies of rural development but few attempts to apply it explicitly to urban areas. Even though there are differences between urban and rural areas as discussed in section 2.4, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach can be applied to an urban context because the principles used in the framework still remain the same in that they:

- provide a systematic basis to determine the capital management under the context of vulnerability and institutional frameworks;
- are able to identify risk and vulnerability at local level;
- allow identification of how livelihood outcomes feed into consumption, investment in capitals or reduction of vulnerability; and
- can be applied individually to understand the intra-household differentiation (Farrington et al., 2002).

Farrington (2002) applied the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to an urban context, employing the Sustainable Livelihood Framework proposed by DFID as an analytical tool. The main factors influencing livelihoods remain the same for both rural and urban. Those are capitals, vulnerability context, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. However, with the different physical, economic, social, and environmental characteristics, the analysis of subtopics in each main factor also vary. For example,

- in respect of vulnerability, the urban people are more vulnerable to health, safety and personal harassment while rural people are more vulnerable to seasons;
- in respect of capital, financial capital is very important to urban people while natural capital is very important to rural people;
- in respect of the patterns of access to capital, rural people are more likely to have access to social and cultural capital than urban people; and
- in respect of livelihood outcomes, urban people are more engaged with earning or income than rural people.

However, there appears to have been no explicit application of Sustainable Livelihood methods to an urban World Heritage site. This thesis plans to address that omission. From the above summary about DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework, it is apparent that it is

appropriate to be used as an analytic tool for assessing livelihoods and can be applied to urban areas. Thus, DFID's framework was used in this study to determine the people's livelihood in the study area which is both an urban area and a World Heritage site. In addition, to achieve the research objectives in exploring the local people's livelihood sustainability and to be consistent with DFID's framework, the definition of 'sustainability' by used DFID is used to interpret 'sustainability'.

3.5 Sustainability

To explore livelihood sustainability, it is necessary to make clear the meaning of sustainability first. Sustainability in the context of livelihood is the ability to sustain livelihoods and improve ways of living while capitals and capabilities of livelihood have been maintained and accumulated (Chambers, 1989). Sustainable livelihood offers the potential to avoid or block stress and shocks. On the other hand, vulnerable livelihoods fail to cope with stress and shocks without destruction of the way of life (Niehof & Price, 2001). Livelihood sustainability may vary. However, it mainly focuses on two issues: 1) resilience and 2) natural resource base sustainability. For example, Chamber & Conway (1991) argued that sustainable livelihoods should take two following areas into consideration - environmental sustainability and social sustainability (coping with stress and shock and enhancing adaptation to change). Similarly, Scoones (1998) stated that sustainable livelihood includes two areas: 1) livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience and 2) natural resource base sustainability. In addition, according to DFID, sustainable livelihood also comprises two said issues – 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses and 2) maintaining the long-term productivity of natural resources; with two other issues; 1) livelihoods not dependent upon external support; and 2) livelihoods not undermining the livelihoods of others.

To be consistent with the Sustainable Livelihood Framework by DFID, it is necessary to interpret sustainability under the definition given by DFID. It is that “livelihoods are sustainable when they are: 1) resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) not dependent upon external support (or if they are, this support itself should be economically and institutionally sustainable); 3) maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) do not undermine the livelihoods of, or compromise the livelihood options open to, others” (Department for International Development, 1999a, p.7). Hence the conceptualisation requires a context-related interpretation of sustainability to follow those four aspects.

3.5.1 Resilience in the Face of External Shocks and Stresses

The term resilience was coined in the ecological field by Holling (1973). He defined resilience as “the persistence of a relationship within a system and is a measure of the ability of these to absorb changes of a state variable, driving variable, and parameter, and still persist” (Holling, 1973, p.17). Three interpretations of this term can be found in the literature. One considers the amount of change that a system can sustain and still maintain the function and structure. The second considers the degree to which the system can apply self-organization or recover from disturbance by itself. The last considers the ability of a system to create and enhance its adaptive capacity and learning (www.resalliance.org). Thus, resilience is the potential of a system to retain a particular structure and to retain its functions, and entails the ability of a system to reorganize from disturbance.

The definition of resilience above provides a link to the concept of adaptive capacity, which is defined as “the ability of a social-ecological system to cope with novel situations without losing options for the future, and resilience is key to enhancing adaptive capacity” (Folke, Carpenter, Elmqvist, Gunderson, Holling & Walker, 2002, p.17). Sometimes, the terms ‘resilience’ and ‘adaptive capacity’ are used interchangeably. Systems that have high adaptive capacity are able to reorganize themselves while still maintaining crucial functions. A consequence of a loss of resilience, and therefore of adaptive capacity, is loss of opportunity, constrained options during periods of re-organization and renewal, and an inability of the system to do different things (www.resalliance.org).

Livelihood diversification strategies have been heavily relied upon by local people not only in response to shock and stress, but also to improve resilience. “Livelihood diversification can be defined as the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living” (Ellis, 1998, p.4). A livelihood diversification strategy is helpful in many ways: coping with shock, poverty reduction and risk mitigation.

It implies that a livelihood diversification strategy is part of the coping strategies to survive shocks, crisis and stress. In most of the cases, people’s strategies, rather than just being about survival, are also to improve livelihoods (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). It is also a way to increase income sufficiently to support incurred expense (Ellis, 1998) or to survive in a risk-prone and uncertain world. Finally, it can reduce possible risks caused by shock (Turner, Kasperson, Matson, McCarthy, Corell, Christensen et al, 2003) and overcome both risk and

credit market constraints (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). A successful livelihood diversification strategy depends on skills, location, access to capital and credit (Dercon & Krishnan, 1996).

Vulnerability can be thought of as the flip side of resilience. Where resilience describes the extent to which people can cope with changes, vulnerability defines the limitations in the face of challenges. As Folke et al. (2002, p.34) put it, “reducing resilience increases vulnerability”. Vulnerability can occur when individuals or communities of species are stressed, and where thresholds of potentially irreversible changes are experienced through environmental changes (Adger, 2000). This stress may often result in challenges to maintain the prevailing livelihood strategies, which may lead to tension and conflicts over critical natural resources. Loss of livelihood can lead to a rapid change from a relatively stable state to increasing poverty and destitution, particularly in the most vulnerable communities (Folke et al., 2002). Increasing resilience expands the potential to cope with stress and can thus help in decreasing vulnerability.

3.5.2 Livelihoods Do Not Depend upon External Support

It can be argued that ‘livelihood not depending upon external support’ is close to the meaning of ‘self-reliance’. Self-reliance “advocates the need for people to improve their condition using local initiatives and resources in their own hands” (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2002, p.198). Self-reliance is thus “development on the basis of a country’s (region’s) own resources, involving its populations based on the potentials of its cultural values and traditions” (Galtung, O’Brien & Preiswerk, 1980, as cited in Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2002, p.199). In community development, self-reliance requires that community members use their knowledge and skills to use the resources. This can enable people to satisfy their basic needs, to build self-reliance, and to lower dependence on external organizations (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2002).

In the past, self-reliant living prevailed, particularly in agricultural communities. Self-reliance still maintains a relationship with other communities but focuses on living from their own produce and access to money via excesses of their production. At present, the extent of self-reliance is continuously lowering, especially in more urban areas. People become less self-reliant. The level of external dependence can reach a point when a community no-longer has self-reliance and hence is highly vulnerable and may no longer be sustainable. It has been suggested that ‘self-reliance’, in terms of sustainability, consists of the following attributes: 1)

simplicity 2) responsibility 3) respect 4) commitment, and 5) creativity (Marinova & Hossain, 2006, p.4-6).

The concept 'simplicity' comes from the idea of pride in present things and ideas. Caring for the right thing today would provide security in the future. Simplicity involves the satisfaction of an individual's basic needs, hence simple living includes the means to guarantee a better future. 'Responsibility' implies the obligation the community feels to itself, other communities and the natural world. In the self-reliant community, people are primarily concerned with their actions, consumption and creation. Importantly, they are responsible for technology management, which people do not only operate, but also understand, improve and develop according to their own needs.

'Respect' means the recognition and acknowledgement of fellow human beings equally for both living things and non-living things that are a community's source of enjoyment and inspiration. The respect is of a scope that does not devastate the environmental setting. Respect has been developed through knowledge and experience. Basically, the wisdom of the elders and the sacred ecologies brings about the new global environmental ethos of respect. 'Commitment' is necessary for the community to bind to work together and should not rely on external assistance as a guarantee of the provision of its needs and economic security. Additionally, the community commitment should involve equitable access to resources. To ensure the sufficiency of natural sources consumed, people in the community must commit to consume only replaced or renewed resources, not consume the stock of resources. To maintain the capacity to work, performing rituals, educational and cultural activities should be allocated at times outside productive work. Finally, 'creativity' is the concept that the community is a source of innovation and ideas about how the present can be made better. People are the real protagonists of their own development and future. To solve community problems in a sustainable way, people are central to the solution.

However, the meaning of self-reliance in a Thai context also includes using resources in their own household and own community. The traditional way of living, or so-called basic culture, of Thai ancestors involving farming and planting is only for survival or self-reliant agriculture. Local people depended on the production base existing in their household and their community. The production base included five different areas: 1) an existence of the abundant natural resources in the community; 2) labour and labour management where household labour was primarily emphasized; 3) local knowledge and technology in solving

the agricultural issues themselves; 4) cultural systems that promotes, for example, generosity and support of each other; and 5) production for household consumption (Saksung, 2009). All these factors could result in strengthening the local people to have self-dependence individually and locally. This point of using resources in their own community is similar to the idea of Fonchingong & Fonjong (2002). It is a way to improve self-reliance and reduce depending upon external support, resulting in sustainability in a community.

In my view, despite the above explanation of Marinova & Hossain's concept, of self-reliance remains difficult to implement in the modern world. This is because of the interconnectedness of modern society. In addition, items such as respect and commitment are hard to measure. However, the concept of self-reliance, using resources in their own household and own community, should be integral to Marinova & Hossain's concept. Furthermore, depending upon their own capacity and initiative, different communities established different levels of potential self-reliance if placed in a situation of severe stress. In Ayutthaya, if a community becomes dependant on the status of being a World Heritage site and the status is removed, the level of self-reliance and sustainability of community will be shown.

3.5.3 Livelihoods Maintain Long-term Productivity of Natural Resources

The definition of sustainable development from the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: 1987, entitled *Our Common Future* (also known as the Brundtland Commission Report) has been stated in section 1.1. It shows that the term of 'sustainability' has been engaged in explaining the meaning of 'long term'. Thus, it can be stated that the term 'maintain long-term productivity of natural resources' implies 'natural resource base sustainability'. The term 'natural resource base sustainability' refers to the "ability of a system to maintain productivity when subjected to a disturbing force, whether a stress (a small, regular, predictable disturbance with a cumulative effect) or a shock (a large infrequent, unpredictable disturbance with immediate impact). This implies avoiding use of stocks of natural resources to a level that results in effectively a permanent decline in the rate at which the natural base yields useful products or services for livelihoods" (Scoones, 1998, p.6).

Natural resources may have the characteristics of a common pool resource. Common pool resources (CPRs) are "resources to which more than one individual has access, but where each person's consumption reduces the availability of the resource to others" (The Royal

Swedish Academy of Sciences, 2009, p.8), for example, fish stocks, pastures, and woods, as well as water for drinking or irrigation.

However, common pool resources are problematic due to excess use of the natural resources if no responsible units are assigned to take accountability. The resources do not belong to real owners; they are commonly used by the general public. If they are consumed without state control or private right of ownership, the natural resources may be destroyed as people exploit the natural resource as selfishly as possible. This phenomenon is called 'the Tragedy of the Commons' (Hardin, 1968).

This interesting and extensively-referred-to notion was proposed by Garrett Hardin in 1968. He used a grazing commons as a metaphor for the general problem of over-population which lead to resource depletion. He exemplified the classic case of pasture land that is open to all as an open-access common. On basic principles, an individual herdsman gains direct benefit from the pasture land. However, each is responsible for bearing the subsequent burden of feeding cost equally when the pasture land deteriorate. Thus, to get the greatest economic interest, herdsmen are likely to take benefits from the pasture land by feeding their animals as much as they can before the pasture land deteriorate. Finally, the pasture land is overexploited and eventually deteriorates more quickly than it should. When the land loses its productive capacity, the herdsman and their community have difficulty in feeding animals. The level of difficulty depends on how much they rely on that land.

Under this concept, policy-makers conceive that they should not leave the resources to the public because individuals will exploit the resources lavishly and selfishly. It is assumed that exclusive ownership is a better way of managing natural resources to intervene and take external control through one of at least two mechanisms: 1) centralized governmental regulation, and 2) privatization (Ostrom, 1990).

However, the Tragedy of the Commons has been criticized widely. For example, Hardin's analysis of over-population causing the common degradation is unrealistic. This is because population growth is more closely associated with poverty, malnutrition, poor health, etc (Sharma, 2001). It also has been argued that Hardin's solution for resource management that it is difficult to manage at a single scale such as a village or even a single country. Some environmental resources like fresh water in an international basin should be managed between

appropriate international institutions and nation, regional and local institutions (Costanza, Andrade, Antunes, Den, Boersma, Boesch et al., 1998).

Furthermore, it has been argued that solutions for resource management are more common than Hardin proposed (centralized governmental regulation and privatization) (Ostrom, Burger, Field, Norgaard & Policansky, 1999) and those solutions neglected the sense of community or resource management by community (Sharma, 2001). Thus, Ostrom (2002) proposed that feasible management of a common pool resource should be manipulated by the resource consumers themselves. In fact, all that everybody can lend to cooperation to achieve the common goals is through communication. Additionally, because the consumers of natural resources are knowledgeable in local ecology, and know other consumers, it is possible that they can stipulate appropriate and acceptable rules corresponding to their own environmental setting.

The concept of Ostrom's management mentioned above is based on social capital (Ostrom, 2002) and human relations for long-term natural resource management (Pretty, 2003). Managing natural resources by implementing regulations and economic incentives can result in behavioural changes, but may not produce an exact influence on attitudinal change in people (Gardner & Stern, 1996), which eventually, without an appropriate social norm may return to the same unfavourable behaviours (Pretty, 2003).

Regarding centralized governmental regulation, it is based on the belief that without control, the natural resources will be damaged permanently by the general public. Therefore, the government serves as an external force that regulates both by legal enforcement and punishment. However, this approach has problems concerning a lack of governmental officers and budget for environmental management, leading to an ineffective enforcement (Jeppesen, Andersen, & Madsen, 2006). For instance, there are not enough officers to look after natural resources. The wrongdoer on destroying natural resources may be set free without punishment. For this reason, it appears that people may avoid following the rules and natural resources are essentially open access without ownership. Finally, it ends up with the Tragedy of the Commons.

Privatization is the resolution of a common pool resource by transferring ownership of publicly-owned or common property resources from the public or community sector to the private sector, or the transfer of any government functions to the private sector to operate for

private profit. It is believed that privatization motivates the private sector to maintain the natural resources system systematically (Ostrom, 1990). Advantageously, it eliminates the problems concerning the common pool resource management. Conversely, if natural conditions are uncertain; it becomes the private sector's responsibility to compete with nature. For example, in dry seasons, herdsmen have to take responsibility for dealing with drought. If some cannot cope with this problem, they may lose money and cannot maintain their careers. Experience in many countries has shown that privatization, and even centralized governmental regulation, could not help to conserve the common pool resources efficiently (Jeppesen, Andersen, & Madsen, 2006).

Thus, the appropriate approach should integrate centralized governmental regulation and community-based management. Communities should be engaged in setting out the resource management that meets their actual needs and not affect to their way of living. It also creates sense of belonging and motivates them to partake in protecting and conserving the natural resources sustainably. Moreover, action plans for each area should be unique because each area has its own character that is different from others. This is expected to reduce the overexploitation of the natural resources that leads to the decline of the stock of natural resources useful products or services for livelihoods and so is likely to achieve natural resource base sustainability.

3.5.4 Livelihoods Do Not Undermine the Livelihoods of Others

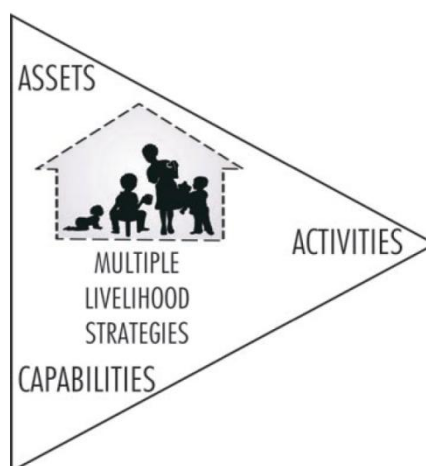
The concept of sustainability does not only focus on an individual's own self, but also other people's interests. This can be inferred from the definition of 'Sustainable Development':

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.43).

The definition contains the idea that future generations must have access to the resources equally with the current generation. This is called 'inter-generational equity'. Secondly, it should provide an equal access to resources within the current generation, which is 'intra-generational equity' (Fallon, 2000). It is clear that the accomplishment of sustainability must avoid destroying others, consistent with a rule stating 'sustainable livelihoods don't undermine the livelihoods of others'.

The term ‘don’t undermine livelihood of others’ can be interpreted from the definition of ‘livelihood’:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living.”



Source : De Satgé & Holloway, (2002, p.75)

Chambers & Conway (1991, p.4) considered livelihood capability as “being able to cope with stress and shock, and being able to find and make use of livelihood opportunities, including being able to respond to adverse changes in conditions; they are also proactive and dynamically adaptable”. They included “gaining access to and using services and information, exercising foresight, experimenting and innovating, competing and collaborating with others and exploiting new conditions and resources” (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p.4). Similarly, De Satgé & Holloway (2002) defined capability “is the knowledge, skills and abilities that the household draws on to secure its livelihood” (De Satgé, & Holloway, 2002, p.98) and added that “capabilities enable the household to transform its assets into livelihood activities” (De Satgé & Holloway, 2002, p.98). Sen (1992, as cited in Gautié, 2005, p.3) pointed out that capability is related to assets, stating that the concept of capability refers to “the effective capacity to convert assets into achievements”.

The relationship mentioned above indicates that if any of the three livelihood factors: capabilities, assets and activities are impeded or destroyed, it has an effect on one’s livelihood. In other words, if one destroys the capabilities, assets and activities of others, it undermines the livelihood of others.

3.6 Summary

The literature review has provided insights and understandings of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach is an approach that focuses on the people and holistic ways to understand what shapes people's livelihoods. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework has been adapted as a tool for analysing the complex livelihoods of people. It consists of vulnerability context, livelihood capitals, transforming structure and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. In addition, to study sustainability, the conceptualizing of sustainability under four aspects is discussed. First, resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses is a measure of the ability to absorb changes of a state variable, driving variable, and parameter, and still persist. Second, the livelihoods that do not depend upon external support or that improve their condition using local initiatives and resources in their own hands are sustainable. Third, the livelihoods need to maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources. Besides, two mechanisms for environmental management: 1) centralized governmental regulation, and 2) privatization, management based on social capital should be considered. Fourth, the livelihoods do not undermine the livelihoods of others. The next chapter, chapter 4, presents the research methodology and the practical methods of data collection and analysis employed during field work.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collecting method and procedures under the concept of sustainable livelihood framework, as well as analysis of field data. This chapter begins with a discussion of the research design strategy employing a single case study. The data collection methods, which are semi-structured interviews and observations, are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the content analysis used as data analysis. The research limitations are presented at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Qualitative Research

A qualitative methodology has been chosen for this study because of the nature of the research problem, which seeks to understand and explain the livelihoods and factors of local people's livelihoods on the World Heritage site. It was considered that a qualitative approach would provide a more in-depth understanding and reveal the complex textual descriptions from people's experiences better than would a quantitative approach (Wilmot, 2005). Qualitative methods are used to provide intricate information concerning the human side and identify intangible factors such as social norms, socioeconomic status and religion, which can help us to interpret and better understand the complicated reality and the implications of quantitative data. They are also useful to generate in-depth information and complex ideas. Qualitative methods with open-ended questions allow informants the opportunity to answer the questions in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed answers, as quantitative methods do (Mack, Woodsong, Kathleen, Guest and Namey, 2005).

In addition, qualitative methods provide flexibility in probing informants' answers – that is, asking why or how often generates unanticipated answers. In turn, the researcher has the opportunity to ask questions immediately about what the informant answered by tailoring the following questions to information that the informant has given. Moreover, the flexible nature of qualitative research enables continual refinement and modification of the methods of data collection throughout the research. The inquiry was therefore open to changes as new insights and knowledge emerged (Mack et al., 2005). Besides, qualitative research methods do not depend on sample sizes as do quantitative methods; a case study, for example, can provide significant results with a small sample group.

However, qualitative research has some weaknesses. Research quality relies on the individual skill of the researcher, which may lead to a potential for bias and misrepresentation (Neale, Allen & Coombes, 2005). Particularly, the results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases. Also, because the sample group is small and participants are not randomly selected, the result may not be generalisable to a larger population (Hancock, Windridge, & Ockleford, 1998). Thus, this kind of research is suitable for a specific or unique subgroup of populations that require in-depth information, not a general population. Furthermore, compared with quantitative research, qualitative research generally takes more time to collect data, analyse and interpret. In conducting a research, the role of the researcher is also important.

4.3 Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. Data and information collected are constructed through researcher's eyes and ears influenced by experience, knowledge, skill and background. Moreover, the researcher is accountable for analyzing the data through a repeatable process between data collection and data analysis. Finally, the researcher interprets and understands the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

The role of the researcher is associated with the concept of reflexivity (Steier, 1991). The research methodology changes through the experience, which involves both learning and the carrying out of the research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This is because taking an unanticipated direction can occur in many steps of the research such as the study overview, searching sources of data in the study of organizations, using interviews.

Moreover, "theoretical sensitivity refers to the personal qualities of the researcher" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp. 41) in conducting research. It is a skill referring to the attribute of having insight, ability to give meaning, and capacity of understanding of the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The sources of theoretical sensitivity can be derived from professional literature, professional and personal experience (Patton, 1990). Theoretical sensitivity should be used in every step of the study: sampling, coding and analyzing. Although it is difficult to be well-read or knowledgeable about various theories, theoretical sensitivity can be improved through study of the literature and in the field of study (Mavetera & Kroeze, 2009). During conducting the research, I increased theoretical sensitivity in many ways. Reviewing literature was employed in various issues concerning the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, World

Heritage sites and the Ayutthaya context. I also reviewed the cultural context which was anticipated to be a potential factor of the study.

In addition, the researcher should interview informants thoroughly and provide interpretation of what is said by informants. All information comes from informants or insiders by interpreting social phenomena or behaviors from the perspective of insiders, not those of the interviewer or the outsider. This is for getting actual information from insider's eyes and reflecting the realities of the society accurately. However, an outsider's perspective is essential for cross-cultural comparison by evaluating and comparing cultures or groups of people to each other (Morris, Leung, Ames & Lickel, 1999).

It is beneficial if the researcher is familiar with the study area in language and culture. For example, during interviews, if a researcher comes from the same country and uses the same native language as informants, the researcher can communicate and interpret informants' answers more easily than those who come from a different language and culture. Conversely, if the researcher is not native, with differences in language and culture in the study area, it may result in more difficulty in conducting the research. For example, English is a foreign language, not my native language. If I conducted the research in New Zealand, I would meet difficulties in communication and interpretation. It would require interpreters as assistants during interviewing and transcribing. Dialect and cultural differences can also be a difficulty in surveying or getting contact with local people and local agencies for data and information. In this research, the case study is used as a research design.

4.4 The Case Study as an Appropriate Research Design

This study employs a case study within the qualitative genre. A case study is "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (Stake, 1995, p.6). Yin (1989, p.23) also defined a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used".

However, the concept of the boundary of a case study is ambiguous. One has to consider that the case is specifically identifiable. This means the case study considers phenomenon and setting that are in a specific context or a bound system. The boundaries are in terms of place, time, events and processes. The aim is to gain in-depth information and pictures from an

holistic inquiry. Thus, multiple information sources such as observations, interviews, documents and reports are collected (Harling, 2002). This case study is different from other research studies because of the focus of attention. It focuses on an individual case of a heritage site and not the whole population of heritage sites, as well as studying a bounded system to better understand conditions in its own habitat shown in chapter 2. Most other studies search for what is the general and pervasive condition (Key, 1997).

Chaiklin (2000, p.48) stated that “no other form of research allows you to simultaneously see the whole and the parts” and “regardless of whether it applies to an individual, group, family, organization, or community, the case study’s greatest strength is simultaneously considering multiple factors” (Chaiklin, 2000, p.47). Thus, this study is suitable for a case study because it is a research strategy that focuses on an in-depth understanding of a particular situation (Eisenhardt, 1989) or specific context. Moreover, the study focuses on exploring, explaining and describing the interactions and relationships of various factors concerning the local livelihoods and the World Heritage site management.

To increase the credibility and validity of the results, triangulation is employed in the study. Triangulation is a means to limit weaknesses and biases by the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question and results (Decrop, 1999).

This study used data triangulation involving the use of a variety of data sources (Decrop, 1999). Besides primary data, semi-structured interviews and observations, secondary data, such as documents, textbooks, theses, statistics reports, newspaper, maps, and videos are also important sources of information. Data collection concerning data sources, unit of analysis, data collection methods and sampling is described as follows.

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Data Sources

Data for the research consist of: (1) primary data and (2) secondary data. Primary data are important because they provide unvarnished information collected by research directly (Boslaugh, 2007). In this study, factors of local livelihood are explored and require profound explanation. Thus, to obtain in-depth and comprehensive information for explanation, semi-structured interviews and observations were required for this study. Secondary data, which refers to existing information, were gathered from various sources to meet the requirements of the research objectives. The sources were: the Ayutthaya City Municipality, the Department

of Fine Arts, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Rajabhat University, the Tourism Authority of Thailand, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Public Works and Town and Country Planning and the Internet.

The main forms of secondary data were maps, journal articles, academic books, theses, annual reports, statistical reports, master plans, photographs and visual materials. These secondary data were used to provide background information on the study area to improve our understanding of the problem, to be additional informational that needed to be collected and to compare with the primary data.

4.5.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the major entity that is analysed in the study, for example, individual, households, community, or town. Regarding what unit of analysis is measured in the study can help the researcher to know the level of social life on which the research question is focused and so can interpret statistics appropriately (Engel & Schutt, 2005).

In this study, the unit of analysis is the ‘community in the World Heritage site, Ayutthaya’. It is a group unit. The analysis was considered at different levels: 1) the local level; the Historic City of Ayutthaya, consisting of communities as subunits (There are 13 communities); 2) the community level (consisting of many household units); and 3) the household level (consisting of many family members). In this study, the unit of analysis was at the ‘community’ level. Some characteristics are shared among the people of the community. For example, the Napratamnak community consists of stone sculptors who once lived at the King U-Thong Monument but were relocated to the Napratamnak community. This group of people shared the experience of relocation and the sense of losing residence. This is unlike the Klongthor community which is a community without the experience of relocation.

The people’s livelihoods were examined in two main parts: 1) livelihoods - the community of people was a focus of the study, and 2) the policy and administration concerning people’s livelihoods - the local administrative agencies were a focus of the study.

With respect to livelihoods, 13 communities were examined. In each community, three informants from different households were chosen. The informants were aged 18 years or older because they were regarded as having adequate experience to share information about local people’s living.

The three informants were selected using purposive sampling. They consisted of 1) a community leader who was recognized by the community that he/she was responsible for the community well-being and was a community representative in getting in contact or coordinating with other local administrations, 2) a community member (not necessarily the head of the family), operating in a tourism-related occupation and able to provide the information on how being a World Heritage site has affected the community people who operate in tourism-related careers and 3) a community member (not necessarily the head of the family) operating in an occupation other than tourism and able to provide information on how being a World Heritage site has affected the community people who earn their living from other careers. In a World Heritage site that becomes a famous tourist attraction, it believes that most local people may earn their living in tourism sectors and a tourism-related occupation may have been influenced from being a World Heritage site. Thus, to reduce bias, the information of an occupation other than tourism was included.

In respect of policy and administration, 15 informants from local administrative agencies' officers and NGO officers were chosen using the snowball technique. This was to understand how their roles have influenced local people's livelihoods and to understand the effect of the site management and policies on community people from the perspectives of the local administrative agencies' officers and NGO officers. These informants had to be involved in the World Heritage site management for over three years because they were assumed to know the problems and provide experiences of site management and local people's livelihood. They also reflect the condition of the problems and solutions implemented by the government sector.

4.5.3 Data Collection Methods

Studies of the local people's livelihoods undertaken by using Sustainable Livelihood Framework have employed many kinds of data collection methods. For example, a study of livelihoods influenced by tourism development in rural mainland China (Shen, 2009) employed the qualitative (in-depth interview, focus group and observation) and quantitative methods (questionnaire) because the qualitative method provided deeper information about the social realities of communities whereas the quantitative data produced the summaries and generalizations rather than capturing the social reality as perceived by the members of the community. Hence, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, the so-called 'mix methodology', reinforced each other in improving the quality of the data in terms of

consistency, validity, reliability and contextual value. In this study, only the qualitative method (semi-structured interview) was used for three reasons:

1) Data obtained from questionnaires may not cover every aspect in the study area because the site was intricate with several factors influencing the people's livelihoods. For instance, the site is influenced by conservation from being a World Heritage site and being the Ancient Site; it has many regulations and rules to shape people's livelihoods. The site also has been influenced by tourism development and industrial growth in adjacent areas. To obtain in-depth information covering the real reasons, the interview method was favoured because all answers were derived from the informants' opinions (Horton, Macve and Struyven, 2004). Conversely, the choices in questionnaires are developed by the researcher and may not completely or appropriately cover facts that occurred in the site.

2) Familiarity and reliability with informants in interviews produced deeper information than questionnaires. Because there is an inter-agencies conflict and a conflict between agencies and villagers, the questionnaires used to obtain data without prior familiarity may cause doubts among informants about who a researcher is and where the researcher comes from, resulting in informants being discouraged from providing actual information. It is difficult to create familiarity through the process of statistical validity with a questionnaire because of the large number of informants. With interviews, the researcher has to build familiarity with informants for several times before undertaking the actual interview. Consequently, trust is created between the informants and the researcher. This causes informants to provide deeper authentic information without making up answers.

3) In interviews, informants can transmit what changes occur from time to time more effectively than in questionnaires. The study of livelihoods involves a change process from time to time that may influence the local people's living, for instance, examining what and how change has been going on from 1991 and becoming a World Heritage site until now, in which the qualitative method produces deeper information than a questionnaires.

Thus, there were two kinds of data collection methods used in this study: 1) semi-structured interviews and 2) observation.

4.5.3.1 The Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews were the main method of data collection for this case study. It is a technique that is designed to draw information from informants who are considered experts in the research topic. Interviews can be in-depth, structured or semi-structured. According to the study groups, the method involves semi-structured interviews with local people aged 18 years or older and community leaders and government and NGO officers.

The semi-structured interview, a qualitative method of inquiry with a set of pre-determined questions, is used to provide a “greater scope for discussion and learning about the problem, opinions and views of the informants” (The commonwealth of learning, n.d., p.36). It is more flexible than a structured interview. Although the researcher had some established general topics and questions based on the topic areas in the study, the semi-structured interview accepts the emergent themes and views rather than sticking to questions outlined in advance of the interview. The method enables delving into specific issues and problems and it allows the informants to answer freely to explain their thoughts and to focus on their particular expertise or interest, as well obtaining a deeper understanding of the answers (Horton et al., 2004). The method also allows the interviewer to change the order of the questions and omit redundant questions.

In the study, the interview questions consisted both of open-ended questions and closed questions (Appendixes B and C). The closed questions are normally answered by using a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Every closed question is followed with an open-ended one to get more detailed information. The open-ended question allows the informant to answer freely. It was also used as a follow-up question to investigate an informant’s knowledge and understanding of the topic. In the study, the follow-up open-ended questions were of three types: (1) an explanatory open-ended question that asks the informant to explain reasons for a previous answer; (2) a probing question that asks for additional information to a prior open-ended question; and (3) an elaboration question that was used to get more information concerning the answer given to the prior question (Peterson, 2000). Thus, the semi-structured interview is suitable for this study that needs to get rich data concerning the informants’ livelihoods in various dimensions and deeply investigate the experiences and expertise of each government officer. This approach also avoids missing crucial research areas of which the interviewer was not previously aware. However, the method was time consuming for data collection and analysis.

