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IMBALANCE OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND QUALITY IN THAILAND:
A DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN AND RURAL DIFFERENCES

by
Uraivan R. Tisnower

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Education of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

January
1985

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the unequal educational opportunity obtained by rural children in contrast to urban children in Thailand.

The urban area used in this study is referred to as "Bangkok and Dhonburee" and the rest of the country is considered "rural". The literature was reviewed from both studies done in Thailand and the West.

Before the unequal educational conditions are investigated, the social structure, culture, values, elements of social class, and socio-economic factors of urban and rural societies in Thailand are compared and contrasted. The history of Thai education from the thirteenth century to the present is also analyzed.

Educational opportunity is determined by using the following criteria: access to school, educational resources, and quality of education. The inequality of educational opportunity between urban and rural children is shown to be a reflection of various factors within the regions themselves. Evidence of inequality of educational opportunity is collected from previous studies, government reports, and other documents.

Factors affecting rural children's access to school are many, but the major one includes the lack of schools, both elementary and

secondary in some rural areas.

Unequal educational resource allocations for rural children are also the result of the centralized educational administration which is located primarily in Bangkok. There is no clear government explanation why the poorer schools in the Northeast region receive less budget allocations than the already well funded schools in Bangkok, or why the government spends more money per student at the university level than at the elementary school level, since it can be argued that the society has more to benefit from the educational investment at the lower levels than at the higher level.

The unequal educational outcomes of rural children are affected by many and complicated factors. Both individual and social factors leading to lower school performances by rural children include less qualified teachers, budget shortages, and different dialects spoken within each region which are different from the language of instruction at school.

Finally suggestions and guidelines for increasing equal educational opportunity are presented. These include utilizing formal as well as nonformal education programs for rural people. Emphasis is placed upon nonformal education, since its style seems to be very appropriate when considering budgets, characteristics and the needs of rural people. Nonformal education also helps rural people to stay literate. Other nonformal educational programs established in other countries are also presented as possible policy alternatives.

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While working on my dissertation, Mr. Warawuit Palananta energetically tracked down specific information in Thailand for me whenever I requested it. Special thanks also goes to Ms. Valerie Collier for typing the final work.

Finally I must state that my effort would not have reached fruition were it not for the devoted, persistent, and scholarly help I received from Mr. Wallace Tangwall, and also my husband, Dr. Herbert Tisnowar, who has been loving, helpful, and supportive during all of my efforts.

VITA

The author, Uraivan Rewswai Tisnower, was born in the rural area, Hua Hin, Prachuab, Thailand, where she also obtained her primary and secondary education. At the junior high school (M.S. 3) level, she was recognized for her high academic performance by the present king of Thailand. The reward was organized through Wang Klai Kangwol Palace School, Hua Hin. Her teacher training was completed at Suansunanta and Prasanmit Teacher Training Colleges, Bangkok, Thailand.

During the 1960s, she taught public primary school in Bangkok. From 1969-1974 she studied and worked in Chicago where she obtained a Master of Art degree in Early Childhood Education from Roosevelt University in 1972.

After returning to Thailand she became a full-time faculty member of the Curriculum and Instruction Department of Srinakarinwitot (Prasanmit) University 1975-1978. By the end of 1978 she returned to Chicago to work on her doctorate degree in Education (Sociology of Education). She was married to Dr. Herbert Tisnower, a physician, in June 1982, and they are currently living in Philadelphia.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

All schooling exists to transmit skills and knowledge. Schools are an integral and significant part of society, preparing young people to become responsible adults and to perform their social tasks. Under the pressure of current technological advancement and industrial development, formal education is essential. Education also helps to equalize status differences and reduce the gaps among social classes. This was the thesis of Horace Mann¹ who believed that "the school is the great equalizer." Generally speaking, people with higher educational attainment will have a greater chance to advance in their careers and better their lives than people with less education. As in the past, education plays a significant role in upward social mobility, especially as the job market increasingly requires competent and skilled personnel. Further, a person's goals become more defined when he or she becomes more educated.

At the present time, there are greater opportunities for persons to become educated than ever before. Limited opportunities for schooling

¹Horace Mann as cited by Torsten Husen, The School in Question: A Comparative Study of the School and Its Future in Western Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 74.

marked the history of many countries. For example, only certain classes of people had the advantages of extensive years of schooling. In other countries, schooling was tied to religious preparations and was under the control of monks or priests, and usually served males. Females in the past were largely excluded from the educational process.

Now, as education has become available to the masses, the concept of equal educational opportunity has become a fundamental objective of both democratic and socialist societies. Legislatures in many countries have responded to this need in the forms of proposed educational reforms and educational reorganization. Attempts to increase and expand equal educational opportunity, or EEO, are based on the belief that an egalitarian and humane society can be achieved through education.

However, while this concept has been accepted by more and more people, controversy surrounds this issue and disagreement exists over the appropriate means of removing the barriers of sex, social class, and race. Many specific questions have been raised over the definition of equal educational opportunity but most notably, the determination of educational inputs (that educational investment necessary to increase students' achievement); and the definition of educational outputs (academic success). In fact, some ask whether the quality of outputs is an adequate return on the investment of increasing opportunities.

The struggle to remove inequalities in educational opportunity is evident in many countries.

Ryba² investigated the international aspects of educational

²Raymond Ryba, "Aspects of Territorial Inequality in Education," Comparative Education 12 (October 1976): 183-185.

inequality and found that a remarkable degree of territorial inequality is still in existence. His recent data on world literacy have shown the extreme inequality of educational achievement among countries in Africa, North America, Latin America, Asia, Europe, the USSR, and the Arab states.

Thailand is one of the Southeast Asian countries which is trying to reduce inequality of educational opportunity among rural and urban children. The goal has been indicated in the Fourth National Education Policy Plan (1977-1981) as follows:

One of the main policies of the Fourth Plan is to emphasize the delivery of social services particularly to the rural population. This distribution should be as extensive as possible and should harmonize with and provide support for other development schemes included in the Plan. Financial and human resources from both the public and private sectors will be intensively mobilized for this purpose. The ultimate aim of this is to eliminate the gap between the social services provided in urban and rural areas.³

However, experiences and experiments have shown that a program to extend equal educational opportunity may be too idealistic. This has been realized by Thai students who have discovered that the effort of maximizing personal potential and achieving personal goals appropriate to their needs, requires more than a manipulation of such external factors as finance and the restriction of teacher-student assignments. Balancing educational opportunity between rural and urban schools also requires the reconsideration of current educational concepts and practices. Furthermore, Thai people are realizing that attending school does not result in equal attainments nor does it even promise a program suitable

³Ministry of Education, Thailand: National Education Policy and National Plans for Social and Educational Development (1977-1981) (Bangkok: United Production, 1977), p. 29.

to their needs. At best, they are attaining greater attendance and this is a minimally significant development.

The Purpose of the Study

The main goal of this study is to examine in Thai educational experience the presence of equality of educational opportunity in the past and in the present. The characteristics of urban and rural people which have strong influences upon educational attainment will be examined in the light of their traditional values, norms, socioeconomic status, and social mobility. The following attributes of urban and rural education will also be investigated: (1) educational structure, (2) teacher quality, (3) student outcomes, (4) allocation of educational resources, (5) curricula, and (6) political and economic factors related to the "inputs" and "outcomes" of the schooling process.

The following questions associated with inequality will also be analyzed: (1) Are there any differences in test performance, teacher quality, dropout rates, and grade failure between urban and rural children? (2) Do urban and rural areas reflect differences in political, social, and economic values? (3) What adjustments have urban and rural schools made to demographic changes?

This study will also offer suggestions on the improvement of equal educational opportunity in rural areas and reference will be made to related studies done in the United States. The guidelines will be used to direct further educational planning and investigation strategies in these areas which are still urgently needed.

Related Literature

The literature related to educational opportunity in both Thailand

and the United States will be reviewed. One should note, however, that the Thai literature is limited. Although the existence of inequality of educational opportunity has been recognized for a long time, a pilot study on the topic did not come out until the middle of the 1970's.

Thus, more research in this area is needed. Future programs in Thailand can profit from an analysis of studies completed in the United States.

Equal Educational Opportunity in the United States: The Determination of the Meaning and the Achievement of the Goal

The attempt to attain equal educational opportunity can be said to have originated around 1642 when schools in the Massachusetts Bay Colony received some support from public taxation. In the other American colonies, access to the public treasury was less common for education. Many persons particularly Indians and slaves were excluded from the educational process.⁴

It was however, in a later century, the 19th, that the movement toward greater educational opportunity gained momentum, and it was only in recent decades that the concept of educational opportunity was changed into a movement for "equal educational opportunity". This grew out of the civil rights demands of the black people and later women and other minorities. The fight for equality grew out of the struggle of black people who wanted to send their children to nearby white schools.⁵ In earlier decades separation was legally justified under the principle of

⁴Frank Brown, "Equal Educational Opportunity, the Law, and the Courts," Urban Education 11 (July 1976): 135-148.

⁵Ibid.

"Separate but equal." The doctrine was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 1954 case.⁶

Ever since the 1954 decision, desegregation has become the rule, but integrated education still remains an ideal. Federal and state legislatures have come up with a number of programs to meet the social problems related to race and social class, which are major barriers to equality in education and societies in general. In the early 1960s, the issue of EEO was not very complicated. It was believed that if inequalities associated with social, economic, and geographical problems were removed, access to education could be accomplished. For instance, the Headstart education program was established in the early 1960s to increase poor children's learning abilities before they started regular schooling with other children from favored home backgrounds. However, the program although moderately successful could not satisfy the lofty expectations. The accomplishment of equal educational performance is still far from attainment since other forms of inequality in educational and other institutions persist. Furthermore, it has been recognized for a long time that education alone cannot solve the problems of an unjust society.

