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MSc Sustainable Heritage**

**Sustainability of Local Community Through UNESCO's World Heritage Site Policy
A Case Study on Old Historic City of Ayutthaya, Thailand**

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Abstract

This report argues that sustainable heritage management requires strong support from the local community. Sustainable community can in turn help with the sustainability of heritage. The aim of the research is to investigate the role of community in heritage sustainability with regard to UNESCO's World Heritage Site policy in the Old Historic Town of Ayutthaya. For Ayutthaya, it is clear that the rich variety of social, economic, political and cultural developments has, in many ways, had an influence on Thai society. Moreover, there are distinct cultural traits and ways of life that have developed in the area but are often overlooked. Throughout the prosperous era, Ayutthaya has become a cultural melting pot of different races and religious beliefs which has influence Thai society until today.

This paper will investigate effects of World Heritage Site policy and Thai government practices on local community. Heritage value and cultural and daily life impacts will be discussed. Furthermore, this paper will assess an awareness of local community to the heritage and how it responds to the policy in order to sustain itself and its cultural heritage. Message interpreted by local community after the policy has been used and their involvement in heritage conservation program will be addressed.

Key words: Ayutthaya World Heritage Site, Sustainable Community, Community
Participation, Heritage Conservation

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I Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

The province of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya is situated in the southern part of the central plain of Thailand, covering a total of 2,556 square kilometers. (Figure1) According to Van Beek and Tettoni (1999), modern day Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya is at the forefront of industrial development whilst it has by far the highest concentration of historic architectural and archaeological remains in the country. The provincial capital, Ayutthaya municipality is today a bustling town of around 60,000 people (National Statistic Office, 2007).

In 1908, the kingdom declared the entire Ayutthaya City Island a protected zone. Private occupancy was prohibited. The excavation and repair works on some monuments, archaeological and architecture remains started in 1956 by the Fine Arts Department. Later, as for the protection and conservation of Ayutthaya Historic City, it is provided by the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museum of 1961 and reinforced by zoning regulations under the City Planning Act of 1975. (DPT, 1975)

Internationally, On November 16th, 1972 in Paris, more than 170 State Parties signed an international agreement on the World Heritage Convention in order to conserve a collection of the world timeless treasures (Pedersen, 2002: 14). Thailand, being one of the State Parties, carries a responsibility to maintain the values for which the site was inscribed. Article 5 of the Convention calls for each State Party to ensure the protection, conservation, and preservation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory.

Today, the remaining ruins of ancient religious structures and royal palaces which clustered near the centre of the island are the remnants of this past glory. Surviving monuments are mainly of brick construction, covered with the traditional decorative lime stucco, much of which has fallen off. Ayutthaya Historic Park is considered to be a cultural property of

outstanding universal value and was awarded the status of World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1991 for the following reason:

Criterion (iii). The Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns, and for what it was as a capital city, is distinctive and unique, and there is no historic city anywhere in Asia or any parts of the world of its like.



Figure 1: The kingdom of Ayutthaya and adjacent states, c.1540: (1) Lanna Tai; (2) Ayutthaya; (3) Cambodia; (4) Lan Sang; (5) Vietnam. (Drawn by Mark Woodbury after Wyatt, 1982a: 87.)

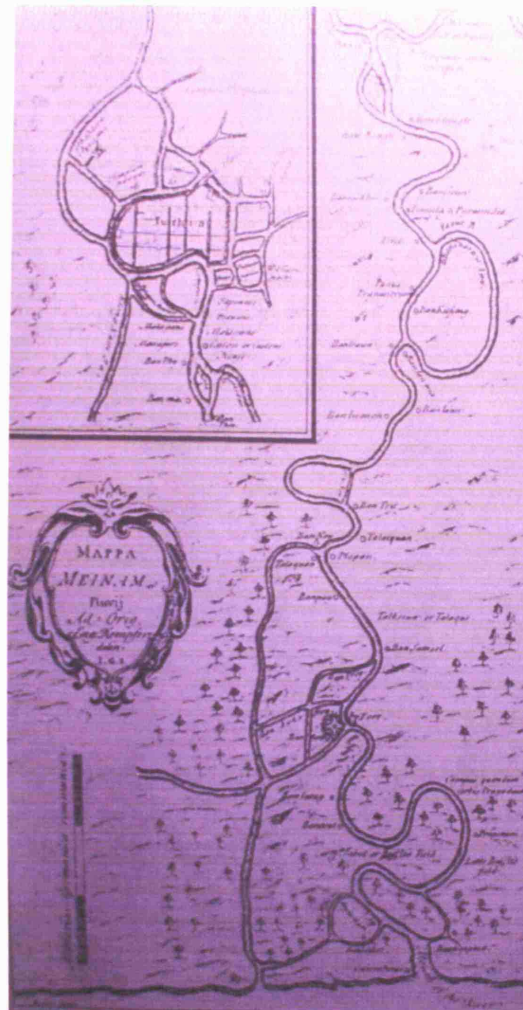


Figure 2: The Chao Phraya River, from the Gulf of Siam(then Gulf of Thailand) up the river to Ayutthaya Island., from Kaempfer, E., *The History of Japan*. London., 1772

Figure 3: A plan of Ayutthaya Island showing important heritage sites (Drawn by Tim Beattie after a 1956 plan by Archaeological Exploration Section, Division of Archaeology, Department of Fine Arts, Thailand; Nagel Publishers, 1982: 200-1; Boisselier and Beurdeley, 1987: 246; Jumsai, 1988: Plate 19; Government of Thailand topographic maps.)

1.2 Aims of the Research

The aim of the research is to investigate the role of community in heritage sustainability with regard to UNESCO's World Heritage Site policy. It is to fortify the importance of community to heritage sustainability. This research will investigate effects of World Heritage Site policy and Thai government practices on local community by using Old Historic City of Ayutthaya as an example. Heritage value and cultural and daily life impacts will be discussed. Furthermore, this paper will assess an awareness of local community to the heritage and how it responds to the policy in order to sustain itself and its cultural heritage. Message interpreted by local community after the policy have been used and their involvement in heritage conservation program will be addressed.

1.3 Structure of the Report

The argument will be divided into three chapters. Firstly, the paper will discuss the main idea of sustaining community in general and then narrowing down to explore roles of community in heritage sustainability in South-East Asia, Thailand in particular. Secondly, the report will illustrate the policy of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites management toward the living community and national policy responding to it. Thirdly, it will discuss the practices of both UNESCO and government agencies and the act of communities upon these policies. After that, the research will draw the major findings and suggest some recommendations as a conclusion.

1.4 Research Methodology

This research uses several techniques to collect data on the basis of qualitative methods.

Literature review is used to examine a wide range of sources, documents and publications relating to the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site and Ayutthaya's narrative history, architecture, urban planning and their use in heritage interpretation and their role in Thai culture and community. As stated by Hart (1998: 1 in Blaxter et al., 2000: 120) that in order to develop an understanding of the topic, literature review is crucial to ground the research and show what have already been done and researched. There are diverse resources written by foreign scholars. This method was designed to build an understanding of theoretical and practical aspects of the development of heritage interpretation internationally and locally.