4.5.3.2 Observation

Collecting data by observation enables a researcher to find out how something actually works or occurs (Flick, 2009, p.222). Observation involves putting oneself in the place of the informant and seeing what occurs, including taking field notes on the behaviours and activities occurring there. This method is useful in providing additional information about the study topic (Yin, 1994) and a wider range of information about what is happening at the same time.

Observation consists of informant observation and non-informant observation. Informant observation allows the observer to become an ‘insider’ who can directly participate in the activities, perhaps accompanying and joining in activities. It generally occurs over a prolonged period. Non-informant observation has the observer as merely a watcher and separate from the activities (Broshenka & Castro, 1983.). Because of time limitations, non-informant observation was employed in this study. Mostly, it happened concurrently with the semi-structured interviews but some occurred separately. For example, observations of the annual fair ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’, merchandizing at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, exercise activities at a public green area and the temple, and the relationship of a Community Medical Unit and community members, were carried out to check the information provided by informants. The behaviour and activities during observation were recorded by camera and written down in a memo. In the case of non-informant observation for events such as the annual fair ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ and merchandizing at Wiharn Phra Mongkhon Bophit, I acted as a tourist shopping and photographing.

For non-informant observation during interviewing, for example, interviewing the stone sculptors as they worked, I built familiarity by visiting them before the actual interviews. Thus, while I conducted the actual interviews and observations, the informants felt familiar with me and did their sculpturing routines. Moreover, interview questions do not have effects on them and their livelihoods, so they did not make up answers for the interview.

Observation creates an understanding of the study population and the informant’s activities from the observer’s perspective. Also, the difference between what informants say and what they do can be investigated. Informant observation, particularly, requires a good rapport between the observer and informants, which may take time to develop. Biases can occur if the

observer makes observations in another culture. This is because a lack of understanding of the society and culture can lead to difficulties in interpretations (Broshenka & Castro, 1983).

4.5.4 Sampling

Sampling can be categorized broadly under probability and non-probability based sampling. For a qualitative study, non-probability sampling is used because a statistically representative sample or drawing statistical inferences are not its aim. In fact, a critical phenomenon may emerge only once in the sample. This technique is not concerned with generalizing to a larger population. However, its validity can be increased by trying to approximate random selection, and by taking out as many bias sources as possible (Wilmot, 2005).

Purposive sampling is a frequently used technique in non-probability sampling. This method concerns the criteria to select informants more than the number of informants (Wilmot, 2005). The criteria are relevant to a particular research question (Mack et al., 2005) and are constructed to serve a very specific need or purpose. The sample size of purposive sampling depends on the resources and time available, as well as the objectives of the study. It is determined on the basis of theoretical saturation (the point in data collection when new data no longer bring additional insights to the research questions) (Mack et al., 2005).

In addition, ‘snowball’ sampling, which is technically known as chain referral sampling, is a subset of purposive sampling. It is particularly useful to reach populations that are not easily accessible. In this method, an informant is asked to recommend someone else who could potentially participate in and contribute rich information to the study (Mack et al., 2005).

In this research, purposive sampling was employed for a group of local people consisting of a community leader and two community members, one involved and one not involved in tourism in the World Heritage site, in every community. Purposive sampling was used to select the community leaders as key informants because community leaders have a good understanding and knowledge of a community’s background, demographics, activities, problems within the community, coordination with local organizations, and operations associated with World Heritage site management. Thus, they can provide rich and valuable information on those matters and also identify possible community members for interviews.

Community members were selected purposively because they can provide rich information concerning their livelihood and the various factors influencing their livelihood. Community

members involved in tourism in the World Heritage site were selected because they can provide rich information concerning the relevant aspects of tourism. Finally people not involved in tourism were selected. Tourism was the focus because increases in public awareness of the site and of its outstanding values have grown from it becoming a World Heritage site and, consequently, increased the tourist activities at the site. Thus, the assumption that tourism in the area improved and influenced the local economy is tested.

Selecting community members as key informants started with the names of 13 community leaders and their contact details obtained during the interview of an Ayutthaya City Municipality's officer who had specific responsibilities for and closely works with communities. I interviewed a community leader as the first informant in each community. I then asked the community leader to recommend the name of two people, one involved and one not involved in tourism in the World Heritage site. I then got the name of two community members, I interviewed both of them without the community leader. This process was done the same in every community. Consequently, the 39 local informants included 13 community leaders and 26 community members. Two local people chosen by the community leader may appear to introduce bias, but it is permissible for two reasons. First, the community leader was familiar with local people and their occupation. It is easier for a community leader to select two local people one in a tourism-related occupation and other not. Secondly, the interview questions were irrelevant to the community leader or have any effects on the community leader, so the informants had no problems answering the questions.

Selecting key government informants by snowball sampling was achieved by contacting the Governor of Ayutthaya and briefly mentioning the purpose and aims of the study. I then asked him if I could interview relevant officers and was given names of the Head of the Fine Arts Department and his contact details. Next, I asked him to identify others, and so on, until the new data no longer produced additional insights into the research questions or theoretical saturation was reached. The key informants from organizations included two officers from the Fine Arts Department, four officers from Ayutthaya City Municipality, one officer from each of: 1) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Natural Resources and Environment, 2) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 3) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Treasury Office, 4) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Public Works and Town and Country Planning, 5) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Industrial Office, 6) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Labour, 7) the Tourism Authority of

Thailand, 8) Wiha Phra Mongkhon Bophit Foundation and 9) Ayutthaya Educational Institute.

In total, I interviewed 39 local people and 15 officers of local organizations (Appendixes D and E for the list of the informants). This number of informants seemed likely to be sufficient to achieve theoretical saturation but be reasonable with the resources and time constraints of the research plan. The number of government and NGO officers interviewed was 15. This reflects the number of relevant organizations working at the site. The field research procedures are indicated then.

4.6 Field Research Procedures

In accordance with standard procedures of a case study (Yin, 1994), no ‘control’, as in an experimental environment, is required. This is because I adopted the flexibility to accommodate changes in the data collection. The basic field research procedures were carried out as follows.

Initially, I visited the Ayutthaya educational institutions responsible for disseminating information related to World Heritage and historic sites, and conducting exhibitions and events for public knowledge dissemination. I was introduced to local people who guided me on the routes to the important government agencies and communities that are my prospective informants. From his assistance, I then felt comfortable in searching data relevant to the important sites and communities. Importantly, the Ayutthaya educational institutions also provided a great amount of secondary data such as books and maps.

I met the provincial governor and informed him of the objectives of the study, the duration of field data collection, and, briefly, the method and asked for cooperation in interviewing his officers engaged in the World Heritage site under the provincial supervision. The agencies recommended included: 1) departments subject to the Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office, 2) the Department of Fine Arts and 3) the Ayutthaya City Municipality. The provincial governor’s secretary provided me with direct contact numbers of the public agencies and subdivisions.

Of the departments subjected to the Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Public Works and Town and Country Planning, was the first place I contacted primarily in order to understand the nature of the area and its

surroundings. The provincial governor's secretary informed the Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Public Works and Town and Country Planning made the appointment for the interview. The interview process was as follows:

- a) I introduced and informed informants of the interviews objectives and duration. The informants were asked to read the 'Information for informant' sheet (Appendix F) and signed the 'consent form' (Appendix H) before the interview. The consent forms and information informant sheets were used in accordance with the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee's research requirements.
- b) After completing the interview, I asked for information about the World Heritage site management, maps and other related data.
- c) I asked the agency's informants to recommend other agencies responsible for the World Heritage site management and communities.

After contacting the recommended agencies for an appointment, the process followed the steps a to c until the information reached the theoretical saturation and completed acquisition of the needed information about the World Heritage site management and communities. The eight agencies interviewed were:

- 1) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Natural Resource and Environment
- 2) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office
- 3) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Treasury Office
- 4) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Public Works and Town and Country Planning
- 5) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Industrial Office
- 6) Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Office of Labour
- 7) Tourism Authority of Thailand
- 8) Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit Foundation

At the Department of Fine Arts, I met the director and followed steps a to c as described above. In respect of interviews related to expropriation, the director recommended one more officer who has worked with expropriation for over 20 years. I interviewed him to obtain detailed information about the pre-World Heritage site period, including information about people's expropriation.

At the Ayutthaya City Municipality, I met the Vice-Lord Mayor to inform him of the research objectives and was recommended to interview an operating officer. That officer works in the

community development sector that is very close to the community and local people and could provide the relevant information about community leaders and contact numbers. I made an appointment with him and followed steps a to c as mentioned above until I had gathered all the information required. Officers of the Ayutthaya City Municipality in the following areas were interviewed: community development, public health services, environment and administration.

The Ayutthaya educational institutions, subjected to Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Rajabhat University, are responsible for disseminating the information about the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Ayutthaya's history, carrying out projects and exhibitions for public knowledge dissemination. Thus, I needed to interview the agency's director and ask for related secondary data.

On interviewing the local people, I obtained a list of contacts from community development officers of the Ayutthaya City Municipality and then made an appointment via phone and contacted the community leader for an interview. I introduced and informed local informants about the interview's objectives and duration. Local informants were asked to read the 'Information for informant' sheet (Appendix G) and sign the 'consent form' (Appendix H) before the interview. The consent forms and information informant sheets were used in accordance with Lincoln University Human Ethics Committees research requirements. As usual, after finishing the interview, I asked the community leader to propose two community members and their contact details (one in a tourism-related career and the other not). The same interview process was carried out overall 13 communities. The field work took place from December 2009 to April 2010; the timetable is shown in Appendixes D and E.

Building familiarity and trust with informants is necessary to obtain the authentic information. I needed to visit informants sometimes before the actual interviews. This was because there are inter-agencies conflicts and a conflict between agencies and the community. The informants were suspicious that I may be subject to government agencies and thus would avoid giving information. Therefore, I needed to create familiarity and trust and show who I am and where I come from. I always carried some desserts to the informants as a gift for their devotion and generosity for the interviews while they were sometimes busy on work routines. Certain appointments were cancelled because some informants forgot and others were in urgent business. Thus a new appointment was made. After getting data from each interview, the data was analysed with content analysis.

4.7 Data Analysis

Content analysis was employed to analyse the primary data from the semi-structured interviews and observations, as well as the secondary data from the various sources mentioned. Content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p18). In this technique, the meaning of text is not restricted to written material. Data also included works of art, images, maps, sounds, signs, symbols, and even numerical data all of which are considered ‘text’ (Krippendorff, 2004). Interviews were conducted in Thai language which is my native language. Therefore I could communicate and interpret informants’ answers easily. To reduce confusion during interviews, technical words were changed to easy ones which can keep their meaning. Semi-structure interview data audio documents were transcribed into Thai text and other data sources: observation memos, maps, photos and visual materials, were also transcribed before the analysis began.

All textual data were coded in terms of the issues or topics raised by the interview and similar answers from different informants were grouped. For example, for the question ‘What sort of financial problems do you face?’, the informant’s answers were coded differently as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 An example of coding of informants’ answers in interviews.

Informant	Informant’s answer	Coding
K-2	I owed the informal debt with high interest charge. I was submissive because I have no security as guarantee in borrowing from bank.	Informal debt
C-3	No, I have no debt. I’m fearful of owing. I’m self-sufficient based on the King’s sufficiency economics.	None
B-3	In economic crisis especially during my children’s semester opening, I have a lot of expenses; student uniforms and textbooks. I borrowed money from informal sources.	Informal debt
F-3	I borrowed from informal sources with daily interest paid.	Informal debt
C-1	I’m a government officer. I borrowed from the Government Savings Bank as interest rate is low.	Formal debt
K-3	I have no land with title deed. The land I have current lived belongs to the King Land which it is unable to guarantee my loan application with bank. For this reason, I have to borrow informal loans which charges expensive interest.	Informal debt

After coding was conducted, the answers were grouped. The results of analysis showed that ‘informal debt’ was most frequent. Analysis of the causes of informant’s answers was performed to understand why informal debt was popular among borrowers. Similarly, the

answer category with the smallest number of answers was analysed.

All informants' answers were plain without difficult words to translate into English. Most answers have been categorized into five main factors of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Some of them were considered as a new finding and were classified as 'cultural context'. They were included into the Sustainable Livelihood Framework as a cultural capital. Ethical considerations were observed at all times.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations aim to respect the privacy and protect the rights of individuals participating in the research. As part of the research requirement at Lincoln University, the interview questions were approved by and then permission was granted by the Human Ethics Committee of Lincoln University (HECLU) before conducting the field work.

In the field work, before commencing each interview, an information sheet written in Thai was given to the informants. This was to ensure that informants perceived the objective of the research and the way of information collecting, including the use of the information. In addition, the informant's rights of discontinuing participation at any stage and informant's rights of withdrawing their participation within a specified time after the interview were stated before the interview. A consent form was then given for the informant to sign. In addition to, asking informants' consent, they were asked whether they objected to their interview being recorded.

With respect to the confidentiality of the informants, their names and position do not appear in the thesis. All audio-files recorded were kept in my laptop and back up disks. The consent forms, back-up disks and hard copy data were stored separately in secure filing cabinets at home. In case of referring to informants, pseudonyms were used to identify the informants. Besides, research limitations are presented in different ways.

4.9 Research Limitations

Firstly, this research limitation involved that informants felt unfamiliar with the interviewer, leading to them distrusting to give the actual information. More importantly, quantitative research emphasizing the investigation of the livelihoods of local people required the established familiarity with local people and ensuring them of my goodwill. In particular, the investigation concerned the local issues, interest confliction, or vulnerable proposition, the

initial interview required me to develop a friendly relationship with the informants prior to actual interview. In addition, this also included the interviews made with some conflict groups, for example, the conflict groups among merchants at the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, Ayutthaya. At the beginning of the interview, I seemed to be untrustworthy to the illegal-trader informants. They were unsure whether I was the municipal representative who may expel them. They were hesitant to answer my questions. Thus, it was necessary to establish trust and familiarity before interviews. Moreover, in observing the community activities, it was necessary for me to create familiarity. This is an approach required to obtain “deep” information. It therefore required adequate time to assimilate into the local community and local people.

The second limitation was time. Long interviews tired informants or disturbed their work. Interviews were generally conducted in the morning and lunch time when some informants were trading and doing their jobs. Overly long interviews resulted in reluctance to answer the questions. Therefore, to avoid this problem, interviews were split into shorter sessions. This also developed greater familiarity between the interviewer and informants.

4.10 Summary

This research took a qualitative research approach with the case study as an appropriate research design. This study was conducted in 13 communities in the World Heritage site: Ayutthaya. Semi-structured interviews were used as the data collection method because these can provide rich data concerning their livelihoods in various dimensions. In addition, observation is another data collection method to get additional information concerning the topic being studied and creates an understanding of the study population and informant’s activities from observer’s perspective.

Purposive sampling was used to select community leaders and two community members who are involved and not involved in tourism in the World Heritage site in every community. Snowball sampling was used to select key government informants. Content analysis was employed to analyse the primary data from semi-structured interviews and observation, as well as the secondary data. The research constraints and the ethical considerations have been presented. The following chapters present the result in term of livelihood capitals in the study area.

Chapter 5

Results: Livelihood Capital

5.1 Introduction

The data presented in chapter 2 provides the overview of the historic city of Ayutthaya in its physical, social, environmental, and conservation context. Chapter 3 presents the context of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as a guideline to investigate the livelihood factors for local people while the chapter 4 presents the data collection method in the study area under the Sustainable Livelihood Approach. The results are presented in the chapter 5, 6 and 7. In this chapter, the issues of capitals are presented.

Capital is defined as “the existing stock of goods which are to be used in the production of other goods or services and which have themselves been produced by previous human activities” (www.socialsciencedictionary.com). The more capital people possess, the greater the ability of people to pursue different livelihood strategies. This chapter focuses on livelihood capital, starting with financial capital that includes the contexts of income from the sale of labour, access to credit and access to income-generating activities. Then, human capital is indicated in terms of health and education. Natural capital, including garbage and waste, as well as physical capital is also presented in the next section. Finally, the chapter ends with social capital and cultural capital.

5.2 Financial Capital

The three main sources of financial capital in the study area can be defined as: 1) income from the sale of labour, 2) access to credit, and 3) access to income- generating activities.

5.2.1 Income from the Sale of Labour

Income from the sale of labour is one of the most crucial resources of the people. People are significantly dependent on cash income because they are unable to produce the basic necessities of life as they have not enough land for primary production. Consequently, households are more likely to pay for food and shelter than rely on their own production. Also, they are also more dependent on purchasing services, such as mass transportation and education. Most people interviewed are employed as industrial workers, governmental

officers, labourers. Hence, the income from the sale of labour is meaningful to the people in the area. According to I-1 and H-2:

“People here mainly work in factories. They are employed after finishing the lower secondary school. They do not usually work for the tourism industry.”

and

“After finishing high school, I did military service for a couple of years and then worked for a company for five years. I’m now working in a factory in Ayutthaya. Applying for a job at the factory here is easy because several factories opened with job vacancies.”

5.2.2 Access to Credit

Another source of financial capital for the people is access to credit either through formal loans or informal loans. Most credit loans are informal loans. Formal loans, which people borrow from commercial banks and financial institutes, are useful for household applicants with a salary and collateral. Formal loan applications require collateral and time for loan approval. This is difficult for low income people who have no salary or collateral as a guarantee; particularly for people in the study area, in that their land is King’s Land. Thus, informal loans are considered by them despite informal loan interest rates at 20%. As K-3 said:

“I have no land with a title deed. The land I currently live on belongs to the King’s Land, which cannot be used to guarantee my loan application with a bank. For this reason, I have an informal loan, which charges expensive interest.”

In Thailand, patterns of saving include: 1) compulsory saving through the Office of Social Security; 2) compulsory saving through state funds, for example, pension funds; and 3) voluntary saving through financial institutes, for example, commercial banks, insurance companies, the capital market, provident funds and life assurance. Nonetheless, some problems occur, for instance:

1. It is limited to some groups of people – the formal employment sector and bureaucracy whose employees obtain the benefits of the social security and pension fund. The

self-employed business owners, household labourers, and low income labourers are not granted these benefits. As K-3 stated:

“I’m a merchandiser selling porridge at the front of the school and do selling every day. If I am absent from selling, it means no income on that day. I have to collect some money for my old age because I have no pension as the civil servant does.”

2. The allowance is inadequate for employees with social security benefits or those that are granted the pension when they retire. One question is raised whether such an allowance is sufficient to cover the cost of living in old age. According to B-1:

“My husband is a retired civil servant with a monthly pension allowance. I am a housewife and have no income. I’m afraid of the uncertainty. Thus, to support my living and expense, my house is divided into few rooms for rent.”

3. Because expenses are greater than income, inevitably some informants cannot save. They live day-to-day, with no thought of saving for the future. This point remains problematic for low income people who cannot access deposit money and saving money. For example, F-2 said:

“I don’t have savings. This is because I spend all my money for household expenses and have no money left. In addition, I frequently borrow from others.”

4. Some people who have moderate to high income lack knowledge of saving and understanding of finance. As a result, they miss business investment opportunities. Thus, they choose to deposit their money with commercial banks despite low interest rates, or saving in other forms of property such as gold ornaments. As F-3 indicated:

“I do selling at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and market. I spend money that I earn to buy the gold ornaments as they are always valuable. I have no idea on investments because I’m not so skillful in any investment.”

5.2.3 Access to Income-generating Activities

Besides income from the sale of labour, there are also income-generating activities such as harvesting jujube fruits for sale, trading at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and trading at the celebrative event entitled ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’.

Box 1 The story of the jujube trees

In the surroundings of the Old Royal Palace; Wat Prasirsanpetch, Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, Wat Phra Ram, Wat Mahadhat, Wat Rajaburana, the jujube trees were grown extensively and were not for agricultural purposes. In the reign of the King Rama VI (1910-1925) the Archaic Provincial Governor invited the people to grow more jujube trees and allowed people to gather their fruit. Directly, people who collected the jujubes cleared the untidy and deserted ancient monuments and also protected the site from robberies. Because more jujube fruits are produced for sale than consumed by households, income is also generated for jujube merchants.

In 1958, so many villagers collected the jujubes for sale that a concession for the collection of jujubes in the territory of the Grand Palaces and the frontage of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit was introduced by the Department of Fine Arts’ operation.

Over 800 jujube trees grown in the historic places produce fruit. The concessionaire was responsible for taking care of the existing jujube trees and growing new ones for maximum productivity. Thus, the private sector became responsible for taking care of the jujube trees instead of the government. The jujube trees yield their fruit during November - February every year. Because of the fruitfulness of the jujube trees, the good-shaped ones are sold while the bad-shaped ones are used in a dessert, which is a way to preserve the fruit. The desserts are marketed throughout the year. More people became interested in making jujube desserts because it could generate extra income. As a result, the jujube dessert became famous surrounding the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit.

After becoming a World Heritage site, most areas became reserved for conservation purposes, including tourism. Consequently, there followed problems in management because the World Heritage area overlapped private concession areas, resulting in conflicts between concessionaires and tourists for harvesting jujube fruits. The Department of Fine Arts finally revoked the concession, and this resulted in the lack of jujube tree planters and caretakers.

An absence of the right of ownership in jujube trees resulted in more difficulty in cropping. In addition, to make churned jujube desserts was something complex and difficult for producers. Instead of producing churned jujube, many youth turned to earn their living as employees and merchants that made them less exhausted. Today fewer households earn a living by producing the jujube desserts, leading to the absence of young local people learning how to do it.

In the past, harvesting jujube fruits was under a concession operated by the Department of Fine Arts (Box 1). The concession increases the benefits of natural resource management and access to natural resource’s generating income to local people. After becoming a World Heritage site, most of the area became a conservation area. Consequently, the conservation

area overlapped the private concession area, resulting in conflicts between concessionaires and tourists for harvesting jujube fruits. The Department of Fine Arts finally revoked the concession and this resulted in difficulties of access for jujube harvesting. At the same time the growth of the industrial sector resulted in many youths earning their living as workers in factories. This led to fewer households earning a living by harvesting jujube fruits and their by-products. As C-3 stated:

“At present, there are a few households earning a living on producing the churned jujube. This is because access to harvest jujube fruits is quite difficult in the area operated by the Department of Fine Arts. Also, the young generation prefers working in factories as a worker rather than earning living on producing churned jujube.”

Access to trading activities at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit is not easy for local people. Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit is considered the largest souvenir shop with the greatest number of tourists so many traders constructed stands or tents nearby in order to do their business. This makes the area untidy. To solve this problem, the Department of Fine Arts constructed 148 Thai-styled stores for existing traders to rent and carry on selling legally. However, the number of traders still increased. The demand for legally licensed stores was higher than the supply which resulted in sub-renting at high prices (Box 2). As a result, local people have little access for legitimate trading. According to A-1:

“First allocating Thai-styled stores is managed by the Department of Fine Arts. But selling the right to sub-rent is at a high price. This makes local people have scarce chances for trading in the area.”

Access to trading activities in the 10-day celebrative event entitled “Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya”, which is held in early December every year, is managed by the Ayutthaya Provincial Office and the Tourism Authority of Thailand. It attracts a great number of tourists and a large amount of money into local circulation. Private individuals or organizations bought the zoning stores at auction and allocated those stores for other traders at high cost. This resulted in local people hardly having access to trade at the festival. As K-1 indicated:

Box 2 Conflict among souvenir shops surrounding Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit

The fact that Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit is considered the largest souvenir shop area causes a lot of traders to construct stands or tents in order to do business, which makes the area untidy. All local organizations put in efforts continuously to solve these problems; 148 Thai-styled stores were constructed by the Department of Fine Arts and handled by the Ayutthaya City Municipality and Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit Foundation (Figure 5.1). They licensed existing traders to rent and carry on merchandising legally. However, the traders still continuously increase.

This result in the number of legally licensed stores not matching the number of actual traders leading to the following problems: (1) selling the right to sub-rent at a high cost, which results in few local people accessing the area legitimately; and (2) incoming traders with tent stores invade the unauthorized area (Figure 5.2). The tent stores or illegal tent stores are advantageous in terms of commercial gain because they are situated adjacent to the tourist parking lot. Tourists can buy things more easily from the tent stores than from Thai-style stores or legally licensed stores which are further away. This matter became a dispute because legally licensed stores sold less and the invaders or illegal tent stores sold more. As A-1 said:

“Typically, the general public has rarely had an opportunity to rent the stalls with a license, especially the poor who had an insufficient amount of money to rent them. There is also the existence of the privileged group that obstructs renting.”

The events mentioned above have affected those concerned as follows:

1) Legally licensed stores – about 140 legal Thai-styled stores were allowed in the authorized zone. The stores do not generate as large an income as the illegal tent stores. This is because the legally licensed stores were distant from the parking lot. Despite compliance with all regulations and rules, the owners of legally licensed stores had a feeling of seizure of the customers and inequality. As A-3 said:

“I made a right reservation and payment for store correctly while my sales dropped. On the other hand, the illegal tent stores could make profitable sales. It’s inequitable.”

2) Illegal tent stores – there were over 400 illegal tent stores located in a prime area close to the parking lot. These illegal tent stores not only violate the compliance rules, but also eclipse the elegance of the temple landscape, and cause conflict in the area. They are also a major cause of the rumours of losing the World Heritage status.

With the issues mentioned above, government organizations tried to solve the problems by expanding the commercial area. However, they failed because the illegal tent stores assumed that their sales would drop because the expanded zone was far away from the parking lot. Therefore, they refused to move away when expropriated and protested at the front of the Government House for assistance. They claimed that they were simple merchandisers living from hand to mouth, if income dropped, how would their children live? Many have been affected other than the legally licensed stores. As D-3 said:

“The rental for legal Thai-styled stores is so costly that I could not afford it. And the area where legal Thai-styled stores are situated could gain lesser sales because they are away from the parking lot. I’m fortunate that my store is nearby the parking lot where the tourists can buy the souvenirs immediately. I’ve even joined the protestation at the front of the Government House.”

The government eventually ended with compromises.

“The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) did not ask communities to participate by trading and joining performances to show the history of Ayutthaya but TAT allows private individuals or organizations as subcontractors for both trading activities and the performance show. Thus, this event didn’t generate income to local people.”



Figure 5.1 Thai-style stores or legally licensed stores.



Figure 5.2 Illegal tent stores invading the unauthorized area.

5.3 Human Capital

“Human capital represents the skill, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives” (Department for International Development, 1999b, p.7). “Clearly financial capital, in terms of access to employment and earnings, is strongly dependent on adequate human capital. In turn, human capital is highly dependent on adequate nutrition, health care, safe environmental conditions, and education” (Farrington et al., 2002, p.20).

5.3.1 Health

For the past decade, the birth and mortality rates in Ayutthaya City Municipality have not changed significantly (Figure 5.3), which have been the same as birth and mortality rate of overall people in Ayutthaya province (Table 2.1) and Thailand (Figure 5.4). Leaving aside the possibly erroneous data for 2000, the birth and mortality rate remained relatively stable. The difference in the ratio of births to deaths for Ayutthaya and that of Thailand almost certainly reflects the inclusion of rural areas in the national statistics.

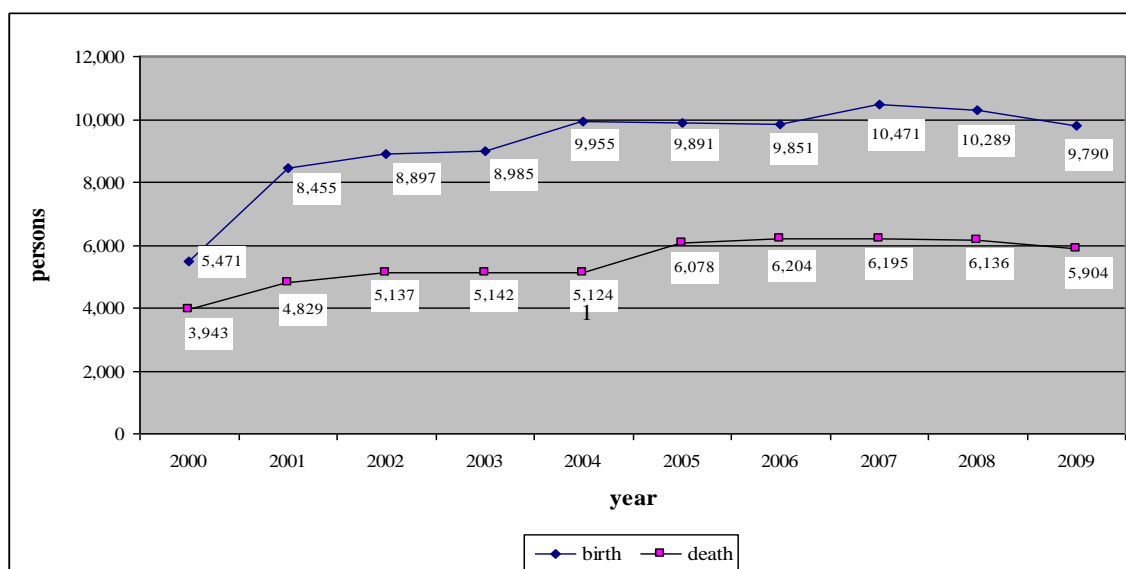


Figure 5.3 Number of births and deaths in Ayutthaya, 2000-2009.

Source : Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, (2009, p.11)

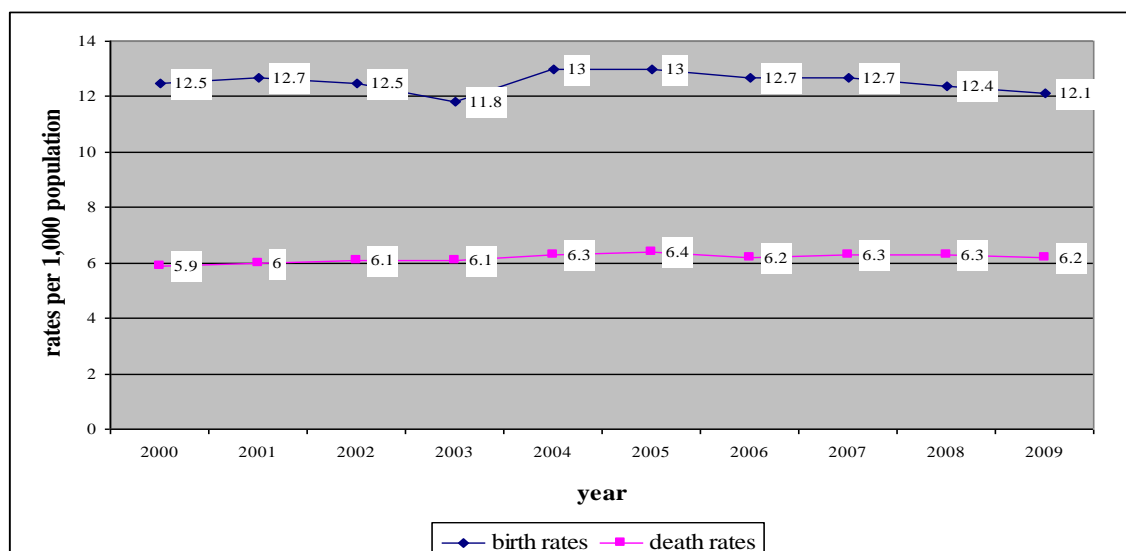


Figure 5.4 Number of births and deaths in Thailand, 2000-2009.

Source : www.moph.go.th

People living in the study area have quick access to health services. The Community Medical Unit is nearer their community than a hospital (Figure 5.5). It takes around 10 minutes to reach there. To ensure access to public health thoroughly, the public health service at a low level has been promoted through The Community Medical Unit where hospital doctors are available with adequate numbers of medical products and equipment. The doctors examine for general and chronic diseases, for example, diabetes and high blood pressure. Moreover, doctors and public health officers devoted time talking and building close interaction between patients and their relatives. In addition, health promotion included visiting the patients at home, learning the patient's life as whole, enabling patients to have access to the health service and doctors easily without spending time and money going to the hospital. As C-3 said:

“If my symptom is not serious, I simply visited the Community Medical Unit because it's more convenient and less time spent in waiting for medical service than at hospital. I have just seen the doctor and taken medicines home. And the distance between home and the community medical centre is less than 1 kilometre.”

Besides community members having access to the public health service, the Community Medical Unit also supports the relationship between community members and the health service providers such as physicians and nurses. It is regarded as an efficient way to strengthen the community. As an Ayutthaya City Municipality's officer reported:

“In the past, healthcare was characterized by the American treatment approach that emphasizes technology for treatment and rehabilitation, but not to promote health and well-being and no trust between service providers and patients has been developed. In other words, it was unmatched to our country's condition. The Community Medical Unit focuses on access and building social network between patients and patient's relatives that will further be developed into trustfulness among them, and develop the sense of family belonging.”