The Swedish Ministry of Education, during an educational conference in 1970, reported that:⁷

⁶James L. Morrison and Jerry M. Goldstein, "On Educational Inequality," Intellect 104 (March 1976): 452-454.

⁷OECD, Educational Policies for the 1970s, General Report, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, Paris, 3-5 June 1970, Paris: OECD, quoted in Hussen, The School in Question, p. 76.

It is possible that we have been too optimistic, particularly perhaps concerning the time it takes to bring about changes. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to change society only through education. To equalize education opportunities without influencing working conditions, the setting of wage rate, etc. in other ways, would easily become an empty gesture. The reforms in educational policy must go together with reforms in other fields: labour market policy, economic policy, social policy, fiscal policy, etc.

Husen⁸ writing about EEO in his book, The School in Question, pointed out some significant issues related to this topic. For example, the issue of EEO had become complicated in the late 1960s because of three major circumstances: (1) the fundamental problem related to how each individual's learning ability emerges and develops; (2) the influence of home background upon educational achievement supported by the studies of Coleman, Jencks, and others; and (3) the philosophical question of equality of opportunity versus the equality of results. Coleman was one of a number of researchers who had tried to clarify the concept of EEO. Other authorities defining and interpreting this concept will also be noted in this study.

The Determination of Equal Educational Opportunity Concepts

Throughout the years, the concept of EEO has been developing in different stages and has assumed a variety of meanings. It was changed in the past and it will keep varying in meaning in the future. The controversies over it are based on two significant interpretations: (1) educational opportunity is viewed in terms of educational inputs (all educational investment designed to increase students' achievement) available to citizens or (2) it is viewed in terms of the outputs

⁸Torsten Husen, The School in Question: A Comparative Study of the School and Its Future in Western Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 77.

(learning outcomes) which students evidence in the process of study. It is still not definitely settled whether EEO should be determined by educational inputs or outputs, and whether one meaning is more significant than the other. The disagreement also focuses on what and who should be responsible for the academic measurement to be used for the current interpretation of equality in obtaining education. In the past, it was thought that the efforts of the schools, the family and community were associated with student's achievement, and that quantitative investments in education could be used to measure the level of EEO attainment. But quantitative inputs did not necessarily produce changes in behavior. Now, the concern of evaluation is for what changes are taking place in students' behavior. And these are viewed in terms of "outputs".

Coleman, writing on this subject, stipulated the following four essential elements for EEO:

- (1) Providing a free education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force.
- (2) Providing a common curriculum for all children, regardless of background.
- (3) Partly by design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse background attend the same school.
- (4) Providing equality within a given locality, since local taxes provided the source of support for schools.⁹

⁹James Coleman, "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review 38 (Winter 1968) : 11.

According to Coleman, the first consideration would have the goal of treating all children equally by providing free public education. In the second element, children would be exposed to one and the same curriculum. Proposing such elements was based on the belief that equal educational inputs would produce equal outcomes. In the third element, children were required to attend the same schools because of geographical factors. This element could not be realized in school organizations which followed the separate but equal doctrine, which was declared unconstitutional.¹⁰

Of all definitions given, Coleman¹¹ indicated that appropriately a study should focus on: equal outcomes of students given equal inputs. This means even though the dichotomy is made between the "inputs" and "outputs", the attention is focused not only on what has been invested in children, but also on the effects of inputs which is expected to be equally effective.

Since the 1954 Brown decision,¹² the determination of EEO concepts has undergone drastic reinterpretations. In recent years, the meaning of EEO has changed to striving for equality of outcomes. With this criterion, the extent of EEO will be difficult to measure since there are many numbers of factors affecting those outcomes. The measurement of scholastic achievement can also be misleading because of the

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 7-22.

¹²Brown, "Equal Educational Opportunity, the Law, and the Courts," p. 138.

characteristics of the instruments used. For example, if language and cognitive skills are used to measure the school success of some minority groups, the results may show that such groups are less intelligent than others when in fact they are not.¹³

In his study of equal educational opportunity of six different racial groups, Coleman¹⁴ used verbal ability to measure the degree of equality. This was criticized by others because of the limitations of such measurement. It was held that using only certain skills to measure academic success was too narrow a focus.¹⁵

Others have made contributions toward defining this concept. McClure,¹⁶ Nania,¹⁷ and Beard¹⁸ similarly argue that attending to individual differences in abilities is the key to improving educational

¹³David C. McClelland, "Testing for Competence Rather than for Intelligence." In Alan Gartner, Colin Greer, and Frank Riessman (eds.), The New Assault on Equality: IQ and Social Stratification (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 163-195.

¹⁴James Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

¹⁵Henry S. Dyer, "The Measurement of Educational Opportunity." In Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.), On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 516.

¹⁶William P. McClure, "Financing Equality of Educational Opportunity: A Reassessment." K. Forbis, Jordan and Alexander Kern (eds.), Future in School Finance: Working Toward a Common Goal, Proceeding 17th National Conference on School Finance, Orlando, Florida, March 17-19, 1974 (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., 1975).

¹⁷Frank Nania, "Equal Educational Opportunity: An American Myth," Educational Administration and Supervision 45 (January 1959): 44-47.

¹⁸Charles A. Beard, A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools, Part I, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 64.

opportunities. For them, EEO is not seen as uniform, but requires the equal treatment of diversities. This can be interpreted that, "... we still adhere to the principle of equal educational opportunity, that educational resources and benefits should be distributed unequally in accordance with unequal abilities."¹⁹

And, according to Green,²⁰ it should be acceptable if educational inequalities are derived from personal factors such as interest, abilities, and differences of choices and virtue. But other variables such as race, social class, and sex must be reduced in effect, otherwise, achieving the goal of equality in educational opportunity will be fruitless.

Benson²¹ and Tumin²² also conceived the idea of varied treatment for each individual to obtain EEO, but they were more specific in detailing other factors. Tumin has emphasized the need for making all educational advantages available for all children in terms of attention and educational resources, eliminating the use of competitive grades and so on.²³ And, as Benson has emphasized: "... Equal educational

¹⁹Thomas F. Green, "Weighing the Justice of Inequality," Change 12 (July-August 1980): 28.

²⁰Ibid., p. 27.

²¹Ronald E. Benson, "Defining Equality in Education," Educational Studies 8 (Summer 1977): 108.

²²Melvin M. Tumin, "The Meaning of Equality in Education," presented at the Third Annual Conference of the National Committee for Support of Public Schools, Washington, D.C., April 1965, cited by Edmund Gordon, "Toward Defining Equality of Educational Opportunity." In LaMar P. Miller and Edmund W. Gordon (eds.), Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1974), p. 21.

²³Ibid.

opportunity in ways that are equally appropriate for him or her."²⁴

Knowing that the interpretation of EEO depended upon who wanted to use it and for what purpose, Wise²⁵ made the sound suggestion: whether EEO should be defined in philosophical or practical terms, it had to be interpreted by reference either to the educational inputs (resources) or educational achievement or both.

The traditional view of "inputs" used in the interpretation of EEO originated in the United States some time ago. The "inputs" interpretation consisted of two elements: (1) equal access of any child to schools, and (2) educational resources equally allocated to all schools.²⁶

The last interpretation cited comes from Blackstone.²⁷ Having analyzed and conceived of education as one of the human rights, he extended this conclusion to EEO which was also seen a basic right. According to him, using "equal as the same" to define the concept is not enough; in addition, some fundamental changes in social and economic factors of the society must be made if inequality is expected to be reduced.²⁸

²⁴Benson, "Defining Equality in Education," p. 108.

²⁵Arthur Wise, "The Constitutional and Equal Educational Opportunity." In Charles U. Daly (ed.), The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Public Schools (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 41.

²⁶Charles A. Tesconi, Jr., and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr., Education for Whom?: The Question of Equal Educational Opportunity (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), p. 17.

²⁷William Blackstone, "Human Rights, Equality and Education," Education Theory 19 (Summer 1969): 288-298.

²⁸Ibid.

This discussion of EEO can be extended. Yet no one has ever come up with an agreed-upon answer. There are some significant viewpoints which indicate why the concept is still complex and ambiguous.

Having studied and been involved with this issue for a long time, Coleman admitted that:²⁹

But if equality of educational opportunity means neither equality of output nor equality of input resources, then what does it mean? The answer, I have concluded after examining the issue for a long time, is that it is not a meaningful term. If conceived in terms of results of schooling, it is unachievable, and if conceived in terms of input school resources it is a weak term that offers little constitutional protection.

Also from Tesconi and Hurwitz, we can note that:³⁰

Equality of educational opportunity does not describe an actual state of affairs. It deals with "oughts," what should be, what is desired, what is hoped for, and, of course, people inevitably disagree over what ought to be. The man who defines equality takes a moral stand. His moralizing may be good, even necessary, but it makes our coming to grips with the issues of equality of educational opportunity and arriving at a universal definition of the concept extremely difficult.

Achieving Equal Educational Opportunity: Attempts Made in the United States

Many attempts have been made to reduce the inequality of education in the United States. Up until now, busing as a means of achieving integration, is still the major and controversial method, and its prospects for resolution of the problem have not been certain in many states. It is to be expected that alternative procedures should be created in the future so that the reduction of tensions can be realized.

²⁹James Coleman, "What is Meant by 'an Equal Educational Opportunity'?" Oxford Review of Education 1 (March 1975): 27.

³⁰Tesconi and Hurwitz, Education for Whom, p. 66.