The interview was used in this research. Though there are some set questions, the interview tends to go toward free flowing on the conservation topic about Ayutthaya. The conversation is more of general talk about their own roles in the organization in order to make interviewees more relax while having conversation (Samra-Fredericks,

in Cassell and Symon, eds., 1998: 161-184). This research includes five in-depth personal interviews of persons involved in heritage conservation in Southeast Asia and Pacific region and Thailand; two architects and conservators who work in the field and also six community leaders. The research also interviews academics and experts in the field of arts and architectural conservation in Ayutthaya. This method was chosen to illustrate roles of stakeholders and how real practices were applied in Ayutthaya and other World Heritage Sites.

A questionnaire was designed, tested and evaluated for tourists both Thai and foreigner. (Appendix 1) The questions are set to be general and easy to answer in order to get accurate result. This questionnaire was also used for local communities' survey as well however; it was adjusted to be more of local issues. These surveys were used to differentiate views of locals and tourists and also national and international perspectives.

Working on two architectural conservation projects in the field, the author paid regular visits to Old Historic City of Ayutthaya and also across Ayutthaya province itself with some extensive notes in hands. The recent visits paid attention to social life in the town, communities, architecture and urban features around the site. This method was employ to help the interpretation and observation of social view and communities' daily life. As claimed by Saukko (2003: 64) that the critical interpretation can enable the scholar to become acutely aware of always situated and limited nature of his worldview, thereby, open up space for different interpretations of other people's as well as our own realities.

1.5 Research Scope

The research will only consider the area on Ayutthaya Island which consisted of two protected zones. (Figure 4) It will not explore the whole area as specified by the Department of Fine Arts as the Master Plan on the Construction and Development of the Historic City of Ayutthaya. This was then approached to UNESCO as the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns which declared a wider area and divided into seven zones. (Figure 4).

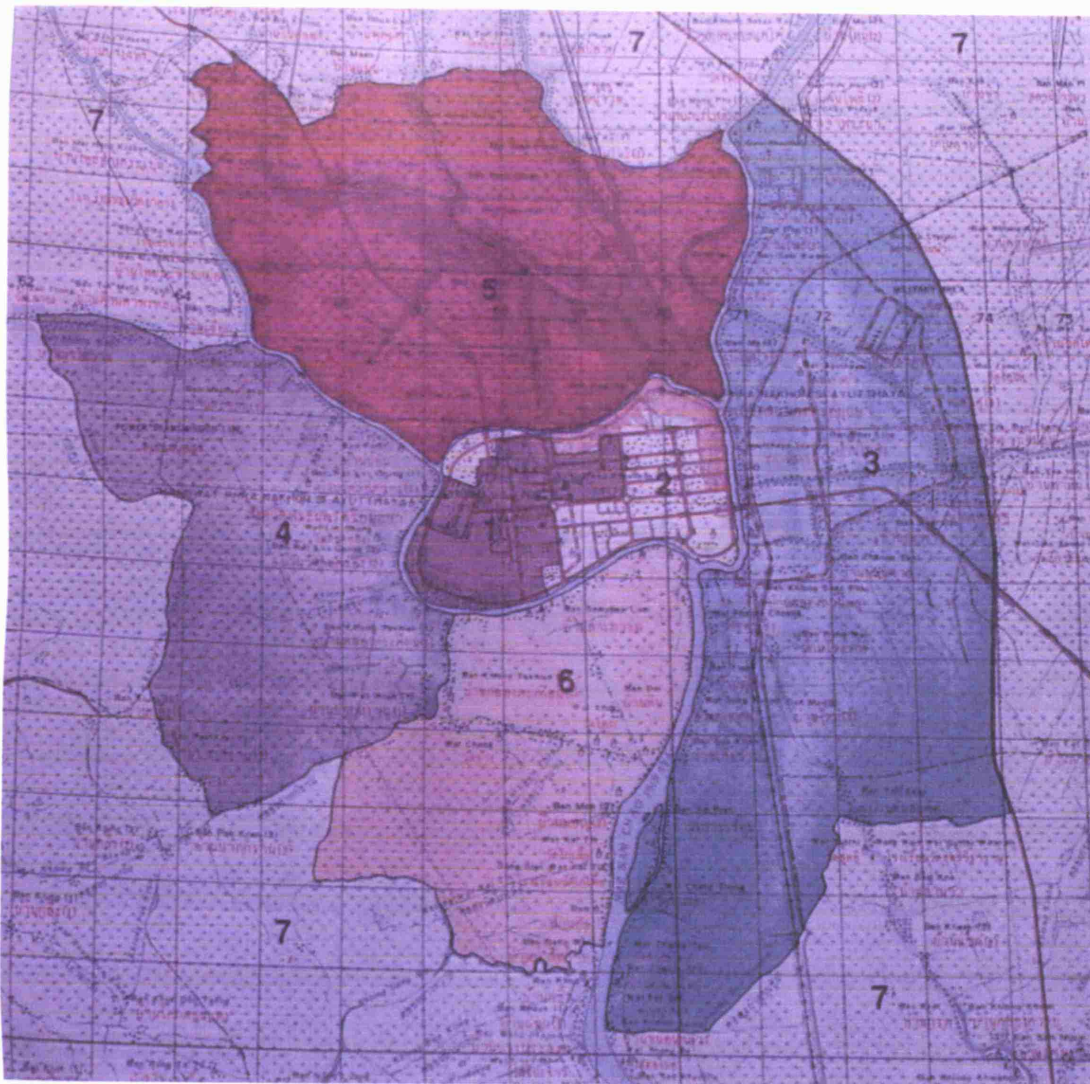


Figure 4: A Plan of the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns which divided into 7 zones

- 1) Ayutthaya Historical Park
- 2) Area in Ayutthaya Island outside Ayutthaya Historical Park
- 3) The East side of Ayutthaya Island
- 4) The West side of Ayutthaya Island
- 5) The North side of Ayutthaya Island
- 6) The South side of Ayutthaya Island
- 7) The Other parts of Ayutthaya

1.6 Case Study Site Description

Thailand, formerly known as Siam, had formed the first independent nation in 1238; Sukhothai (1283-1349) was then the capital, including the creation of the Thai alphabet which united the Thais into a single national entity. (Lim, ed., 2001: 225-228) Unlike the former capital of Thailand, Ayutthaya's historic centre was situated on an island at the confluence of three rivers system, Lopburi, Pasak and Chao Phraya River. (Figure 2)