Furthermore, in Thailand, the medical expense charge is very low or free of charge; this is to ensure that the people are covered by health insurance under the 'Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project' or so-called '30 baht fee for curing every disease'. This project developed

under the government health insurance policy that all Thai people can be treated for any disease by paying only 30 baht. The government requires that Thai people have to register at a local hospital while government provides each hospital with budgets according to number of people registered (NaRanong, 2006).



Figure 5.5 Community Medical Unit in the Ayutthaya community.

The registered people then receive what is called the ‘Gold Card’ that is divided into two types; first, the Gold Card for general people where cardholders pay the medical fee of 30 baht when being treated at the hospital and, secondly, the Gold Card for cardholders pay no fee, including those aged of 60 years old up, children of under 12 years old, handicapped, priests, religious leaders, veterans, and low-income people earning less than 3,000 baht monthly. The ‘Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’ benefits all people because they are treated by paying only 30 baht or free of charge at a provincial hospital or a Community Medical Unit. Such a health project satisfies people’s needs for convenience and low medical expenses (NaRanong, 2006). According to J-2:

“I have to take medicines regularly because I have been diagnosed with high blood pressure, gout, high blood cholesterol. I prefer visiting a doctor at the community medical centre rather than hospital. It took time going to the hospital. And I pay no fee with the Gold Card.”

In addition, activities such as knowledge dissemination and positive attitude creation concerning health promotion have been conducted through village health volunteers, aiming to teach people how to take care of themselves and prevent themselves, family, and community from succumbing to diseases. The village health volunteers have been trained to

the requirements of the Ministry of Public Health. Village health volunteers serve as change agents in terms of behavioural change and knowledge dissemination concerning health and sanitation, including creating an activity about health promotion in village or community (*Village health volunteers project*, n.d.). One village health volunteer is assigned to be responsible for 8-15 households. The previous activities undertaken in the community included distributing abate sand granules³ to keep villagers from dengue haemorrhagic fever, checking the list of the disabled and the aged in the community to provide them 500 baht monthly allowance. As E-2 said:

“During the outbreak of dengue haemorrhagic fever, the village health volunteers distributed abates sand granules to limit the possibility of invasion of the vector.”

People depend on the government health service rather than self reliance by means of herbal treatment. This is because accessing the governmental health service such as a Community Medical Unit is convenient and the treatment charge for conventional treatments is very low or free under the ‘Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’. Another reason is that the study area has a lack of forest area, which has plentiful herbs. Besides health issues, education is another area to understand human capital.

5.3.2 Education

According to statistics on the level of education attainment in Ayutthaya in 2009, most persons aged 15 years and over failed to finish elementary school (200,769 persons), followed by lower secondary level (137,342 persons), upper secondary level (105,104 persons), higher level (77,282 persons) (Figure 5.6) (Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, 2010).

³ Abate sand granules means a chemical granule coated with 1% w/w Temephos using for killing a common house mosquito larva

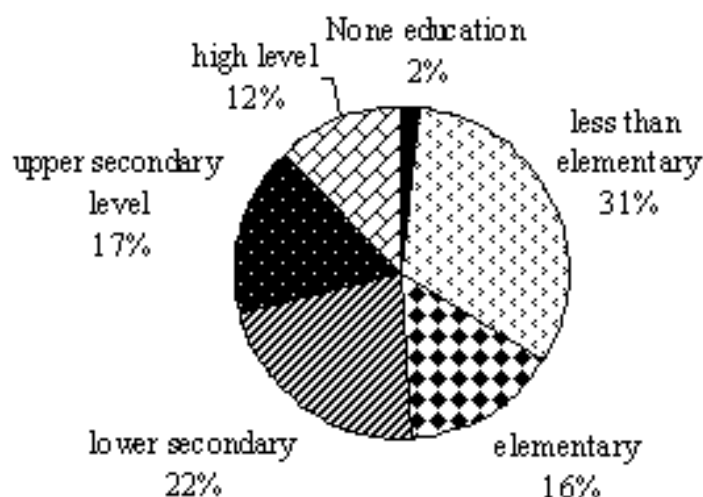


Figure 5.6 Number of persons in Ayutthaya aged 15 years and over by level of education attainment: 2009.

Source : Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.11)

In Thailand, the education system comprises of two levels; basic education and higher education (Figure 5.7).

1. Basic education is designed for minimum 12-year programmes before higher education. Basic education includes three levels:
 - 1.1 Pre-school for children aged 4-6 years old.
 - 1.2 Primary school is designed for a 6-year curriculum.
 - 1.3 Secondary school consists of two levels:
 - Lower secondary school for 3 years; and
 - Upper secondary school for 3 years, divided into two categories:
 - Common upper secondary school is preparation for higher education in a university; and
 - Vocational and technical education (lower vocational) is preparation in knowledge and skill for an occupation or for higher education in an institute of technology.
2. Undergraduate education includes two categories:
 - 2.1 Common undergraduate education is education in the university for 4 years.
 - 2.2 Tertiary vocational is higher education in an institute of technology for 2 years for a diploma or vocational associate degree.



Figure 5.7 The Thai education system.

Source : Ministry of Education, (n.d., p.3)

However, the study area, an urban area, has advantages in terms of access to education due to the great number of academic institutes. There are 28 kindergarten-elementary schools, 11 kindergarten-low secondary schools, 1 elementary school, 4 lower-upper secondary schools, 2 Rajamangala University of Technology, 1 Rajabhat University and 1 Buddhist University (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). Additionally, for equal educational opportunity, the National Education Act B.E 2542 (1999) as amended by National Education Act B.E. 2545 (2002), chapter 2 Rights and Responsibility on Education, section 10, states that “all Thai people shall be provided the right and educational opportunity equally, and have been granted quality basic education for the duration of at least 10 years free of charge under the government provision” (The Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment, 2002, p.7).

Even though the government takes care of 12-years basic education and children’s parents do not pay tuition fees for 12 years in governmental schools, children’s parents are accountable

for other expenses, for example, textbooks, stationery, uniforms, school bags, lunch meals, travelling expenses, computer course fees, or other educational activities. In addition, following the 9-year compulsory education the higher secondary level costs more, consequently, the number of students finishing higher secondary level decreases. According to statistics on disadvantaged poor students, only 67.8% students were studying at lower secondary level and only 45% students were studying at higher secondary level (Chiangkoon, 2007). As B-2 indicated:

“At the start of the semester, I have to pay a tuition fee and buy new uniforms and stationery for my kids. I am short of money and need an informal loan as it’s faster than applying for the bank loan which it takes time for approval of the loan. We accept the high interest rate and pay the interest on a daily basis.”

Some students have to earn a living to survive. It is believed that studying obstructs them from job opportunities because they have to spend time in the classroom instead of earning income. According to J-1 and D-1:

“I earn my living by working for wages as a handyman. I am unlearned and work alone. I decided to quit my kids from school, but work instead.”

and

“Once my husband had a backache which led to costly surgery, and inability to work. My son had to earn a living for his father’s medical expense, so he withdrew from school after lower secondary education.”

The personal benefits of education mean greater opportunity of better employment and a higher salary. The public benefit of education is that it promotes knowledge in such other areas as environment, hygiene, politics, and social improvement for the public. Parents are important to promote children’s education. Educational promotion depends on parents’ perceptions and attitudes. Although some parents understand the benefits of education such as better jobs and better income in the future, they cannot afford the loss of income. Some parents also want their children to work in the way they did; that is, education is not necessary. The children eventually are not encouraged or stimulated in education. For example, J-2 said:

“My parents have nine kids. Dad is a civil servant. After I finished primary education I did not have any intention to further my studying. I neglected studying and my dad had no idea about this. He did not provide any suggestions about education. After withdrawing from school, I earned my living by working for wages; handyman, construction labourer and riding a 3-wheeled vehicle, and other jobs. I was conscripted for 2 years, and then ordained as priest for three months, and married. Afterwards, I have become a merchant selling refreshments at a Teachers College, now called Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Rajabhat University for 30 years.”

Besides the three factors mentioned above, there is another factor that obstructs higher education in local people in Ayutthaya. That is the rapid industrial growth. Industrial plants need a lot of both skilled and professional workers. Employees’ educational level most needed by business operators included 1,864 persons who hold the vocational education certificate (49.95%), followed by 1,025 persons with secondary level education (30.40%) (Figure 5.8) (Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, 2010). This is a simple reason why youth are likely not to continue in higher education or university. As C-3 indicated:

“I do not know whether education makes a better life and better income. It depends on them. My two sons held the High Vocational Education Certificate and Vocational Education Certificate. They are now employees at Rojana Industrial Estate. They are satisfied with their work and don’t want to go to further higher education.”

The significance of the educational level probably is based on the local labour market and demand. Even though there are many educational institutions available, it appeared that, in the study area, that local people had less inclination to further their education level. This is because thousands of factories required many job applicants with low to middle education level or vocational education. Consequently, local people prefer earning a monthly salary as soon as they finish secondary school or an institute of technology rather than studying in higher education, which takes a longer time to earn their living and they also must spend a large amount of expenditure on education.

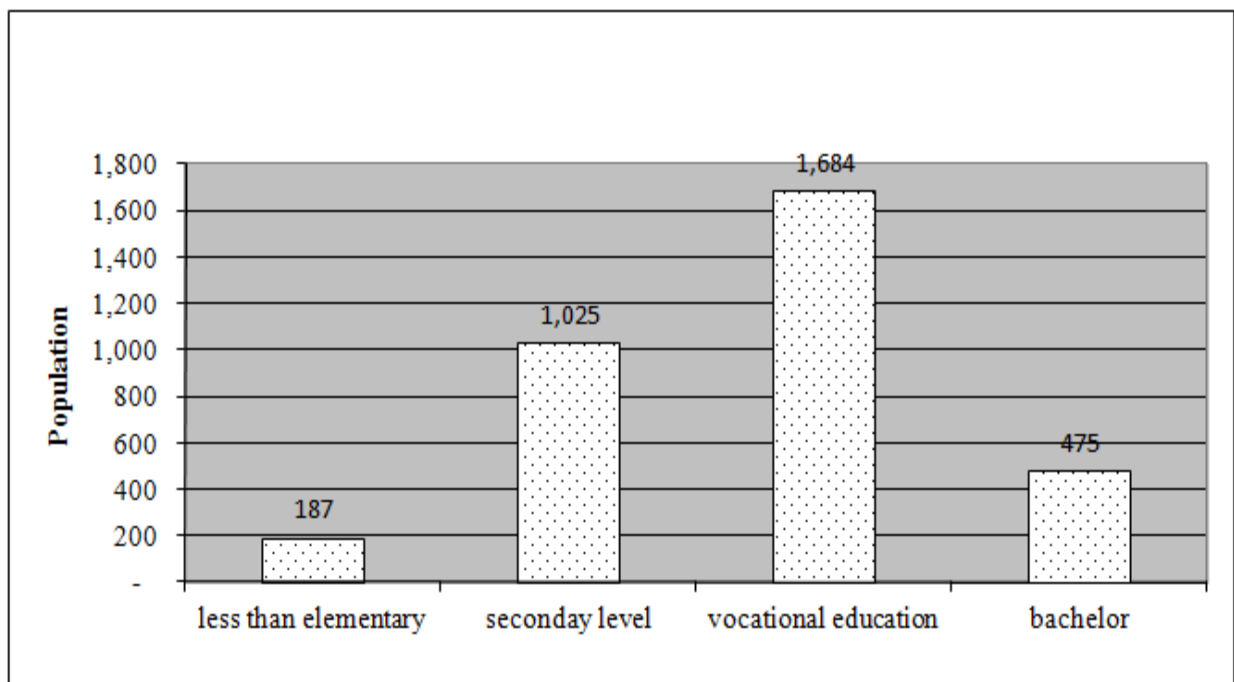


Figure 5.8 Number of job vacancies in Ayutthaya by level of education attainment.

Source : Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.13)

5.4 Natural Capital

Natural capital is generally less used for productive resources, because it tends to be less available. For example, the jujube trees have been observed in the surroundings of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, leading to an occupation of producing churned jujube, a well-known provincial product. The story of jujube trees provides a really useful example of the changes in the community relationship with its natural capital (Box 1, p.104). However, as the concession was revoked, which makes access to resources more difficult, and other influential factors, for example, hardships in the production process, and more children are educated, the occupation of producing churned jujube disappeared over time. Such an event reflects that the difficulty of access to natural capital leads to the reduction of financial capital and cultural capital.

Although natural capital is generally less used for productive resources, it can promote some other capital indirectly. For example, land resources: the study area has no forest area to exploit forest productivity. The green area appearing in the study area is a public park. Many areas have been designed to be recreational parks for exercise, for example, Princess Srinagarindra Park and Phra Ram Park - the only place designed by the Ayutthaya City Municipality for exercise purposes providing a petanque yard and gym equipment.

Additionally, the temple area in some communities is assigned for aerobic exercise activity (Figure 5.9). This can promote people's health.



Figure 5.9 Health promotion activities in Ayutthaya.

Like land resources, water resources can enhance financial capital in the tourism sector. More people now consume tap water rather than consuming water directly from rivers. Currently, an important role of water sources involves tourism. Besides visiting historic places, some tourism activities rely on water sources, for example, boat transport to temples, sailing around the City Isle, and dinner cruises (Figure 5.10). The beautiful landscape of water sources can promote tourism activities greatly and generate income to the community. According to I-1:

“While travelling by boat, the customers eat and view the landscape along the river. The water stream is relatively clean. Fortunately, it is not dirty or bad-smelling to the visitors.”



Figure 5.10 The dinner cruise boat that goes around the City Isle, Ayutthaya.

As local natural resources are scarce, the natural materials for production are mainly derived from outside. For example, stone sculpturing had been famous in Ayutthaya. Stone material is derived from Wangnamkhiew, Nakhonratchasima. The fish mobile is another renowned product in Ayutthaya. The palm leaves as raw material to be woven are derived from Prachinburi. When ordered by phone, the raw materials, for example, stones and palm leaves, are conveyed from Nakhonratchasima and Prachinburi to the end-customers in Ayutthaya. All these reflected the outside material dependency. Besides natural resources, garbage and waste also affect people's quality of life.

Garbage and Waste: waste in the study area includes not only household waste, but also the garbage generated by tourists. The waste is normally collected by the municipal garbage truck without charge of a fee. In this study, the researcher surveyed the area and observed leftover garbage (Figure 5.11). Consistent with interviews, the refuse collection problem is residual waste as K-3 stated:

“A garbage truck collects the waste every week, but the problem found is that the residual garbage from collecting looks unpleasant.”



Figure 5.11 Residual garbage on the street in the Ayutthaya study area.

The municipal waste disposal system found the garbage left over was 23 tons daily (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province, 2008) and it had adverse impacts on the environment, especially as waste disposal sites are mostly located in lowland areas and close to residential areas. This is because Ayutthaya is in the lowland with a high level of underground water. It is necessary to provide a good standard of sanitation to prevent the contamination of the leachate to underground water. Frequently found problems include garbage fires and bad smells that affected the neighbouring communities. According to an Ayutthaya City Municipality officer:

“The waste disposal sources are insufficient because of excess garbage which comes from both the municipality and neighbouring local administrations. There are often complaints of bad odours that annoy the communities that are adjacent to the waste sources.”

Even though such problems have no impact on people of well-being in the study area or the Historic City of Ayutthaya they do affect neighbouring communities. Waste remains can affect tourism due to visual pollution. This reflects unsustainable environmental management. Because of the continuously growing urbanization and tourism, along with an increased population in the area, it is anticipated that waste management issues may worsen.

5.5 Physical Capital

“Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods, such as affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply

and sanitation, clean, affordable energy and access to information” (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002, p7).

In the study area, housing is one of the most important forms of physical capital because it is used both for shelter and for productive or income-generating purposes such as renting out rooms or using the space as a home office or workshop area. According to Ayutthaya statistics 2007, most houses (74.50%) are detached houses, row houses (18.90%) and townhouses (2.80%). Furthermore, most houses were made of wood (43.50%), brick and stone (39.80%) or brick and wood (16.20%). All households had toilet facilities (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). The differences in housing characteristics and construction materials depended on economic conditions which socio-economic status and the level of poverty of local communities could be recognized by type and size of houses and construction materials. Mostly, brick houses were more expensive than wooden houses. In the case of economically poor families, their houses usually were made of wood scraps and roofed with zinc sheeting (Figure 5.12).

This wide range of types of access to housing has different implications for productive or income-generating purposes. A detached house could be divided into small rooms for rent or the front of the house was used as a shop. The bottom floor of the row house nearby the road could be used as small shop, for example, noodle shop, photocopying shop, grocery shop and motorbike repair shop (Figure 5.13). All these could generate extra income for urban people and was regarded as an increase in financial capital.



Figure 5.12 Different types of houses in the study area of Ayutthaya.

Besides increasing financial capital, ownership of, or secure access to, housing can be a key in ensuring access to other resources. They can be used as collateral for access to credit (see section 5.2.2). Furthermore, households may need a fixed address to qualify for government schemes. In Thailand, persons who do not have secure access to housing cannot access subsidised government hospitals or get benefits under the ‘Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’ because they lack an address to register.



Figure 5.13 Using houses for productive or income-generating purposes in Ayutthaya.

Another major issue that can determine the value of a house is location. A location in close proximity to tourist attractions, markets and industries enables the residents to access employment sources, reduces travel costs and time, which are meaningful to people in the area.

For expropriation, the relocation of squatter households is restricted despite the benefits of secure tenure and services. It can lead to disastrous effects on resettled households, particularly in an area far away from established sources of livelihood and urban employment opportunities. For example, in the past, stone carving was widely obvious in the community surrounding the King Uthong monument, which is well known among tourists (Box 3). For picturesque landscape purposes, approximately 40 households were moved to the allotted area, Napratamnak community, near the Siriyalai Royal House, which is too far from tourist attractions (around 15-minutes driving) (Figure 5.14). Moreover, there is no promotion of the new area to be a tourist spot. At present, about 10 families are engaged in the stone craft industry. However, in some households, their ways of life are improved because households gain more space with their house allotted and they have new job opportunities such as opening a shop.

Box 3 An example of expropriation at the front of King U-thong monument

Over the past two decades, at the front of King U-thong monument, there was a 42-household community. Most people produced stone sculptures as a core occupation for over 20 years. The sculptures were reproduced from impressive Buddhist and Khmer art objects such as Buddha images in various postures, Hindu gods, Hindu angels and animals. Some stone carvings are used as home decorations and others are religious objects of worship. Local community members worked at home and opened their houses to visitors, which was famous among tourists and generated greater income because the products were not too expensive.

Sculptural knowledge was passed on by the community leader's family as he himself had learnt and imitated from others. Granite used in the sculptures was derived from the Wang Nam Khiew District, Nakhon Rachasima, which was expensive because of costly transportation fees.

Late in 1997, the Department of Fine Arts considered that the 42 households at the front of the King U-thong monument should be moved away to improve the landscape and surroundings without the eclipsed shadow of the building. To deal with expropriation, the government compensated people for the demolition of their homes and provided land plots at the front of Siriyalai Royal House.

At the front of Siriyalai Royal House, the community members were granted a land plot for building a one-storey house for a family. The house was narrow and far from tourist attractions. More importantly, there was no support from any organizations or promotion or public relations to inform visitors of the relocation and to attract them to travel and view the stone sculptures, resulting in the community members' income reducing sharply.

Such a change caused significant changes in the people's way of living. First, there was relocation while continuing the old occupation, the community leader who initiated the stone sculpturing had sufficient financial capital to move to a new more spatial place than that provided by the Department of Fine Arts, which was a potential attraction to the old customers. This way, the community leader did not need to change occupation and the household income had not been affected. The community leader bought the land outside the City Isle before he was forced to leave the expropriated land. This is because he realized that the area had an uncertain future.

Secondly, a number of local people who undertook sculpturing supported by the community leader, survived with the old occupation. This group of people had been given a career opportunity by the community leader and when they completed the work pieces, they handed them to the community leader without direct contact with customers or visitors. Their income declined compared with making and selling stone sculptures to tourists directly.

Thirdly, a change in career in the case of low-income people. They could no longer earn their living from sculptures because stone sculptures required high investment in obtaining the stone materials. In addition, they found that they could not access the market and visitors. They changed to other occupations, for example, running a noodle shop, selling earthenware at the front of the elephant camp.

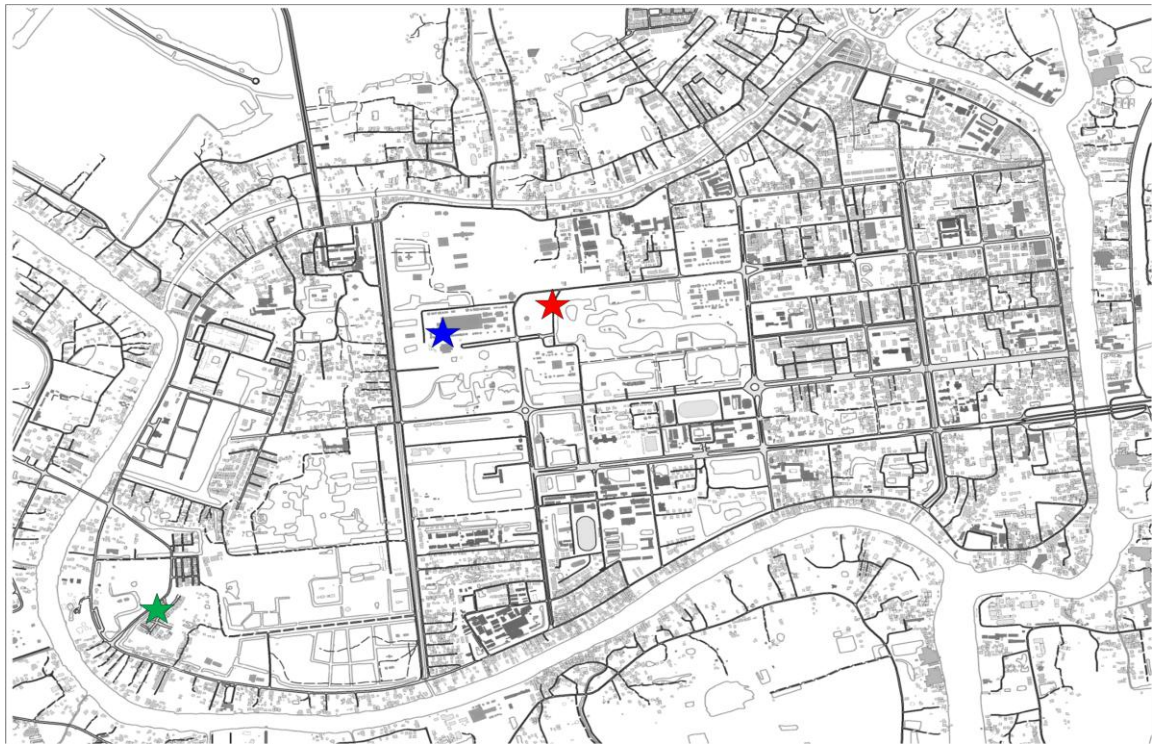


Figure 5.14 Location of Napratamnak community and King Uthong monument.

- ★ Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit (famous tourist attraction)
- ★ King Uthong monument
- ★ Napratamnak community

Another important physical capital for the people is public infrastructure. Main roads are in good condition but small roads have not been asphalted yet due to lack of government budget for repairs. This causes problems in the rainy season; wet muddy roads and dust are dispersed into villagers' houses. As C-3 explained:

“My house is opposite the parking lot of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit where a lot of bus tours visit, leading to dust being dispersed into the house most of the time.”

The good condition of the main roads supports not only local livelihoods but also tourism businesses. In addition to cars and motorbikes which have been commonly used for local people, three-wheeled cars, horse carriages or elephants have served as vehicles for sightseeing in the Historic City of Ayutthaya (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15 Vehicles for sightseeing in the Historic City of Ayutthaya.

To provide relief from unexpected flooding, the City Isle included a drainage and wastewater treatment system along the roads to gather the wastewater to be treated outside the City Isle. The wastewater treatment is an oxidation ditch with approximate 25,000 cm³ treatment capacity daily. However, the amount of inlet water is currently about only 12,000 cm³ daily with 30-40mg/l BOD at the inlet water and 9-12 mg/l BOD at the outlet water (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya City Municipality, n.d.). Additional water pipes have been installed to protect the flood and additional drainage gates have been constructed to drain excessive water out of the city into Pa Sak River and Chao Praya River. This drainage and wastewater treatment system aims to protect from unexpected floods in rainy season. Currently, Ayutthaya City Municipality has not collected water treatment charges from people, but it plans to collect water treatment charges in the near future, based on the polluters pay principle. As H-1 explained:

“As chief executive of Ayutthaya City Municipality, we provided the drainage gates, so there is no flooding problem now. Ayutthaya’s people experienced a serious flood only in 1995 and no more afterwards.”

For urban people, the house and residential area is not only a habitation but also a source of income generation. Some divide the residential building partially into a shop or home office. The other physical capital, for example, well-structured infrastructure, effective wastewater treatment and anti-flooding system, advocates for the local people’s quality of livelihood and also promotes tourism. In urban areas, there is less social capital but it still cannot be ignored.

5.6 Social Capital

As well as local social relations, social capital may also include the wider networks of social relations among community members that have been influenced from systems of patronage, reciprocity and Buddhism. The people who develop great social capital will be willingly paid back by community members. People often act due to tradition and Buddhist beliefs that helping others will be rewarded, for example, helping each other in time of crisis, funeral, religious ceremony, or community activities. According to informants D-1, F-2 and J-1:

“I’ve worked for the community for 10 years because I want to help others, for example, distributing to the aged food and drinking water, it makes me feel happy. I serve as a volunteer assisting a lot of distressed people. I sometime sense a worse feeling, but remain in good faith, possibly because of the virtue reward.”

and

“Often, funding from community members is done for community activity. I have no money but I can help by my labour.”

and

“As a community leader, I have sacrificed without income. Currently, I’m living on a pension. I’m sufficient and want to help others, for example, distributing to the sick people the medicines, repairing electric breakdowns. We now don’t wait for the district assistance because it takes a long time waiting.”

However, social capital is a valuable and crucial resource for households, especially during times of crisis and socio-economic change. For example, when a natural disaster or an

accident occurs, a victim gets help from other community members immediately. According to F-1 and F-2:

“When a member of my community dies, I acknowledge that it’s my responsibility to give some assistance, for example, coffin cost, or funding as funeral host. Moreover, other community members offer assistance for this funeral as well. Moreover, community members reported to me the problems and asked me for assistance and help. For example, the roof of a neighbour’s house was broken because of strong wind; they informed the community leader of the occurrence. I then coordinated with the municipality for further assistance. Another example was fire, when fire occurs, we have to help them and ask the help from community people for funds.”

and

“If a neighbour is severely sick, I give her food or accompany with her to visit the doctor.”

Consequently, social networks developed among members can increase people’s trust and ability to operate their system of rules, norms and sanctions. Trust between local people in the communication depends on intimacy. Trust and close relationships among community members develops greatly in persons who have grown-up in the community and get familiar with their neighbours. To some extent the trust developed as H-3 explained:

“I was born here and am familiar with my neighbour for nearly 40 years. I earn my living as taxi driver for over 10 years. As result of the close relationship with my neighbour, he trusts me to take care of his kids. I could earn my living by this way as babysitter looking after the neighbour’s kid. I got 2,500 baht monthly.”

Trust in the business arena can also occur from developing social networks. When the community trusts each other, the social connections among them are better off. When trust develops, complex agreements can be no longer necessary, consequently leading to saving the retainer fee. As E-1 indicated:

“I have worked for the construction area almost my lifetime. I developed the confidence with customers through integrity, workmanship, and punctuality. I’ve never entered into the agreement. For me, trust is indispensable to my career as it makes me earn the living until today.”

However, social networks between the local administration and people are under a system of reciprocity. The Plan and Process of Decentralization to Local Government Organization Decree 1999, and the Local Council Members/ Local Administrator Election Act B.E. 2545 (2002), requires that local administrator elections shall be carried out directly by local people. This is to give the people more opportunity to take care of the public interest and partake in administrative processes at local level through municipal members’ election process. With political reciprocity, which has developed with Thai society continuously, the relationship between the local government organization and politics could not be separated in terms of lobbying. Political parties enjoy and satisfy local people with interest, for example, building roads, allowing trading in the surroundings of the World Heritage site. These benefits provided to local people is for being selected by them in the next election.

Communication among community members is a good channel to increase social networks and social capital. In the community, communication between a community leader and community members mainly has been done by village committees through the village broadcasting tower (Figure 5.16) or knocking on the door. Both channels access the people equally and extensively. The information disseminated to community members usually involve community activities, for example, preventing epidemics, assisting other community members who encounter danger, cleaning community areas, creating activity on an auspicious day or educating community people. According to H-1:

“I believe that information is very crucial. We should be updated with new information. Through the village broadcasting tower, I have informed and educated community members about things and events, for example, disease prevention.”

Social capital influenced by Buddhism and the patronage system is important and strengthens community. It advocates self-reliance among community members, especially in crises and natural disasters. Besides other capitals above, there are various types of cultural capital, having an influence on people’s livelihood.



Figure 5.16 Village broadcasting tower.

5.7 Cultural Capital

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital can be divided as follows: 1) embodied cultural capital, 2) objective cultural capital and 3) institutionalized cultural capital.

5.7.1 Embodied Cultural Capital

This is passively inherited property usually from the family through socialization which is formed by experience, upbringing, educating, etc. It includes local knowledge, beliefs, initiative, tradition, etc. For example:

Notion of being an Ayutthaya Citizen: most informants were clearly proud of being Ayutthaya citizens and proud of being the descendants of those who once contributed to the urban civilization of the past. According to E-1:

“I’m Ayutthaya people. I love Ayutthaya very much. I’m proud of being an Ayutthaya citizen. It’s an ancient city known to everyone.”

Notion of Buddhism: all informants are Buddhists, believing in the Buddha’s teaching that has been followed for centuries, for example ‘doing good gets good, doing evil gets evil’, or belief in hell and heaven, belief in the next life, all these are reflected in practices in our daily life, for example, helping each other in time of hardship, funeral, religious ceremony, wedding ceremony, or community activities. As D-1 said:

“Assisting the community is to make a merit without wage. However, I hope that I shall be granted the happiness in the next life.”

Notion of River City: The centre of Ayutthaya is the area of ‘the City Isle’, encompassed by the rivers Chao Praya, Lopburi, and Pa Sak. Ayutthaya people have a deep involvement with the water stream from ancient times because of its geographical character of low land with many rivers that branched into small canals where people travelled and undertook a wide range of everyday life activities. Today, travelling by water is rare. It has been replaced by road. According to C-1:

“Over the past 40 years, the Ayutthaya people travelled by boat. People bathed in the canal. There were a few roads. In 1980, the road was still lateritic soil, not asphalt road.”

However, people’s involvement with the water stream remains evident and it is reflected in products such as the fish mobile that will be discussed later.

Notion of Cohabitation: the feeling of cohabitation between Thais and foreigners. Ayutthaya was an important river port. In the beginning of the Ayutthaya era, foreigners travelled to Thailand for commerce and trading purposes; they lived and worked in the Kingdom of Thailand under the King’s patronage and protection until it become an aggregated community as we see today, for example, the French community, Japanese community, Dutch community, Indian community, and Portuguese community. From observation, the researcher has seen a chapel, mosque and temples located close to each other (Figure 5.17). All these represent the recognition of other cultures and compatible co-existence among Thai people.

5.7.2 Objective Cultural Capital

Physical objective capital such as paintings, work of arts, scientific instruments, books, monuments serve symbolically to convey the culture embodied in the goods. It consists of two types: old objective cultural capital and new objective cultural capital.

5.7.2.1 Old Objective Cultural Capital

Old objective cultural capital includes historic places, objects and cuisines. Not surprisingly, because Ayutthaya is a World Heritage site, there are many historical places recognized by

the local community. This reflects the cultural civilization of the past time, especially Buddhist beliefs in Thai society and is revealed by the great number of temples in Ayutthaya.