Green³¹ suggested that obtaining equality does not require every student to reach the same level of achievement. It only meant that the range of achievement and the distribution within that range should be approximately the same for each social group. Thus, the expectations concerning outcomes should be flexible rather than rigid.

For Gordon,³² the achievement of EEO depends upon what school outputs are to be used to meet the problems of individual differences arising from the home backgrounds. The "inputs" also must be unique and individualized since each student has different levels of interest and learning abilities, "... to insure that what the school produces is at least equal at the basic levels of achievement."³³

Gordon did not explain how far it was necessary to proceed before a basic level of achievement could be constituted as "equal." He maintains that unequal inputs should produce (basic) equal outcomes. Individualized instruction, teaching machines, and unequal resource allocations among schools should form some of the strategies to bring about equality to students. It has, of course, been realized by many educators that students come to school with different backgrounds and learning abilities necessitating, thereby, variations in curricula and

³¹Thomas F. Green, "Equal Educational Opportunity: The Durable Injustice." In Charles A. Tesconi and Emanuel Hurwitz (eds.), Education for Whom? The Question of Equal Educational Opportunity (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 78-100.

³²Edmund W. Gordon, "Toward Defining Equality of Educational Opportunity." In Lamar P. Miller and Edmund W. Gordon (eds.), Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1974), p. 26.

³³Ibid., p. 26.

instruction. However, equal educational opportunity does not necessarily lead to equal treatment within a school which often has limited funds and functions. Each child has the capacity to profit from education, but equal access to it is always associated with the student's socioeconomic background. Inequalities brought by students cannot be reduced by the school alone. Jencks³⁴ and Bowles³⁵ have argued that solutions require major changes in social, economic and political conditions in the society at large before the aim of EEO can be fulfilled. Making school resources more equal in their views, will contribute little since the school environment has little effect on equality.

Tesconi and Hurwitz³⁶ have suggested, that to fulfill EEO, the following factors should be considered: (1) student instruction must consider socioeconomic background, native abilities, and home and social environment, (2) the school should also give consideration to the social composition of the classroom, the social and financial support from the community, the racial make up of the school, and the diversity of its educational programs, and (3) teachers should revise their expectations and guidance of students' performance accordingly.

³⁴Christopher Jencks et al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

³⁵Samuel Bowles, "Towards Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review 38 (Winter 1968).

³⁶Tesconi and Hurwitz, Education for Whom?, pp. 31-32.

Benson³⁷ also agreed that the accomplishment of EEO requires more than educational inputs and outputs. Although equality of access is legally allowed for all children, he questions whether this formal promise will help children receive actual equal opportunity benefits since, "Open access by every child to the schools of his community is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for equality of educational opportunity."³⁸

Solomon,³⁹ in his article, "Stop Trying to Make Equal Education," has commented that researchers and writers have spent much more time in finding ways to reach EEO, a national educational goal, than in trying to define the goal itself. Finally, Green concluded that since we cannot construct any formula that will reduce inequality completely, what we need is, "... a principle that requires us to specify which inequalities are justified and what is required to make a fair showing of their justice."⁴⁰

In the United States, many programs have been set up to reduce students' inequality in educational attainment. Busing, financial aids and compensatory education are some of them. Busing has been the major controversial issue for the past several years especially in the northern states where schools are becoming increasingly more

³⁷Benson, "Defining Equality in Education," p. 108.

³⁸Ibid., p. 106.

³⁹Lewis C. Solomon, "Stop Trying to Make Equal Education," National Review 23 (October 1971): 1107.

⁴⁰Green, "Weighing the Justice of Inequality," p. 27.

segregated. "Integration means busing", stated Carlson.⁴¹ And, President Nixon's statement that "... desegregation must go forward until the goal of genuinely equal educational opportunity is achieved"⁴² represents presidential acknowledgement of its priority.

As long as busing and integrated schools still have not reduced the unequal gap in academic achievement among racial groups, we still have to keep on searching for a better strategy than ones used before. St. John,⁴³ reviewing the results of integrated schools in many parts of the country, indicated that, "... school desegregation is unfinished national business." The academic achievement gap between black and white students has not closed, though black children do not always perform at low academic levels and, in fact have demonstrated improvements. We know very little about the meaning of integrated schools and the students involved, St. John said, and the issue of segregation still continues to divide Americans. She suggested finally that, "... it is the implementation rather than the goal which now needs attention how can "mere desegregation" be translated into "true integration".⁴⁴

In Chicago, after the strong pressure for over a decade from the federal government to achieve "racial balance", it appears that

⁴¹Kenneth Carlson, "Equalizing Educational Opportunity." In LaMar P. Miller and Edmund W. Gordon (eds.), Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1974), p. 129.

⁴²Richard M. Nixon, "Statement on Education and Busing," The New York Times, 17 March 1972, p. 56.

⁴³Nancy St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975), p. 118.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 119.

enrollments have dropped steadily since the mid 1970s. The use of a quota system by the Board of Education is an attempt to attain racial balance and achieve school desegregation. But critics still raise the crucial question: "Can we use this type of allocation system and still fulfill some definition of equality of educational opportunity?"⁴⁵

A conclusion gained from a review of the literature on the topic is that "equal educational opportunity" is a very difficult goal to achieve. Clearly, there would be no inequality if all children were to be treated equally. Equality of educational opportunity, if the term indicates anything, really means that each student should be treated in accordance with his abilities and personal interests. The term EEO serves only to remind us of what we should look for in order to organize educational plans, especially in respect to outcomes.

Eysenck reminds us that:⁴⁶

There are no conceivable conditions of educational methodology which would guarantee that the dullest, most idle and destructive child, motivated only for mischief and violence, would achieve as much scholastically as the brightest, most determined and hardworking child, motivated highly for achievement and intellectual development. There are no conceivable political or social conditions which would remove the biological handicap under which many children labour, and even to suggest such a possibility is little better than a cynical and cruel joke played on the least fortunate of our children. Any attempt to achieve equality of outcome must make use of the methods of Procrustes--cut off the feet of those who are too tall to fit on your bed, and stretch on the rack those who are too small. Even then it is doubtful if mental characteristics respond readily to such treatment as did the physical characteristics of Procrustes' guests.

⁴⁵Steven I. Miller, An Introduction to the Sociology of Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1977), p.167.

⁴⁶H.J. Eysenck, "Equality and Education: Fact and Fiction," Oxford Review of Education 1 (March 1975): 53.

Equal Educational Opportunity in Thailand

The issue of equal educational opportunity has been a matter of concern among Thai educators for many years. However, most of the relevant information on the topic is based on United States experiences. The struggle to clarify its meaning and to achieve equality have been a burden to Thai administrators as well. But unlike the situation in the United States, the issue is not really tied into racial considerations. Economic status and rural-urban differences are, however, more significant determinants in most of the country.

Literature related to EEO in Thailand is limited. Only a few investigations completed by the National Education Commission have appeared in recent years. More research and investigation are still needed. The education departments of the ministry, universities, and other educational institutions concerned undoubtedly should be conducting more research in this area since the aim of reducing inequality in education has been the major concern of the government for some time. This was confirmed by the National Education Commission:⁴⁷

Future historians are likely to note that the mid 1970s represents a significant landmark in Thailand's national development. During this period there was an unprecedented attempt to deal with social injustices and inequalities which historically oppressed Thailand's rural population. Most sectors of Government moved to establish policies and programs for rural development, equitable distribution of

⁴⁷Office of the National Education Commission, The Final Report on a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand: Factors Affecting Scholastic Achievement of the Primary School Pupils (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1977), p. 1.

income and public services, and expanded opportunities for rural citizens. In the field of education, these directions found expression in the recommendations of the Education Reform Committee to improve the quality of rural schooling and to eliminate inequalities in educational opportunity between rich and poor communities.

Definitions of Equal Educational Opportunity Found in Thai Literature

Thai education administrators also face a complex problem in clarifying the EEO concept. The National Education Commission made the following observation about equal educational opportunity:⁴⁸

In summary, the theory of educational equality includes two principles, access to school, and opportunities to develop intellectual capacities and skills irrespective of place of residence or quality of home environment. The concept of equality does not imply that all people should have the same levels of schooling or jobs, but that all people should have similar chances to have schooling and to make the best of their lives within the limits of their abilities.

Bennett⁴⁹ a one-time educational advisor to Thailand maintains that EEO should not be based on the equal numbers of years each child spends in school or on equal amounts of money expended per child.

Since the 1974 EEO report the education of rural children has been a major concern. The National Education Commission or NEC has written that:

⁴⁸Office of the National Education Commission, Report on a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand: Equal Educational Opportunity (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press Co., LTD., 1974), p. 1.

⁴⁹Nicholas Bennett, "Economic Development and Equality of Educational Opportunity: The Development Fallacy and the Egalitarian Myth," paper presented to the fourth session of the ECAFE conference of Asian Economic Planner, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 November-1 December 1971.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity does not imply that all children should advance in the schooling system and become university graduates; it implies only that the probabilities of advancing are fairly distributed, and are not prejudiced by a child's place of residence or socioeconomic background.⁵⁰

It can be seen that there are similarities in the interpretation of EEO among educators in the United States and in Thailand. In the following review of Thai literature, three different concepts will be used as criteria: (1) equal access, (2) educational inputs (all educational resources and investments to increase scholastic achievement), and (3) educational outputs (all academic success reported in all forms). The last two criteria were based on the five elements of EEO which indicate:⁵¹

The first three were concerned with inputs into the schools and they were defined in terms of:

(a) Differences in global input characteristics such as per pupil expenditure, physical facilities, and library resources.