Founded in 1350 by King Ramadhibodi I, Ayutthaya rapidly developed from a small village to the nation's seat of power and prospered for 417 years through thirty-five reigns. By all accounts, Ayutthaya has been one of the principle cities of Asia since the mid-fourteenth century and in its seventeenth-century, it was a city secure, prosperous, and densely populated for its age (Gervaise, 1668: 37-41). During these times, Ayutthaya became a cosmopolitan city as attested from the journals of European merchants, missionaries, and embassies to its courts (Aasen, 1998: 96-97). Trade boomed and art and culture flourished along with Buddhism. At the apex of the prosperity, temples, which were heavily ornated with gold and their golden pagodas, were omnipresent. Being the maritime trading hub of Southeast Asia, Ayutthaya's territorial waters in the past never lacked vessels, which traveled to and from Malaga, Java, China, Japan, India, and Persia (Breazeale, 1999: 23-45). People of different ethnicities and races lived within the city (La Loubère, 1986 : 112). The Chinese, Vietnamese, Malay, and Persian were located within the city wall while the Indian, Japanese, Khmer, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Greek and other aliens resided outside the island setting up their own village and appointing their own chief entitled by the king (Dhiravat, 1990: 129). Notwithstanding, the richness of Ayutthaya drew enemies from neighboring countries who wanted to grasp its treasures by force. Ayutthaya had to defend itself from no less a hundred battles with Burma, Laos, and Cambodia. It fell twice to Burma: the first time was in 1569 and the second one was in

1767 which it was completely sacked, burnt and consequently abandoned for several years. The capital city then moved further down Chao Phraya river closer to the Gulf of Thailand to what is now, Thonburi. It was reigned by King Taksin the great who united the country for a brief period. Then it was moved across the river to today's Bangkok Rattanakosin Island, the historic core of Bangkok, in 1782.

Bangkok's historic city, Rattanakosin Island has possessed pretty much of Ayutthayan traditions such as naming system, the belief of how to locate buildings and communities, and how to secure the city from enemy (Seidenfaden, 1928: 71; Wyatt, 1982: 146). At present, the Fine Arts Department is a government agency responsible for the management of cultural property and the coordination with other agencies such as Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya province, the City of Pra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya, the Department of Religious Affairs, and the Department of Public Works, Town and Country Planning. In 1993, the Master Plan on the Conservation and Development of Old Historic City of Ayutthaya was devised to provide a framework and guidelines. Within the remit of the Fine Arts Department is the promotion of Ayutthaya as an attractive tourist destination. The Master Plan on the Conservation and Development of Old Historic City of Ayutthaya aims to develop and renovate the ruined places to be one of the main cultural heritages of the country. The plan also prescribes the development of people's mind and culture; the enhancement of tourism with emphasis on balancing conservation with tourism development (Fine Arts Department, 1993). It also aims to develop the nation's arts and culture and thereby create economic and social benefits. The plan is also focused on encouraging the cooperation of government, private sectors, and local communities with regard to cultural conservation. However, from personal experiences at the site for several years and having interviewed many members of local communities, visitors and officials, it believes little progress has been made to realize or implement these aims.

II Sustainable community and heritage

2.1 Sustainable Community

According to Mumford (1938), urban environment is not only a concern of natural landscape, but also of cultural landscape. The cultural landscape results when humans manipulate their landscapes through their culture. Collective cultural ideology including identity is employed to manipulate those landscapes. Urban landscape, as a cultural landscape, is both a product and a representation of cultural identity. Furthermore, Virilio (1991) notes the meaning of the city in terms of urban civilization as a maximum concentration of the power and culture of a community. Culture has been maintained and conserved through generations of specific community. Culture in every aspect in community has been multiplied and manifold.

‘Here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order. Here is where the issues of civilization are focuses: here, too, ritual passes on occasion into the active drama of a fully differentiated and self-conscious society’.(Mumford, 1938 quoted in Parker, 2005: 139)

It is clearly stated in Article 27 in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972, that it is important to educate and inform people about their cultural and natural heritage. After the declaration, the development trend in most countries still seems to go toward economic sustainability rather than emphasizing on people and community development. Later, the United Nations has strengthened the role of local community in sustainable development in Local Agenda 21 Campaign (Dahiya & Pugh, in Pugh, ed., 2000). In the last decade, UNESCO has developed the community-based approach for conservation in order to increase people’s participation (Atkinson, 2004 in Westendorff, ed., 2004). This also includes UNESCO Universal Declaration On Cultural Diversity which clarifies the role of UNESCO as a leader and the importance of community in creating diversity (UNESCO, 2002). Again recently, UNESCO has strengthened the role of community in its

ground-based approach to education (UNESCO, 2005: 9-11). De Merode (2004: 9-15) states that even UNESCO's management policy toward practice often lacked community involvement in the past. According to Kaldun (2004: 115-19), however, the development policy of cultural and natural heritage in South-East Asia has been changed to include more community participation. These days, this approach has been adopted as a part of the ground theme by many conservation organizations both internationally and nationally in order to create a learning community to conserve its own cultural treasure.

In South-East Asia, UNESCO's policy over the past ten years has been evolved. There has been an assessment for each program in heritage conservation. This assessment has been use in regard to the management of sustainability and conservation of cultural and natural resources. The process has been moved away from national planning to local planning by generating participation and stewardship in the community.

There are three dominant objectives stressed by UNESCO as quoted by Kaldun (2004: 115)

“....(a) To empower individuals in local communities, as well as the communities as a whole, to enable them to understand and advocate the long-term conservation of the heritage in their communities; (b) To enable the local communities to play a leading role in actual hands-on conservation and preservation work, such as monitoring the condition of the site, taking part in preventive conservation and ongoing maintenance and restoration; (c) To develop the means of through which local communities can benefit financially from the enhanced conservation of the heritage, while at the same time maintaining their social and spiritual traditions.”

2.2 Roles of community to heritage sustainability

Gramsci states (1971: 321) that an immutable human nature is not concrete. Human nature is a totality of historically determined social relation. Thus, to construct culture, or indeed to develop national or ethnic identities, are willful acts which occur only as a result of human volition and effort and through intensive social relations. (Barth, 1969: 9-38) Therefore, culture can be viewed as comprehensively integrated, dynamic, and situated everyday practices and experiences such as inhabiting a dwelling as a family unit, worshiping ancestors, arranging a marriage, or acknowledging the status of a chief versus a commoner. Alting Von Geusau (1989: 2) demonstrates the Thai concept of culture that it expresses a more dynamic concept of “The Way of Life”. It encompasses all aspects of life and is moreover open for change, and surprise, good or bad.

An approach of UNESCO’s policy to heritage conservation has been dominated by enhancing community for more than a decade now. UNESCO sees this as an important aspect to improve quality of life of a community. Local development in heritage conservation should encourage people and their communities to participate. Local people are to carry on their sustainable development (UN Commission of Environment and Development, 1983). Community is to commit and involve in the area development in order to sustain their environment including heritage environment. Policy-makers as well as heritage professionals are faced with challenge of recognizing that for conservation to be implemented effectively and in a socially acceptable way, the populations living in or near heritage sites must be given a leading role of in the development of policy, as well as in the management of the heritage sites.