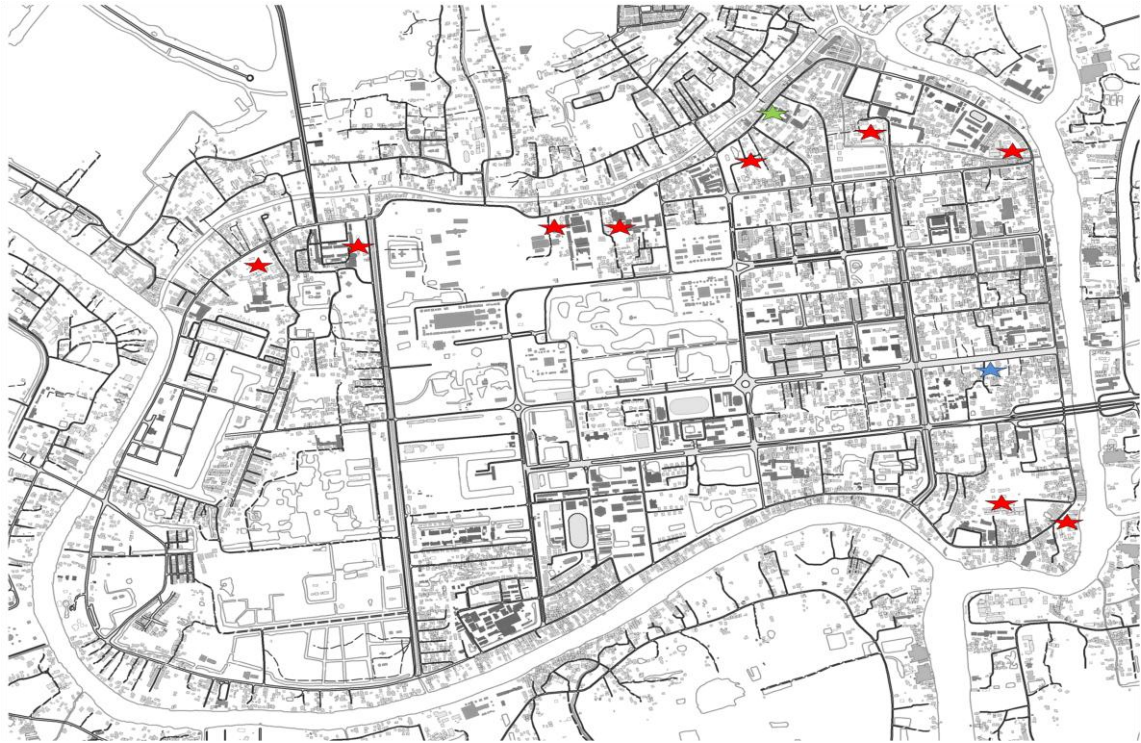


Figure 5.17 Location of temples, a chapel and a mosque.

- ★ Temple
- ★ Mosque
- ★ Chapel

For example Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit is an important temple in Ayutthaya (Figure 5.18). It is located adjacent to the primeval royal palace. Inside, it includes ancient respectable picturesque Buddha images worshipped by local villagers for over a century. Tourists usually visit the site before entering to view the Royal Palace. At the front of the temple are located many stores selling many kinds of local products, for example, fish mobiles made of palm leaf, basketworks, Aranyik knives, churned fruits and various desserts.



Figure 5.18 Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, Ayutthaya.

Among the cultural objects are fish mobiles. These are made from palm leaves. The shape of the fish is symbolic of Taphian. Taphian is a fresh-water fish normally found in rivers and canals. A Muslim merchant lived in boathouses where fish were regularly seen. From this inspiration, he invented a fish mobile made of palm leaf as toys for small children and sold them (Figure 5.19). Formerly, they were hung above the cradle. Babies would enjoy watching or trying to grasp these mobiles.

At present, the demand for them as toys is falling but the demand for attractive decorations to create a Thai atmosphere for the decoration of places such as hotels and houses is increasing. Some small ones are bought as souvenirs or gifts. Others are used as good luck charms for decorating houses and stores. It is believed that the taphian fish are sacred charms that bring good luck, wealth and prosperity to their owners. Thus, many sellers have hung them in their shops expecting wealth and prosperity in trading. For parents, hanging the fish mobile over their baby's cradle will make the baby be diligent and tolerant in life. This is because the meaning of the fish's name, 'phian' in Thai means 'effort'. According to M-3:

“In the past, the fish mobile was hung over the cradle for playing and blessing the kid to be diligent. At present, the mobile fish is hung within the shop with the belief that the business is profitable.”



Figure 5.19 A Thai fish mobile made of palm leaf.

Because the fish mobile is made of palm leaves, it decomposes easily and safely for the environment. It also reflects the way of life of Ayutthaya people, who have resided near the rivers and canals that are abundant with taphian fish and other kinds of fish. It is seen to symbolise the culture of Ayutthaya. Its production is a typical traditional home craft-industry in Ayutthaya that is available in on-site workshops as well as at souvenir shops beside Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit.

Churned jujube is a good example of cuisine cultural capital. At Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, churned jujube is available for tourists. Churned jujube is a dessert made of jujube. At

Ayutthaya, the churned jujube is made of local species from famous plantings nearby Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit. Because of being available, local people preserved jujubes as a dessert that became popular as a souvenir among tourists.

Churning is a method of food preservation. The process of churning starts with cleaning jujubes and drying them in the sunlight (Figure 5.20). Afterwards, dried jujubes are crushed and then mixed with some sugar, heating them and stirring with a paddle continuously until the texture becomes united. This is a laborious work. The churned jujube can be preserved for a long time because of the high fructose content.



Figure 5.20 Making churned jujube in Thailand.

Today, a few households produce churned jujube because it has been found that modern generation youth pay less attention to carrying on their parents' job. Modern people prefer less laborious work and seek other careers or work in the factories which may be a better paid job with a regular income. According to C-3:

“I earn a living on churned jujube succeeded from parents; I carry on this occupation throughout of my whole life. My children have neglected it as they perceive it as hard work. They preferred being employed at the factory with a monthly salary.”

The knowledge about making churned jujube has succeeded from generation to generation. It does not only maintain livelihoods, but also conserves the traditional culture.

5.7.2.2 *New Objective Cultural Capital*

New objective cultural capital or invented tradition has been developed in connection with existing cultural capital in which products and services are linked with the historic style of Ayutthaya. They include Roti Sai Mai, stone carving, elephant-riding services and transport to nine temples.

Roti Sai Mai (sugar filament roll): Bung Peer or Salem Saeng-aroon who is Muslim was the first producer and seller. He is now 66 years old. The sugar filament roll was developed from the crispy pancake of Muslim cuisine. The dough was fried in deep fat until crisply, topped with stewed sugar. Then, mistakes occurred in the sugar stewing process. The stewed sugar was lumped. By trial and error, it was stretched out into a filament. Experimentation lasted for over five years, eventually producing a sugar filament roll. The cooking method is to wrap the brown sugar filament with dough (Figure 5.21). It generates a profitable income. Other relatives were eventually invited to produce Roti Sai Mai.



Figure 5.21 Making Roti Sai Mai in Ayutthaya.

Initially, knowledge transfer of the sugar filament roll was practised in person in the Saeng-aroon family but later spread to relatives. Owners other than the Saeng-aroon family members mainly acquired knowledge and learnt by undertaking work as employees until they got the skills and then left to run their own business.

Currently, intellectual inheritance was changed into direct instruction by operators and short-term training by government agencies or occupational promotion groups. For example, people at the local prison have been taught how to make this food by Bung Peer. In 1995, knowledge transfer was made on air through a TV programme for the first time, dissemination was carried out through the print media, and vocational groups by means of short-term training.

With the historic atmosphere of Ayutthaya city, there are many ancient monuments and remains of Buddha images and antiques. In addition, there is also the attention of tourists and collectors to products that have been associated with the ancient city; the stone carvings that imitate the ancient things have become an income-generating occupation.

Stone carvings made from granite are reproduced from impressive Buddhist and Khmer art objects such as Buddha images in various postures, Hindu gods, Hindu angels, animals (Figure 5.22). To create a certain atmosphere of Buddhist and Khmer charm, god figures or Buddha images are objects of worship highly praised by audiences while carved stones with animal figures are splendid for decorating a building or garden. Sculptural knowledge has descended from a community leader's family. Granite used in sculpture is derived from the Wangnamkhiew district, Nakhon Rachasima, which is around a two-hour drive from Ayutthaya. It is expensive to transport.

Mostly each piece of work is done by one carver from start to finish. Generally, carvers are family members who have inherited the art from their parents. Depending on the complexity of the patterns and the size of the work, one piece may be finished within a few days or in 10 years. At present, there are about 10 family workshops engaged in the stone craft industry or at Napratamnak community.



Figure 5.22 Stone carving in Ayutthaya.

An elephant is an important animal to Thailand and has been designated as being characteristic of the nation. In the past, the elephant was an animal complementary to the King's virtue. It's also a vehicle for nobles. However, elephants do not normally stay in Ayutthaya, but they are currently employed in Ayutthaya as a symbol of an important creature in Thai history and they also link with the historic style of Ayutthaya, consequently they have become a symbol of a tourist attraction city.

Ayutthaya's elephant corral provides the visitors with an elephant-riding service and elephant show; for example, elephant dancing and elephant fighting. It was established in February 17, 1997, with the contributions from the Department of Fine Arts, and the Tourism Authority of Thailand. It is located on an approximately 2-rai area. These elephants are driven from the elephant's village located beyond the World Heritage site to the corral about 15 minutes away. In the elephant's village, there are almost 200 elephants. Visitors are closely exposed to experiences with the elephant's livelihood. There are homestay accommodations available. Visitors can learn the way elephants are fed, trained and controlled by elephant keepers. In the

World Heritage site, an elephant-riding service is available every day and the elephant performing show is opened on Saturdays and Sundays (Figure 5.23).

Transport to the nine temples is an invented tradition which has been developed and linked with Thai culture and Buddhism. The Tourism Authority of Thailand holds an activity entitled ‘Transport to Nine Temples’ for people and tourists to travel and visit the holy temples auspiciously and has been regarded as the winning start for a happy life, based on Thai folk stories and beliefs. It also opens visitors to recognize the value of historic places and to promote tourism and temple development as sustainable tourist attractions.

The number nine is used because it represents auspiciousness in Thai folklore. Transport to the nine temples emerged in the King Rama IX’s reign of Rattanakosin Period (1946-present). ‘Transport to Nine Temples’ begins at the temples in the Bangkok territory; later, it became famous in several provinces, especially in Ayutthaya where it incorporates the temples and remarkable historic places. The tourism agencies offer tourists attractive travel programmes, including ‘Transport to Nine Temples’. Commercial public relations and marketing strategies have been implemented to reach prospective tourists of any age, and extended to foreign visitors, particularly Asian tourists who prefer religion-cultural tourism.



Figure 5.23 Elephant-riding service in Ayutthaya.

5.7.3 Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Institutionalized cultural capital is institutional recognition. Mostly it is in the form of credentials or qualifications. This may lead to a higher income or access to higher social networks.

As discussed previously, the Historic City of Ayutthaya was proclaimed by UNESCO as the 'Cultural World Heritage site', on December 13, 1991. The nomination process was administered by the government exclusively, not by the community or local villagers, to establish the development plan for the World Heritage site. The UNESCO proclamation for Ayutthaya as the World Heritage site optimally is an institutional recognition reflecting the significance in terms of the institutional cultural capital. The proclamation from the international organization caused Ayutthaya to become well known at the international level and become an international tourist attraction that generates the enormous income for the local people and community. As B-2 said:

"Since the Historic City of Ayutthaya was proclaimed as the 'World Heritage site of Ayutthaya", the number of tourists has increased and the number of tourist buses increased as well."

In addition to the World Heritage site, Thailand has its own system of recognizing cultural products. 'OTOP' which stands for 'One Tambon One Product' is a project initiated by the government. It aims to have community villagers adopt local wisdom to develop local products under the government support. That support is technical knowledge and management to link the local products to both domestic and international markets through online shops and internet channels. Also, it is aimed at bringing growth to the community and enhance people's quality of life. To achieve this, it is necessary to pursue effective production and local resource allocation, and produce quality distinct products consistently with individual local culture. The invention and presentation of products shall be executed by community people for the product to be granted the title as an 'OTOP product'. The 'OTOP product' is local institutional recognition reflected the significance in terms of the institutional cultural capital. Ayutthaya OTOP products include fish mobiles, Roti Sai Mai, Thai silk, and the Aranyik knives.

Cultural capital is a very important type of capital. Cultural capital reflects the history and area's background. The culture that has been embedded is transformed into an object and an

symbol that generates the community income acceptably, for example, fish mobiles, Roti Sai Mai and historical places.

5.8 Summary

In summary, the different types of capital are important and enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood goals. In an urban area like the Historic City of Ayutthaya, financial capital is the most important. This is because there is insufficient land to produce food. Most earnings come from the sale of labour by workers. Furthermore, access to credit is a crucial factor for transacting the goods and services that are necessary to one's livelihood. Most access to credit here is informal loans that are associated with social capital.

Being healthy and being well-educated or getting skills training for professionals are also crucial to generate earnings. This results in a positive impact on workmanship or increases human capital. However, because of its scarcity, natural capital is much less important to urban area and fewer urban people rely on natural resources as their productive resource but it can promote tourism and recreation activities. Natural resources for productive purposes usually come from outside areas. Obviously, natural capital is associated with financial capital directly and indirectly. The more natural capital available, the more financial capital is generated. In addition, natural capital can promote recreation activities, leading to the development of people's health or human capital. In addition, housing is an important physical capital in terms of productivity and income generation. For example, dividing a house into small rooms for rent or sparing some area for small shop, is a simple way to increase financial capital.

In the area, social capital in terms of networks and reciprocity exists among neighbours and community members. It includes loans, food provision and help in emergencies. When social networks develop, trust among members can increase. The more social capital is developed, the less expense is occurred in making agreements, but leads to an increase in financial capital. Importantly, cultural capital, which is embodied in people's livelihood and transformed to objective cultural capital such historic places, cuisine and cultural products, are conducive to an increase in financial capital or generating community income. Vulnerability and transforming structures and processes will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Results: Vulnerability and Transforming Structures and Processes

6.1 Introduction

After presenting the context of the various forms of capitals in chapter 6, the vulnerability context and transforming structures and processes are presented in this chapter. To understand the chapter structure clearer, the chapter structure and its subtopics are shown in Figure 1.2. This chapter aims to give an understanding of the livelihood context that has an important influence on building livelihood strategies and determines access to capital. The first part of this chapter presents context of vulnerability. It outlines the insecurity and trends in the area that may greatly affect the local people's livelihood and their capitals directly. Vulnerability consists of 1) shocks, 2) trends and 3) seasonality. The second part presents transforming structures and processes which are the context of policies, institutions and processes in the study area. Transforming structures and processes are finally discussed in terms of the local organizations' objectives, cooperation and policies affecting people's livelihood.

6.2 Vulnerability

As discussed in chapter 3, vulnerability is characterized by insecurity in the well-being of individuals, households, and communities in the face of changes in their external environment. In each area, it includes shocks, trends and seasonality at varying degrees, depending on natural context, social context, local earning and productivity factors. In the study area, the only shock is expropriation while trends are 1) the increase in number of tourists, 2) the increase in working in manufacturing sector, and 3) Inequality of access to income-generating activities in the area. In addition, local seasonality is manifested via seasonal calendar, which information in detail is discussed as follows.

6.2.1 Shocks

A shock in the study area is expropriation. The Historic City of Ayutthaya included communities, villagers' houses and government facilities that have impacted on the historic sites because these constructions were located adjacent to and eclipsed the picturesque landscape of the historic places. To improve and organize the community's harmony with the historic city, a development and improvement plan has been established for the Historic City

of Ayutthaya under the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya. Residences and constructions have been expropriated and the residents moved to newly allotted areas because the buildings have eclipsed ancient monuments and reduced the value of the historic places. The government paid compensation to those affected. The annual number of households expropriated is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 The number of expropriated households and governmental facilities in Ayutthaya.

Year	Number of Expropriated Households	Number of Expropriated Government Facilities
1995	23	-
1996	40	2
1997	58	-
1998	17	15
1999	52	13
2000	68	5
2001	76	6
2002	78	3
2003	11	-
Total	423	44

Source : The Department of Fine Arts, (n.d., p.1)

Compensation was paid to only 405 land owners; other land owners will not be compensated because their construction invaded the territory of the historic places. The compensation included the following: materials and supplies costs (100% compensation of construction costs for a concrete house; 50-60% compensation of construction cost for a wooden house because the material can be reused in reconstruction); demolition and reconstruction costs (30% compensation of demolitions cost and wages); transport costs (10,000 baht for a small house and 20,000 baht for a large house); land (land was allotted based on the former land size plus 20-30 sq.Wah (0.008-0.012 hectares) by the Department of Fine Arts). In addition, industrial plant expropriation has been carried out including a distillery and its workers' houses. Such relocation has affected the expropriated people in many ways.

When people's homes have been expropriated, it is only a minority that got a better livelihood. Former lands and residences were crowded; the newly allotted lands are spacious, resulting in reduced congestion for the living. As A-1 said:

“It’s not so bad. I acquired additional land plot, increasing from 120 to 200 square metres. It’s no longer crowded and no impact on my occupation. My house just was expropriated, but I can run trading at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit as usual.”

Although some have a better livelihood from expropriation, most expropriated people have a worse livelihood. Expropriation has affected earnings. Some have had to change career with a reduced income. In some communities where people had career security, for example, King U-thong Monument community whose stone sculptures are famous among tourists. This community had to relocate to a new community, Napratamnak community, which is far from tourist attractions and lacks tourism promotion and support from government. The people’s income has reduced sharply. Many households inevitably changed career. Only a few households with existing customers can survive in their original occupation (Box 3, p.124). According to L-1:

“When I lived at the King U-thong monument community, I earned my living on stone sculpture. But now there are no longer tourists as usual when I moved to here. Currently, there are a few sculptors left, and it’s expected to reduce in number constantly. Many sculptors need to change their occupation. The antique collection outlets are so quiet without tourist visits. Some moved out to look up new location. Life is more difficult.”

The loss of the occupation means the gradual loss of local wisdom. At the Napratamnak community, for example, some people could not keep earning a living by stone sculpture. This reduced the importance of sculptural artwork and eventually led to the loss of local wisdom. Consequently, not only is there loss of knowledge, but also there is hopelessness in life in their own occupation. Thus local people need to work outside their community. There is also little government support.

Not only had the expropriated people lost their old social capital, they had to establish new social capital. Expropriation led to the loss of social networks that had been developed in the community over years. The relocated people needed to start building a new social network in the new community; this process takes time to build the trust in each other to generate a strong social network. As L-2 said:

“After relocating, I’ve known a few of the people and we did not chat much. This is because many people from different communities were gathered round in a new community. We feel unfamiliar to each other. We had a chance to talk to each other only when the community activity was held. Building relationships and trust among community members would take a long time.”

The relocated people had been granted the compensation for the new allotment or construction. However, some affected people considered such compensation inequitable and lower than the value of their land and house. In some cases, the Department of Fine Arts provided a new house to affected people but the people claim that the quality of the new constructions and houses were not as good as the old houses, so they had to pay additional expenses for house improvements and additions. As A-3 stated:

“Besides the land the Department of Fine Arts allotted for me, I was also supported 200,000 baht compensation, but it’s not enough. I had to seek for additional sources of funds to build a new house.”

For people who were not expropriated, they also worry that they will be expropriated in the future because: 1) their residential areas are King’s Land, of which they are not actual land owners, they have to pay the Treasury Department a rental on a yearly basis; 2) the areas are also in the territory of an historic place. Along with the reasons discussed previously, this causes those people to feel insecure living in the area. As A-2 stated:

“Many years ago, there is a rumour of expropriating residences around here. Although I still stay here, I always worry about moving one day. Instead of paying attention to earning for living, I have to think about the solution if I have to move. This makes me stressful.”

Expropriation of property was found to be the only shock factor in the study area. Because most local people earned their living as employees in factories and some have engaged in tourism industry, the expropriation of their residences and workplaces could affect their occupation, mental health and social condition. However, natural changes such as drought conditions and epidemics in animals and agricultural crops are not considered the shock in the study area or urban area. These changes are shocks that have adverse effects on rural people

as their agricultural occupation heavily relies on the natural climate and environment. In case of flood, the municipality provides the effective flood protection system (see section 5.5). However, local trends are regarded as another vulnerability.

6.2.2 Trends

Besides shock, trends can also shape livelihoods and determine people's strategies. Trends have greatly influenced the rate of return (economic or otherwise) that people use to choose their livelihood strategies. In the study area, there are three major trends: 1) an increase in the number of tourists, 2) an increased number working in the manufacturing sector, and 3) inequality of access to income-generating activities in the area.

6.2.2.1 Increase in the number of tourists

The increased number of tourists is due to promotion by the government and the growth of tourist attractions around the study area, for example, Ayutthaya Floating Market. Tourism in Ayutthaya has been growing for the past 11 years. The number of tourists tended to increase from 1998-2008 (Figure 6.1). This led to a continuous increase in tourism-based income as shown in Figure 6.2. Tourism growth in Ayutthaya resulted from tourism promotion activities throughout the year, for example, 'boat transport to nine temples', conservation tourism, sightseeing of historic sites by steam locomotive along the Bangkok-Ayutthaya road and sightseeing boats. The World Heritage status is used as selling point to attract both Thai and foreign tourists.

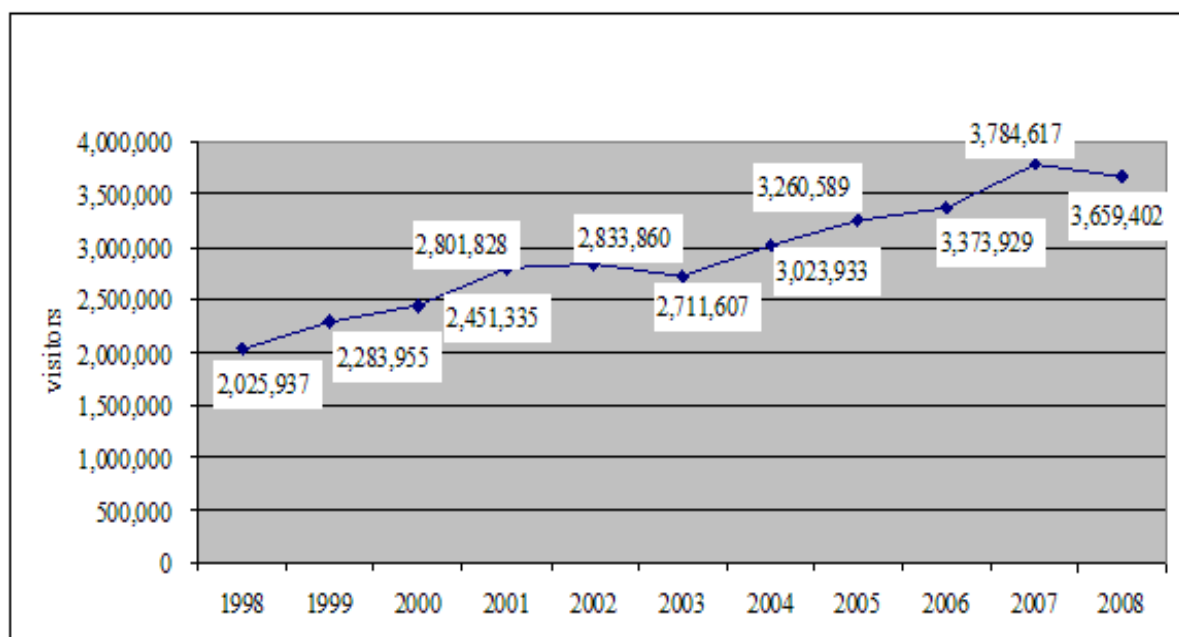


Figure 6.1 Number of visitors to Thailand, 1998-2008.

Source : Tourism Authority of Thailand, (n.d.(a), p.1)

Tourism growth surrounding the World Heritage area also attracted tourists to attractions in the World Heritage site, for example, Ayothaya Floating Market, a conservation tourist attraction, located outside the City Isle. It is around a 15-minute drive from the World Heritage site. It is a tourist destination that reflects the traditional way of people's lives and, livelihoods, through involvement with a watercourse that is hardly found today.

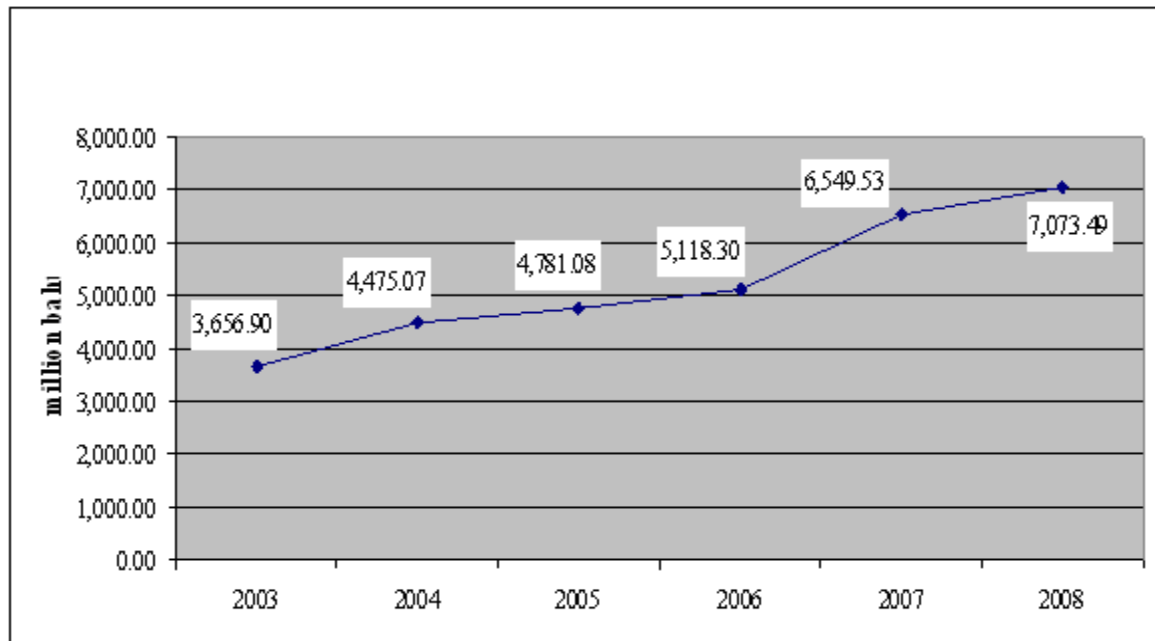


Figure 6.2 Thailand's Revenue from tourism, 2003-2008.

Source : Tourism Authority of Thailand, (n.d.(a), p.1)

The floating market includes a food zone; in boats and along the river bank, and numerous souvenir shops. Additionally, there is a variety of local activities, for example, Khon (Thai dramas enacting scenes from the Ramayana performed by dancers wearing masks), Thai traditional dances, Thai folklore songs, musical drama on stage in the middle of the water, elephant riding and horse riding.

For these reasons, various tourism activities can be seen in the Ayutthaya province. In the past, the main tourist attractions of Ayutthaya were in the World Heritage site, for example, worshipping at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and sightseeing in the important historic places. However, in the case of the Ayothaya Floating Market, despite being located outside the World Heritage site, it provides interesting things that attract visitors to travel there, buy novel products, and experience Thai-traditional performances that are not seen at the World Heritage site. This reflects the different things that attract various tourists. With a short distance between Ayothaya Floating Market and the World Heritage site, a growing number

of tourists visit Ayutthaya to experience the multiple tourism activities inside and outside the World Heritage site.

6.2.2.2 Increase in working in the manufacturing sector

During 2006-2010, the number of manufacturing plants in Ayutthaya increased (Figure 6.3), so the demand for labour increased. The figure for employed positions in the first quarter of 2010 was less than the vacancies (Figure 6.4 and 6.5). This shows that the factories still need many workers because applicants have not met the factories' requirements. Most vacancies in the industrial sectors require workers with a vocational education level (Figure 6.6).

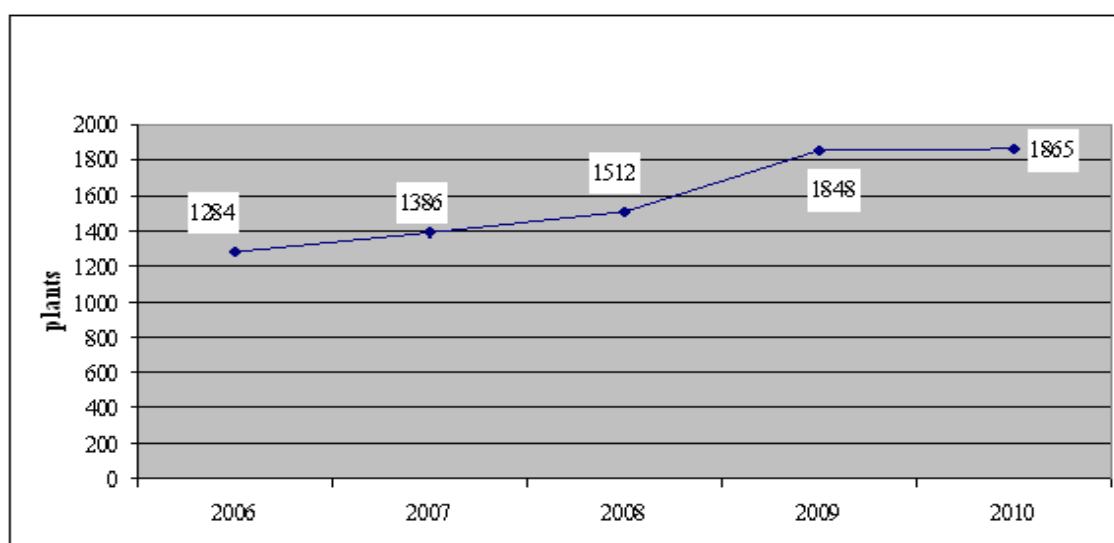


Figure 6.3 Number of plants: 2006-2010.

Source : Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, (2009, p.117)

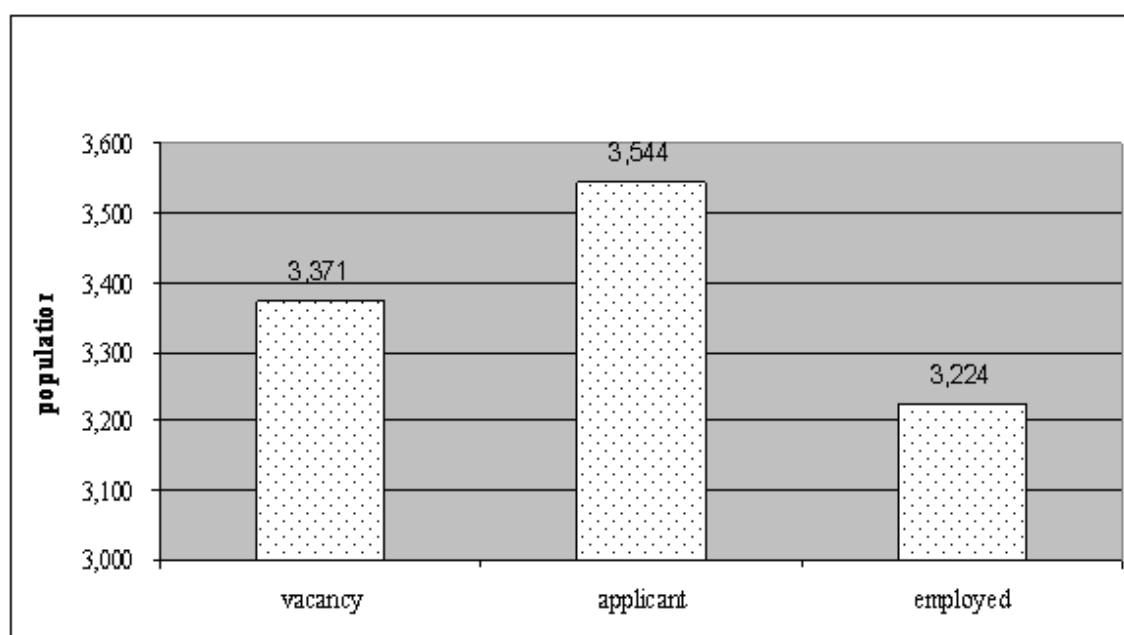


Figure 6.4 Number of job vacancies, applicants and employed 2010.