(b) The social and racial student composition of the school.

(c) Intangible characteristics of the school such as teachers' expectations of students, teacher morale, and the level of interest of the student body in learning.

The fourth and fifth definitions were concerned with the effects of schooling and these were defined in terms of:

(e) Equality of results given the same individual inputs

(f) Equality of results given different individual inputs.

⁵⁰Office of the National Education Commission, The Final Report on a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand, p. 2.

⁵¹Kevin Majoribanks, "Equal Educational Opportunity: A Definition," Oxford Review of Education 1 (March 1975): 25.

Equal Educational Opportunity in Terms of "Equal Access"

The overall review of literature related to access to school of urban and rural children easily leads one to the conclusion that rural children have the least chance to attend school at all educational levels. The unequal access to school of rural children is the result of school shortages in their residential areas. The lack of equal access is even more pronounced as the schooling level becomes higher.

At the pre-primary level, in NEC's investigation, parents were classified by careers (i.e. farmers, traders, services, skill and unskilled labours). It has been indicated that children from farming families (78.4 percent of population) have the least chance to attend training at this level. And, the lack of pre-primary educational training would certainly have some impact upon their scholastic achievement in later grades.⁵²

The most significant study related directly to EEO was done in Thailand in 1973-74.⁵³ This was about the same time that a significant attempt at equalization from the government was being made. The extent of EEO in this study was measured by scholastic achievement, access to school and other characteristics of regional disparities.

The investigation was a joint project of the Office of the National

⁵²Office of the National Education Commission, Rainganphon Karnwichai Karnjudsoondekkonwairain naiprathadethai (A Report of Pre-Primary School Management in Thailand) in G. Fry, "Taubong-cheekwarmtawtiam rae kwarmsamurpark tankarnsuksa nai prathadethai," (An Indication of Equality and Educational Opportunity in Thailand) trans. K. Pungkanon et al., Journal of the National Council 15 (August-October, 1981): 57.

⁵³Office of the National Education, Report of a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand....

Education Commission, Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education, using a sample of 27,897 third graders from 987 primary schools of all types (private, Municipal, Provincial and MOE) in 125 districts. Access to primary school was reported by regions and provinces. There was not much difference in first graders' school enrollment when comparing regions.⁵⁴ But the evidence of unequal access was clearly shown when figures from each province were compared.⁵⁵

Unequal access to grade five, a major part of dropping out in the educational ladder was also reported by the same study.⁵⁶ It showed distinctive variation in student enrollment in all regions. While in the Northeast only one out of three children entered grade five, more than one out of two entered this grade in the Central Plain and Southern regions. In some years (1971-72) the differences of increased percent of enrollment between the Central Plain and the Northeast could be as high as 18.9 percent. The overall conclusion for this unequal access has been noted by the aforementioned government committees.⁵⁷

Inequalities in access to upper primary schools are also pervasive. Compared to other regions a smaller proportion of grade 4 pupils in the Northeast find places in upper primary provincial schools, and the gap is widening. Correlations of the need for upper primary schools and size of Government subsidy show that provinces which already have a relative large percentage of grade 4 pupils continuing to upper primary, continue to obtain from the central Government proportionately more capital for upper primary school development than provinces with fewer upper primary schooling opportunities.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 16 (Table 8).

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 17 (Table 9).

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 18-19.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. I.

The enrollment of students into secondary and higher educational institutes also follows the same pattern of primary schools. The studies either done by government agencies (i.e. Office of the National Education Committee), or college students repeatedly indicated rural students' failure to attend those schools. In one report which came out in 1978, the entrance of Bangkok students into universities is higher than college entrance for the rest of the country combined.⁵⁸

With the knowledge of unequal access, the next NEC study aimed at investigating factors affecting the 'chance' of continuing education in the upper primary (grade five) and lower secondary levels (Massaw I).⁵⁹ The study was done in mid 1970s. It was a national project with data collected from the whole country. The variables were classified into two categories: educational and socioeconomic factors.

Although two same sets of variables were used, it appeared that each educational level, primary and secondary, was affected by these variables differently. At the upper primary level or grade five, factors which were found to have a significant impact on opportunity to get into school were: (1) low number of primary schools in the province, (2) high ratio of certified teachers, (3) low pupil-teacher ratio, (4) the low percentage of minority group pupils, (5) size of budget per pupil, and (6) the large number of telephones in the province.

⁵⁸M. Smithtisumpan, "Kwammmaisamurpark tangudomsuksa (Unequality of Higher Education)" Karupritud 5 (October, 1980): 47.

⁵⁹Office of the National Education Commission, Raingarn wichai ruang: Owekardkarnkaukarnsuksa nai chanmathayomsuksa tontone (Report of the Study of Educational Opportunity at the Lower Secondary Level) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978) (Mimeographed).

The last two factors reflected the economic status of the area.⁶⁰

At the lower secondary school (M.S.I.), two out of three variables studied were in the educational category: the large amount of budget spent for teachers' salaries and the large number of qualified teachers (teachers with Diploma in Education). The third was a social and economical factor: the low rate of land rentals in the province.⁶¹

This study seems to imply that educational factors are more important than socioeconomic factors in determining school entrance at both schooling levels. However, in higher levels of the educational ladder, the socioeconomic factors will probably have stronger effects since higher education is not free and is not offered in all local areas.

Equal Educational Opportunity Determined by "Scholastic Achievement"

Variations in educational achievement were also investigated by the joint committees overseeing primary schools. In their study of EEO during 1972-73 investigating equal access to school, the scholastic achievement of third graders was measured in both arithmetic and Thai language.⁶² As expected, Bangkok students had the highest scores in both subjects. The average scores of the country were 32.9 in both subjects. Bangkok students' scores were almost double Northeast students' scores. Northeast students had the lowest schooling performance in this study.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 59.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 58.

⁶² Office of the National Education Commission, Report of a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand....

A result of national data analysis had indicated that school size, pupils' socioeconomic backgrounds (fathers' occupation), history of attending pre-primary school, and low rate of repeating grades were the most significant variables affecting these schooling performances.⁶³ Compared to Bangkok, it was further shown that schools in the Northeast region were much smaller in size (less than 300 pupils per school), had less numbers of qualified teachers, and had larger pupil-teacher ratios. Teaching aids and expenditure of budget per pupil, as compared to other regions, in the Northeast region were also very limited.

A repeat study was performed again in 1980 by the same government agencies, and similar results were obtained. However, the overall academic performance of students in all regions had improved.⁶⁴

At the secondary schooling level, although variables used were different from the previous study, students from the Central Plain (where Bangkok is included) still obtained the highest scores in Chantarapunya's study of the academic outcomes in 1976.⁶⁵ All samples were of students coming from 24 schools in the Central Plain region, and another 24 from local areas. The variables he investigated were related

⁶³Office of the National Education Commission, The Final Report on a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand....

⁶⁴Office of the National Education Commission, Raingankarnwichai-parsititipap khongkarnprathomsuksa: Karnparmurnsumrithpontangkarnrian khongnukrianchanprathomsuksa peete 3 (Report of the Primary School Pupils' Achievement: Third Grade, 1980) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1981), Chapter IV.

⁶⁵Panomporn Chantarapunya, "The Extent of Equalization of Educational Opportunity in Public Secondary Schools in Thailand," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1976).

to school environment and budget spent for teachers and students.

Another high achievement of students in Bangkok has been confirmed in one of the NEC's investigations during 1976-77.⁶⁶ It was a national project with a large size sample. There were 3,873 secondary students and 3,873 parents and/or guardians, 109 schools and 109 teachers selected throughout the country. The results indicated that next to Bangkok students, whose scores were at the top, the students in the Central Plain and the North did better than students in the Northeast and South, whose scores turned out to be very low.

Variables found to have high impact upon those secondary students' scores in arithmetic and language subjects were the size of the schools, teachers' attitude toward students learning ability, high qualified classroom teachers, past learning achievement at the primary level, and language used at home.

Besides these significant studies which are cited as examples, urban and rural students' academic performance, and other mental abilities have been investigated both intensively and extensively by Thai researchers. Methods of educational measurement either devised in Thailand or adopted from western countries (i.e. Piaget's conceptual developments) have been employed by those investigators. The main purpose of these searchings are to compare and contrast the learning abilities of students in two different societies. Tests are usually

⁶⁶Office of the National Education Commission, Ongprakopbangprakarn teemeithtipontorsumrithpontangkarnrian khongnukriancharnmathayomsuksa (Factors Affecting Secondary Students' Scholastic Performance) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978) (Mimeographed).

compared between: students living inside and outside municipal areas, those in local and central schools, those living inside and outside Bangkok areas and so forth. And, the results of those studies are quite similar to what has been reported in this Chapter and in Chapter IV.

Equality of Educational Opportunity Determined as "Educational Inputs"

An extensive study related directly to 'educational inputs' has not been found. However, there is some evidence indicating there are unequal resource allocations between rural and urban areas. In terms of 'inputs', equal educational opportunity includes all educational resources and investments which are found to be unequally distributed among regions, especially in the Northeast area where there are students with the lowest achievement and the lowest budget obtained.