Old communities in many parts of Thailand especially in the rural area owned all sorts of art and culture. Though, Ayutthaya historic core is not in the country, it possesses all sorts of art and culture which influence Thai society today. Whether it is in ritual, literature, dancing, folk

art, painting, sculpture, architecture, or city planning, these have been selected through generations of Thai people and interwoven with local cultures to create a distinctive Thai culture. Beek (2002: 10) also portrays that Ayutthaya period is the collective and cultivated era of Thai art and culture. All these traditions have been passed on through generations for more than 700 hundred years. Many ethnicities had lived in Ayutthaya and owing to its connection with the foreign countries; the accumulation of diverse foreign cultures had been applied. According to Jory (1999: 461), Thai people posses many adaptive cultures likely no other parts of the world would probably are. These diverse communities have played critical parts in the development of Ayutthaya since then.

In sum, to sustain their heritage, community has its roles to play. There are social, economic, environmental and cultural roles, respectively. Clark (2000: 15) views community involvement as a crucial part of heritage conservation and in a long-run, community support is always at the centre of every conservation project. The historic environment can be maintained in their hands while cultural value can also be affirmed by community. Responding to the World Heritage Site's Management Policy, the Thai government agencies' practices could affect the way they live which again will influence the way they do to their heritage. Sustainable these communities can enable the viable life of heritage. Moreover visitors can appreciate to culture and daily life of local community which has been sustained as well. Diverse communities in Ayutthaya play important roles in sustaining the heritage. Many programs from UNESCO regional office and national agency can not achieve their goals of heritage conservation due to lacking of community support. The question of how UNESCO's management policy through national agency's practice could really help strengthen the sustainability of the community within the heritage in the future is quite challenging.

III UNESCO's policy toward sustainability of World Heritage Sites and local communities

3.1 Global and regional perspectives

Today there is a more conscious, active approach to the preservation of Ayutthayan heritage. Bodies such as UNESCO and the World Heritage Bureau are invaluable to the preservation and conservation of many cultural and natural sites throughout the world. (Staiff, 2004) These organisations are particularly helpful in generating an awareness of heritage values. Indeed, one of the crucial aspects of conservation is to heighten awareness of the community. Furthermore, promotion of heritage sites encourages study, exploration and examination of facts that can help local and international community to be more understood of the heritage.

The presentation of the archaeological heritage to the general public is an essential method of promoting an understanding of the origins and development of modern societies. At the same time it is the most important means of promoting an understanding of the need for its protection. (ICOMOS Charter 1990: 4)

Shaeffer (2008) states that UNESCO apparently talks about living heritage rather than using the term 'ancient places' - which infers that the place is dead. Places like Sukhothai and Ayutthaya have different historical backgrounds so the conservation should be done in different ways. He also asserts that UNESCO started projects by focussing on tangible heritage in the past, but it now begins by focussing on the intangible ones such as culture, people's daily life and belief. It leads to a living culture that blends the past with the present. The most important thing in this case is to get people and community involved. It is to engage human spirit with the spirit of the sites by using heritage sites as part of the process. This happens by integrating the non-living architecture with living community, living culture. At the same time Gijzen (2008) agrees that the encouragement of

community will lead to the sustained protection and conservation of heritage sites. Furthermore, the innovation of the intangible heritage can help to develop community awareness of heritage. It is an acknowledgement of the connection from past to present and gives life to the heritage.

There are some drawbacks, anyhow. Since being added to the World Heritage List, Ayutthaya's global profile has risen and this has led to conservation issues gradually coming more to the fore. (Peleggi, 1996: 432-448) As a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site, Ayutthaya has been classified as a unique site with the idea that it should be maintain as such. However, the site's unique quality lends itself to many forms of interpretation with diverse stakeholders. The challenge of uniting conservation, interpretation and tourism pose a number of problems, some of which are evoked by Black and Wall:

The UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List takes this national 'ownership' of cultural identity one step further by globalising it – by making a cultural site the shared property and responsibility of the world. The motivation of UNESCO is to preserve examples of what is unique and special, and to protect them in perpetuity. There is an element of 'freezing' the cultural remains and their contexts. While it can generally be understood why the monuments need to be separated from the destructive effects of 'progress', do the historical remains also have to be separated from the vitality of cultural expression of living people? Whose heritage is it, anyway? Merely because the heritage belongs to 'everyone' does not mean that it has to have the same meaning to everyone. (Black and Wall, 2001: 133-134)

Wing (2008) asserts that many UNESCO's regional policies tend to empower local community. To achieve this aim, it establishes regional activities and country level

projects. Have been realized this problems, UNESCO regional office has established some new programs recently such as the Asian Academy for Heritage Management, Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards for Cultural Heritage Conservation, Cultural Diversity Programming Lens, GIS and Cultural Resource Management, Underwater Cultural Heritage in Asia-Pacific Waters, Cultural Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha, respectively. Srisuchart (2008) asserts that UNESCO uses these programs to not only persuade people in the community but to engender the involvement of young people in the community as well. In heritage conservation, young generations are important for both sustaining community and heritage (Shaeffer, 2008; Srisuchart, 2008). Notwithstanding, the process of setting up all these workshops to strengthen roles of community is time consuming due to lack of community and national government support and conflicts between national agency, local authority and local community. The paper will discuss effects of these programs on community later in this chapter.

3.2 National perspective

The attempt to revive Ayutthaya can be seen as a cultural heritage site came during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). Private ownership was prohibited in many areas of Ayutthaya Island and much of Ayutthaya was declared as public property. (Fine Arts Department, 1993: 9) In 1908, the kingdom declared the entire Ayutthaya City Island a protected zone. Private occupancy was prohibited. The excavation and repair works on some monuments, archaeological and architecture remains started in 1956 by the Fine Arts Department. Later, as for the protection and conservation of Ayutthaya Historic City, it is provided by the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museum of 1961 and was recognized in 1967 when the Thai Government Agency, the Fine Arts Department, designated the site a historical park. (Division of Archaeology, in Fine Arts Department, 1993: 10) It was the

inscription of Ayutthaya, along with Sukhothai and the forest sanctuary of Thung Yai-Huay Khakhaeng, on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1991 that amounted to the ultimate authentication of its central place in the national historical narrative. Then it was reinforced by zoning regulations under the City Planning Act of 1975. (DPT, 2004)

The addition of Ayutthaya to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1991 has given impetus to conservation efforts that are not purely focused on the simple restoration of monuments. (Fine Arts Department, 1996: 432-448) Moreover, there has been an increase in effort to explore and examine the distinctive cultural aspects of Ayutthayan life. In 1993 the plan to conserve Ayutthaya was converted into the Master Plan on the Conservation and Development of Old Historic City of Ayutthaya due to the importance of the site that had been registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List which included a plan for study and preservation of historic and archeological evidence; a plan for improvement of infrastructure and environment; and a land use plan to adapt the restoration task to present ways of living. As the restoration continues, an awareness of wider conservation issues has developed. Indeed Ayutthaya World Heritage is acknowledged as being part of a live heritage debate. Questions have been raised regarding the link between conservation and interpretation, and between national and local perspectives. Moreover it is now considered that all conservation work, whether reconstruction, repairs or other means of conservation are 'interpretation in their own rights' regarding national and conservators' expertise. (Staiff, 2004)