Source : Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.13)

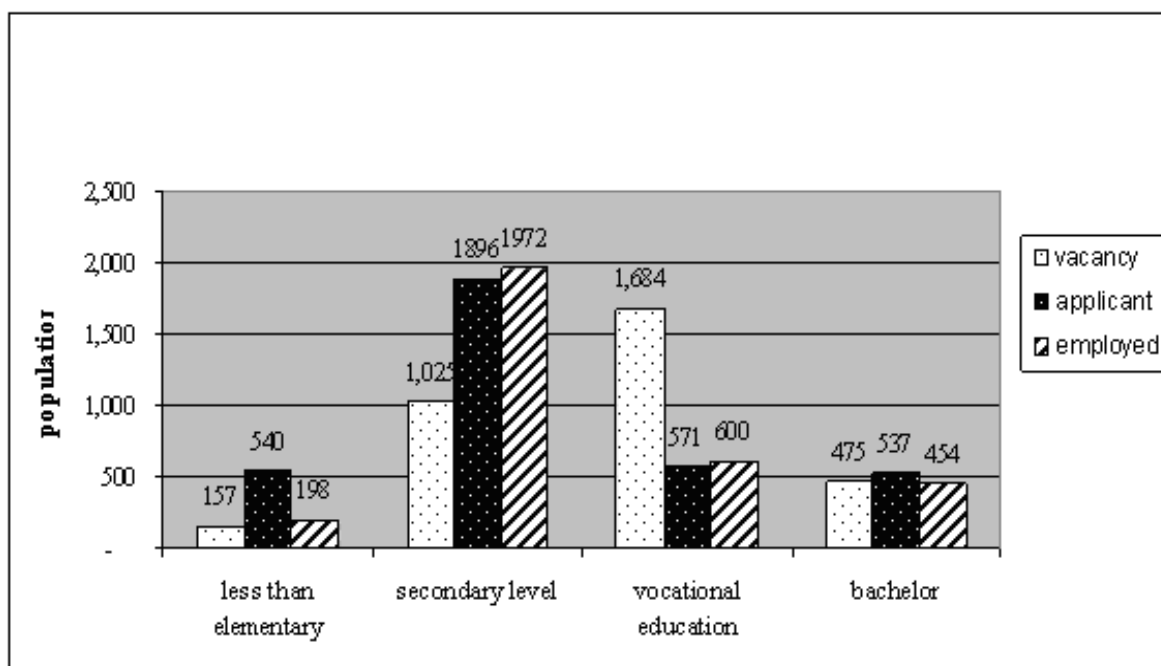


Figure 6.5 Number of job vacancies, applicants and employed by level of education attainment: 2010.

Source: Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.13)

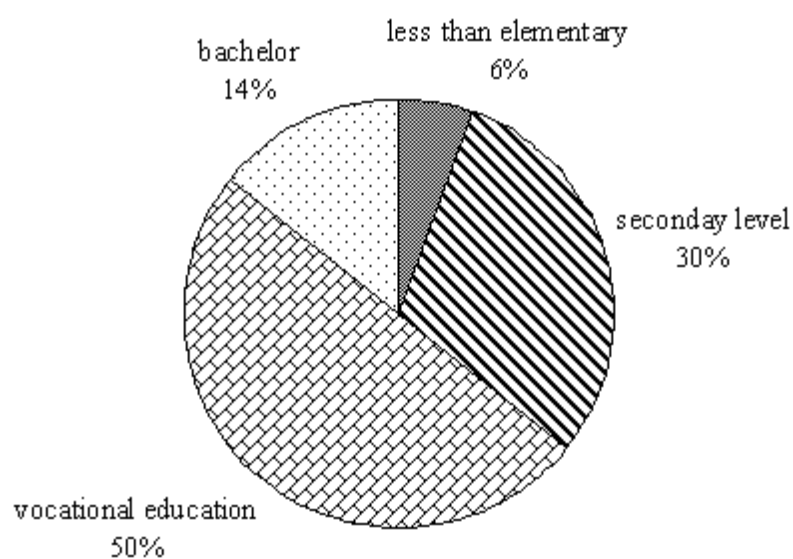


Figure 6.6 Number of job vacancies by level of education attainment 2010.

Source : Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, (2010, p.13)

The shortage of skilled workers reflects the urgent need for skilled labourers all over the industrial sector in Ayutthaya. This results in young workers moving to the industrial sector. It also increases the influx of migrant workers and international workers. From the interviews,

many households have at least one member working in a factory. According to informants L-1, B-3, A-3 and F-2:

“My two sons graduated with a masters degree. One works in Chiangmai province as a programmer. The other works in a factory around here.”

and

“I only have a son. He works in a factory in Bangpain Industrial Estate.”

and

“My daughter works in a factory in Uthai district and my son works in a post office here.”

and

“I have two sons and one daughter. One son serves as worker in Ayutthaya City Municipality and another one works in a factory in Bangpain Industrial Estate. And my daughter married and moved to be in Pathumthani province.”

6.2.2.3 Inequality of Access to Income-generating Activities in the Area

Inequality of access for income-generating activities in the area brings conflicts. Most operations in historic places are small to middle businesses such as a small food store in a row building, a grocery shop, or photocopying businesses. Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit has seen conflict among traders for a long time, see Box 2, p.107.

Despite the area offering better opportunities to earn an income, it should be realized that not all local people have equal access to income or employment because the rental fee for stores is costly and the availability of legally licensed stores is limited. A community member (F-3) said that she could not sell at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit:

“I could not do merchandising at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit because of its costly rental. Indeed, the shops provided are few, but the merchandisers are many. This may led to competition for the rental area. I have insufficient money to rent such a trading area.”

Moreover, while the ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ festival is held for 10 days and can stimulate the local economy greatly, local people have limited access to income-generating activities during this festival. The event included a variety of activities, for

example, shows concerning the history of Ayutthaya, the traditional way of living during the Ayutthaya period, local Thai musical contests, art and culture shows, Thai uniqueness shows, an OTOP exhibition, food and flower selling. It's regarded as an attractive festival that attracts a large amount of money into circulation, which is greatly beneficial to the local community. People earn greater income on festive day; this event is found only once a year. Private individuals or organizations bid at auction to capture zone stores and expand their business, resulting in stalls being so expensive that local people did not have sufficient buying power to access opportunities to trade. Most traders that can capture zone stores are outsiders not local people. This reflects inequality of access for income-generating activities in the area. F-3 summarized this situation well:

“Selling at the ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ festival is something difficult for general community members to access because a number of powerful outsiders usually win zone stores by auction. Further, they plan to divide the winning zone into smaller areas for other sellers at a costly price.”

6.2.3 Seasonality

Seasonality can also has an influence on people's livelihood and building livelihood strategies. Most information concerning the seasonal vulnerability in the study area was obtained through the seasonality calendar, which enabled exploration of the pressures on livelihoods and how this varied throughout the year (Table 6.2).

In addition to general expenses such as rental, meals and medical expenses, parents with school-age children are also responsible for the expense of children's education such as tuition fees, textbooks and uniforms for both the first semester (beginning of May) and second semester (beginning of November). These expenses cause parents' financial stress. For those engaged in tourism businesses, the profit is lucrative during the high season when extraordinary activities are conducted in the Historic City of Ayutthaya, for example, Songkran Day (13 April -15 April), the festival 'Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya' (13 - 19 December) and New Year's Day (30 December – 2 January). Moreover, during the semester time, they also get some income from the student tourists who usually travel to the historic city of Ayutthaya. Most educational institutions contribute to the students visit for the field trip. This is a time to make a profit from tourism. However, during the first semester school vacation (31 March – 16 May) and second semester school vacation (10 October – 1

November), the income from student tourists decreases.

Table 6.2 The seasonality calendar in Ayutthaya, Thailand.

Date	Issue	Details
31 March – 16 May	School vacations	Normally, up-country schools take numerous students to visit the Historic City of Ayutthaya for field trips. Consequently, the souvenir shops' sales increase greatly. However, the number of student tourists reduces during vacations.
31 March – Mid May	Seeking employment	After graduation, graduates have to seek employment while companies recruit new employees.
13 April – 15 April	Songkran Day	Songkran Day is regarded as New Year for Thailand, or so-called 'Family Day', where relatives gather and the water ceremony is held to ask the elderly the blessing, to recall and show gratitude towards ancestors. Traditionally, Thai and foreign tourists splash water cheerfully and enjoyably during the Songkran Festival. Shopping and festive parties look vivacious and happily alive. Those activities cost money. This attractive festival attracts a large amount of money into circulation.
The beginning of May	School fees (semester 1)	Parents are responsible for paying tuition fees, uniforms, stationery, textbooks, etc.
10 Oct – 1 Nov	School vacations	Normally, up-country schools take numerous students to visit the Historic City of Ayutthaya for field trips. Consequently, the souvenir shops' sales increase greatly. However, the number of student tourists reduces during vacations.
The beginning of November	School fees (semester 2)	Parents are responsible for paying tuition fees, uniforms, stationery, textbooks, etc.
13 Dec -19 Dec	'Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya'	The sound of a colourful performance show describe the history of Ayutthaya, the people's way of living in the Ayutthaya period, local musical contest, art and culture shows and Thai uniqueness, selling OTOP products, food and flowers. A large income is generated in the locality. Certainly, it is beneficial to the local community because people go shopping while traders gain an income.
29 Dec – 2 Jan	New Year's Day	'New Year's Day' is regarded as the beginning of the year. People typically hold parties and celebrations while relatives gather as big families. The government sets and extends a greater number of vacation days during the New Year's Day festival. Shopping and buying souvenirs occurs.

6.3 Transforming Structures and Processes

Transforming structures and processes shape people's livelihoods. They also impact on people's ability to achieve a feeling of inclusion and well-being. It consists of: 1) transforming structures and 2) the processes.

6.3.1 Transforming Structures

In the study area, the two major organizations for area management are the Department of Fine Arts and the Ayutthaya City Municipality. The following important issues of area management are presented as follows: 1) lack of inter-department integration and 2) failure of legal enforcement.

Lack of inter-department integration: Departments at the national and local level have different goals and directions. There is a lack of inter-department coordination among national-level departments in how the historic places should be managed given the twin goals of ancient monument preservation and industrial development. The study area is an historic place proclaimed as a 'Cultural World Heritage site' that is focused on conservation and protection. At the same time many districts (Bangpail, Bangsai, Uthai, Wangnoi, Nakornluang), which are about 30 km away from the World Heritage site, were proclaimed as investment promotion zones, leading to the construction of five industrial estates and a great number of immigrant workers moving to the City Isle. Most workers prefer living in the City Isle than living near their factories because there are many apartments, shopping malls, markets, night markets, clinics, hospitals, academic institutes, and so on, in the City Isle. Plants also provide the convenience of transportation with passenger buses traveling between the City Isle and plants located on the outskirts of the island and districts. While a great number of workers migrate to the City Isle, it also results in a growing number of businesses and services, environmental invasion and eventually ancient city atmosphere destruction (Figure 6.7). In the ancient city, the plan requires that the construction and subsequent development should be in accordance with the architecture. For example, the roof should be Thai-style with proper colours not a colourful modern style building that may destroy the ancient city atmosphere.

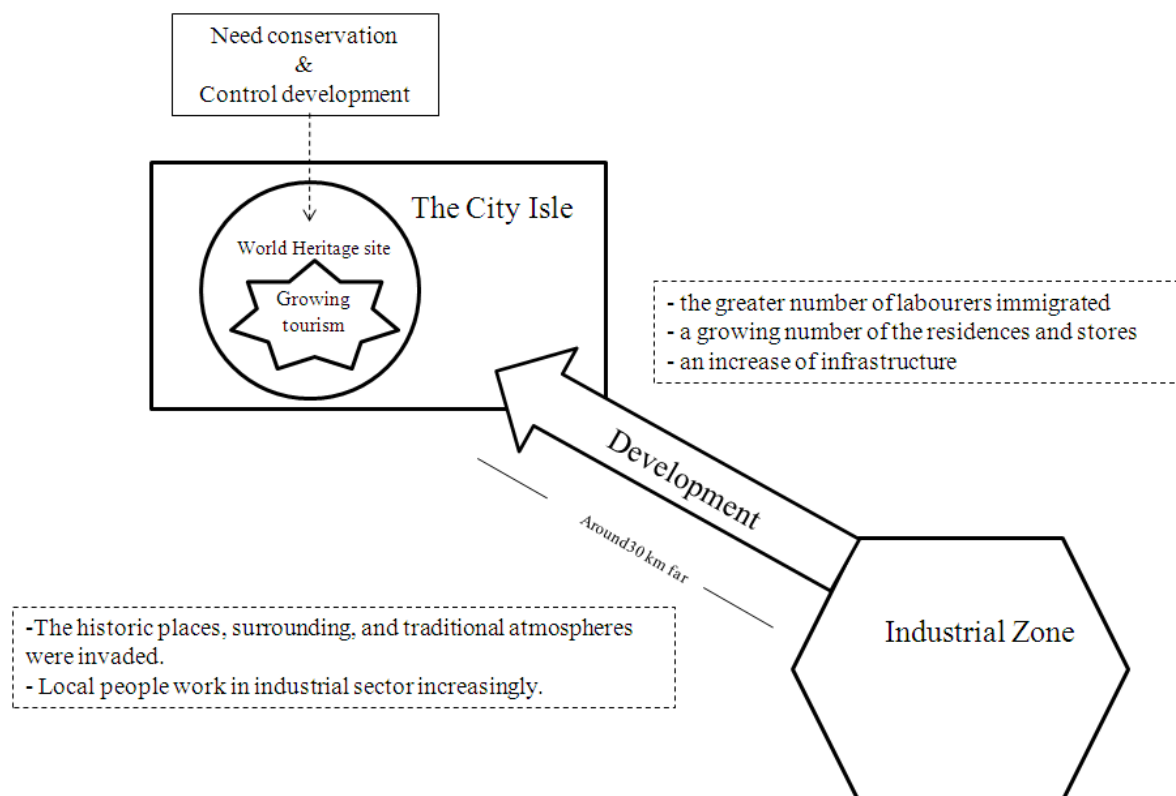


Figure 6.7 Interaction with Industrial growth around the Ayutthaya study area.

The major goals and core activities undertaken vary from department to department. The Department of Fine Arts is responsible for managing the historic sites and the historic city of Ayutthaya, focusing on conserving and restoring historic sites and surroundings, restricting the urban expansion and growth to outside the World Heritage site. The Ayutthaya City Municipality is a local administrative organization of which the mayor was elected by the local people. Its responsibility is concentrated on developing local people's quality of life, protecting the community members from being moved, contributing to urban development and infrastructure, effective telecommunication, as well as public order and amenities (Figure 6.8). According to an officer of The Department of Fine Arts:

"It's evident that the objectives set out by the Ayutthaya City Municipality and the Department of Fine Arts was discrepant. The Municipality was seeking to respond to people's needs, whereas the objectives of the Department of Fine Arts that desired to conserve the historic sites. The Municipality desired that local people were fulfilled with convenience and sources of earning while the Department of Fine Arts desired to control the civilization in the historic site."

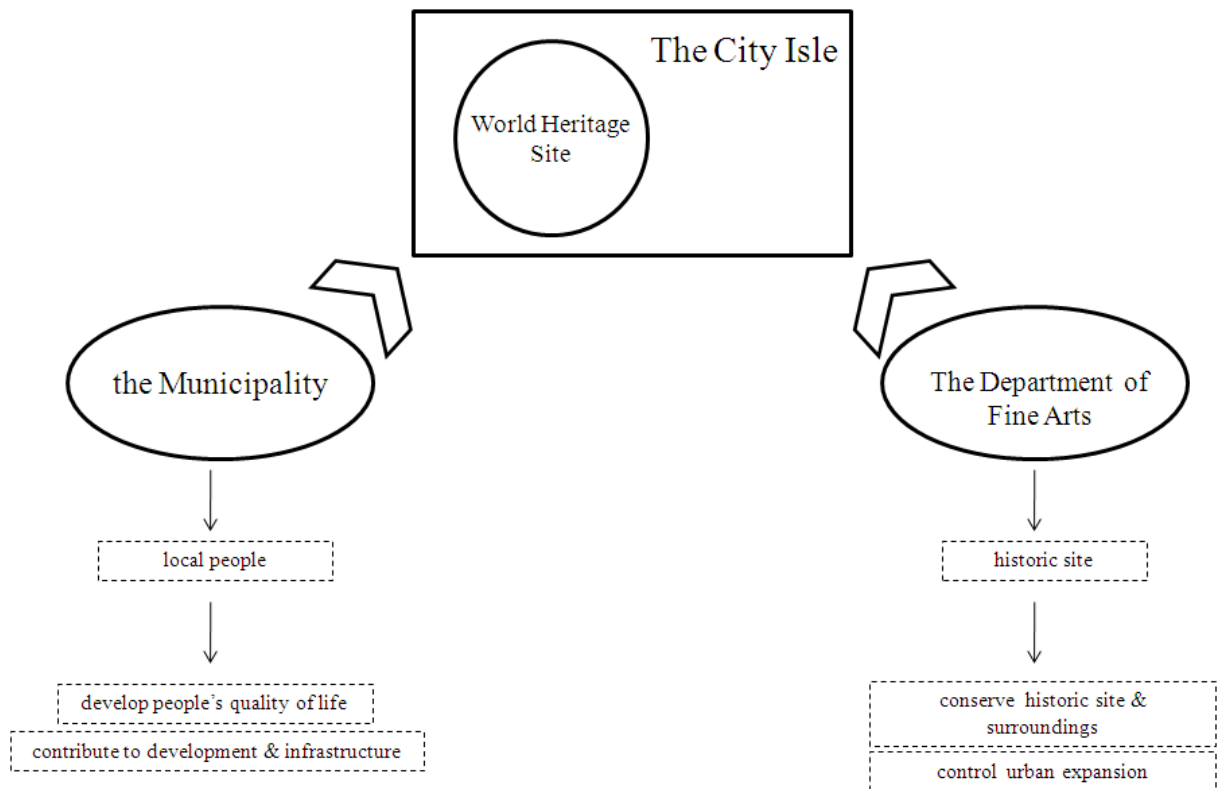


Figure 6.8 Responsibilities of Ayutthaya City Municipality and the Department of Fine Arts.

In addition, there was a lack of mutual coordination between the two major local departments in developing practices in the same direction. The parties did not know whether to focus on local historic site preservation or area development. Nor did they know the point of balance between development and preservation. Municipal development mainly concentrated on the infrastructural development and public service and utilities where up to 61.69% of the overall budget was needed (Ayutthaya City Municipality, 2009). Those projects focused on area development and no projects were identified for development along with historic site preservation or keeping the historic site sustainable.

Failure of legal enforcement: as earlier mentioned in Box 2, p.107, illegal invasion into historic sites like Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit by stores has emerged over recent years but there was no enforcement until there were almost 400 stores, leading to dissatisfaction among traders and competition for customers. In addition, the amenity of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit was eclipsed by the stores and buildings, which caused untidiness. Once a warning notice was given by the local organization, the merchants gathered resistance and denied relocation. Such resistance was mostly successful, reflecting the ineffectiveness of local legal enforcement. As an officer of the Ayutthaya City Municipality said:

“The Department of Fine Arts, in collaboration with the Ayutthaya City Municipality, provided the area for those invading merchants. Such provision area by the organizations provided stores with a yellow tent roof located near the Thai-style stores (Figure 6.9), but they were not accepted by invading merchants, reasoning that it was for a place where no tourists walked by and how they could sell goods because it far from a parking lot. At any time they were expelled by the local organizations, they gathered to protest at the front of Government House and eventually nothing happened; they stayed the same.”



Figure 6.9 The yellow tent roof located near Thai-style stores.

6.3.2 Processes

Processes include policies, legislation, institutions, cultural and power relations. From this study and the interviews, important processes in the area are the development policies of the Ayutthaya City Municipality, the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, the City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975), the Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961) and Building Control Act B.E. 2522 (1979). The details of the Master Plan and the Acts were given in section 2.5.1-2.5.4. Those processes have affected people's livelihood and can shape the livelihood strategies of local people livelihoods which will now be discussed as follows: 1) policy for area management revealed the lack of preparation for local people's understanding, 2) lack of a community participation policy concerning World Heritage management and 3) capital enhancement.

Policy for area management revealed the lack of preparation for local people's understanding: local people lacked understanding of the meaning of the word 'World

Heritage’ and did not know exactly why Ayutthaya City was proclaimed a World Heritage site, and how they should live in the territory of the World Heritage site to bring about the development for the community way of life without adversely impacting on the World Heritage site. According to an officer of the Department of Fine Arts:

“I’ve worked here for 20 years. I understand that most local people and some government officers never knew what the World Heritage is, why Ayutthaya City became one of the World Heritage sites. If you question these people, they may answer that because Ayutthaya is an ancient city and becoming a World Heritage site means a 10-day celebratory event entitled ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ at the end of every year.”

In the past, people were familiar with the fact that debris was part of their life because people had observed the debris in the historic places since they were young. The residential buildings were constructed adjacent to the pagoda’s basement but they did not have any feelings of historic place destruction. Even though they are proud as people of Ayutthaya, a city with an abundance of historic places, they didn’t recognize the need for conservation, yet they lived naturally with these historic places. According to L-2 and C-3:

“I’ve seen the historic places since I was young. I saw them every day while walking to the school. I haven’t been heard much of conservation, except when it became the World Heritage site.”

and

“I’ve seen the historic places since I was born. I’m accustomed to seeing them. Conservation was not addressed much in the past.”

After becoming a World Heritage site, local organizations did not carry out promotional activity seriously so that people do not understand the meaning of being the World Heritage of Ayutthaya City, nor how to live with the World Heritage site harmoniously. It also enhances less feeling of pride in the world heritage than pride in the ancestors of the Historic City of Ayutthaya. There was neither a plan to reinforce the knowledge and understanding of the World Heritage site in the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, nor knowledge of enhancement from local organizations on how to live with the World Heritage site harmoniously. As a result, the people invaded the historic places and exploited the heritage

site. Most public relations activity highlighted tourism, attracting the tourists to visit the historic places and conducting the annual exhibition fair until many people thought that World Heritage simply means to launch the outlets entitled ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ at the end of every year. According to an officer of the Ayutthaya City Municipality:

“They [local organizations] have never carried out the public relation activity that makes people’s sense a pride in World Heritage. That was the very reason why invasion was obvious prevailingly at the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and the problems remained unsolved.”

Lack of a community participation policy concerning World Heritage management:

local people never perceived anything from applying and registering Ayutthaya City as a World Heritage site. They did not know what advantages and disadvantages came from becoming a World Heritage site. It became necessary that they were submissive to changes after Ayutthaya was proclaimed as a World Heritage site, for example, the restricted area for development. According to an officer of Ayutthaya City Municipality:

“Since the Master Plan has not placed importance on public participation, the community members have never been clarified about how they would be advantaged or disadvantaged pertaining to their living with a World Heritage site.”

This is consistent with K-1, a local person, who said:

“Only the council of few ministers played a role in pursuing the World Heritage issue and they never asked if the people wanted the World Heritage.”

In addition, local people were not engaged in setting out the development direction that meets the actual needs of the local people and not affect the World Heritage status. Non-participation removes people from the sense of belonging and they did not gain any benefits from the World Heritage status or World Heritage preservation. As result people were not motivated to partake in protecting or conserving the World Heritage site. According to an officer of the Department of Fine Arts:

“Over the past, it seemed like that the Department of Fine Arts worked with placing somewhat less importance on public feeling. For example, the officers themselves consult and decide where the sculpturing families should be moved to. After they already made the decision, they just informed their decision-making to the community members.”

This report was consistent with people’s feelings. As K-1 said:

“Whatever the Department of Fine Arts has done to restore the historic sites, they never asked what people’s opinions were. They simply decided within the organization and jumped to the conclusion that people like them and issued the written order without public opinion.”

Capital enhancement: the policy on capital enhancement of the general public was carried out. That is for human capital increase and development, including ‘the Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’ or so-called ‘30 baht free for curing every disease’, and the Community Medical Unit. Both projects were aimed at enabling the general public access to health and medical care easily.

Moreover, human capital enhancement in terms of short course training has received support. For example, the Tourism Authority of Thailand provides English courses for the motor tricycle drivers to increase English communication skills. The director of the Tourism Authority of Thailand stated:

“Because our tourists include both Thai and foreigners, the English course established is aimed to improve the motor tricycle drivers spoken English skills necessary to communicate with the foreign tourists more smoothly.”

It also established communities for social capital enhancement through community and municipal activities to promote unity and reduce the differences in urban people. Community problems and needs were examined and co-decision-making and self-problem-solving to strengthen the community were implemented. The establishment of ‘community’ aims to bring about aggregation and strengthening of the community to cope with the difficulties

sustainably. A community consists of community members who trust each other as well as their leader; such a community becomes strengthened and develops effectively. As F-1 explained:

“Most people reported to me the problems and asked me for assistance and help. For example, the roof of a neighbour’s house was broken because of a strong wind; they informed the community leader of the occurrence. I then coordinated with the municipality and other community members for further assistance. Another example was a fire, when fire occurs, we have to help them and ask the help from community people for funds.”

6.4 Summary

The vulnerability context includes people’s perceptions of shocks, trends and seasonality. The main shock in the area is expropriation, which provides many more negative effects than positive ones, for example, reduced income, loss of primary career and loss of social networks. Trends include the increase in the number of tourists and the increased number working in the manufacturing sector resulting in young workers moving to the industrial sector and an increase of migrant workers from other provinces to Ayutthaya. Inequality of access to income-generating activities is also another trend in the area. Local people hardly have access to income-generating activities such as trading at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and trading in celebration events like ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’. Seasonal vulnerability is the range of time that affects people’s livelihoods and shapes livelihood strategies.

With regard to transforming structures and processes, the issues of area management include a lack of inter-departmental integration and the failure of legal enforcement. In addition, the policy for area management reveals a shortage of preparation for local people’s understanding about being a World Heritage site, including the lack of community participation concerning World Heritage management and capital enhancement.

The next chapter discusses livelihood outcomes and livelihood strategies.

Chapter 7

Results: Livelihood Strategies and Livelihood Outcome

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the last part of the results, concerning livelihood strategies and livelihood outcome. Livelihood strategies illustrate how to achieve livelihood outcomes and reduce vulnerability. The choice of livelihood strategies is a process by which people pursue their needs. Access to capital and transforming structures and processes are major influences on people's choice of livelihood strategies. In addition, the context of livelihood outcomes which are people's goals in life and the results of pursuing their livelihood strategies are provided. Understanding livelihood outcomes help us to understand people's priorities and how people are likely to respond to new opportunities or constraint.

7.2 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies constitute the combination of activities and choices that people undertake and make in order to achieve their livelihood outcomes. The more capital they have, the greater the capacity to see the strategies implemented. Thus, in this study, the strategies to achieve outcomes are categorized into the following areas: 1) income raising strategies, 2) expenditure reducing strategies, 3) strategies relying on social capital, 4) long-term strategies, and 5) reduced vulnerability strategies.

7.2.1 Income Raising Strategies

Unlike the rural community, almost all families in an urban community occupy only a residential house and have not sufficient land for farming or planting. Therefore, to increase income, some families have offered some rooms for rent, or reconstruct their residence into a dormitory partly for rent. The tenants are mainly people from other provinces moving into the city for work in the industrial parks or for education (Box 4). As B-1 stated:

"I'm an unemployed housewife. Only my husband earns money. I decided to construct another building as a dormitory for rent in order to increase household income."

Box 4 An example of an income raising strategy: rooms for rent.

One community leader is an unemployed housewife so the major income of her household comes from her husband's salary. He works as a government officer who earns a monthly salary even when he retires. Their medical fees are also covered.

In order to create more security for their life and get more income, they reconstructed their residence partly into a dormitory for rent. The tenants were mainly students from other provinces moving into the city to further their education at Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Rajabhat University or academic institutions in Ayutthaya. Sometimes, tenants were tourists.

The rental fee is used for household expenses and it is also accumulating to buy land in a different district outside the World Heritage site area. This ensures that they have somewhere to go if their current residence were to be expropriated.

Families suffer economic problems if a family member, who has earned an income, is unable to work as a result of sickness or death. Child labour is an alternative way to earn money. In Thailand, 'child labour' refers to an employee over 15 years but not exceeding 18 years. In general, a labour worker is assigned to work not exceeding 8 hours daily or as mutually agreed between employer and employee, but not exceeding 9 hours daily or 48 hours weekly. Despite enforcing the law, regulations and rules for child labour protection, for example, all children are required to complete compulsory education, the use of child labour is difficult to inspect. The Labour Protection Act B.E. 2541 (1998), prohibits hiring children under 15 years old. As a result, child labour employment is concealed. In addition, the use of child labour is not primarily intended to keep households out of poverty, but to reduce vulnerability (World Bank, 1991). For example, D-1 said:

"Because of my husband's sickness, I'm the only one who earns money from which we could not afford the household expenses; I have my son [under 15] leave the school to earn money. He now works at his uncle's garage."

As economic problems occur within the family, the head of the family, or some of family members, have to seek extra income. For example, some earn extra money after work or at weekends to alleviate the family's economic suffering (Box 5). As H-1 said:

"At midday, I am responsible for holding the terminal market. At midnight, I work as a security guard at the Department of Fine Arts. I have to work hard to earn enough money for household expenses."

However, if they have to work too much and have no leisure time, they may get sick and so become exhausted, which eventually impacts on the effectiveness on their routine work. This results in reduced human capital.

Box 5 An example of an income raising strategy: diversified activities.

A community leader is a security guard and manager for a market. He assumed the role as guard at night, seeks stalls to trade in the market on some days and is responsible for supervising the cleanliness and tidiness at the market.

He worked two occupations because he believes that being a security guard is an unstable career. He may be dismissed at any time. In addition, his income doesn't cover expenditure: home loan payments, car loan payments, meals and others. He has to work a supplementary occupation for household survival and to earn more income.

7.2.2 Expenditure Reducing Strategies

When suffering economically, people need to reduce their expenses, for instance, reduce consumption of luxury goods but live their life with in their income in an economic sufficiency approach bestowed by His Majesty the King. According to C-2 and B-1:

“I’m economical, just spend the amount earned. I owe nobody. I follow the sufficiency economics bestowed by the His Majesty the King.”

and

“I’m not extravagant. I’m self-sufficient, following the King’s sufficiency economics.”

Some need to change their buying behaviour or habits. For example, people change from buying expensive goods to cheaper ones and accept the lower quality. Additionally, they need to reduce travel expenses by buying at markets or groceries located in the community. As M-1 said:

“I buy things at a market as the goods are inexpensive and at my affordability. Another reason is the market is close to my house saving travel expenses. It’s held weekly.”

7.2.3 Strategies Relying on Social Capital

Borrowing money occurs when people are in economic crisis. It is regarded as the use of social capital. Major sources of funding require different social capital. The sources include two followings.

- *Relatives or neighbours:* borrowing from relatives or neighbours requires great social capital. Borrowing from relatives or neighbours usually is free of interest, the compensation is usually in other forms, for example, gratitude rewarded in the future.
- *Informal loans:* lower income families without a monthly salary or collateral have to borrow money from informal loan sources, which normally charge approximately 20% interest rate. Whereas a formal loan or a loan from a financial institution does not need any social net works for the loan application, informal loans require a level of social network or social capital. The lender is at high risk because there is neither an agreement nor any collateral between borrower and lender. This is why the interest rate is so high.

In addition to borrowing money from neighbors, there were other types of assistance that rely on social capital among community members, for example, assistance from neighbours in time of sickness, injury, disaster, theft, loss of family member. The assistance may come in form of foods and labour. This livelihood strategy relies on building social capital, for example, the need for someone who is familiar and to help in a time of difficulty. As F-3 said:

“When I was sick and unable to visit the doctor, I had a neighbour in the community. She was so helpful and generous in providing me medicine with meals.”

7.2.4 Long-Term Strategies

Strategies denote processes of change that are more conscious and deliberate in the way people adjust their livelihood strategies to long-term changes and challenges (trends). They include children’s education and long-term asset building.

Education is a key factor for human capital development, particularly in the youth. Children’s education is desirable to families with children. Parents desire to support their children as much as possible for their higher education. Education is long-term capital building for the children and family, leading to future increased household income. Education can increase prospective financial capital that can be utilized for better future living. Education levels indicate the quality of the new generation manpower entering the labour market. The more skilful and effective the labour, the higher income and family stability they can acquire in the future. As H-1, E-3 and B-2 said:

“I support my children to advance their higher education so that they will not be burdensome. Currently, they hold the Vocational Certificate and Higher Vocational Diploma and have worked in the industrial park. I’m now so comfortable because they can stand on their feet and earn a monthly salary.”

and

“I push my children to achieve higher education and be skillful in computers. That makes them self-reliant. Without higher education, they may be troubled in the future. I’d like them to become a government servant or an industrial worker.”

and

“I’d like my son to succeed in education so that he will not undergo trouble as I do. I would be glad to see his success. I have to work hard, getting up so early at 03:00 a.m. and preparing food to sell. I possess a motorbike as my only vehicle. I hope he will be employed with a good job and have his own car. Thus, I force him now to go to school.”