For allocations of qualified teachers, it was reported by NEC in 1974 that, "more than 76.0 percent of teachers in MOE (Ministry of Education) schools have a higher certificate or a degree, compared to 24.8 percent in provincial schools, and only 6.7 percent in private schools."⁶⁷

The proportion of qualified and unqualified teachers among types of schools and regions are also explained by NEC:⁶⁸

There are regional variations in the qualification structure of the teacher force. The proportion of untrained teachers in each region is similar, although the North and Northeast have slightly higher percentages (the range is 20-30 percent). Bangkok has a remarkable large proportion, but this is because there is a larger percentage of private schools which, as observed, have

⁶⁷ National Education Commission, Report on a Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand: Equal Educational Opportunity, p. 12.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

large numbers of unqualified teachers. Looking on at trained teachers, the differences between regions in the percentages of teachers with higher qualifications, contrasted to those with lower qualifications, are pronounced. Bangkok, the South, and the Central Plain have much larger percentage than the Northeast and North.

Funding among regions is also unequal. It was reported that the budget dollars received per pupil in the Central Plain and the South were higher than in the North and Northeast.⁶⁹ And, if there is any correlation between educational services and budget obtained, the last two regions are deprived. The unequal fund allocation is indicated by differences in average class size, and the proportion of qualified teachers, and it is also a matter of how wisely school officers spend the money. And, to improve this, "It would require a vast reallocation of teachers so that the qualification structure and the number of pupils per teacher were similar in all provinces and regions."⁷⁰

Kaewdeang⁷¹ observed that the distribution of educational budget to each province depended upon requests made from each province, and the inequality in funding allocation was caused by having no standardized criteria set for it. The differences in amount of funds received between two provinces could go up to as high as twenty times. What has been the case in the past still remains unchanged even to the present time. Many educational administrators often do not consider

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 15.

⁷¹Rung Kaewdeang, "Ngobpraman kubkarmsamurparkkhongkarnsuksa" (Budgets and Equal Educational Opportunity) Journal of the National Education Council 12 (October-November, 1977): 22-35.

budget quality in their educational planning. And, the striking difference can still be found between the Northeast and the Central Plain regions; while the Northeast area has the lowest rate of children attending schools, it also receives less than half of what is received in the Bangkok area.⁷²

There are not only unequal resources among regions; there also is inequality in budget spending among school levels. Although primary education is attended by the majority of students, expenditures for primary education are often below those for secondary and higher education which are attended by fewer students.⁷³ According to the Bureau of the Budget, the government (1978) had spent 53.9, 16.8 and 12.9 percent of the educational budget for the primary, secondary and university students, respectively.⁷⁴ However, the percentage of students enrolling at those levels were 75.8 (6,848,121), 19.2 (1,637,923) and 1.8 percent (161,153) respectively in this same year.⁷⁵ This could be interpreted to mean that the secondary and college students had been

⁷²Suporh Prasertsri, "Kwammmaisamurparknai owekardtangkarnsuksa (Unequal Educational Opportunity)" Soonsuka 20 (October-December, 1974): 91.

⁷³Rungsan Thanaponphan, "Karnpatirupeudomsuksa: Punhakwammmaisamurpark (The Reformed Higher Education: The Problems of Unequal Opportunity and Justification)," Soonsuka 21 (May-July, 1975).

⁷⁴The Bureau of the Budget, The Office of the Prime Minister, Budget in Brief 1960-1978 in K. Chintanakanda, "The Role of Investment in Education in Thailand's Economic and Social Development (1961-76) (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1980), p. 55.

⁷⁵The Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa chabubyour, 1978 (Brief Educational Statistics) (Bangkok: The Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1978), p. 20.

given more funding from the government than had the primary students.

Although the studies related to EEO in Thailand are very limited, the cited research is very significant since most of it was done at the national level. The samples used are large in number and widely selected throughout the country. Funding by the government and cooperation among schools and authorities helped make these studies more complete and reliable, which hardly could have been done as thoroughly by any researchers working independently. However, due to the complex nature and multidimensionality of the EEO concept, much more investigation in this area is still needed for the future educational planning of the country.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF URBAN AND RURAL DIFFERENCES

Geographical Overview

Thailand has a population of 45 million and over 80 percent of the people are engaged in some kind of farming enterprise. Thailand is a constitutional monarchy whose capital city, called Greater Bangkok, is the combined cities of Bangkok and Dhonburee.

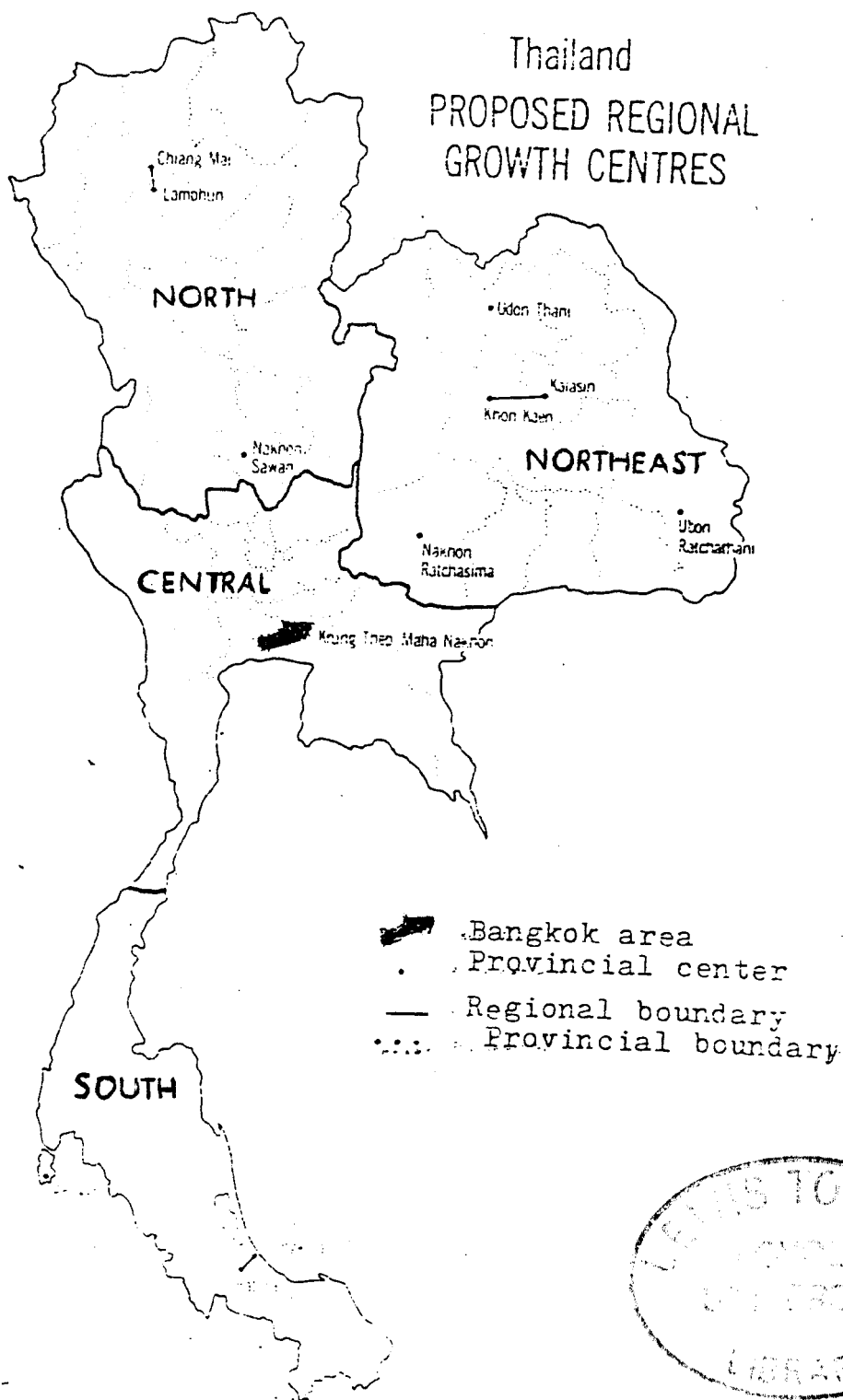
Thailand, approximately the size of France or the state of Texas, is bordered by Burma on the west, Laos and Cambodia on the North and Northeast, and by Malaysia and Singapore on the South. Generally, there are long, natural borders marked by mountain ranges, although the country also has a long seacoast on the east, west, and the south.

The country has an area of about 514,000 square kilometers of which 44 percent is under cultivation and another 32 percent is given over to forests. Administratively, the country is composed of four regions corresponding to major geographical features, and consisting of 72 provinces. As noted, for this study, only four regions are classified. They are: the North, South, Northeast and the Central Plain, although some other studies have referred to a fifth region on occasion.¹

Central Plain Region: This area is characterized by extreme

¹Wolf Donner, The Five Faces of Thailand: An Economic Geography (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1978).

Figure 1. Four Regions with Each Growth Center



Source: Larry Sternstein, "Migration and Development in Thailand," Geographical Review 66 (October, 1976): 402.

flatness and it holds the Chao Phaya River basin. It is almost surrounded by the Northeast, North and South regions except on the west side, marking the Burmese border, which contains a long mountain range acting like a fence separating the two countries. The most urbanized cities, Bangkok and Dhonburee are found in this region. This means that industrialization and modernization have contributed some economic diversity while also affecting farm production.

Most of the land in the Central Plain is intensively cultivated, covered by mile on mile of paddy rice fields, broken only occasionally by clustered stands of tall palms and bamboo trees. Farm houses are often built close to those trees which are used for protection from outside intrusion as well as for shade. Such clusters of houses and trees appear as oases among the miles of rice fields.