On the other hand, the criticism of UNESCO policy toward Ayutthaya has been presented consecutively since it has been registered. Director-General of the Department of Fine Arts (Sampachalit, 2008) notes that many issues and challenges regarding preservation and conservation are concerned with fiscal matters while Thailand National Commission for

UNESCO had its plan to be achieved by the department in a long-term period. It appears that funding is a particular problem when new solutions are provided to tackle various problems. According to the Ministry of Culture Annual Report (2007), until now, UNESCO has given only 30 percent of its proposed budget since 1991 (Sampachalit, 2008). The Thai Government has also given little budget to cope with many national heritages around the country. After several years of the declaration of its World Heritage Site status, it appears that the limitation of national and UNESCO supports has limited the way to achieve the conservation plan (Fine Arts Department, 2007). Besides, it is due to the conflicts between the Government and the Thailand National Commission for UNESCO as well (Sampachalit, 2008). The Fine Arts Department, for example proposed the idea of providing a lift service between sites using special adapted vehicles that create less pollution. The idea was accepted by the government but later rejected by the Thailand National Commission for UNESCO (Sampachalit, 2008).

In terms of tourism, Pellegi (1996: 432-448) claims that the use of tourism as a key factor of development can create conflicts among stakeholders in the heritage sites. Thumwimol (2008) also reveal that Ayutthaya temples have been under renovation since the implementation of the Fine Arts Department's Master Plan on the Conservation and Development of Old Historic City of Ayutthaya. Since being registered, tourism has created many problems of the site. To integrate tourism and understanding of world heritage, many roads have to be built leading the way to tourists. Little consideration has been given to the fact that most of Ayutthaya World Heritage Site's monuments are still separated by a network of roads throughout the island. If some of these interconnecting roads were opened to general traffic and given over to being use solely for the purpose of tourism a more unified and atmospheric interpretation of the heritage site could not be created. The road infrastructure and its proximity to the sites also present some critical issues regarding pollution and damage as exhaust fumes and vibrations from passing traffic endangers the fragile monuments. Indeed, it would appear that far from attempting to

reduce traffic around the monuments, the opposite has occurred and more modern constructions have been added in recent years (Thumwimol, 2008). These days, considerable change and developments have occurred on the Ayutthaya Island, noticeably the unnecessary widening of many roads. As in the result of the survey, local people commented that the design of some new buildings is not in harmony with most Ayutthayan monuments.

In terms of heritage sustainability, Heangkaew (2008) affirms that it is good to persuade people from other places to see and appreciate and at the same time encourage local people to help conserve and protect these sites rather than let Fine Arts Department to do the job alone. There are not enough staffs at the national agency to do all the works. The department recently encourages the volunteer works for historic environment s around the country but it seems unsuccessful due to strict regulations of Thai heritage sites. Besides, the volunteer works in heritage conservation sector in Thailand is less compared with social and rural development sectors. In deed, follow the UNESCO policy of community-based conservation, the department has made little progress in this. It's not only the strict rules of the department but also the perception of local community as well. Sihmart (2008) notes that most Thai people perceive heritage buildings as sacred places so that they would not dare to enter the sites. So the heritage areas are left un-maintained due to less staffs to take care of and neglect by locals. He agrees with UNESCO program of giving life back to Ayutthaya by increasing people participation. However he is in doubt whether locals can maintain their heritage with social and environmental benefit with less economic outcome.

There are more local authorities and stakeholders responsible for the area as mention in the first chapter. There are; the Province of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya, the City of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya, the Department of Religious Affairs, and the Department of Public Works, Town and Country Planning, respectively.

It has been suggested by UNESCO (2004) that the conservation policy should be initiated from the grass-root level of community. However, the Governor of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya Province's strategy is to open up heritage sites for people of Ayutthaya to have more opportunities for locals to create more arts and cultural events as long as they take care of heritage sites (Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya Province, 2007). In this way, the project can bring more people and more income to Ayutthaya. The provincial policy tends to go towards the economic benefit from the use of heritage asset. (Kasetsiri, 2003) The way Ayutthaya is run certainly sounded very promising to locals but in facts, there are many heritage companies get in and again less and less community participation due to an inability of caring the heritage. The City of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya also has a leading role by providing cultural budgets for local events (Sihmart, 2008). Recently, the city has established connections with many cities in the Asia-Pacific region and Europe to create partnership in sustainability of urban heritage. At present, meanwhile, with its lack of experience in heritage conservation makes it difficult to provide knowledge and idea of heritage sustainability to locals (Heangkaew, 2008).

On the other hand, the Department of Religious Affairs' policy towards cultural conservation is often criticized as too protective. Dang-Ead (2008), Director-General of the department, claims that the department chooses to close them down from public use by means of protecting them.

Anyhow, temples, churches, pagodas, religious structures and objects can be used carefully and with great skill. He suggests that opening cultural heritage sites up in well-thought out ways can then maximize the positive, conservation and protecting potential of increasing access and ensure negative side-effects are kept to an absolute minimum. Meanwhile, Thumwimol (2008), reveals that if the sites are kept closed off, they will decay anyway, perhaps to a stage beyond salvation. The Fine Arts Departments and the Department of Religious Affairs do not have enough staff to maintain the sites, so heritage sites are left neglected and become more and more unkempt. Meanwhile, the regulation reinforced by the Department of Public Works, Town and

Country Planning is to keep the area far from new development which may affect heritage area (DPT, 2004). There are in some areas, anyhow new developments approved by local authority, namely the City of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya. This is due to the transfer of duty and authorization from central government to local government responding to Agenda 21 which is proved to be the failure due to the lack of knowledge of local authority in heritage conservation.

3.3 Academic perspective

Some scholars agree to what UNESCO has done in the area so far in terms of strengthening conservation education, while they have questioned the policy of the national agency instead. According to Mala (2008), many educational institutions in Ayutthaya think that a variety of UNESCO programs has help preserving life of communities and heritage sustainability. Meanwhile, she states that there are too many officials or people from government join these programs. Sometimes it reflects the authority view rather than community view. Less community participation is the main issue in Ayutthaya, she asserts. Communities tend to think that they have no role to play with the government sector. Niladej (2008) agrees in this view while he goes on to criticize the national policy. He states that after registered as a World Heritage Site, many government practices has diminished Ayutthayan social life. As Miura (2007: 132-135) argues that the continuity of social and spiritual life is more crucial to people in this region. This is due to the lacking of studies of various kinds of social life that have been developing since the past. In addition, the distant nature of the relationship between locals and the Fine Arts Department has brought with it considerable mutual suspicion. The idea of using local people as stakeholders to help in the conservation and protection processes has been suggested even though at the moment, it seems too early for them to adjust their policy (Niladej, 2008). Ruethai (2008) also reveals that there are more and more tourists coming to Ayutthaya after being in the world heritage list. The idea of getting rid of people of the site is affecting visitors, most significantly in the way the sites feel abandoned with a lack of life and activity in

and around them. Greater involvement and co-operation seems to be the obvious way forward. Nonetheless, there are some barriers that need to be overcome before this can occur. Local people generally do want to help to conserve and participate in Ayutthaya World Heritage Site, while their mistrust of the Fine Arts Department and the fact that they feel isolated and ignored discourages them (Ruethai, 2008). Jiratsanakul (2008) reports that UNESCO often asks local authorities to help in order to deliver such programs in heritage conservation. This is always misunderstood by locals due to negative relationship between local authorities and people as well. Improved communication seems essential to create greater understanding and reduce the risk of further damage to the heritage. Perhaps such commercial conflicts of interest could be much more easily overcome if locals felt closer to their heritage. If they were able to reap the financial benefits of a more vibrant, attractive heritage site, they would surely be much more likely to see the connection between heritage and their lives, now and in the future.