One of the most important resources is the human resource. Skilful labour can produce a higher performance than non-skilful labour in the same time. In addition, employed family members bring income into the family. In addition to education for children, health promotion and disease prevention are also crucial. Generally, people understand well about health care. For example, they do physical exercise, intake nutritious foods and have sufficient sleep. As C-2 explained:

“I’m a shop owner. I spend most of the time at the store. I have no time for sport. However, I usually seek time for aerobic exercise when chance permits. I don’t wish to get sick, leave the job, and visit the doctor.”

Such a strategy has been supported by government agencies, including a sport yard for health, evening aerobic exercises, and a medical centre in the community. Moreover, people have good access to free medical services. Improving well-being in terms of developing infrastructure and utilities is mainly the responsibility of Ayutthaya City Municipality. To improve infrastructure and utilities in the community, a community leader will request those things through Ayutthaya City Municipality. A good relationship between the community and municipality is therefore required.

Social capital is an asset increasing with time. The more we trust in each other, better social connection results and people work together more effectively. In the business sector, when trust develops, complex agreements may no longer be necessary. Consequently, they can save the retainer fee. Developed trust can bring about occupation growth and progress. As E-1 said:

“I have worked for construction area almost my lifetime. I develop confidence with customers through integrity, workmanship, and punctuality. I’ve never entered into any agreement. For me, trust is indispensable to my career as it makes me earn the living until today.”

With regard to community establishment, it is considered a crucial strategy to contribute social capital that improves the way of living overall. In addition, it is a way in which a community’s need is presented to the municipality for infrastructure and utilities development that are necessary for consistent livelihood improvement in the community.

Regarding financial capital, to sustain growth and stability there are many ways of saving, including regular deposit, buying gold ornaments or land, or taking out life insurance, which are all quite necessary in case of emergency because the savings can alleviate the suffering. According to L-2:

“I don’t know when my current residence will be expropriated. However, I have already bought land in a different district. I hope that the compensation will be sufficient to build the new house affordably.”

Besides suffering alleviation, saving can reduce or avoid the negative effect of the uncertainty of future events.

7.2.5 Reduced Vulnerability Strategies

The sort of specific shocks that occurred vary from area to area. The most important of the specific shocks in Ayutthaya is expropriation. Reduced income is a consequence of the shock. Job transfer or relocation, a livelihood strategy to overcome the shock, had a variety of impacts depending on the location and situation of the individual.

Job transfer caused greater impacts than residential relocation. See, for example, evidence (in Box 3, p.124) of the stone sculptors. Their workplace and residence were in the same building. After it was decided to relocate from the front of the King U-thong Monument to the front of the Palace, they had to move both workplace and residence. The newly allotted houses are far away from the tourist attractions and were not supported by government agencies with any tourism promotion. This resulted in an absence of tourists, reduced income, and many families had to change to other occupations, for example, selling noodles. Income from the new career is less than that from stone sculpturing.

For employees where plants were located outside and the job had not been transferred, only their houses were relocated. They continued to work as normally. Thus where both job and house relocation occurred had a greater impact than on those whose houses only were relocated. To cope with these problems they implemented different strategies to diminish vulnerability as follows.

When people were relocated to other residential zones provided by the Department of Fine Arts it resulted in an absence of the tourists. One way to survive is to change occupation from stone sculpturing to another such as selling noodles and flower pots. These occupations don't depend on only tourists, compared with the stone sculpturing. Their products can also sell to community members. As L-2 said:

"I am not now doing stone sculpturing because there were no tourists. My son changed to sell the noodles and the older son changed to sell flower pots near the elephant corral instead."

Upon being relocated to other residential zones provided the Department of Fine Arts, some families chose to find new residences themselves and ensured of no affection in income earned by doing stone carving. According to L-1:

"I moved out of the World Heritage zone because I'm uncertain of the expropriation again. Importantly, the residential zone provided is very small. I bought a land plot here and continue my stone sculpturing occupation. I have a large number of existing customers and I know a lot of people, unlike others. I decide to keep on my old career. The more

people quit stone sculpturing, the more income I earn because there are fewer people undertaking this career.”

After pursuing livelihood strategies, livelihood outcomes which are the people's goals are achieved as follows.

7.3 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcome is a desired goal resulting from pursuing livelihood strategies. The livelihood outcomes in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework include increased income, reduced vulnerability, improved well-being, improved food security, and more sustainable use of nature resources. In this study, the livelihood outcomes can be illustrated as follows.

Increased Income: most local people need an increased income for a better standard of living and to get free from debt. It is an urban feature where monetary value is very important and of utmost necessity to be able to purchase goods and services. Hence, increased income, or higher household income, is important for family well-being; and an increased opportunity for children's higher education. Most livelihood strategies lead to increasing income. As B-1 and H-1 indicated:

“I have rooms for rent for students and tourists. The rental fee can increase my household earning.”

and

“I work for two jobs because I'd like to earn a lot of money for my old age livelihood and I wish my descendants to look after me.”

Long-term strategies such as children's education, promoting human health and money saving can also increase income as their aims. According to C-2 and F-3:

“I'm trying exercise to keep the body firm and healthy to earn a livelihood regularly. If I'm sick, it's meant to a lack of daily income”

and

“I do selling at the front of the Wihaan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and market. I spend money that I earn to buy the gold ornaments as they are always valuable.”

Improvement in well-being: the livelihood strategies improve people's well-being in the area of health care. Generally, people take care their health themselves. For example, they do physical exercise, eat nutritious foods and have sufficient sleep. However, they have been supported in their health care service by government agencies, including a sport yard for health, evening aerobic exercises, and a medical centre in the community. Municipality provides the local people with medical care comprehensively and people are free from a charge of 30 baht. These make local people increase their well-being. Good health is fundamental to a happy life; being without diseases reduces the household expenses a great deal. If family members are in good health, this results in productive labour in generating the family income and well-being. According to H-1 and C-2

"I scarcely get sick. Being sick is a suffering and burdensome to my children with medical expense and sick leave. Besides being a community leader, I am also a member of health center to promote people's health."

and

"I have pains and aches, which are common for my age but I have not serious sickness. Importantly, I can easily go to see a doctor. A hospital is not far."

Furthermore, long-term livelihood strategies improve well-being for access to educational opportunities. Education provides the opportunity for increased opportunities as an adult. This makes it easier to support the family later. According to C-1:

"I do my best to support my children to attain higher education. Currently they are able to earn a livelihood by themselves. They are employed at the industrial estate park and their family status has not undergone trouble financially."

The livelihood strategies also enhance people's well being in term of infrastructure development. The establishment of community increases the social capital among community members. It encourages cooperative participation among people within the community and to pressure the municipality to provide public utilities and infrastructure, such as, road, libraries and drainages. All these improve the quality of life. The community leader informants B-1 and K-1 said:

“When I just became a community leader, I observed that the end of the alley was so wet due to raining. This caused travel problems. We jointly agreed that it should be improved with the municipal assistance. Today everything is better. This is because of collective cooperation, I alone could not achieve it.”

and

“Normally, community people have carried out the activities by themselves, for instance, aerobic exercise which is held at the front of the temple on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They also persuade other community people to join the activity for a healthy body. However, it is necessarily dependent on the municipality for certain activities, for instance, newspapers daily for people to read; it’s quite useful because people can catch up with the news and everyone in community can receive news and current information equitably.”

The establishment of community is a strategy that can enhance personal safety. According to J-2:

“In our community, we are cooperatively on the lookout for thieves and help each other in critical time of urgency, for instance, once a house was on fire, we helped together extinguish the fire before the fire extinguishers arrived.”

Reduced Vulnerability: the reduced vulnerability strategies are to cope with the effects of expropriation. This could be done in two ways firstly, changing one’s occupation from stone sculpture into selling noodles, and secondly, relocation to a larger place while remaining in the same occupation. This will reduce vulnerability. According to L-2 and L-1:

“When required by the Department of Fine Arts to relocate, the earning of sculpture decreased so sharply that my two sons had to change into new occupation; one sells the noodle in the community while other sells the tree pots nearby elephant camp. The new occupation produces less income than former occupation.”

and

“I did not relocate to a newly appropriated area because it’s so small and far from tourist destinations. I decided to move into another residence which was affordable. Fortunately, my existing customers have not left me; thereby my earning has not been affected. On the contrary, I earn greater income than ever before in certain months.”

7.4 Summary

In the study area, local people implement many different livelihood strategies. First, they increase their income by using some rooms in their residence for rent, by the use of child labour and by doing diversified jobs for extra money. Second, they reduce the expenditure of their family by cutting expenses and changing their buying behaviour or habits. Third, they use their social capital such as borrowing money from relatives, neighbours and informal loan sources. Fourth, they use long-term strategies that provide their children’s education and they build long-term assets such as improving their social network among their clients and by saving money. Lastly, local people also have reduced vulnerability strategies, for example, changing occupation and moving to new larger residences. After conducting livelihood strategies, livelihood outcomes are increased income, increased well-being and reduced vulnerabilities.

Chapter 8

Conclusion and Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter first discusses the characteristics of the study area, compared with the rural areas, and then discusses the impacts of the World Heritage site. To make the Sustainable Livelihood Framework more suitable for urban areas, additional capital or cultural capital is added to the framework. The chapter then discusses the conceptualizing of sustainability under four aspects: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) livelihoods not dependent upon external support (or if they are, this support itself should be economically and institutionally sustainable); 3) livelihoods maintaining the long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) livelihoods not undermining the livelihoods of others. Each point is discussed with respect to the case study findings and compared with contemporary approaches, where possible. The chapter ends with recommendations and suggestions for further research.

8.2 Differences between the Study Area and the Rural Area

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is usually applied in a rural context. This thesis, however, has considered the Sustainable Livelihood Framework in the context of an urban heritage area. Besides categorizing it as urban, the Historic City of Ayutthaya also falls into three special categories; 1) Ayutthaya is a historic city for conservation, 2) most of the residential zone was occupied as King Land, and 3) it is close to the industrial promotion zone. All these characteristics make Ayutthaya different from a rural area in the social, economic, environmental, and governmental contexts. To understand the difference between urban and rural areas, it is necessary to consider the differences between urban and rural areas in terms of the framework.

The study area has been characterized as having less of a social network than the countryside. Rural communities are higher in social integration and attachment than urban communities. Family ties are more stable in a rural community and there is greater mutual assistance than an urban community, including financial help and friendship (Hofferth & Iceland, 1998).

However the study area showed a fair social network. Perhaps this is because most of the people of Ayutthaya are familiar with the patronage system and reciprocity. Additionally, the Ayutthaya City Municipality encourages the establishment of community. These cause the social connections to develop and assistance can be found in times of crisis, for example, repairing roofs when facing a natural disaster or lending a hand at a funeral ceremony when a community member dies. Social networks can encourage community members to assist each other and increase people's trust. Trust among community members can improve and strengthen their community.

The study area shows a heavy reliance on cash for goods and services. Because local people cannot produce their own food, cash is a necessity. To access income sources is quite important. Failure in accessing income sources could make the livelihood vulnerable and lead to much formal and informal debt, loss of assets, and eventual poverty. Therefore, in order for income to match expenses, it is necessary to engage in income-generating activities, or else pursue other survival strategies. In this point, dependency on agricultural activities for employment explicitly distinguishes the countryside from urban areas (Scarborough, 1996).

The environment of the study area has been maintained by the Department of Fine Arts and the Ayutthaya City Municipality. Unlike poor urban environments (Wratten, 1995; Farrington et al., 2002), the residential environment in the study area was not so crowded or degraded. This reflects the fact that it is considered a World Heritage site where historic places, the landscape and environmental surroundings are expected to be maintained beautifully and carefully. The poor water quality for consumption has less effect on local people because they do not make use of the water sources directly. People consume fresh water from pipes. Although people do not rely on the water stream for consumption, they still use water resources for transportation and recreational purposes. Hence, water sources must be maintained so that they are clean and hygienic. Taking care of the environment in the area is a concern because the landscape and environmental surroundings are crucial for not only the people's well-being but also as an effective, productive resource for tourism. Similar to rural agricultural areas, the natural environment is important. Degradation of natural resources could threaten agricultural productivity (Scherr & Yadav, 1996). In the World Heritage site, an important contribution of the environment is that it is attractive and a safe area for tourists. However, because of a lack of personnel to provide maintenance, there is waste and rubbish in some areas, resulting in visual pollution.

With regard to governance, the local administration has developed moderate levels of infrastructure and services. This supports tourism in the World Heritage area, including the Ayutthaya City Municipality, but is an ongoing need.

Policies for the World Heritage site and the enforcement of those policies make the local population relatively vulnerable. As the study area is a conservative historic place, much legislation has been enacted in relation to activity control and building control. This causes local people to have limited activities for running businesses. Importantly, the policies are enforced. However people do not know when they will be told to leave the land. Additionally, protest action by local people has meant continuing conflicts.

This reflects that the policies for the World Heritage site neglected public participation and just focused primarily on infrastructure development. This is similar to the finding of Johnson & Start (2001) that current rural development has not emphasized public participation, just governance with a particular emphasis on decentralization that may undermine self government. My research suggests greater public participation should be included in the government's policy. Even though the government sector and policy makes an effort to encourage the participation, the public participation, in practice, remains restricted. In the future, the reasons why local people are not involved and how to improve public participation should be further investigated.

Moreover, there is an interesting issue concerning livelihood changes and the effect on the characteristics of urban and rural communities. Most communities are typically common in the sense of identity (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). People interact and live in the same area on the basis of sufficiency and sustainability. However, it may vary between communities, for example, urban communities consist of individuals from diverse occupations while people in rural communities usually earn a living from the same occupation and reliance on the same resources. Thus, if the people's way of living changes, the characteristic of a community changes for example, if people in a fishery community change their career to one involving tourism, the characteristics of the community would change.

In urban communities, people have diverse occupations. Though the ways they make their living change, the community nature is not affected because community members are engaged in diverse careers. In the study area, there is only King U-thong community where the majority of the community people earned a living in stone sculpture. The tourists frequented

their community. Later, expropriation affected the people, they no longer sculpted and community members have changed the career from sculptors to others. This leads the nature of the community changed to one with diverse occupations like other communities.

8.3 Effect of the Historic City of Ayutthaya; the World Heritage site

The physical nature of urban areas can determine the features and the quantity of existing local capital. Urban areas include fewer natural resources than rural areas while they have greater physical capital than rural areas. In this case, the study area is adjacent to the industrial estates or industrial promotion zones. This is an external factor that has encouraged local youth in the study area to earn their living as employees in the industrial sectors. Lastly, what must not be forgotten is that the study area is a World Heritage site. This is a major external factor influencing and determining the master plan and local people's livelihoods. In addition, being a World Heritage site stimulates local tourism and generates income locally. All these external factors have affected major factors relating to the livelihood of local people. This is illustrated in Figure 8.1.

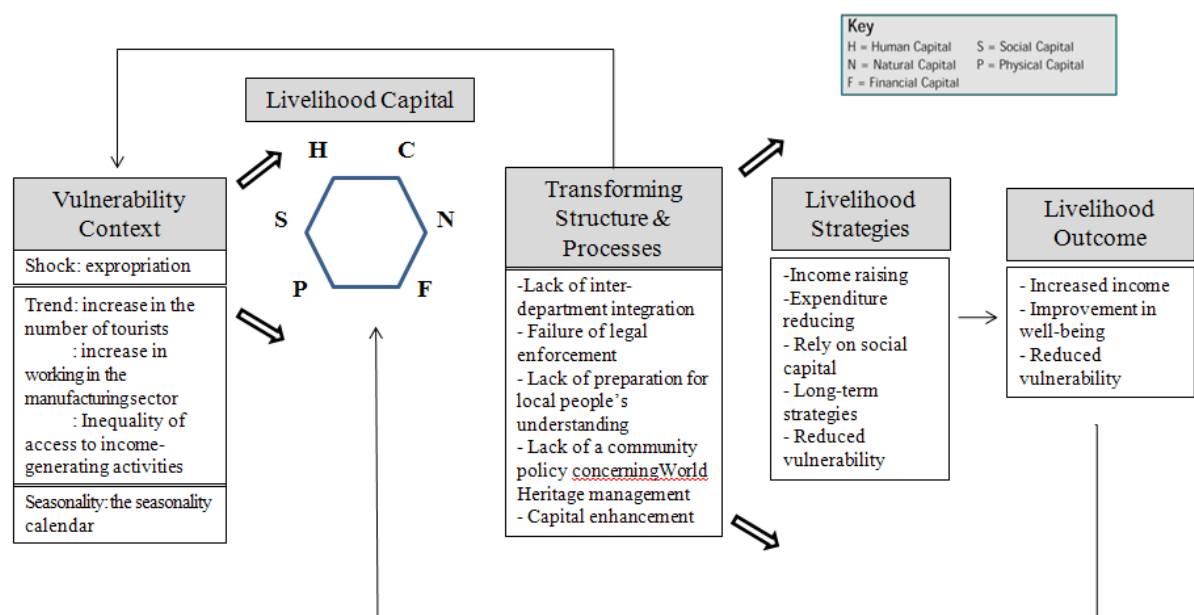


Figure 8.1 Effect on the Historic City of Ayutthaya.

8.3.1 Livelihood Capitals

Capital is crucial to enhance livelihood. The more capital people have, the more potential they have to establish diverse livelihood strategies and minimize their vulnerability.

Financial capital: one of the foremost capitals for livelihood includes financial capital. In urban areas, there are few cultivating areas and rare natural resources in production. Most urban people have heavily relied on cash in their livelihood for spending on foodstuffs, products and services. Like other urban areas, most earning comes from selling their labour (Wratten, 1995) especially working as employees in industrial sectors. The growth of local industries accelerates the influx of industrial labor. In addition, the new generation of youth is likely to work in the industrial sector which offers them a rewarding salary and more secure occupations. Working in the industrial sector is considered a dependence on external income-generating activities.

Income generating activities in the study are influenced by the tourism that results from the World Heritage site. Tourism-related businesses, for example, restaurants, souvenir shops and motor-tricycle services, stimulate the local economy (Borges et al., 2011). However, access to important income-generating activities such as trading at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and trading at the celebrative event entitled ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ is inequitable. Not all local people have equal access to income or employment because the rental fee for stores is costly and availability for legally licensed stores is limited.

Though being a World Heritage site increases the financial capital for those who earn their living on tourism business, it also decreases the financial capital for those people affected by expropriation. There are many persons who were expropriated subject to the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya. Their financial capital appeared to be reduced because their new residences are far from the tourist attractions, a source of income generation. Their sales decreased so sharply that they had to undertake other careers.

In respect of access to credit, the findings indicated that most local people rely on informal loans because these people, for example, labourers and merchants earn no monthly salary. Moreover, most lands they are residing currently belong to the state property. Thus, it is difficult for low income people who have no salary or collateral as guarantee for bank’s formal loan. Therefore, their financial sources come from informal loans with up to 20% interest charged.

Human capital: people living in the study area have quick access to health services because there are many clinics and projects that support health services in the community such as the Community Medical Unit. It also includes the ‘Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’

or so-called ‘30 baht fee for curing every disease’. Moreover, knowledge dissemination and positive attitude creation concerning health promotion is provided by village health volunteers.

Though most people are poorly educated, the study area has advantages in terms of access to education due to the great number of academic institutes. Furthermore, access to educational opportunities has been promoted through the National Education Act B.E 2542 (1999) so all Thai people are required to have a minimum 10-year compulsory education. In this study, people have a better access to public health services and education. Usually, urban areas are more equipped with utilities and infrastructures, healthcare providers and educational institutions than rural areas (Tacoli, 1998). Urban people have better educational opportunities than rural people. In addition, the influence of the World Heritage site on human capacity showed that human capital has increased. For example, those engaged in tourism businesses have access to English courses developed by the Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Natural capital: in the study area, natural capital is generally less used for productive resources, because it is less available. As local natural resources are scarce, the natural resources for production are mainly derived from outside. These reflect outside material dependency. However, natural resources available in the area such as water and parks are used to promote other capital indirectly. For example, public parks are used as exercise areas to promote human capital. Water resources can enhance financial capital by promoting tourism activities such as boat transport to temples, sailing around the City Isle, and dinner cruises. Being a World Heritage site has also influenced the natural environment, especially public gardening and planting. It has been maintained as a result of the Improvement of Environment and Landscape Plan of the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya that promotes environmental improvement in harmony with the historic place’s atmosphere. Consequently, there is a pleasant climate abundant with various plants and fine tourist attractions and recreational corners available to local people. With a great number of tourists and ineffective waste management, there is always residue garbage in the area causing visual pollution. The waste disposal site is situated in lowland with a high level of underground water, resulting in contamination of the leachate to underground water. Also, fire on garbage and bad smells affect the neighbouring communities.

Physical capital: housing is one of the most important forms of physical capital because it is used both for shelter and for productive or income-generating purposes. It can provide access to other resources, for example, acting as collateral for access to credit. Upon becoming a World Heritage site, physical capital increased. The Development and Improvement of Infrastructure Plan, subject to the Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya has been established to carry out activities such as electricity, water supply, telephone, wastewater treatment, and drainage to improve the geographical landscape as appropriate for a city of tourism that attracts more tourists. However, people affected by expropriation, generally received poor outcomes because they lost their physical capital or houses which were a source of income generation.

Social capital: it is a valuable and crucial resource for households, especially during times of crisis and socio-economic change. To increase social network and social capital, communication among community members is required. This is done through the village broadcasting tower or knocking on the door. Both channels access the people equally and extensively. A number of the expropriated people have lost their social capital that has been accumulated over a long time. The renewal of social capital where trust and social networks develop takes considerable time in a new community.

8.3.2 Vulnerability Context

A big shock in the area is a direct consequence of being a World Heritage site. That is expropriation. In pursuit of conservation and development for the World Heritage site, the Department of Fine Arts has enacted the 'Master Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya' to control and undertake the activities within the World Heritage site. Such a Master Plan is regarded as policy carried out to manage the area and affects people's livelihoods directly, particularly 'the Development and Improvement of the Community Plan' (see section 2.3.1). It is an action plan, which has been engaged in the transforming process of residences and construction located in the World Heritage site. The objective of this plan is to expropriate the residences and constructions that eclipsed and reduced the value of the historic places.

Such expropriation has had an adverse effect on the local people. Thus most affected people feel dissatisfied by the expropriation. Like another World Heritage site (Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve), precluding local people from the World Heritage site also led to dissatisfaction of the local people; people lost the income generated from tourist services, thus they are likely to develop a negative attitude towards conservation (Maikhuri et al., 2001).

Moving local people out of the World Heritage site is aimed to preserve the area from invasion. Such activity are just a desire required by the government agencies, which are considered to be ‘outsiders’, not ‘insiders’. This expropriation leads people to suffering – lack of income, absence of social network, and dissatisfaction. All these have reflected a lack of public participation in finding out how to manage the valuable resources cooperatively between local people and the government sector.

In addition, the trend of the area comprises 1) the increase in number of tourists; that has resulted from becoming a World Heritage site. Both Thais and foreign tourist numbers have been growing as a result of the tourism promotion by government and private sectors, 2) inequity of access to income generating activities; activities that produce tourism-related income increases as the tourist numbers increase, for example, selling souvenirs at the front of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and the annual exhibition under the name ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’. Such activities demand stores for trading. Practically, private individuals or organizations bid at auction to capture zoned stores and expand their business, resulting in stalls being so expensive that local people did not have sufficient buying power to access opportunities to trade. This reduces the opportunity for local tourism jobs. 3) the increase in working in the manufacturing sector has resulted from the influence of the rapidly growing industrial estates surrounding the study area, which demands increasing numbers of workers with vocational certificates. Local young people suspend their higher education or leave their household industries to become workers in the industrial factories which offer them higher stable earnings than household industries, for instance, making churned jujube.

8.3.3 Transforming Processes and Structure

In the study area, the two major organizations for area management are the Department of Fine Arts and the Ayutthaya City Municipality. In respect of structure or local organization, there have been two major issues: lack of inter-department integration, and failure of legal enforcement. The former issue indicated that core goals and directions for development are different locally and nationally. At the national level, it has not been decided whether historical preservation or industrial development is more important (see section 6.3.1). At the local level, goals and work procedures by local organizations are focused differently; namely the Department of Fine Arts has emphasized conservation of the historic place and its surroundings, and urbanization has been restricted beyond the World Heritage site. On the other hand, the Ayutthaya City Municipality as the local administrative organization has concentrated on improving the people’s well-being, thereby, local people have been protected

from being relocated. In addition, the Ayutthaya City Municipality advocated the urbanization, public utilities, telecommunication and public order (see section 6.3.1). Nonetheless, it was found that these organizations do not cooperate. There is a lack of a unified objective resulting in conflicting goals. Additionally, law enforcement is inefficient. People have violated the legal provision, for example, in case of an invasion into the area surrounding the front of the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit, causing disorder, untidiness and eclipsing of the historic place.

Analysis of policy for the area management revealed a dearth of information for local people on the process. There was a lack of effort put into preparing for the consequences of being a World Heritage site. The local people still do not know what 'World Heritage' means and do not know why Ayutthaya was proclaimed as 'a World Heritage site'. They also do not know how to live with the World Heritage status sustainably. Once becoming a World Heritage site, the concerned agencies have missed the opportunity to help people gain an understanding and establish genuine pride in the World Heritage status.

Secondly, there is a lack of a community participation policy concerning World Heritage management. People's lack of participation from the beginning of the submission process for being a World Heritage site meant that they did not know what advantages and disadvantages they would encounter. In addition, they have never been involved in setting the direction of area development that is consistent with the community's actual needs, resulting in a lack of the sense of belonging, and a lack of motivation to protect and conserve the World Heritage site seriously.

Although the municipality lacks a community participation policy concerning World Heritage management, it provides the policy enhancing the capital to the general public, for example, 'Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project' and the 'Community Medical Unit project'. These projects primarily aim to expose general people to access to public health and medical service thoroughly. This is considered improving human capital. Moreover, there is also human capital enhancement in terms of short course training or English courses for persons involving tourism, for example, motor-tricycle drivers. This can support tourism services.

Transforming structure and processes have influenced the people's way of livelihood in several ways.

Transforming structure and processes may affect, positively or negatively, access to capital. For example, the failure of legal enforcement of regulations causes inequitable access to income-earning activities and is an obstacle to equitable access of financial capital. This is illustrated by the invasion by merchants into the area around Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit until major disputes occurred (Box 2, p.107). Another example of increased access to human capital is human capital development projects such as ‘Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’ and Community Medical Unit. These projects increase healthy manpower and consequently enhance financial capital.

Transforming structures and processes have influenced the vulnerability context. The policy and the master plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya led to vulnerability locally by expropriating invaders to keep the World Heritage atmosphere. The expropriation caused widespread negative impacts. The expropriated people lost their income, social connections, and may have to change their occupation. Non-expropriated people develop a sense of vulnerability in their livelihood because they worry that they may be expropriated one day. Such policies were formulated exclusively by the Department of Fine Arts and government agencies without public participation. This reflects the lack of public participation in designing the development plan and master plan relevant to World Heritage site management, a lack of public sense of belonging, and dissatisfaction when problems occur.

Transforming structure and processes have stipulated the livelihood strategies, thereby resulting in both positive and negative effects. They either increase or obstruct choices of livelihood. For example, City Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975) prohibits both dangerous activities and pollution-generating activities such as industrial factories and entertainment houses in the World Heritage area. Even though controlling such activities benefits protection of the historic place and environmental safety, they may preclude local people from the opportunity to generate income, resulting in a limited choice of livelihood strategies.

8.3.4 Livelihood Strategies

The more choices people have, the more chances they will develop self-determination and flexibility on adaptation. To increase the choices of livelihoods, it is necessary to improve people’s access to capital, and to employ the transforming structure and process to change the capital into livelihood outcomes that are a response to people’s needs. For these reasons, a wide range of the livelihood strategies have been adopted. Firstly, income raising strategies can be achieved in different ways such as divided rooms for rent, child labour, and doing

more than one job. Secondly, expenditure reducing strategies could be possible in various ways such as reducing consumption of extravagant and luxury products, or consuming lower priced goods. Thirdly, strategies that rely on social capital include borrowing from neighbours or relying on informal loans. Fourthly, long-term strategies include child education and health promotion which is considered an accumulated long-term human capital. Fifthly, reducing vulnerability strategies solve the local shock issues. Being a World Heritage site has directly affected the livelihood strategies because of the big shock (expropriation). The affected people have to adopt new livelihood strategies to cope with the shock. Two livelihood strategies implemented are occupational change and relocation by themselves (the detailed information is in section 7.2.5). The livelihood strategy is associated with capital: the greater capital people have, the more livelihood strategies people can implement. In some cases, those affected people with either less financial or social capital are more likely to change occupations because they do not have sufficient capital to buy a new land plot for the same business operation. Some possess less social capital or fewer social networks so that existing customers do not buy the goods at the new setting. Some households with an adequate amount of financial capital and social capital can buy new land for a residence and workplace without changing their occupation.

8.3.5 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes have resulted from livelihood strategies. Livelihood outcomes include three areas: firstly, increased income which comes from these livelihood strategies, for example, working for an extra wage, child labour, expenses reduction. Also, long-term livelihood strategy: education for children would increase income in the future. All these could improve the household income. Livelihood strategies also include healthcare and regular exercise to keep the physical body healthy which can result in more productive workers and improve earnings. Secondly, the improved well-being that income raising strategies provide livelihood strategies concerning health promotions also improve well-being. As well as the contribution in facility and infrastructure and municipal assistance, all these can lead to the well-being of local people. Thirdly, these livelihood strategies can reduce vulnerability and increase the ability to cope with the shocks.

As mentioned earlier, the common livelihood outcomes for other locations includes five areas: increased income, reduced vulnerability, improved well-being, improved food security, and more sustainable use of natural resources while the livelihood outcomes in the study area include three areas: increased income, improved well-being, and reduced vulnerability. This is

because income and well-being is important in every area, especially in urban areas where there is a greater reliance on income for the purchase of foods, products and services (Wratten, 1995). Well-being in urban areas is also improved through health promotion for individuals and community, access to public health and infrastructure, roading, drainage, and electricity (Tacoli, 1998).

The livelihood outcomes of improved food security and more sustainable natural resources were not stated by the informants. This is because the food security of urban people depends on their income. If people have a higher income or reduced debt, they would buy food and can improve their food security (Wratten, 1995). They can spend their money for sufficient food for themselves and their family. In addition, urban people have limited dependence on natural resources for their livelihoods. The sustainability of natural resources is not set as a goal for those local people. Thus, no strategies bring about the improved food security and more sustainable natural resources.

The more livelihood capital people possess, the greater the ability of people to achieve their livelihood outcomes. Normally, livelihood capital includes financial capital, human capital, natural capital, physical capital and social capital. As discussed in chapter 3, the cultural context has influenced livelihoods and, in this study, it has been recognized in terms of cultural capital.

8.4 Additional Capital: Cultural Capital

Culture is a crucial element of a way of living and is powerful in determining the livelihood strategies. Besides, culture is regarded as a resource to achieve livelihoods while it remains not taken into consideration in terms of capital in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. The importance of culture within livelihoods needs to be discussed. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) argued that cultural capital comes in three forms: cultural capital in the embodied state, cultural capital in the objectified state and cultural capital in the institutionalized state. The importance of these to the study area can be seen as follows:

Example 1

Cultural capital in the embodied state is illustrated by the way of living of Ayutthaya people which is closely involved with water because Ayutthaya encompassed by three rivers: Chao Praya, Lopburi, and Pa Sak Rivers. There is an abundance of natural resources and aquatic

animals, and local people's way of life is a hugely involved with the water stream and aquatic resources.

Cultural capital in the objectified state is illustrated by the Ayutthaya people's inclusion of water in their sense of place that has resulted in the invention of particular objects such as the fish mobile that symbolizes the people's way of life. This is a symbolic creation from embodied cultural capital or embedded notion. The fish mobile is hung above the baby's bassinet as a blessing that the baby will grow healthily. The fish mobile was later developed as a local tourist product that brings income to the community.

Cultural capital in the institutional state is presented by local products developed in the community. These products have been accepted by the general public and proclaimed as 'OTOP' (stands for 'One Tambon One Product'). The 'OTOP' business project is designed to stimulate local business, community product development and marketing. Only one distinctive product can be chosen by local people from multiple products in the community and be labelled as an 'OTOP product'. Both domestic and international markets are utilized to demonstrate the OTOP products, which now cover a wide range of local products.