In terms of economic conditions, farm production, and living standards, the people in the Central Plain are better off than those in other regions. The land is rich and abundant, and there is ample water for farming and irrigation projects. Rice, fruit and vegetables are exported to the other regions which helps explain why farmers here earn the highest incomes and can command the highest prices for farmland. The average household landholding of 4.5 hectares and the average area for paddy rice production of 4.2 hectares are reported to be larger than the rest of other regions.²

Northern Region: This area is extensively covered by forests and

²Koich Mizuno, "The Social Organization of Rice-Growing Villages." In Yoneo Ishii(ed.), Thailand: A Rice Growing Society (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1978), p. 87.

high mountains and contains major rivers: the Ping, Wang, Yom, and Nan. Chiangmai is the central city of the region. Modern and western influences, as reflected in clothes and street lights, exist side-by-side with the traditional culture. The Northern region is also famous for its beautiful scenery and cool climate which has been described as follows: "The lower temperature, the still widespread forests, the mountains, the abundance of water and the colourfully dressed tribal people, together with the generally very active rural population and the skillful craftsmen fascinate the traveller and make the region a recreation area par excellence; and, in addition, it is a region with a high potential which has still to be developed."³

However, the high mountains and forests have restricted the amount of farmland. So, in addition to rice cultivation, tea production and the teak industry are other sources of income. In comparison with the Central Plain, the standard of living is low.

Southern Region: This is a long, mountainous and narrow peninsula bordering the sea. Rich minerals have been found in a number of the southern provinces, and other provinces such as Songkla and Puket are noted recreation and tourist areas. Economic activities include fishing, fruit farming and rubber plantations. The four main provinces: Satun, Patanee, Yala, and Naratiwart are composed of over 70 percent Muslim people, having their own culture and Muslim dialect. They have been strongly influenced by neighbouring Malaysia, also Muslim, and there are a number of on-going political conflicts in the region which may

³Donner, The Five Faces of Thailand..., p. 660.

change the course of the inhabitants' lives.

Northeast Region: In geographical terms, this region is known as the "Korat Plateau" and it is shaped like a large basin bordering Laos and Cambodia and, as such, subject to possible influence from the conflicts still going on in those countries. It is a vast region, with almost one-third of the land too sandy and unsuitable for successful farming. Farming is done in about one third of the region but results have been moderate. Many government administrators realized that unless improvements in agricultural techniques like terracing are introduced, farm conditions will likely worsen.

The living conditions in this region are probably the poorest in Thailand. Furthermore, malnutrition, high unemployment during and between growing season and political conflicts along the borders have resulted in other problems. These have been major factors in the region's substantial migration. Such situations have been going on for a number of years. To date, increased funding for economic projects for developing the land and improving living conditions have not alleviated the problems. Most people still suffer from poor economic conditions due to lack of irrigation and natural resources. It has been noted, however, that even though the Northeast region has many disadvantages, progress toward increased well-being can be made by substantial investment in water control and soil fertility projects. There is also a need for classifying land use and a scientifically based agricultural policy.⁴

⁴Ibid., p. 582.

The Classification of Rural and Urban Areas

The classification of Thai urban and rural areas is determined by specific characteristics which until recently have not had agreed upon criteria. However, as Goldstein and Goldstein⁵ have indicated, the United Nations has adopted a policy whereby each country defines its own urban and rural areas under the assumption that it is in the best position to do so. Furthermore, such a policy allows for maximum flexibility in the international scene although population size is held to be the major criterion.

Goldstein and Goldstein,⁶ realizing there is no single statistical definition of urban and rural satisfying all the needs of social scientists, have followed the simple dichotomy of a rural-urban category to study the demography of Thailand. The following is an explanation:⁷

(Despite this), the Thai government still operates without an official definition of "urban population"; and government statistics, including each of the several censuses from 1911 through 1970, fail to classify population as urban or rural (Prachuabmoh and Tirasawat, 1974). In the absence of an official rural-urban classification scheme, reliance has been placed on the use of localities designated as "municipal area" as a proxy for urban; but this has been far from satisfactory.

The failure to determine an official concept of urban and rural has caused a problem not only within Thailand, but also at the world level where these terms have to be used and compared internationally.

⁵S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein, "Thailand's Urban Population Reconsidered," Demography 15 (August 1978): 239.

⁶Ibid., p. 239.

⁷Ibid., p. 240.

Additionally, population size, although one of the most popular criteria, has to be attended to carefully since these statistical figures related to rural population are unreliable and lacking comparability, making the determination of the areas different from one country to another.⁸

By using population numbers, Goldstein (1967)⁹ classified the ten largest urban areas in Thailand which are: Greater Bangkok, Chiangmai, Lampang, Korat, Nakorn Pathom, Samut Sakorn, Puket Songkla, Ayudthaya and Choburee. In comparison to the rest of the province, Greater Bangkok (Bangkok and Dhonburee) is the only urbanized center truly based on a single metropolitan area. The twin city supports most of the trade, business, industry, governmental activities, and higher educational institutions, and also shows more urban characteristics than the other cities.

Furthermore, of all ten largest urban cities, Greater Bangkok has the highest population and the highest density of people per square kilometer. It was reported as being 21 times, and then 32 times greater than Chiangmai, the second largest urban place, in 1947 and 1960 respectively. The latest population determination of Greater Bangkok was 4,870,509, and that of Chiangmai, 1,139,537.¹⁰

⁸L. Malassis, The Rural World: Education and Development (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

⁹S. Goldstein, "Regional Differences in Urbanization in Thailand, 1947-1967," Warasansungkomsart 6 (July 1969): 148.

¹⁰Office of the Prime Minister, Thailand into the 80's (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press Co., Ltd., 1979), p. 281.

Although other cities have developed into large population centers as well, their urban growth rate lags far behind the capital city. In fact, it was suggested by many scholars that outside the most urbanized place, the remaining urban centers of the country should be called 'town' instead of 'city'. London¹¹ also insisted that no urban decentralization exists in the country since: "True decentralization requires both the relative and the absolute growth of smaller cities to exceed that of the metropolis...".

Since the terms urban and rural will be used for the purpose of comparing and contrasting various social, economic, and educational variables in this study, the term 'urban' will refer only to the twin cities, Bangkok and Dhonburee; the rest of the country will be referred to as 'rural'. This is based on the unique characteristics of the truly urban area previously described, plus the following statement as well:¹²

Defintions have been proposed to distinguish between urban and rural communities, either by the U.N. Specialized Agencies or by specific countries in the region. Most of these, however, define urban on the basis of population, activities or other characteristics, and assume the rest of the land and the people are rural.

¹¹ Bruce London, Metropolis and Nation in Thailand: The Political Economy of Uneven Development (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1980), p. 39.

¹² Robert O. Whyte, The Asian Village, Occasion Paper No. 44, September 1976 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies), p. 7.

Demography

The Determination of Urban and Rural Population

In determining urban and rural population characteristics, the area where people live must be clearly indicated. As has been pointed out, there is some difficulty and confusion in urban-rural classification. Even though a simple dichotomy of these two areas has been adopted, still, it has not been well understood and used properly. It has been indicated that the variation in the number of urban population centers was the result of varied definitions of urban place.¹³ Also, using the municipal area as the nearest meaning for 'urban' does not give us the accurate census of the urban population since many of these places could have been left out of official records. London¹⁴ has indicated that, "... the municipal area is a formally-rather than functionally-defined urban place."

Since municipal areas correspond to urban places, urban population is determined as people living within municipal areas. The rest of people living in non-municipal places are defined as being rural people. The classification of municipal places by the Royal Decree of the 1953 Municipal Act are as follows:¹⁵

1. City (Nakorn) included only Bangkok, Dhonburee, and Chiengmai.

¹³Goldstein and Goldstein, "Thailand's Urban Population Reconsidered..."

¹⁴London, Metropolis and Nation in Thailand: The Political Economy of Uneven Development, p. 32.

¹⁵S. Goldstein, "Urban Growth in Thailand, 1946-1967," Warasansungkomsart (Thai Social Science Journal) 6 (April 1969): 101.

2. Town (Muang) consisted of all other provinces left from the first three cities.

3. Communes (Tambon) or communities that were designed as municipal areas by the authority from the Ministry of Interior.

In the 1960 census, the population of the whole kingdom was 26,258,000; about 3,270,000 lived in these three types of administrative municipality, and about 22,988,000 or 87.5 percent lived in rural areas.¹⁶ These figures have not changed very much since the majority of Thai population are farmers. However, the percentage of urban and rural population has varied as the areas where they live have been altered in the determination. Based on the population of the whole kingdom in 1970, which was 35,550,000, the following categorizations according to population were offered:¹⁷

1. If urban consisted of municipal areas only, then the total of urban population (Bangkok and other municipal areas) was 5,214,000 which was 14.7 percent. The rest of rural population was 30,336,000 or 85.3 percent.

2. If urban consisted of municipal areas, all sanitary districts, and suburban sanidistricts which were included in the 'other municipal area' category, then the total urban (Bangkok, other municipal areas, and sanitary districts) and rural population was 8.862,000 (24.9 percent) and 26,688,000 (75.1 percent) respectively.

¹⁶Mizuno, The Social Organization of Rice-Growing Villages, in Thailand: A Rice Growing Society, pp. 85-287.

¹⁷Goldstein and Goldstein, "Thailand's Urban Population Reconsidered," p. 245.

3. If the urban areas were added to the municipal areas and sanitary district with at least a population of 5,000 and a density of 1000 persons per square kilometer, and suburban sanitary districts without limitation of size, plus the 'other municipal areas' category, the urban population would be 7,392,000 (20.8 percent) and the rest of the kingdom's population would be considered 'rural'.

Without systematic organization, more confusion ensued; some municipal areas defined as urban actually appeared to be more rural than urban, since it was indicated that of 82 classified as 'Muang', 16 of them had populations less than 10,000.¹⁸ Therefore, these areas did not meet the criteria for the 'Muang' classification. Furthermore, in the 1947 census, 117 places were designated municipal areas; while in the period of 1960 and 1970, there were 120.¹⁹ This means that only three new places were added which is rather doubtful, since that number should have increased by more than three.