3.4 Visitors' perspective

From the questionnaire (Appendix 2), it can be stated that European visitors, who are the main visitors to Ayutthaya, already possess some understanding about cultural differences and are motivated to seek more knowledge from their experiences. (Appendix 2) Planning for interpretation to serve this group should have been objective to provide deeper knowledge. It should not simply address just the oldest, the largest or the rarest attraction, but to offer opportunities to encourage questioning, to challenge them to reveal their understanding of the meaning of Thai culture, in light of the complexity of the world and our role within it.

As for visitors from ASEAN countries which comprise the largest group who visit Thailand, they constitute only a small proportion in Ayutthaya. Part of the reason is because they do not know about Ayutthaya due to the lack of promotion in their countries. The purposes of their visits are therefore limited to mainly shopping, nightlife and the beach. Interpretation for this group should aim to increase their awareness and stimulate their interest in the significance of

cultural heritage with the ultimate objective to create understanding and appreciation so that they see the need to protect historic sites and culture. Also it is hoped that they return home with good memories of Thailand as a country. The research finding about Thai visitors coming to Ayutthaya for merit-making can be utilized as a starting point to encourage Buddhist visitors from ASEAN countries to come here as well.

People do not usually go to places of which they have little knowledge. Guidebooks, travel magazines, novels and movies spark the imagination and yearning of potential travelers to experience it first-hand. In this regard, the internet is becoming an important stimulator rather than a threat that could douse the interest of a potential tourist, as some people may fear. If information about travel can be accessed practically and more easily via the internet, a travel guidebook needs to differentiate itself to gain a market edge by providing more and better quality content.

Base on low scores that visitors had regarding knowledge of particular facts about the site, it can be concluded that the interpretation at the site lacked proper planning and research. Interpretation should begin with the policy, the goal and mission delineated by the stakeholders, a visitor's survey to find out the demographic and psychographic characteristics of the target audience, and an identification of current interpretive issues to find out how a program can respond appropriately. Following this should be research on the content selection of the most interesting stories from these facts that will cater to different visitors' interests, structuring of the content and the communication techniques that are best deployed for and integrated visitor experience, designing and the implementation of the program and finally an evaluation of the program.

More than half of the visitor, foreign and Thai, agree mostly that they like the architecture the most in Ayutthaya Historic Park. This finding can be used to understand how the place satisfies them and how interpretation can be planned to further enrich their experience.

The majority of visitors agree that authenticity is very crucial. Interpretation should be carefully planned to allow visitors to recognize originals from restorations. For those visitors who do not realize the importance of authenticity, mainly persons coming from ASEAN countries, the interpretation should aim to educate them. Only through the understanding of the value of authenticity will they help protect historic sites and other cultural heritage from further deterioration.

3.5 Local perspective

Six community leaders were interviewed with free flowing dialogues and were encouraged to criticize roles and programs of UNESCO, the Fine Arts Department and other authorities. They all question the role of national agency in terms of people participation. They have joined many UNESCO programs in conservation. However, they assert, more than half of the participants are academics, officials, elite experts. Local people have been neglected from the programs.

Tony (2008), owner of 'Tony's Place', a guesthouse in Ayutthaya, confirms that Ayutthaya's main problem is the lack of community support in different kinds of events to sustain the heritage. Conflicts among government authorities such as among the Province of Ayutthaya, City of Ayutthaya and the Fine Arts Department, for example, makes it harder for community to get involve due to different legal issues. For UNESCO, he states that the programs are often preceded without real knowledge of the sites. To work in Ayutthaya, UNESCO Bangkok recruited staffs which are not familiar with Ayutthaya and ill-communicated with local people. Nakornsup (2008), Muslim community leader, reveals that after registered as a World Heritage Site, it seems that the town is not really well developed for culture and has moved in commercial directions. Moreover, it is obvious that those in positions of authority and heritage organization have failed to understand that well-managed cultural activities can be commercially viable. This type of view is also expressed by Phuwabhanditsilp (2008), Chairman of Ayutthaya Chamber of Commerce. He comments on the lack of appealing

atmosphere at Ayutthaya World Heritage and the disturbing sight of many shops for tourists. He also suggests that the whole town must be oriented more towards culture than commerce and that the town is not well managed in terms of exploiting its unique resources. Vogel (2008), German Business Man, demonstrates that there are too many activities around Ayutthaya at the moment such as small trains or elephant walk. One has to be careful not to make Ayutthaya look like Disney Land For historic places, it is better to do nothing at all than put on something bad. After almost twenty years in Ayutthaya, he has seen dramatically changes around Ayutthaya Island. There are a lot of good venues, however. Many programs of UNESCO are just great but sometimes out of reach by local community, he asserts. Watthanothum (2008) from Old City of Ayutthaya Society illustrates that there is a lack of balance between using heritage for interpretation purposes and commercial purposes. It may bring people to the site, and in so doing help raise awareness of the site and issues surrounding it but at the same time, they raise questions about appropriateness of use. Anyhow, this may not bring local communities in. He states that culture belongs to everybody so everyone should help to develop the process regarding conservation, not just locals. Phrathamantacharn (2008), Monk Dean of Ayutthaya District, asserts that Ayutthaya should be used for local people, not just to get money from private company that use Ayutthaya for their own benefit. In the town of Luang Phrabang where he joined the program of UNESCO two years ago, he suggests that success comes to the area where community has roles to play. Government and heritage organization should minimize their role and strengthen community action. This can help bring custodians and local communities to a deeper understanding of their heritage.

From local community point of view, there is no meeting point between either government agency or UNESCO and local people. Locals all agreed what is lacking is the inclusion of local people in order to consult or asking people to propose local projects. Many decision makings are only personal, taken by very few people. For them, this has made Ayutthaya 'fall from

grace'. The development of Ayutthaya World Heritage Site has been rest in these government agencies; the Fine Arts Department, Governor of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya Province, Department of Religious Affairs and the City of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya, respectively. That there is no clear connection among them caused problems, such as lengthy maintenance and repair infrastructure projects. These created many problems with local people. The same road in Ayutthaya has been repaired again and again but was never completed. In terms of urban development of the area, local people most agreed that recent development has led to the visual destruction of Ayutthaya. These problems caused bad feelings among the people because of the lack of interest shown by these agencies to have local people participate in the conservation projects. It made them feel ignored and isolated from most of these projects. Local people think they cannot capture Ayutthaya's uniqueness anymore. They think many buildings approved by government authorities are not in harmony with the historic monuments and destroy the visual impression. They can hardly know any information about the conservation plan of Ayutthaya such as the removal of the road to creat open space as it used to be in the past. The development concept of Ayutthaya as a historic town is not enough because there is also Sukhothai, so there is little different.