Example 2

Cultural capital in the embodied state is illustrated by the feeling of cohabitation between Thais and foreigners. In the early Ayutthaya era, foreigners travelled to Thailand for commerce and trading purposes. They lived and worked in the Kingdom of Thailand under the King's patronage and protection until some communities of Ayutthaya became the multinational community that exists today. For example, chapels, mosques and temples are located near each other and represent the compatible recognition of foreign culture and co-existence among Thai people.

Cultural capital in the objectified state is the compatible recognition of foreign culture and co-existence and is illustrated by the integration of foods. Roti Sai Mai, for example, is a symbol of the cultural integration between Thai food and Muslim food in Ayutthaya and has become famous among Thai people in addition to generating income for the local community.

Cultural capital in the institutional state is shown by the community-produced products that have been recognized countrywide, and have become the proclaimed 'OTOP' products. These

have been publicized through TV programmes, published through print material, and the establishment of occupation promotion groups for short-term training to the interested public.

Example 3

Cultural capital in the embodied state is the sense of pride in the ancient city and the sense of place that coming from the city provides. All these are accumulated feelings that make Ayutthaya people distinct and different from other provinces and even from people in Bangkok (see section 5.7.1).

Cultural capital in the objectified state is illustrated by the historic places which are perceived as reflecting the wisdom of the elegant architectural works as a symbol of ‘Ayutthaya City’. These historic places make Ayutthaya become a tourism source that brings income to the local people.

Cultural capital in the objectified state has effectively been proclaimed by UNESCO’s ‘Cultural World Heritage status’, and recognized internationally as an historic tourist attraction. This brings income to the community and promotes the local economy which derives a large amount of income from tourists.

To strengthen the cultural capital for further development, all cultural capital states (embodied, objectified, and institutional) should be linked. For example 1 and 2, all three states of the cultural capital have been linked and developed internally by local people, and then dispersed externally to strengthen and sustain the community’s cultural capital. This is unlike example 3, which presents the lack of linkages to cultural capital states. The cultural capital in states 1 and 2 has been developed from local people’s notions whereas state 3 has been developed by outsiders with no agreement or consent of community insiders. The nomination for the World Heritage site stemmed from approval of the cabinet as outsiders, not insiders, in making the decision. In addition, laws and regulations relevant to the World Heritage site management have been completely imposed by outsiders. As a result, the community insiders had no participation in orientation and management. This obstructs the local people from a sense of belonging, inhibits conservation of the historical places and pride of being a World Heritage site, leading to the invasion of historic places and conflict among traders at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit. According to informant C-2:

“I’m an Ayutthaya person. I’m proud to be a local person. I have lived here for a long time. Suppose the World Heritage status is revoked, I would not been affected. Ayutthaya is still a tourist attraction. It was a reputed ancient city before it became a World Heritage site. If revoked as a World Heritage site, I believe a great number of tourists will remain.”

The examples mentioned have demonstrated the significance of the cultural capital that has influenced people’s livelihood in different areas:

Cultural capital can support economic performance. The embodied cultural capital that is within an individual can bring forth the objectified cultural capital. Embedded cultural value is in the products that are recognized as ‘provincial product’ locally and uniquely, generating community income and maintaining livelihoods. These products include the historic places, Roti Sai Mai, fish mobiles, and churned jujube.

Cultural capital predominantly determines the livelihood strategy: The ancient relics reflecting the wisdom of the elegant architecture became a tourist attraction generating revenues for the local people and community. Consequently, some villagers earn their living or create occupations in harmony with ancient urban nature. For example, stone sculpturing of ancient gods are products linked to the history of the city.

Cultural capital plays an important role in determining the development model. The cultural capital linking the World Heritage site has not been developed within the community. For these reasons, becoming a World Heritage site seems alien. The lack of early involvement and collaboration has made part of community livelihoods more vulnerable than they might have been.

Most importantly, cultural capital has involved other factors under the conceptual Sustainable Livelihood Framework as follows:

Vulnerability has influences on cultural capital. Trends, shocks and seasonality can devastate or encourage cultural capital. For example, an important trend in the study area is an increased employment in the manufacturing sector that may cause negative impacts on cultural capital. When new generations prefer working in industrial plants instead of their parents’ occupations, such as making churned jujube, the cultural capital/local knowledge of making

churned jujube succeeding from generation to generation may gradually disappear. Another example of a trend is an increased number of tourists. This can enhance the cultural capital. Knowledge about 'Roti Sai Mai', for example, can be disseminated not only by family members of traders but also by interested people who desire to produce it to earn income (see section 5.7.2.2). In this way, cultural capital can thrive.

Cultural capital can be transformed by structures and processes. Institutions and policies have also influenced the capital. For example, the master plan-based policy set out by the Department of Fine Arts in expropriating buildings in the historical place aims to improve the historical atmosphere of the World Heritage site of Ayutthaya which increases the value of cultural capital. This attracts more tourists, and increases earnings for local people.

Cultural capital enhances public potential to pursue various livelihood strategies to secure the livelihood effectively. In general, cultural capital generates direct income whether it be trading culturally-related products and services, for instance, fish mobile, stone sculptures, Roti Sai Mai, or elephant riding. In addition, it provides extra income to people who have a main career, for example, divided rooms for rent, and home stay accommodations for tourists who are interested in the cultural capital of the area. This enhances several livelihood strategies.

The relationship between capital and livelihood outcome has focused on accesses. This means that the more capital could be accessed by people, the more chance people have of achieving a livelihood outcome. In this study, access to some cultural capital is limited, for example, 'local wisdom' of making Roti Sai Mai or sculpturing because this is heritage passed down from generation to generation within the family. However access to some other cultural capital is free, for example, historical places. They provide benefits and income generation directly and indirectly, for instance, allowing people to trade souvenirs around the important historical places and renting rooms for cultural tourists. These provide people increased income and consequently lead to improved well-being which are livelihood outcomes stemming from the access to cultural capital.

From the discussion above it can be seen that cultural capital is an important part of the way of life. It can generate income (Throsby, 2005) and present the stock of cultural value embodied in it (Throsby, 1999), determining livelihood strategies. Understanding cultural capital enables researchers to understand the underlying root of the public perception of their

cultural values and their embodied culture, and know their embodied beliefs that can increase ability of determining livelihood strategies. Also, cultural capital has relationships with other factors in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Therefore, cultural capital should be contained in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to complete the understanding of people's livelihood.

Factors in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (livelihood capital, vulnerability context, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes) are also used to interpret in terms of sustainability according to four aspects of the definition of sustainability.

8.5 Sustainability

As previously stated in section 3.4, DFID's sustainable livelihood framework has been employed to determine the factors influencing the local people's livelihoods. In addition, to achieve the research objectives in exploring the local people's livelihood sustainability, the definition of 'sustainability' by the DFID institutes is used to interpret 'sustainability' to be consistent with DFID's framework. The conceptualisation of sustainability has four aspects: 1) resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses; 2) livelihoods do not depend on external support (or if they do, this support should be economically and institutionally sustainable); 3) livelihoods maintain long-term productivity of natural resources; and 4) livelihoods do not undermine the livelihoods of others.

8.5.1 Livelihood Resilience in the Face of Shocks and Stresses

The concept of resilience provides an insight into stresses and shocks, helps understand the livelihood dynamics, and identifies a system's capacity to handle change (Walker, Holling, Carpenter & Kinzig, 2004). Household resilience depends on its capacity to deal with self-organization and continue to maintain functions and to generate resources and services in a time of stress and shock. The definition of 'resilience' can be interpreted as having three important points. First, one considers the amount of change that a system sustains yet maintains its functions and structure. Secondly, one considers the system's capacity to create and enhance adaptive capacity and learning. Lastly, one considers the degree to which the system can apply self-organization or recover from disturbance by itself. In this study, these will be discussed in three different areas: 1) capacity to cope with change and uncertainty, 2) improved capacity for learning and adaptation, and 3) self-organizing capacity.

1) *Capacity to cope with change and uncertainty*: first, understanding the geography of the area is needed. The historic city provides insecurity and uncertainty to dwellers. Local people could have their homes expropriated at any time. Expropriation is considered as a ‘big shock’ that causes stress because local people never know when they might be moved away. For people whose residences eclipse the ancient monuments and thus reduce the value of the historic place, expropriation is inevitable, and they will be transferred to land provided by the Department of Fine Arts (as previously discussed in section 6.2.1). This shock has adverse impacts on local people, resulting in each household expressing its ability to cope with shock and stress in various ways through livelihood strategies (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Livelihood strategies.

Strategies	For example
Income raising strategies	room for rent, child labour, diversified activities
Expenditure reducing strategies	restricted consumption of products and services, change buying behaviour
Strategies relying on social capital	borrowing money through informal loans and from neighbours
Long-term strategies	children’s education, long-term asset building
Reduced vulnerability strategies	occupational change, relocation by themselves

Besides a good understanding of the uncertainty of the study area, the ability to cope with such uncertainty is important. The ability to cope with shock or stress is considered in the livelihood strategies. In the event of a shock or stress, livelihood diversification strategies have been heavily relied upon by local people not only to cope with the shock or stress, but also to improve resilience (Hussein & Nelson, 1998).

For instance, people with livelihood diversification strategies are potentially able to cope with the shock of expropriation. The competent family with various livelihood strategies buys land outside the World Heritage site before being expropriated (Box 3, p.124). This is a strategy of long-term asset building (see section 7.2.4). Meanwhile, it adopts livelihood strategies to increase social networks with the existing customers. At the time of expropriation, it has the option that it will not move to a smaller allocated area far from the tourist attractions. The family can move to the land bought, which is more convenient while the social network is retained because of the goodwill relationship with customers. The family can thus cope with the sudden shock and survive in its occupation with relief from the shock, crisis and stress and be able to survive in its livelihood (Hussein & Nelson, 1998).

According to the example mentioned earlier, livelihood diversification strategies appeared to be associated with capital, meaning that the greater the capital, the more livelihood diversification strategies can be applied. In the previous chapter, the access to the capitals can be illustrated in box 6. This study illustrated the comparative decision-making on coping strategies among families. A family with greater financial and social capital is more likely to build livelihood strategies that are potentially able to cope with shock without the loss of the core occupation than a family with lesser or no financial or social capital. Similarly, Dercon and Krishnane (1996) stated that a successful livelihood diversification strategy depends on skills, location, and access to capital and credit.

In addition, the government sector has contributed to an increase in access to capital for local people. Examples include increasing human capital by health promotion through ‘the Universal Coverage Health Insurance Project’, the Community Medical Unit, and increasing social capital by encouraging community officers to promote the aggregation for community development and elementary problem-solving within the community. When accessing capital extensively, it is expected that livelihood diversification strategies will be employed to cope with change and uncertainty.

However, it is argued that a livelihood diversification strategy can introduce risk (Dercon & Krishnan, 1996). Undertaking jobs other than core occupations reduces the risk of the loss of core occupation but engaging in too many activities can mean that households are unable to invest sufficient time or resources in any activities to make it profitable (Farrington et al., 2002). For example, undertaking many jobs at the same time may cause weariness and reduced performance, and might affect the core occupation. This undermines human capacity by negatively affecting future work. In my research only one informant had more than one job whereas others think that to do one job at the present is sufficient for them. Thus, they have not diversified jobs.

2) *Enhancing capacity for learning and adaptation:* changes and shocks give people an opportunity to develop learning and social memory, which is the means by which knowledge is transmitted from one generation to another. This knowledge could be applied by local people as a guideline to avoid and prevent problems and it could also be applied to cope with the presently-occurring issues. For example, educating children, which is a long-term strategy, can reduce shock or vulnerability in the future. Education levels can indicate the quality of the new generation manpower entering the labour market. The more effective the

labour, the higher income they can acquire in the future. Higher income can reduce vulnerability and shocks in the future. Thus, parents support their children as much as possible for their higher education.

Box 6 Access to the capitals

Financial capital: access to financial credit is rather difficult for local people. For example, in economic crisis or emergency, local people find it necessary to rely on informal loans because of the lack of village funds that would support or assist people in need of financial aid. Another reason for dependence on informal loans is a lack of collateral or title deeds. Most of the land on which people have resided is King Land, for which it is not possible to guarantee for a loan application with a bank. Access to the income-generating activities, for example, trading at the front of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit and trading during the ‘Glorifying the Historic City of Ayutthaya’ festival, is also difficult for local people. This is because the rental for stores is very high. Furthermore, a major income-generating source is outside the community. That is factories in many industrial estates. Because of the rapidly growing industries, the new generation of youth, who have graduated or finished high school or vocational college move into the industrial sector. This reflects the access fact that to financial capital is rather difficult for local people and most local people are dependent on external support.

Human capital: education and health services can be well-accessed by the villagers. There is an adequate number of schools and healthcare providers. However, self-support with the consumption of herbs is rare because there is no forestry areas in which to grow herbs.

Natural capital: it was found that there are a few natural capitals that are used as raw materials for production. Nonetheless, people can access natural capital in terms of the capital that promotes tourism and recreational activities. For example, water resources promote tourism through activities such as dinner cruises.

Physical capital: people can access physical capital like infrastructure equally. However, access to land is difficult because most land in the study area is King Land. Pursuing any activities on the King Land must be approved first by the Treasure Department. Land in the study area can generate revenue, for example, dividing living space into rooms for rent or for a store. Beside the difficult access to land, local people also feel uncertain about their residence as they are afraid of it being expropriated someday.

Social capital: access to social capital remains, especially in time of crisis. In a business context, social capital reinforces one’s trust. This is helpful in reducing costs when signing a contract.

Cultural capital: in Ayutthaya, a large amount of cultural capital can be easily accessed, for example, historical places, cuisine, and cultural products can generate income for local people mostly in terms of tourism revenue.

Most people employed long-term livelihood strategies to enhance capacity for adaptation to potential shocks. This includes children’s education because a well-educated child or youth can be expected to earn a higher salary and employment for better living of the family. This

can reduce the possible risks caused by shock (Turner et al. 2003) and help overcome the risk (Taylor and Wyatt, 1996).

3) *Self-organization capacity*: self-organization is a learning process in which problem-solving and learning come together without dependence on assistance and resources from outside. Self-organization is a key part of adaptive capacity that builds resilience in the community after a shock event or stress (Folke et al., 2002). Currently, most development results in the reduction of the self-organization of the community. On the contrary, it increases dependency on higher level organizations. An example is the forced move of the stone sculptors.

The study area has various level of resilience, based on changes in the way of living. The extent of resilience could be classified as follows.

Less resilience: a lack of resilience results in significant changes in the original way of life. For the stone sculptors, negative impacts resulted in: 1) a loss of status, and 2) a decreased income (reduction in financial capital). Formerly, they could charge high prices on the local products because of sculpturing workmanship. Instead they now earn income from low-price commercial products; and 3) the loss of local wisdom, a cultural capital, which they are unable to use on a career path.

Moderate resilience: this considers that partial, not whole, changes of the way of life have occurred. For example, the stone sculptors still continued to earn their living by stone sculpture, even though income declined. They undertook employment as stone sculptors from the head of the community and finished sculpturing work pieces for the head of the community without direct contact with tourists and customers. This was a survival strategy in which the occupation maintained its functions. They cannot contact tourists and customers directly because they have fewer social networks or social capital than those with the tourists and customers.

Great resilience: in this level the traditional way of living changed slightly. For example, the household head of the community relocated by himself due to expropriation. Because the land plots provided by the government were small and far from tourist attractions, the sculpturing household of the community leader moved to a new land plot that he bought. This was because he possessed sufficient financial capital to buy new, better land. Moreover, the family

also had the social capital to attract customers without government assistance. This was regarded as ‘self-organization’; the family did not need to change to a new occupation and the income level was retained.

8.5.2 Livelihoods not Dependent upon External Support

In this study, the results showed that people in the community relied on outsiders for production in two areas: economic dependence and natural resources dependence.

1. *Economic dependence* can be divided into two areas: external-income dependence and external-credit dependence.

Most income is from external sources, not internal sources of community occupation. Income generally derives from being labourers in factories. Business owners are not community insiders but foreign investors. Certainly, the industry profits are returned to entrepreneurs and operators who are not in community. Only the employees’ salaries return to the community. The younger generation of local people earns their living working in industries. In addition, unlike merchandising, where income varies from day to day, working as an employee has a fixed salary paid on a monthly basis and the workload is seemingly less. For this reason, young men and women are more likely to seek employment in factories instead of the traditional community occupations. Private employees depend on external income sources; only salary and wages flow into the community. Similarly, employees in the hotel business earn salaries but the owners are mainly outsiders. If the hotel closed, these employees would encounter immediate financial crisis. Without employment, they necessarily seek a new job. Seeking a new job inside the Historic City of Ayutthaya is tough because of the limited natural resources and dependence on imported goods from external sources. Therefore, they have to look for jobs as employees as they previously have done. This indicates the great level of external dependence of the local people.

The external-income dependence results from the development achieved by the implementation of the National Economic Development Plan No. 1 (B.E.2504), with the development paradigm, envisioning that Thailand would become a developed country. To achieve this, the government gives assistance to the community, for example, infrastructural development to accommodate industrial growth and expansion. The plan caused a greater number of labourers to move to work in factories. Additionally, the failure of household industry and a belief in a better quality of life by entering the industrial sector are other factors explaining why more people moved to the industrial sector. Reflected in those people is the

lack of simplicity and satisfaction of individuals' basic needs (Marinova & Hossain, 2006). For example, many youth turned to earn their living as employees in factories instead of producing churned jujube the community. Local people also reject the use of household labour and cultural systems to create businesses which is the way of self-reliance in a Thai context (Saksung, 2009).

In addition, to make churned jujube desserts was something complex and difficult for producers. Instead of producing churned jujube, many youth turned to earn their living as employees and merchants that made them less exhausted. Today fewer households earn a living by producing the jujube desserts, leading to the absence of young local people learning how to do it. These causes encouraged labour from different sectors in Ayutthaya to step into the industrial sector where workers depend more on the employer and the market system than on traditional self-dependence. Industrial development causes the majority of people to be less self-dependent, and more likely to rely on others.

Futhermore, most local people depend on credit from community outsiders both through informal loans and loans from financial institutions. Local people lack community financial support within their community, for example, village funds and social networks. They can borrow less money from relatives and neighbors because their relatives have similar economic statuses to them. Hence, they depend less on each other in times of financial crisis. Consequently, some rely on external funds, borrowing from banks or informal loans. Those who face a financial crisis would seek loan sources. A bank loan is for those who can demonstrate repayment guarantee or collateral security. An informal loan is for low-income people and those without security, for which the borrower is required to pay interest at a higher rate. Bank and those giving informal loans are both outsiders. Relying on external sources is necessary because there are no cooperatives or village funds in the community. This reflects the necessity of external fund dependence. According to I-2:

“I must borrow money from informal loans sources because my relatives have no money either. They are also facing financial problems and there is no village fund in our community.”

Local people depend on external credit support from banks or informal loans. This is because they lack village funds and community assistance groups, for example, village cooperatives. In the study area, beyond salary-based personnel such as company's employees and civil

servants, there are also many informal labourers, for example, traders and those undertaking work for wages. According to the Office of Labour Affairs Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, in 2009, there were 64,506 people who were craftsmen and trade-related workers, that is informal labour, which had not been granted the benefits and basic welfare provided by the government sector, for instance, health insurance, and occupational safety and stability. Without village funds and community assistance groups, these informal labourers depend on informal loans during economic crises.

It is considered that those who lived in urban Ayutthaya had almost no assistance groups (as seen in the examined community, there was no establishment of village funds or cooperatives), reflecting the absence of commitment among the community people to help each other and not rely on external assistance (Marinova & Hossain, 2006). It was also found that there were almost no important production factors, for example, abundant natural resources, compared with the rural areas. People primarily depend on employers and market mechanisms, resulting in reduced capability for self-dependence among informal labour. When they faced a financial crisis, the financial assistance they sought was for an informal loan with a high interest rate.

2. Natural resource dependence for production: local people depend on outside natural resources due to the lack of existing natural resources. Production sources are mainly derived from external sources, for example, stone for sculpting comes from Wangnamkhiew, Nakhonratchasima province. The production of the fish mobile souvenir requires palm leaves from Prachinburi. Alternative sources are not popular because the material quality is not as good as the stone derived from Nakhonratchasima, and palm leaves from Prachinburi were long familiar among the regular customers. This reflects the external dependence for production materials. Some occupations, for example jujube churning, rely on existing natural resources because the jujube trees surround the Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit. However, the number of jujube churning people has decreased sharply (Box 1, p.104).

It was found that people depended externally for production materials because in the study area there was somewhat fewer natural resources, resulting in an inadequate amount of production-purpose resources over industries. However, 'self-dependence' in materials and resources is expected to come from the community (Saksung, 2009; Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2002).

In respect of land for dwelling, the land does not belong to the people. It belongs to the King with annual rental payments. To pursue any activities on the King Land, it must first be approved by the Treasure Department. Dwellers feel insecure when the lease agreement on their premises terminates, reflecting external dependency or dependence on others.

In addition, people's potential and resources were not employed at full capacity. This is because developing the master plan, and creating the municipal community development plan, were all produced by outsiders, not community insiders. Those outsiders perceived less understanding of community resources, for example, the community resources, the local people's capacity and the actual needs of the local people. In the master plan and community development plan, use of local resources was neglected such as cultural capital. In fact, more opportunity should be given to the local people for participation as this may lead to improve problem-solving and sustainable self-development. The lack of local participation also causes people wait for assistance and provision from government in time of natural disaster rather self-reliance.

The discussion above indicated that the study area is highly dependent on external support because of urbanization that has been characterized by: 1) limited natural capital/resources as core production factors for any household operation; 2) limited social capital/network, resulting in the scarcity of assistance groups in the community and leading to external dependence, especially informal loans; 3) the lack of local participation, resulting in more dependency on government and 4) an urban structure that promotes and supports industrial growth, resulting in the self-dependence approach of Marinova & Hossain (2006) became weaker because society has changed and become modernized. The resources for production in the community are rare, so they have come to rely on external sources. In addition, most community labourers undertook jobs for a wage outside the community while production turned to focusing on selling and distribution, not for consumption. Aggregation was rare. All these have a negative effect in that local people become less self-reliant.

8.5.3 Livelihoods Maintaining the Long-term Productivity of Natural Resources

In the interpretive context of maintaining long-term productivity of natural resources or natural resource base sustainability, the decline of stocks of natural resources resulting in a lack of useful products or services for livelihood (Scoones, 1998), the following issue should be considered.

Local people in the study area use natural resources for servicing livelihoods mostly, not for production purposes. This is because there are fewer natural resources and a somewhat lesser dependency on natural resources as a major factor of production. It has been seen that some raw materials are derived from other sources. Moreover, the natural resources' quality is not suitable as raw materials, for example, water resources. Water quality in the river has deteriorated. Jujubes are the only natural resource that can use the water. Most natural resources are used to service livelihoods. Trees and green areas in the study area are used as parks for recreation activities. Similarly, water resources are used for recreation by local people and also to promote waterway tourism to see the historic places, not as major resources for production or core income generation.

The natural resources in the area are common pool resources that can be used by everyone without maintaining long-term productivity. Therefore, it should be considered a natural resource management problem to ensure long-term productivity. In the area, natural resource management includes intervention and external control through at least two mechanisms: privatization and centralized government regulation.

First, privatization has been adopted to manage the jujube trees, which have existed for a long time. The concessionaire has been granted the benefits of jujube harvesting; meanwhile, the private sector was responsible for jujube productivity. At present, the concession for the jujube trees has been revoked. The jujube trees are regarded as common pool resources that anyone can harvest. Jujube tree protection is the responsibility of the Department of Fine Arts because they are planted in historic places. Neither renewing nor replacing the jujube trees has been carried out by the Department of Fine Arts. Jujube fruit keepers now have no need to take care of the jujube trees because it is not their responsibility. Despite this, the number of jujube trees remains the same and it is anticipated that the productivity of the jujube trees will decline in the future, which may produce a negative impact on the jujube-churning occupation. This phenomenon illustrates 'the Tragedy of the Commons' (Hardin, 1968).

Secondly, there is centralized government regulation. It is supposed that if natural resources are consumed without control, they will be exhausted. Consequently, legal enforcement and punishment measures are implemented, for example, the Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act B.E.2535 (1992), and protective mechanisms for maintaining the World Heritage status.

At present, government cancelled the privatization for managing the jujube trees. Natural resource management by centralized government regulation remains. Natural resource management has been pursued by the government organizations without public participation, for example, surveillance and maintenance of water sources, recreational parks and gardens. Consequently, people lack a sense of belonging needed to protect public property. In addition, natural resource management by centralized government regulation often has problems caused by a lack of governmental officers and budgets in management, leading to ineffective management (Jeppesen, Andersen, & Madsen, 2006). This may lead to resource depletion.

Similarly, the lacking of personnel and the lack of budget to provide maintenance for natural resource management results in the deterioration of these natural resources and the environment. For example, wastes and leftovers result in visual pollution (Figure 5.11). The deteriorated resources result in the decline of resources for livelihood, for example, wastewater can be an obstacle in providing the tourists with a waterway service. Natural resource management by regulation can change people's behavior to some degrees, but it is harder to change their attitude (Gardner & Stern, 1996), and eventually the reoccurrence of undesirable behavior may be repetitive (Pretty, 2003).

Natural resources are not meaningfully related to the lives of local people and they are not the owner of the resources. These negative attitudes push the responsibility of resources maintenance to the government sector, which does not lead to natural resource base sustainability.

Ostrom (2002) suggested feasible natural resource management by the community. Local people can stipulate appropriate and acceptable rules corresponding to their own environmental setting, leading to sustainable management. However, traditional natural resource managements in the area do not include the environmental management model proposed by Ostrom (2002) that employs social capital as an aid to manage the natural resources. The study area has not been managed through the use of social capital because it is an urban area where social capital is less than in a rural area. So, social capital-based management or community-based management is difficult. Additionally, it appeared that urban people had less awareness of natural capital because they do not use natural capital as a production factor. On the other hand, financial capital becomes more important because it is an important factor with which to buy goods and services. As a result, it is difficult to

generate cooperation for natural resource and environmental management through the utilization of social capital.

8.5.4 Livelihoods not Undermining the Livelihoods of Others

This study has demonstrated that the livelihood of local people interferes with or impedes the way of life of others directly and indirectly.

1) Direct impact: destroying capital and activity in the study area

People's livelihoods have been devalued because of a number of failings in the implementation of this World Heritage site. There has been a lack of integration between local economic development and historic place conservation. Similarly the local people have not been taught how to live with the historical place harmoniously. There has also been a lack of community participation within the World Heritage site management. Consequently, local people have invaded and damaged their capital unintentionally, for example, rubbish left in the historic city devalues the tourist attractions, leading to a decrease in the number of tourists arrivals which undermines people's capability to secure livelihood (De Satgé & Holloway, 2002).

In addition, non-participation prevents local people from gaining a sense of belonging to the historical places. Consequently, they are more likely to selfishly exploit rather than be conscious of public interest and neither maintain the historic places, nor respect the local rules. These negative behaviors can destroy income-generating activities, for example, quarreling among traders at the front of Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit over illegal tent stores. Such events indicate the conflict of interest or income among traders. The legally licensed traders suffered a loss of customers and their way of life was affected by the new illegal tent traders. Obviously, the livelihood and occupation undertaken by the illegal tent traders interfered with and affected the other's livelihoods; namely that their core income-generating activity was undermined. This obstructs access to capital (Chambers & Conway, 1991) and the capacity to convert capital into livelihood activities (De Satgé & Holloway, 2002). In this way the legally licensed traders' way of living was undermined.

2) Indirect: the effect of waste disposal on the neighboring community's livelihood.

Waste disposal within the study area affected the neighbouring community's livelihood. Since the World Heritage site has been growing rapidly with a growing number of tourists every year, it has resulted in an enormous increase of solid waste, which is disposed by the municipal authority at the open dumping area of 30 rais outside the World Heritage site. Such waste disposal has had a severe impact on the environmental setting and surroundings. First, the leachate drained into the villagers' farms resulted in a drop in agricultural productivity. The farm water was dirty and the farmers were sick with hand-foot-mouth syndrome. Secondly, garbage from the open dumping area was blown into the farm land. Finally, the problem of odours and house-flies from the dumping waste disturbed and annoyed the food shops and neighbouring townhouses. According to the Ayutthaya City Municipality's officer:

"People neighboring the dumping waste now are complaining to the municipal authority about garbage and leachate drained into the villagers' farming land and waste odours."

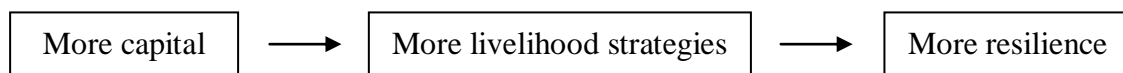
Even though these problems had not affected the people in the study area or the World Heritage site, the way the solid waste was disposed of had adverse impacts on others' livelihoods, occupations and neighbouring community health. This undermines people's capability to utilize resources (Chambers & Conway, 1991) and to secure their livelihood (De Satgé & Holloway, 2002). It reflects unsustainable environmental management.

8.6 Discussion

The results of the study mentioned above lead to discussion under three areas: 1) Ayutthaya people's livelihoods are not sustainable; 2) the definition of 'sustainability' given by the DFID institutes is not appropriate to an urban context; and 3) people in the study area do not depend upon the World Heritage site.

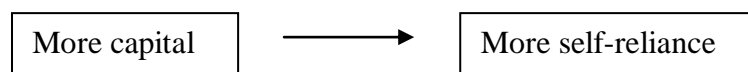
1) *Ayutthaya people's livelihoods are not sustainable.* The results and livelihood-influencing factors mentioned in prior sections require interpretation under the DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Approach. The interpretation showed that the study area is unsustainable in four respects.

First, with regard to the resilience in the face of external shocks and stresses, most people are less resilient. This is because they possess less capital, particularly financial and social capital. Resilience could be considered in three important areas: 1) capacity to cope with change and uncertainty; most households affected by expropriation lost income and eventually changed their occupation, which reflects that they cannot maintain their way of living; 2) improved capacity for learning and adaptation; people provide their children with education to ensure that they will grow up well-educated so that can create and enhance their adaptive capacity in times of shock and stress; 3) self-organizing capacity; most households had less self-organization capacity. They rely on assistance from local administrative agencies to cope with shocks. The relationship of factors in this area is indicated as follows.



The results showed that the resilience is associated with capital and livelihood strategies; namely the greater capital the people possess, the more they pursued different livelihood strategies. The more livelihood strategies they applied to cope with shock or stress, the more resilient they are. Conversely people who have little capital can barely cope with shock or stress.

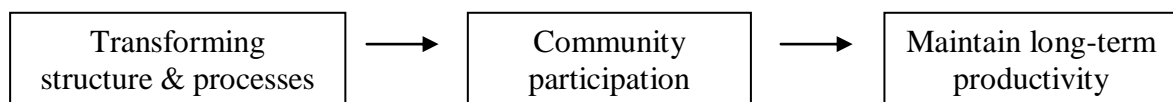
Second, in respect of the requirement not to depend upon external support, most people cannot achieve this and depend on external support in two areas: economic and natural resource dependence for production. Most of them worked as labourers in factories, resulting in more dependence on the employer and marketing system than traditional self-dependence. Also, there are no assistance groups such as village funds or cooperatives, so with a lack of community financial support, there is external-credit dependence. Furthermore, because there were fewer natural resources in the area, there was an inadequate amount of production-purpose resources over industries. Hence, people have to depend externally on production materials. The relationship of factors in this area is indicated as follows.



Self-reliance is associated with capital. The greater or the more access to capital people achieve, the more they are self-reliant with reduced dependence on external sources.

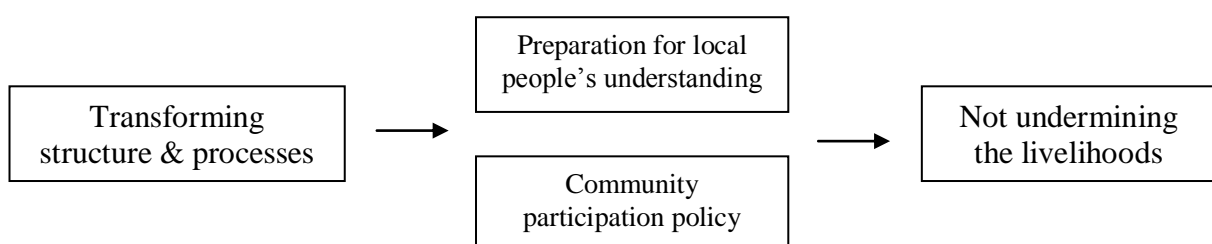
Third, the area is unable to maintain long-term productivity of natural resources or natural resource base sustainability. At present, the natural resource management is guarded and

maintained by the government. There are problems, however, concerning a lack of governmental officers and budget resulting in ineffective management. Natural resource management by regulation can change people's behavior to some degree, but attitudinal change is harder (Gardner & Stern, 1996). Eventually the reoccurrence of undesirable behavior may be repetitive (Pretty, 2003). In addition, in the study area there is a lack of participation by local people in the surveillance and maintenance of natural resources. This may lead to resource depletion in the future with an unsustainable natural resource base. The relationship of factors in this area is indicated as follows.