Present Demographic Condition: Population Growth

Usually population growth and other population characteristics need to be analyzed before projects of various kinds can be undertaken. According to studies done by foreign experts, it has been shown that Thailand is one of the countries with the world's highest birth rate. If allowed to continue, many development plans and projects will be retarded due to limited funding which cannot account for this population growth.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 240.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 240.

Mootoka²⁰ has indicated that, during a certain period (before the Second World War), Thailand's population increase was a result of increased rice production. In 1850, the population was estimated to be only 5.5 million. In 1919, this figure was 9.2 million and in 1937, 14.6 million, which was still very low.²¹ From that date, the rate of population growth increased rapidly. We can note a rate of increase from 3.0 percent in 1937 to 3.2 percent during 1950 and 1960 which definitely was beyond the government expectations. Further, even though rice production increased correspondingly, it did not affect living conditions equally nationwide. This was especially the case in the Northeast region where technological advancement and modernization brought little economic improvement. Government efforts since roughly about 1950 to reduce the population growth were also fruitless.

The latest figure of the population of the whole kingdom should be close to 45 million with about five million residing in Greater Bangkok. The accuracy of this number cannot be proven unless a new census is conducted in the near future. Between 1911 and 1970 seven population censuses were conducted in Thailand. Earlier censuses are suspected of having been undercounted by 5-10 percent; undercounting in the 1970 census has been estimated at 4-5 percent.²² With all assumptions of

²⁰T. Mootoka, "Rice Exports and the Expansion of Cultivation." In Yoneo Ishii (ed.), Thailand: A Rice Growing Society (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1978), p. 286.

²¹Ibid., p. 288.

²²Fred Arnold, The Demographic Situation in Thailand. Papers of the East-West Population Institute, No. 45 (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1977), p. 4.

undercount, and underenumeration affecting the figures, the rapid growth of the Thai population still can be clearly seen.²³

However, there is presently a noticeable decline in the birth rate. From a figure of 3.2 percent in 1950 a reduction to 3.0 percent in 1960 was recorded. By the end of 1970s, the figure was about 2.0 percent and is expected to be 1.5 percent by 1984.²⁴ Some factors affecting this reduction include rapid urbanization, improved literacy, limited land for farming, no interference from religious authorities in birth control, and the very successful family planning programs created in 1970.²⁵

Literature in respect to the demography of Thailand is limited. The Institute of Population Studies of Chulalongkorn University of Thailand was only recently established. A very significant longitudinal study of social, economic, and demographic changes conducted by this institution was begun in 1968. While gathering various information on the Thai population, the institution omitted various groups from its study. For example, about 18 percent of the rural population mostly from the four predominantly Muslim provinces in the south and 5 percent

²³Ibid., p. 4.

²⁴G.W. Fry, "Educational Innovation in Thailand: A Response to Demographic Change." Paper presented at the Comparative and International Educational Society Annual Conference, Tallahassee, Florida, March 18-21, 1981, p. 2.

²⁵Susan H. Cochrane, The Population of Thailand: Its Growth and Welfare, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 337, June 1979. In G.W. Fry, "Educational Innovation in Thailand: A Response to Demographic Change." Paper presented at the Comparative and International Educational Society Annual Conference, Tallahassee, Florida, March 18-21, 1981, p. 2.

of the urban population were not counted.

We can note some interesting features of Thai population as reported by Prachuabmoh and Knodel.²⁶

Household Size

The respective sizes of urban and rural families is about as expected, unofficially. The average number of people in a rural family is 6.4 and 6.5 in an urban family. So the assumption that the rural family should be much larger, since laborers are needed for family farming and knowledge of birth control may be unknown, may no longer be true. Fry²⁷ also cited a study done by T. Pardthaisong, a Thai researcher from Chiangmai University, showing that the birth rate of people in Chiangmai province has dropped from 38.5/1,000 in 1960 to only 19.2/1,000 in 1973. For the whole northern region of Thailand, the total birth rate decline in the ten-year period (1964-65 to 1974) was 41.5 percent. Fry remarked: "Such a rapid decline in fertility is probably unprecedented with respect to the previous historical experience in the West."²⁸ From this report it can be concluded that rural people are as interested in managing family size as are urban inhabitants.

²⁶V. Prachuabmoh and J. Knodel, "The Longitudinal Study of Social, Economic, and Demographic Change in Thailand: Review of Findings," Asian Survey 14 (April 1974): 351-355.

²⁷Fry, "Educational Innovation in Thailand: A Response to Demographic Change," p. 2.

²⁸Ibid., p. 2.

Composition of Thai Population

The Thai population is essentially a young one. It was noted, in all seven censuses, that the average population aged under fifteen was 41.8 percent.²⁹ Arnold³⁰ has indicated that the increasing number of the young population from the fourth census, 1937, to the last one, 1970, could be the result of a decline in infant and child mortality. Likewise, there was also an increase of the dependency population (a combination of people under fifteen and over sixty years old) in many of the censuses (see Table I).

For educators and administrators, the report of a high rate of young population (under 15 years old) implies increasing social responsibilities for the government in terms of education and eventual employment. These individuals are considered a social burden until they become productive members of the society. For people over sixty years old, (the age of retirement from the civil service is 60 years old) any social investment by the government must be considered carefully. With limited financial resources available, the government may not have much to offer to these groups of people, in regard to all types of social services.

Marital Status

Rural men and women marry earlier than their urban counterparts by two to three years for men and one to two years for women. The average age for a rural woman's first marriage is twenty-one and twenty-five

²⁹Arnold, The Demographic Situation in Thailand, Table 2, p. 6.

³⁰Ibid., p. 5.

Table 1

Compositions of Population During Seven Censuses (1911-1970)

Age-sex structure of Thailand's population, 1911-1970

Year, age group, and dependency ratio ^a	Male	Female	Both sexes	Sex ratio ^c
1911				
0-14	49.2	39.7	40.0	93.7
15-59	53.6	54.8	54.3	95.5
60 and over	5.8	5.5	5.7	103.0
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.2
Dependency ratio	35.3	32.5	34.1	na
1919				
0-14	38.7	38.0	38.4	100.1
15-59	55.9	57.5	56.7	95.9
60 and over	5.4	4.5	4.9	119.0
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.5
Dependency ratio	78.7	74.0	76.3	na
1929				
0-14	39.1	39.1	39.1	101.4
15-59	56.0	56.4	56.2	100.7
60 and over	4.9	4.5	4.7	113.2
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	101.5
Dependency ratio	78.6	77.3	77.9	na
1937				
0-14	42.5	42.4	42.5	102.8
15-59	52.6	52.8	52.6	102.0
60 and over	4.9	4.8	4.9	101.0
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	102.3
Dependency ratio	90.0	89.4	89.7	na
1947				
0-14	42.7	41.9	42.3	101.8
15-59	53.3	53.7	53.5	99.3
60 and over	4.0	4.4	4.2	92.0
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Dependency ratio	87.6	86.2	85.9	na
1960				
0-14	43.5	42.5	43.2	101.9
15-59	52.3	52.1	52.2	100.6
60 and over	4.2	5.0	4.6	84.9
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.4
Dependency ratio	91.3	91.3	91.6	na
1970				
0-14	45.9	44.4	45.1	102.6
15-59	49.3	50.3	50.0	97.6
60 and over	4.5	5.3	4.9	83.4
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.1
Dependency ratio	101.5	98.7	100.1	na

Source: Arnold, F., The Demographic Situation in Thailand. Papers of the East-West Population Institute: No. 45 (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1977), Table 2.

for the man. The social complexity is reflected in such marriage ages. The need for education and employment in cities may delay the usual marriage age. Rural people, on the other hand, tend to view marriage as a means to recruit a new family member to the farm.³¹

Migration

It has long been known that rural people migrate to towns and cities each year during the summer, seeking temporary employment, and then go back to their farms for the harvesting season. Such seasonal migration is necessary to increase family income since farming scarcely provides enough earnings to cover the cost of living. Two major factors for migration have been indicated: (1) external community influence: the lure of modern convenience in the cities, high wages, the large numbers of laborers needed in industrial areas, the more fertile lands available in other regions, availability of higher educational institutions in cities, and the improved quality of communication among the provinces, and (2) internal community influences: famine, limited farm land, over population, and the high crime rate in the rural areas.³²

Sternstein³³ has reported that the influx to Bangkok and Dhonburee from the country tends to be very high. The high rate observed during the period of 1960 to 1970, has been attributed to the migration of

³¹Prachuabmoh and Knodel, "The Longitudinal Study of Social, Economic, and Demographic Change in Thailand: Review of Finding," pp. 352-353.

³²p. Sompong, Rural Society (Sung Kom Chau Ban Na) (Bangkok: Central Express Ltd., 1979).

³³Larry Sternstein, "Migration and Development in Thailand," Geographical Review 66 (October 1976); 407.

people from 69 provinces to the capital city, and was considered to be the most significant change in recent internal moving.³⁴ The migration to big cities as reported in Sternstein's study of one of the provinces in the Northeast region, Khon Kaen, is an example of what could have happened in other areas as well.³⁵ According to his study, the outflow migration of Khon Kaen between 1955-1960 and 1965-1970 was high because of the increasing population in the province, plus the lure of educational and occupational opportunities in Greater Bangkok and the nearby cities. Furthermore, the outflow from rural to urban cities can be a sign of governmental failure since all projects created to develop rural society do not gain much attention by those people who are still drawn towards the more modernized cities.