From the survey, they are more interest in what UNESCO has done in Ayutthaya. Though many of them sometimes, question the role of UNESCO which influences the Fine Arts Department to generate very strict policies. Local people think that there are many programs which serve foreign tourists and academic, however there are not many to serve local understanding. For foreign tourists, local people that their main attraction is something to do with shopping and second attraction would be the heritage site itself. After being in the list, many private companies and government bodies have given hands in especially in making use of its status as a world heritage. Local people are proud of what they have such as culture, traditions, arts as well as historic environments. Local people think that they have great

knowledge of their places while government agencies think that there are very limited. More than half of them suggest that UNESCO has tried to strengthen local prospect in its many applications but it seems unsuccessful due to limited knowledge of its staffs and the use of government agencies to help with the applications. They think the use of government officials to do the job is widening the gap between UNESCO and local people due to many problematic issues of locals and government officials. As a result, many seminars and conferences about Ayutthaya World Heritage are often left disengaged by local people.

IV Discussion on practices and community's response

From the interview, UNESCO's World Heritage Site policy and Thai government practice have some effects on local community. Firstly, in terms of heritage value, the state agency tends to look at the universal values while the community has been obsessed with local values (Reid, 1979). There is a big gap between the state agency and Ayutthayan people. The Fine Arts Department, who look after Ayutthaya World Heritage Site, is out of reach and inaccessible for local people and difficult for them to communicate with (Kasetsiri, 2003). This has been built up for more than half a century. The problem has gone so far after Ayutthaya has been registered (Pellegi, 1996: 432-48). As a main national agency, the Fine Arts Department may interpret wrong messages from UNESCO's World Heritage Site policy to the community. Anyhow, in national view, Ayutthaya is often perceived as a symbolic of unity, strength, identity, and cultural resource of the nation. Regarding these universal values, the Fine Arts Department has pushed so much resource to preserve treasure of Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya has been gone through a stage where outstanding values are presented while it is hardly saw Ayutthaya in terms of local values which are crucial for life of the community to hold on (UNESCO Bangkok, 2002). In fact, it is apparent that the local value of Ayutthaya is as important as its universal value. Locals feel a close connection to their cultural heritage because of its local values (Clark, 2007: 13-15). These values such as aesthetic, historical, traditional, spiritual, social, and authenticity, are intimate and intrinsically link to their culture (Throsby in Clark, ed., 2006: 40-43). Thus, the integration between universal and local values is fundamental to make a possibly sustainable management (Peleggi, 2002). Though the registration of heritage on the World Heritage List is often provided by its universal values, it does not necessarily fall together with local values attached to local communities

which are traditionally passed on (De Merode et al., eds., 2004: 9). All stakeholders should be fully aware of universal and local values which tie together. The creative integration of these two heritage values should then blend within every aspect of conservation programs.

In terms of cultural and daily life impact, it can be stated that there are many setbacks for UNESCO's policy. Apart from the interpretation of the Fine Arts Department which makes Ayutthaya World Heritage Site to be carefully kept and too closed off so there is no living culture and a lonely, even abandoned atmosphere. Again, UNESCO's implementations tend to go in to the right direction by integrating tourism and cultural heritage together, while local authorities such as the Province of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya and the City of Phra Nakorn Sri Ayutthaya exploit the site in the opposite direction (Fine Arts Department, 1993). Many cultural events arranged in Ayutthaya are to draw people for economic purpose. In this case, heritage environments in Ayutthaya are used in their full potential to make economic benefit for the city, province and heritage companies which will never go back to local community. Besides, the continuity of traditions, rituals, music, folklore, dance and other forms of intangible heritage does not exist in those cultural events due to lacking of community involvement. It is not what UNESCO states in its recommendation of protecting intangible heritage. Thus, it has been suggested by Baillie (2007: 123-31) that the priority of using the heritage should given to the living community rather than the authority. This is to continue life of community in heritage area and help retaining cultural life to the community as well. What UNESCO can do in Ayutthaya is to educate local communities and push further programs. This includes Asian Academy for Heritage Management which is to educate people in conservation science, Cultural Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha which is to encourage locals to participate

and do conservation works. However, all those programs have failed to achieve their goals due to main two reasons. The first reason is that there are some differences between communities UNESCO had applied the programs to which are viewed indistinctively by UNESCO. The latter reason is due to the limited knowledge and lacking of enthusiasm of its staffs.

To assess the local awareness to the heritage and how it responds to the policy are to explore the community's interpretation and involvement of local community. the interpretation of local community is important to understand how heritage should be sustained in local views. UNESCO argues that the conservation practice should go beyond strengthening ties among stakeholders. It is clearly stated in Article 15 of its convention that the state party should encourage the broadest participation from communities, groups and individuals that invent, sustain and pass on such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management (UNESCO, 2003). ICOMOS has been stressed in many international charters the importance of heritage interpretation as well (Byrne, 2004: 16-19). Realizing this, UNESCO has pushed much effort in increasing people awareness and involving the local communities in the protection and management of cultural heritage. In fact, people of Ayutthaya have positive view of many UNESCO's programs in the past (UNESCO Bangkok, 2004). For this, UNESCO has then gone further for conserving intangible heritage but locals view this as inaccessibility. This is too complex for them to understand what intangible heritage is. Even though, they have already lived with it for generations. This maybe needed to be clarified and interpreted to suite locals' need. The integration between economic benefit of the site and cultural life basis of community may be created in order to boost economic value of the site within local hands.

The involvement of local community is crucial for heritage sustainability in order to observe community's commitment and feeling about their cultural heritage programs. As stated by UNESCO (2004: 15-39) that community is a centre of development of heritage management. Community life, traditions, customs, rituals, intangible and tangible cultural heritage have been carried on within community's believes particularly in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, it is important to consider who is included, and possibly excluded, from these communities (Shaw, 2007: 24-36). Thus, these UNESCO's projects may address specific conservation outcomes, in many cases they may not always contribute to UNESCO's goals of helping to increase awareness and commitment to conservation and supporting a range of social, economic and cultural communities to develop the skills and capability they need to do conservation work. Thus, in order to ensure a range of communities have the opportunity to be involved in conservation work, and to implement the conservation with communities strategy, UNESCO may need to take on a more active role as catalyst and facilitator in order provide opportunities for community members to come together and initiate their own conservation projects.