Maintaining long-term productivity of natural resources is associated with local natural resource management, thereby linking it with transforming structure and processes. The discussion pointed out that when area management policy has focused on public participation, people are more likely to have a sense of the belonging of resources and maintain these natural resources rather leave them to government supervision. This results in maintaining the long-term productivity of natural resources.

Fourth, with regard to not undermining the livelihoods of others, the study showed that the livelihoods of local people interfere with or impede the way of living of others. Directly, people invade and damage the historical places unintentionally, leading to a decrease in the number of tourist arrivals thereby undermining people's capability to secure a livelihood. Also, the livelihood and occupation undertaken by illegal tent traders at Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit interfered with and affected other's livelihoods. Indirectly, waste management of the Historic City of Ayutthaya had an adverse impact on others' livelihoods, occupations and neighbouring community health, reflecting unsustainable environmental management. The relationship of factors in this area is indicated as follows.



The discussion above showed that operation procedures and policy administrated by local organization have influenced the livelihood activities of the local people. For example, without a community participation policy, a lack of cooperation at work may result, conflict occurs in income-generating activities, and there is difficulty in obtaining natural resources. Obstruction of other's livelihood results.

Therefore, interpretation of four aspects of the sustainable livelihood and the relationship mentioned above showed that the livelihoods in the study area are unsustainable. This stems from two factors; 1) low capital/low access to the capital and 2) lack of transforming structures and processes concerning preparation for local people's understanding policy and community participation policy.

2) The definition of 'sustainability' given by the DFID institutes is not appropriate to an urban context. Even though the sustainable livelihood measurement applied by the DFID approach found that the local way of living was unsustainable in all four aspects, it does not mean that such measurement is inappropriate to measure livelihood sustainability in urban areas. Only the requirement for no dependence upon external support has doubtful validity to measure sustainability in the urban area. This is because urban areas always rely on external sources.

The result of the previously stated relationship to the sustainable livelihood measurement is that self-reliance is associated with capital. The greater capital and the more access to capital, the more likely that people are self-reliant with reduced dependence on external sources. However, most member of an urban population have insufficient capital, thus it is always necessary to rely on external contributions for two main reasons: 1) urban areas depend on the external sale of labour; and 2) urban areas have fewer natural resources so it is necessary to rely on external resources.

Urban people need higher cash income than rural people. Access to cash income is critical to urban people because money can be exchanged for foodstuffs and necessities to secure their livelihoods. Most cash income is derived from the sale labour as employees are dependent on the business owner. If the business is outside the community, it means that those employees depend on external sources of income. If the business closes down, it may lead to such problems as unemployment and an immediate household financial crisis.

Urban areas have fewer natural resources so it is necessary to rely on external resources. Since an urban area includes fewer natural resources, its claims on natural capital is less important than financial capital (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). With fewer natural resources, the establishment of a business or household industry, without dependence on external sources of production, is very difficult. Therefore, measuring the sustainable livelihood for urban people is impossible without depending on external support.

In brief, using the definition of ‘sustainability’ given by the DFID institutes to interpret ‘sustainability’ is probably reasonable in rural areas, but not for an urban area. Thus, to employ this application in urban areas requires some alterations to aspects of the framework or else provide a different interpretation of ‘sustainability’. For example, interpret sustainability separately for environmental, economic, social and institutional aspects. This should be feasible for most areas.

3) *People in the study area depend less upon the World Heritage site.* Although the results showed that becoming a World Heritage site has influenced the livelihood negatively and positively, it cannot be said that people in the study area depend upon the World Heritage site. There are various factors that make people depend on the World Heritage site. In general, being a World Heritage site aims to protect and preserve the natural and cultural heritage both nationally and internationally for all people. In countries worldwide, governments make every effort for sites to be chosen and recognized as valuable and important (Hawkins & Khan, 1998). In the case of Thailand, for example, the Thai government and governmental organizations put much effort into historic places to be World Heritage sites. One important reason for this ambition to become a World Heritage site is the need to improve the reputation of the nation. Of course, developing the tourist attractions generates income for the local community (Hawkins & Khan, 1998; Drost, 1996), and becoming a World Heritage site enhances the pride of local people (UNESCO, 2004; Evans, 2002) to ensure the protection and preservation of the historic places sustainably. However, local people in the study area have less dependence on World Heritage status for many reasons: 1) local pride and it already being a tourist attraction and 2) the majority of local people depend on external industries.

Local pride and being a tourist attraction: becoming a World Heritage site develops the pride of the local people (Evans, 2002) by being recognized internationally. However, people of Ayutthaya don’t require World Heritage status to build their pride, because they are proud of being people from Ayutthaya already and they appreciate the long-standing history of the

historic city of Ayutthaya (see section 5.7.1). This pride occurred before the area becomes a World Heritage site. In addition, Ayutthaya has not relied on being a World Heritage site to attract the tourists because Ayutthaya has long been famous for national historic tourism. Many Thai and foreign visitors travelled to Ayutthaya, and generated income for local people prior to its becoming a World Heritage site. This is similar to many other World Heritage sites where a lot of tourists visited before being proclaimed a World Heritage site (Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005).

The majority of local people depend on external industries: most local people depend on external industries rather than tourism. Industry is regarded the most important sector of the local economy (Office of Labour Affairs, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, 2010). Income from the tourism industry accounted for only 7.9% of total provincial income (Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Provincial Statistical Office, 2009). Hence, it can be stated that only a small proportion of local people in the study area are dependent on the tourism business. Every year between 2003-2008, income from domestic tourists has been 10% greater than income from foreign tourists (Table 2.4). This suggests that tourism income is less likely to depend on income from foreign visitors who visit because of the World Heritage site. As the economy of the area is mainly dependent on external industries, it can be argued that local people do not consider the World Heritage site as a major source of dependence for their livelihoods.

Nevertheless, the World Heritage site potentially provides some benefits to the study area. For example, being a World Heritage site can attract more foreign tourists and generates community income and local economic growth. Also, it produces employment and growth in the facilities locally (see section 8.3). However, in the study area, the negative impacts of being a World Heritage site go beyond the positive impacts, namely expropriation (see section 6.2.1). Being a World Heritage site greatly affected local people because of a lack of public participation. In addition, laws and regulations applied to area management included in the Master Plan aims to preserve the national heritage by moving people out of the World Heritage site and have been stipulated by outsiders. The government policy excluded local people from the control of historical places. Local people were not entrusted by government to protect, maintain, and administrate the national property. Moving local people out of the World Heritage site under the administration of agencies at the local and national level was done to maintain the site under the UNESCO's concept of cultural and natural resource conservation. All these reflected the state monopolization in area management without concerns of public participation which eventually resulted in unsustainable livelihoods for

local people. Therefore, to create livelihood sustainability and minimize the impacts on local people's ways of life in other similar sites, UNESCO should emphasise the local livelihood of native people and develop ways to create public participation models managing World Heritage sites.

8.7 Future research

Being a World Heritage site has affected the lives of local people both positively and negatively. While the positive effects of World Heritage sites are economic growth through the tourism sector, the negative effect is that local people have to lose their familiar residences and change their occupations. However, should Ayutthaya lose its World Heritage status future research should again investigate the impacts on local livelihoods.

Furthermore, in examining the sustainability of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, it was heavily influenced by being a World Heritage site and expropriation, while natural factors in the area played a lesser role. Finally, following the completion of the field study, in August 2011, the greatest flooding in Thai history occurred and many people were affected. Ayutthaya and the study site was also affected by flooding which spread over the agricultural, industrial and commercial sector. Future research should also investigate the vulnerability caused by natural disaster, flooding, and examine how flooding affects the local people in a World Heritage site.

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Appendix A

Advisory Body Evaluation

WORLD HERITAGE LIST

N° 576

A) IDENTIFICATION

Nomination : The Historic City of Ayutthaya
Location : Province of Ayutthaya
State party : Thailand
Date : 28 September 1990

B) ICOMOS RECOMMENDATION

That this cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of Criterion III.

C) ICOMOS OBSERVATIONS

The World Heritage Bureau in June 1991 deferred examination of this nomination pending receipt from the Thai authorities of details of the boundaries of the area nominated for inscription. By letter of October 11, 1991, the required information has been provided. ICOMOS has examined the documentation and is satisfied with the information provided.

D) BACKGROUND

In 1350, during the reign of the grandson of Rama the Strong (the true founder of the kingdom of Sukhothai), a Thai vassal revolted and obliged the king to make an oath of allegiance to him. He had himself crowned, taking the name Ramadhipati, and made Ayutthaya his capital, which thus became the second Siamese capital. The city was relatively close to the border with Cambodia because the new king wanted to make the Khmers his vassals. The new dynasty had to defend itself against numerous revolts and invasions and the Siamese state became, above all else, a military state.

Regarding its cultural life, several distinct phases can be seen:
-the period between its foundation and the annexation of Sukhothai (1350-1438); -the period of the great wars (1438-1628); -the

period of Westernization (1628-1733); -and the apogee, before its destruction (1733 to the end of the 18th century).

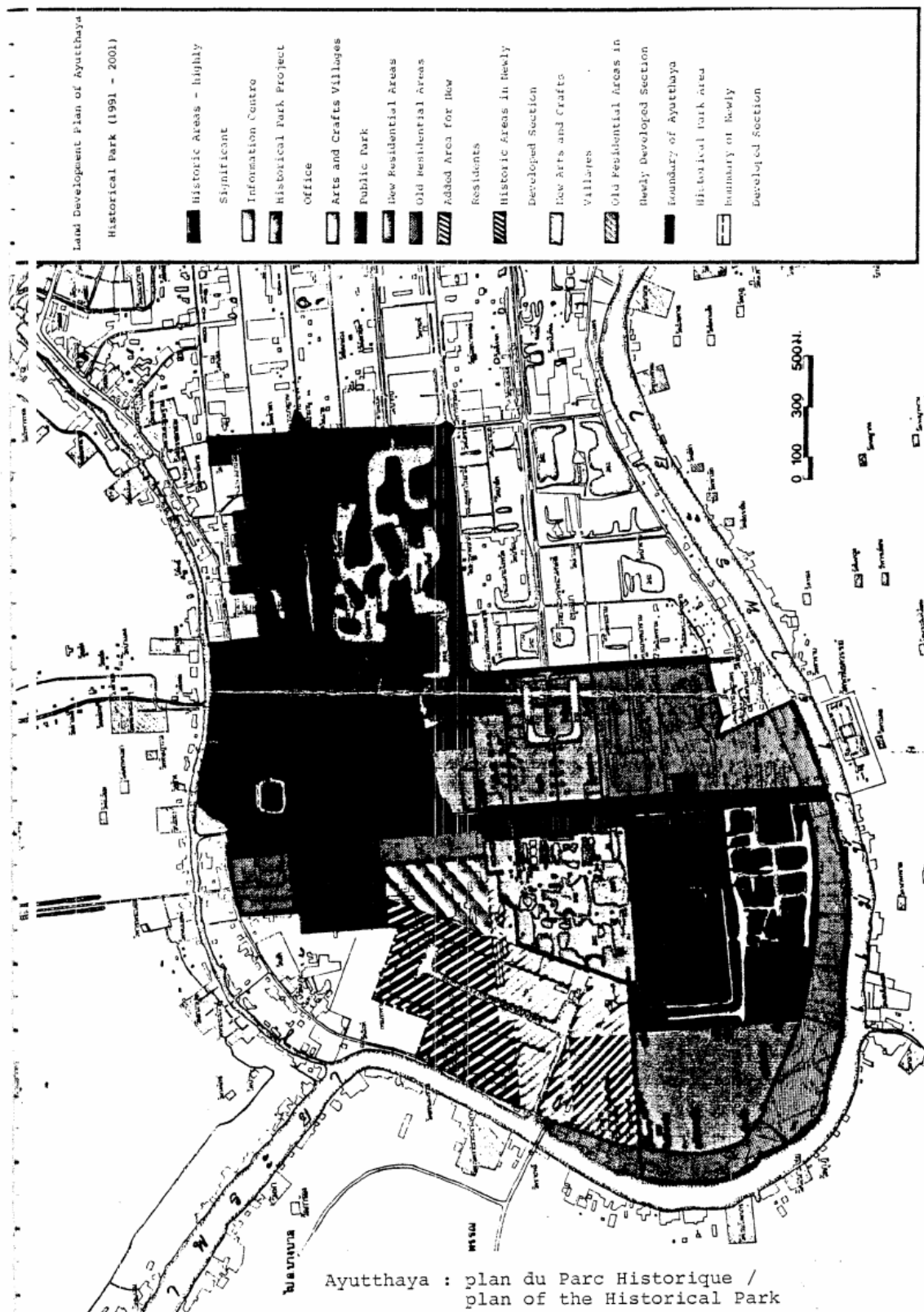
Initially, Ayutthayan art was a mixture of local traditions with strong influences from Sukhothai. It was only during the second period that a true "national" art was born, the product of diverse cultural influences. As the state opened up politically toward Europe in the 17th century, traces of Western culture began to appear. Once these new influences were assimilated, Siamese art entered a period of rich mannerism.

The city was destroyed by the Burmese and today nothing remains but a few vestiges of the splendor that was Ayutthaya. The main architectural feature of the town was the "prang", a reliquary tower which did not exist at Sukhothai. To compete with the old capital, the kings of Ayutthaya richly endowed the monasteries, which acquired gigantic proportions (Wat Mahathat, 14th-17th centuries; Wat Si Sanphet, 15th century, etc). Another feature of Ayutthayan art was the increased use of mural painting used to decorate all monuments, for example, the crypts of Wat Raj Burana.

Today, the site's characteristic architecture of brick and stucco is devoid of its decoration and completely exposed to the elements. In 1967 the site was classed a historic park, but only part of it is proposed for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

- **Criterion III.** This site bears excellent witness to the period of development of a true national Thai art.

ICOMOS, November 1991



Appendix B

Question for semi-structured interviews with local households

Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with Rural Households

1. Which village do you normally live in?.....
2. Sex: 1=Male; Female=2.....
3. How old are you?
4. Have you ever been married? What is your current situation?.....
5. What is your ethnicity?
6. Where is your place of birth?
7. What is your religion?
8. How long have you been living in this village?
8. Why did you decide to live in this village?
9. Do you plan to live here longer?
 - Yes *Why?*
 - No *Why?*
10. If you or a member of household is ill, what would you do?.....
11. Where do you normally receive health treatment services?
 -
 - And how do you go there?*
 -
 - How far (km) is the nearest hospital from your home?*
 -
 - How far (km) is the nearest health care centre from your home?*
 -
12. In what ways do you think education important for your career and life?
 -
13. What level of education do you have?
 - 1=No education; 2=Functional literacy; 3= Primary school not finished;
 - 4=Primary school finished; 5=Lower secondary school finished;
 - 6=Higher secondary school finished; 7=University finished.
 - If no education, why?*
14. Level of education of the members of the household
 - Level of Education Male (no.) Female (no.)*.....
15. Are there any rules and regulations in this village for joining activities in the community?
 - 1=Yes; 2=No
 - If "yes", From whom? In what ways?*
 - Would you like to participate? Why / why not?*
16. Do you join together with other villagers for events or activities in the community?
 - 1=Yes; 2=No
 - If "yes", What type of events/activities?*.....
 - Why?*.....
 - How often?*.....
 - If "no", Why / why not?*
17. If you were short of food, who would you go to for help? Why them?

-
18. If you were short of money, who would you go to for help? Why them?
.....
19. What sort of social problems in your village do you face?
.....
Who do you ask for helps?
.....
How are these problems solved?
.....
If these problems haven't been solved, why?
.....
20. Have you ever initiated or been allowed to initiate any ideas for the overall development of your community?
1=Yes; 2=No
If "yes", to whom? Are your ideas accepted?
Why/Why not?.....
21. To what extent do you think the activities from tourism in the Historic City of Ayutthaya are effective for social development in the area?
Prompts: 1=Strongly effective; 2=Effective; 3=Ineffective; 4=Strongly ineffective
How?
22. How do you normally receive information on social, economic, political issues inside your village? Prompts: please rank in order of importance
.....TelevisionRadioNewspaperInternet
.....Face to face *Who?*.....
23. How do you access information on social, economic, political issues or events outside your village? Prompts: please rank in order of importance
.....TelevisionRadioNewspaperInternet
.....Face to face *Who?*.....
24. Have you ever been invited to participate in the meetings, discussions, decision-makings, planning, and implementation for the development of your community?
1=Yes; 2=No
If "yes", from whom? How often? In what ways?
.....
If "no", would you like to participate? Why / why not?
.....
25. Do you have any livestock? 1=Yes; 2=No
If "yes" Please specify:
1.....*How many?*.....
2.....*How many?*.....
3.....*How many?*.....
4.....*How many?*.....
5.....*How many?*.....
26. Which natural resource, if any, is your household dependent on for social or cultural activities?
.....
How abundant is it?.....
Do you think the level of access to each natural resource is equal for all members of your community?
1=Yes; 2=No
If no, why?.....
27. Which natural resources are vitally important for the household economy?.....

- How abundant is it?.....*
- Do you think the level of access to each natural resource is equal for all members of your community?*
- 1=Yes; 2=No
- If no, why?.....*
28. What has been the trend of availability of natural resources that your household uses?
Please give the reason contributing to its trend.
- Prompts: 1=Increasing; 2=Decreasing; 3=Remained constant
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| a. Forests | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| b. Fish species and quantity | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| c. Non-timber forest products | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| d. Birds | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| e. Wildlife | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| f. Minerals/clays (for pottery etc.) | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| g. Clean water | <i>Why?.....</i> |
| h. Others (specify)..... | |
29. What kind of regulation or restrictions control your access and use of the natural resources in the area?
- 1.....
- How is it set?By whom?*
- Do you have any role in setting them?.....Why or why not?.....*
- 2.....
- How is it set?By whom?*
- Do you have any role in setting them?.....Why or why not?.....*
30. What sort of problems concerning your livestock do you face?
-
- Who do you ask for help?*
-
- How are these problems solved?*
-
- If these problems haven't been solved, why?*
-
31. Do you own the house/apartment you live in?
- 1=Yes; 2=No
32. Do you have electricity in house/apartment you live in?
- 1=Yes; 2=No
- If "yes", what is the source of power?.....*
33. How important is the following infrastructure to your household?
- Houses.....*
- Water.....*
- Electricity.....*
- Roads.....*
- Drains.....*
- Waterways for travel.....*
- School, hospital & other public building.....*
- Technology applied in security system.....*
- Others.....*
- What items above need to be improved for a better livelihood.....*
- How?*
- Why would this improve mean a better livelihood?*
34. What kind of regulation or restrictions controls your access and use of the assets above in

the area?

- 1.....
How is it set?.....By whom?.....
Do you have any role in setting them?.....Why or why not?.....
2.....
How is it set?.....By whom?.....
Do you have any role in setting them?.....Why or why not?.....

35. How many members of your household are working to earn money?

What occupation?

1. main occupation.....second occupation.....
2. main occupation.....second occupation.....
3. main occupation.....second occupation.....
4. main occupation.....second occupation.....
5. main occupation.....second occupation.....

Do you have other source of income?.....please specify:.....

36. Who are the most important purchasers of the goods or services that the household produces?.....

37. Why do you produce these goods/services?.....

38. Are there other goods/services you would like produce?.....

What?.....Why/why not?.....

39. What was your previous job / work?

40. When did you change to your present job?.....Why?.....

41. How do you think about your present job / work if compared to the previous one?
.....
.....

42. What is the average annual income of your household?

43. Do you have income equally every month?.....

1=Yes; 2=No

If “no”, Which season do you earn most?.....Why?.....

What are you able to save each year on average?.....

To what extent can you support yourself and the family?.....

44. Are there any loan providers in your villages, neighbourhood, or commune?

1=Yes; 2=No

Do your household ever borrow money? 1=Yes; 2=No

For what purposes?

45. Who or Which organization do your household normally borrow money from?

Prompts: please rank in order of importance

1. 2.
3. 4.

46. Do you think the means of access and the level of access to credit which villagers would get
are equal for all members of your community?

1=Yes; 2=No

If yes, how?

If no, why?.....

47. What sort of financial problems in your village do you face?
.....
.....

Who do you ask for helps?.....

How are these problems solved?

If these problems haven't been solved, why?

48. Do you have family members work involving with tourism business in the Historic site of Ayutthaya?

If 'yes', what types of their career?

1.....
2.....
3.....

49. Is it possible for local people to set up their own business in the Historic Site of Ayutthaya?

1=Yes; 2=No

If "yes", In what ways?

.....

If "no", Why?

50. Have you ever experience having any events or trends that cause serious stress/poverty?

1=Yes; 2=No

If "yes", In what ways?

How often? How long?

How did you cope with them?

51. Have you ever experience having any epidemics or environmental disasters?

1=Yes; 2=No

If "yes", Please specify

How often? How long?

How did you cope with them?

52. Do you have your family members or relatives migrating to work?

1=Yes; 2=No

"If yes", why?.....*where? elsewhere :*

When did they leave here?

What are their jobs / works?

53. If your access to the Historic City of Ayutthaya area became restricted, how would it affect your livelihood opportunities?.....

54. How many government organizations, NGOs, community services are operating in your locality?

Which one?.....

What do they each do?.....

Among them, who are the key players in development and control?

.....

.....

55. Are you satisfied with government's plans and works?

1=Yes; 2=No

Why/Why not?.....

56. Are you satisfied with NGOs' plans and works?

1=Yes; 2=No

Why/Why not?.....

57. Are you satisfied with local authorities' plans and works?

1=Yes; 2=No

Why/Why not?.....

58. Do you want tourists to visit the Historic City of Ayutthaya?

Why?

Why not?

59. Would you consider someone visiting who lives in another part of Thailand a tourist?

.....

60. In your opinion, is a business that sells anything to tourists, e.g. a fruit seller, a part of the tourist industry?.....

61. If you face some problems concerning management in the Historic City of Ayutthaya, do you generally get help from government officers?

- 1=Yes; 2=No
 If "yes", How?
 If "no", Why / why not?
 How are these problems solved?.....
62. What are the challenges for tourism in the Historic City of Ayutthaya?
 1.....
 2.....
 3.....
63. If Ayutthaya lost its World Heritage status, how would this affect your household?

64. What does your household do to avoid poverty?.....
 Are these successful?
 1=Yes; 2=No
 If "yes", Please specify
 How?.....
 If "no", Why not?
 Who helps or supports your household to avoid poverty?.....
65. What are the main factors (assets) that are used to avoid poverty for your household?
 1.....How?.....
 2.....How?.....
 3.....How?.....
 What are the obstacles to avoid poverty?.....
 Why?.....
66. Is your household investing in assets for the future (saving)? If so, which types of assets are priorities?.....
65. Has tourism affected your household?
 - Economically.....
 - Socially.....
67. What activities has your household done to get the improvement?.....
 Who helps or supports your household?.....
 If it has not been improved, what has your household done to cope with the problem?.....
 Who helps or supports your household?.....
68. What are your goals in life? Which are the most important?
 1.....Why?.....
 2.....Why?.....
 3.....Why?.....
 At present, which livelihood goals are achieved?.....
 How to achieve?.....
 Who help or support for achieving that goal?.....
 How?.....
69. How close are you to achieve your livelihood goals?

 and what is preventing you from fully achieving them?.....
 How?.....

Appendix C

Questionnaires for semi-structured interviews with local authorities, government officers and NGO officers

Questionnaire:

Date:

1. Occupation:
2. Organization:
3. How long have you been working for this organization?.....
4. What are your main responsibilities?
5. What are the aims and objectives of your organization?.....
6. When was your organization established in Ayutthaya?.....
7. Please indicate the activities in which your organization has been involved for the Historic City of Ayutthaya
8. How long have your organization's activities been undertaken in relation to the Historic City of Ayutthaya?
9. Which of your organization's activities influence people's livelihoods? And how?
.....
10. Have you ever had any conflict with local people due to your organization's activities?
1=Yes; 2=No
If "yes", How often? In what ways?
.....
If "no", Why / why not?
Who do you ask for help to solve problem?.....
How are these problems solved?
.....
If these problems haven't been solved, why?
.....
11. Have you ever invited local community to participate in the meetings, discussions, decision-makings, planning, and implementation for the community development?
1=Yes; 2=No
If "yes", How often? In what ways?
If "no", Why / why not?
12. If you invite local community to participate in the meetings, discussions, decision-makings, planning, and implementation for the community development, do they take part?.....
Who/Which segments of the community take part?.....
13. In your professional opinion, what are the issues and challenges for the resources management
and sustainable livelihood activities of the people in the Historic City of Ayutthaya?
.....
How will the people respond?
What strategies do they have in place?.....
What strategies does your organization have in place to help them?
.....
14. If Ayutthaya lost its World Heritage status, how would this affect your organization?
.....
How would it effect the livelihood of people in the community?.....

Appendix D

Research timetable summary of informants base in community

Interview : community	Dates
Rongwansura	
A-1 (community leader)	5 th Jan 2010, 8 th Feb 2010
A-2 (contractor)	13 th Jan 2010
A-3 (fruit trader)	25 th Jan 2010
Kalahom	
B-1 (community leader)	7 th Jan 2010, 26 th Jan 2010
B-2 (food trader)	10 th Jan 2010
B-3 (souvenir trader)	15 th Jan 2010
Klongtao	
C-1 (community leader)	4 th Jan 2010, 12 th Feb 2010
C-2 (grocer)	14 th Jan 2010
C-3 (churned jujube trader)	2 nd Feb 2010
Sonsomdet	
D-1 (community leader)	9 th Jan 2010, 16 th Feb 2010
D-2 (grocer)	10 th Jan 2010
D-3 (souvenir trader)	13 th Jan 2010
Tawasukri	
E-1 (community leader)	4 th Jan 2010, 24 th Feb 2010
E-2 (nurse)	14 th Jan 2010
E-3 (motor cycle driver)	28 th Jan 2010
Pranon	
F-1 (community leader)	8 th Jan 2010, 10 th Feb 2010
F-2 (worker)	11 th Jan 2010
F-3 (churned fruit trader)	29 th Jan 2010
Rimwong	
H-1 (community leader)	6 th Jan 2010, 19 th Feb 2010
H-2 (labourer in a factory)	12 th Jan 2010
H-3 (taxi driver)	15 th Jan 2010
Chaipatana	
I-1 (community leader)	9 th Jan 2010, 25 th Jan 2010
I-2 (food trader)	20 th Jan 2010
I-3 (souvenir trader)	28 th Jan 2010
Yansen	
J-1 (community leader)	7 th Jan 2010, 27 th Feb 2010
J-2 (beverage trader)	11 th Jan 2010
J-3 (souvenir trader)	3 rd Feb 2010
Suppasamit	
K-1 (community leader)	5 th Jan 2010, 21 st Jan 2010
K-2 (policeman)	18 th Jan 2010
K-3 (food trader)	18 th Jan 2010
Napratumnak	
L-1 (community leader)	6 th Jan 2010, 12 th Feb 2010
L-2 (housewife)	20 th Jan 2010
L-3 (souvenir trader)	22 th Jan 2010
Srisanpet	
M-1 (community leader)	8 th Jan 2010, 19 th Feb 2010
M-2 (government officer)	3 rd Feb 2010
M-3 (souvenir trader)	29 th Jan 2010

Appendix E

Research timetable summary of informants base in governmental officers and NGO officers

Informant : governmental officers and NGO officers	Dates
Ayutthaya Historic Park Office, the Department of Fine Arts	
Art-1	8 th Dec 2009, 6 th April 2010
Art-2	17 th Feb 2010
Ayutthaya City Municipality	
Muni-1 (community)	10 th Dec 2009, 15 th April 2010
Muni-2 (health care)	8 th March 2010
Muni-3 (environment)	8 th March 2010
Muni-4 (administrative)	22 nd March 2010
Ayutthaya Provincial Office	
Prov-1 (natural resource)	11 st March 2010
Prov-2 (country planning)	15 th Dec 2009
Prov-3 (treasury)	11 st March 2010
Prov-4 (statistical office)	18 th March 2010
Prov-5 (industrial)	18 th March 2010
Prov-6 (labour)	22 nd Feb 2010
Tourism Authority of Thailand	
Tour-1	15 th March 2010
Ayutthaya Educational Institute	
Raj-1	23 rd March 2010
Wihan Phra Mongkhon Bophit Foundation	
Wihan-1	2 nd March 2010

Appendix F

Information for informants

(government officers and NGOs)

You have been asked to participate in a project titled ‘a Sustainable Livelihood Approach in a World Heritage area: Ayutthaya, Thailand’. This research aims to explore sustainability of local livelihoods based on or influenced by the World Heritage status of Ayutthaya. The community leader has suggested several people who are knowledgeable and have relevant experience to assist my research. I have chosen you randomly from those people the leader identified who live in a tourism area. The questions are wide-ranging and personal. They cover many aspects of your livelihood, the resources you rely on, your goals and how you intend to reach them. Questions will cover education, finances and health issues. They will also cover threats to your livelihood. You do not have to answer all the questions. The interview is confidential and anonymous.

The interview will take 30 to 45 minutes for organization’s representative. The interview is voluntary. You have the right to discontinue your participation at any stage.

The findings of this study will be used for the researcher’s doctoral research and dissertation at Lincoln University, New Zealand. Parts of the results may be published, but your anonymity will be preserved.

This project is being carried out by Patranit Srijuntrapun, a PhD candidate, under the supervision of Dr. Hamish Rennie and Dr. David Fisher. The researcher can be contacted at Lincoln University (see address details above), and will be pleased to discuss any concerns you might have about participation in this project. Should you, at some point prior to 31 May 2010, decide to withdraw your participation from this project, it is possible to contact the researcher, and have the information you have given deleted from the data set. To do this, all you need is to provide the coding number from the top of this page. After this time, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project, and consent to publication of the results with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Should you have any concerns about the research or the conduct of the researcher please contacts either her (at the address above) or her supervisors whose contact details appear below:

Dr.Hamish Rennie

Phone: (64) (03) 325 3838 ext 8002
Email: hamish.rennie@lincoln.ac.nz

Dr.David Fisher

Phone: (64) (03) 325 3838 ext 8149
Email: david.fisher@lincoln.ac.nz

Appendix G

Information for Informants (local household)

You have been asked to participate in a project titled ‘a Sustainable Livelihood Approach in a World Heritage area: Ayutthaya, Thailand’. This research aims to explore sustainability of local livelihoods based on or influenced by the World Heritage status of Ayutthaya. The community leader has suggested several people who are knowledgeable and have relevant experience to assist my research. I have chosen you randomly from those people the leader identified who live in a tourism area. The questions are wide-ranging and personal. They cover many aspects of your livelihood, the resources you rely on, your goals and how you intend to reach them. Questions will cover education, finances and health issues. They will also cover threats to your livelihood. You do not have to answer all the questions. The interview is confidential and anonymous.

The interview will take 60 to 90 minutes for rural household. The interview is voluntary. You have the right to discontinue your participation at any stage.

The findings of this study will be used for the researcher’s doctoral research and dissertation at Lincoln University, New Zealand. Parts of the results may be published, but your anonymity will be preserved.

This project is being carried out by Patranit Srijuntrapun, a PhD candidate, under the supervision of Dr. Hamish Rennie and Dr. David Fisher. The researcher can be contacted at Lincoln University (see address details above), and will be pleased to discuss any concerns you might have about participation in this project. Should you, at some point prior to 31 May 2010, decide to withdraw your participation from this project, it is possible to contact the researcher, and have the information you have given deleted from the data set. To do this, all you need is to provide the coding number from the top of this page. After this time, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project, and consent to publication of the results with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

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Appendix H

Consent Form

Name of Project: **A Sustainable Livelihood Approach in a World Heritage area:
Ayutthaya, Thailand**

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that my anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that any information I have provided to the interviewer may be withdrawn by me prior to 31 May 2010. To do this I would contact the researcher or her supervisors and provide them with the code number on the information sheet which has been given to me by the researcher. The contact information of the researcher and her supervisors has been provided to me.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____