V Conclusion

As a UNESCO World Heritage Site, any recommendation regarding the way Ayutthaya is runs need to take the World Heritage Convention into account. States party to this Convention commit themselves to ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, and presentation of World Heritage properties. Moreover, they recognize that the “identification and safeguarding of heritage located in their territory is primarily their responsibility” and agree, among other things, to as far as possible “adopted a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programs”(UNESCO quoted in Nanta, ed., 2000: 64). It is clearly stated by UNESCO that the country should protect, conserve and rehabilitate its own cultural heritage. In addition, it should strengthen life of the community within the heritage. To carry on cultural life by is integrate cultural heritage with living community (ICOMOS, 1996).

Responding to UNESCO policy, the Fine Arts Department as representative of the state in the running of Ayutthaya, need to work to ensure that Ayutthaya World Heritage does stay part of living community and it is managed in such a way so as to ensure its long-term preservation.

The first problem concerns the way Ayutthaya World Heritage Site have been too carefully kept and closed off from communities so there is, effectively, no living culture at the archaeological sites. The Fine Arts Department is responsible to local people. Clearly this is not in line with the requirements of the world heritage convention. The lack of communication and pro-active management means that opportunities for local events and culture to have a space to present and so bring life to the site have not been pursued. Equally, there seems to be a lack of balance between the use of Ayutthaya World Heritage for cultural and commercial purposes. All in all, the site is under-used and there is not enough activity, information and demonstration of creativity in the interpretation. There are opportunities for developing artistic products and activities to benefit local people that remain untapped.

The input from officials working at the Fine Arts Department made it clear that management practices needed to be changed. A positive first step would be to bring those in charge of the site into much closer contact with the local community. More accessible management taking the step of reaching out to locals, could easily start to change the atmosphere around the site. This should help management become more dynamic and adaptable and able to take account of the input from locals who live near the sites. The greater involvement of locals in developing a wider range of activities at and around the site would raise a number of benefits. Linking the locals to the site would be good for conservation and tourism. The involvement of locals in the sites would help make them unique, more authentic and more attractive as tourist destinations. At the same time it would make for sustainable, ongoing living heritage.

UNESCO's policy has worked toward its fundamental understanding and is intended to provide the necessary tools for all stakeholders, local communities, heritage professional and policy-makers. Furthermore, UNESCO has established partnership concept in conservation program throughout Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, these partnerships have benefits, at the same time, for locals and UNESCO. These projects may not contribute to the UNESCO's wider goals of increased community involvement or conservation awareness for particular social, economic or cultural groups, and it is important to consider ways of involving other sectors of the community but are good for involving community members who have the enthusiasm and energy to participate if UNESCO and the Department of Fine Arts act as catalysts and bring locals together.

In sum, the policy of UNESCO in fortifying community's roles as well as individual has achieved little progress because local community has been cut off from the understanding of local and universal values. The encouragement of local community to do the conservation works has very limited success due to the lack of community's knowledge and enthusiasm of UNESCO's staffs. The enhancement of the heritage which locals can benefit financially and simultaneously sustain social and spiritual traditions has gained less support because the priority of using the heritage has fallen into other hands outside local community. It should be remembered that heritage and heritage interpretation is not just about the past. It is about what community values, so it just as much about the present and the future.

Appendix A

Questionnaire for Foreign Visitors to Ayutthaya

Good morning/afternoon sir/madam. I am a student at UCL, UK. I am under taking reseach to investigate visitors' perspective of Ayutthaya World Heritage Site. Can you spare five minutes to answer the survey? Your involvement will be invaluable to us.

1. Gender

Male	Female
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2. Age

18-25	26-35	36-50	51-65	65+
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3. Where you were born? _____

4. Did you grow up in this country?

Yes	No, I grew up in _____
-----	------------------------

5. What is your highest education level? _____

6. If you had less than 7 days in Thailand, would you come to Ayutthaya?

Yes	No
-----	----

7. Where else in Thailand have you visited or plan to visit? _____

8. What is the expectation of your visit?

To have a new experience	To learn about Thailand's history	To see something different	To learn about Thai culture
To relax	To spend time with friends or family	To do merit	Other

9. Which source of information did you use before and during the visit?

Before the visit

Guidebook	Internet	Tour company	Travel magazine	Brochures	TV	Friends	Other
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During the visit

Guidebook	Internet	Tour company	Travel magazine	Brochures	TV	Friends	Other
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10. What do you like most about Ayutthaya?

aesthetic	spiritual atmosphere	Historical Significance
Architecture	Religious Rituals	Other

11. What do you most dislike about Ayutthaya? _____

12. Before you embarked on your trip to Ayutthaya, did you have a perception about Ayutthaya would be?

Yes

How _____

No

Does the reality differ from your prior perception?

Yes	No
-----	----

If it does, are you still satisfied?

Yes	No
-----	----

13. Can you cite an example of a new experience you had from your visit to Ayutthaya?

14. How would you make a visit to this site more worthwhile and fulfilling?

Appendix B

Questionnaire for Local People of Ayutthaya

Good morning/afternoon sir/madam. I am a student at UCL, UK. I am under taking reseach to investigate visitors' perspective of Ayutthaya World Heritage Site. Can you spare five minutes to answer the survey? Your involvement will be invaluable to us.

1. Gender

Male	Female
------	--------

2. Age

18-25	26-35	36-50	51-65	65+
-------	-------	-------	-------	-----

3. Where you were born? _____

4. Did you grow up in Ayutthaya?

Yes	No, I grew up in _____
-----	------------------------

5. Which is more important between being a World Heritage Site and a National Heritage?

6. What do you think about the role of UNESCO?

Positive	How _____
Negative	How _____

7. What do you think about the role of the Department of Fine Arts?

Positive	How _____
Negative	How _____

8. How often do you get involve in heritage conservation programs/ projects arranged by UNESCO?

Never	Scarcely	A few	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Everytime
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9. How often do you get involve in heritage conservation programs/ projects arranged by the Fine Arts Department/ other government authorities/ local authorities?

Never	Scarcely	A few	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Everytime
-------	----------	-------	-----------	-------	------------	-----------

10. What do you like most about Ayutthaya?

aesthetic	spiritual atmosphere	Historical Significance
Architecture	Religious Rituals	Other

11. What do you most dislike about Ayutthaya? _____

12. What if you can suggest the improvement of Ayutthaya, what will you choose from these four aspects?

Economic	Social	Environmental	Cultural
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Appendix C



Picture 1: From the top of the pagoda, Wat Yai Chaimonkol (Chaimongkol Temple)
Photo by Thonubol, P.



Picture 2: Wat Yai Chaimonkol (Chaimongkol Temple)
Photo by Thonubol, P.



Picture 3: Dusk, Wat Phrasrisanpetch (Phrasrisanpetch Temple)
Photo by Thonubol, P.



Picture 4: Wat Phrasrisanpetch (Phrasrisanpetch Temple)
Photo by Thonubol, P.



Picture 5: Community Life 1
Photo by Thonubol, P.



Picture 6: Daily Life 1
Photo by Thonubol, P.

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