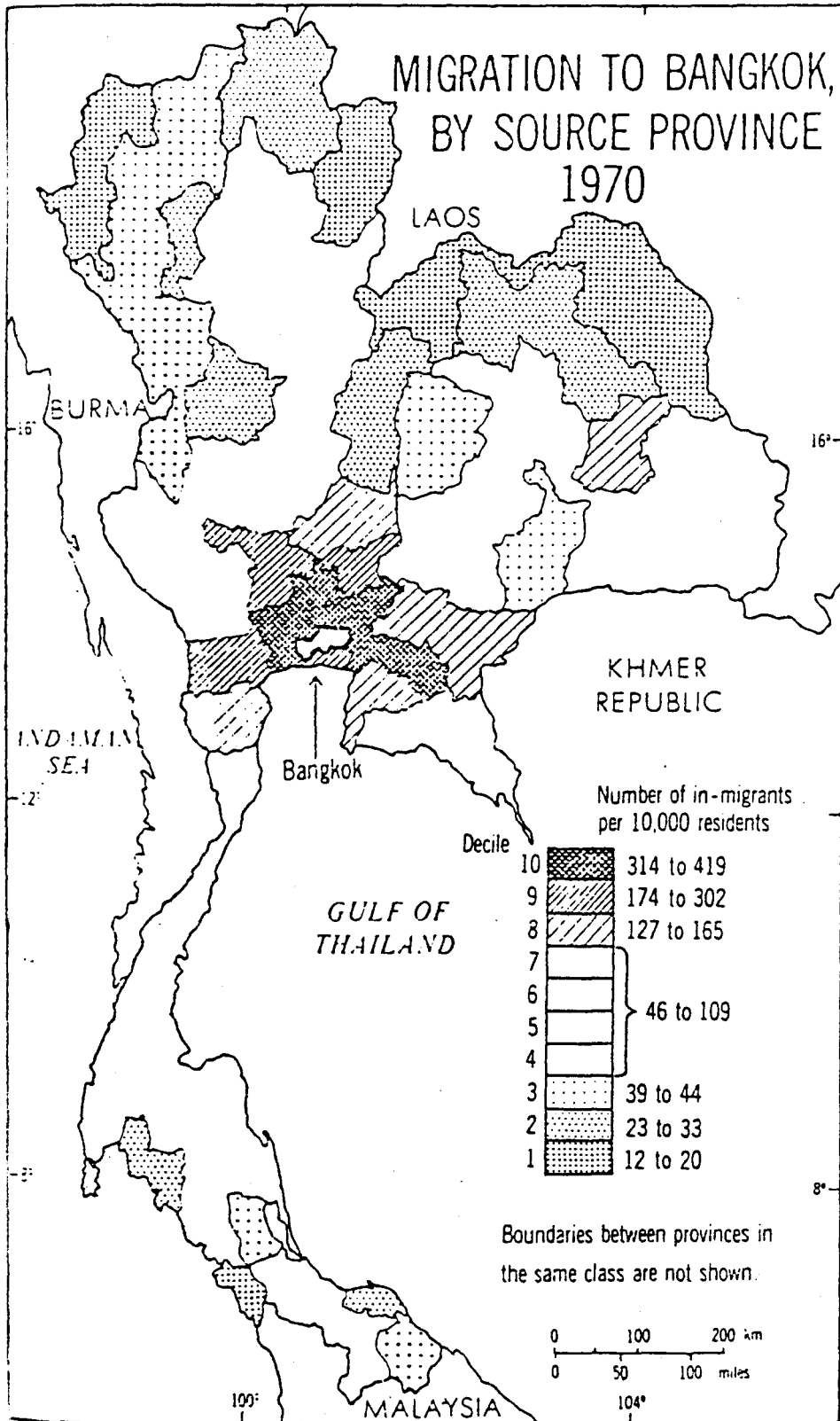
The out-migration from Bangkok and Dhonburee in recent years has been related to the developmental centers initiated in connected provinces (i.e. Nontaburee and Samut Prakan) and in upcountry provinces.³⁶ These projects were aimed at reducing the rate of in-migration which is usually higher than the rate of out-migration. The high rate of in-migration into Bangkok, and the streams of inter-provincial migration centered mostly in the Central Plain region are shown in Figure 2. The uneven rate of movement among people in four regions was also studied

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 407-408.

³⁵ Larry Sternstein, "Internal Migration and Regional Development: The Khon Kaen Development Centre of Northeast Thailand," Journal of Southeast Asia Study 8 (March, 1977): 106-116.

³⁶ Sternstein, "Migration and Development in Thailand," p. 411.

Figure 2. In-Migration to Bangkok by Province of Origin



Source: Larry Sternstein, "Migration and Development in Thailand," *Geographical Review* 66 (October, 1976) : 409.

by Piampiti,³⁷ showing that during 1950-1960 there was more migration from the Northeast and the Central Plain regions than into them, but the opposite picture was the case in the Northern region. In the South, the rates of both in and out-migration were lower than in any other region.

Urban and Rural Social Structures

Thailand is the only country in southeast Asia that has never been a colony of a western nation; its culture and traditions have remained intact for a century. Smith et al³⁸ have described this pattern. Thailand was an integrated and stable society, changing only little from ancient times, until the nineteenth century. Its people were mainly independent farmers living scattered in villages.

The pattern of social structure is, likewise, quite uniform from region to region, which is the result of homogenous groups of people who generally speak the same language, are Buddishts, and who mostly engage in rice farming. A villager moving from one area to another will be able to pursue his daily activities without difficulty since there are no real differences in food production and behavior patterns. Nevertheless, as noted, Thailand is composed of two general societies: urban and rural. Each has distinctive characteristics, and both have certain patterns of social stratification and values. While people in Bangkok and Dhonburee are moving toward westernization, modernization

³⁷S. Piampiti, "The Changing Pattern of Migration in Thailand B.C. 2503-2513," cited by P. Sompong, Rural Society (Bangkok: Central Express, Ltd., 1979), pp. 134-135.

³⁸Harvey H. Smith, et al, Area Handbook for Thailand (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 108.

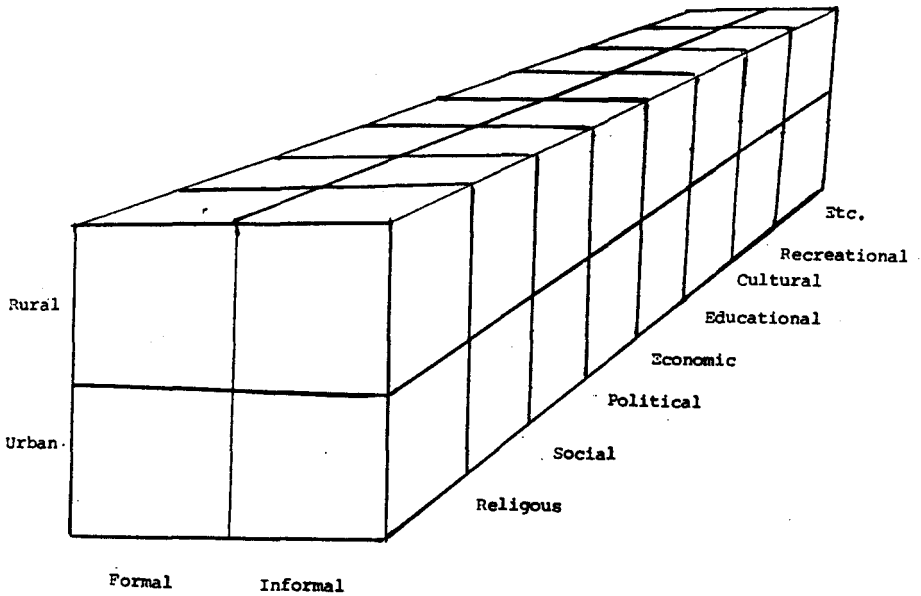
and some industrialization, their rural compatriots still work in the fields with little recourse to modern equipment and scientific procedures.

In Bangkok, on the other hand, an organization has long existed which gives a complexity to urban social structure. According to Hayden,³⁹ the interpretation of social structure can be considered the complex of existing institutions and their roles in shaping the lives of people in society. Generally, then, it can be seen that there is no formal social organization existing in rural societies except for a few informal temple or educational committees which are composed of small groups of people. In Bangkok, on the other hand, formal organizations exist within a complex urban social structure. The formal organizations in Bangkok can be complemented to and contrasted with the informal structures in rural areas of the decentralized system of the central government. For example, what is commanded and planned from the city headquarters may not be approved and followed at the lower levels in the commune and villages, especially in those far away from the city.

The existing formal and informal organizations in two societies can be seen in the Figure 3. The line drawn between formal urban social organizations and informal rural social organizations indicates the composition of each society. In a decentralized government, the informal institutions in rural areas can function like those formal ones in an urban area, but only in a less complex manner and by use of

³⁹ Hayden Roberts, Community Development: Learning and Action (Buffalo, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 86.

Figure 3. Urban and Rural Institutional Comparisons

Urban Formal Institutions

Ministry of Education
 Ministry of Interior
 Office of the Prime Minister
 Etc.

Rural Informal Institutions

The School Committee
 Wat (Temple) Committee
 Village Committee
 Etc.

Source: Hayden Roberts, Community Development: Learning and Action (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 87.

informal traditional authority even when they are supposed to follow a more formal authority.

So, due to the distinctive characteristics between rural and urban societies, the analysis of social structure in this study focuses on three levels: the villages (including communes), the provincial town, and the urban center (Bangkok and Dhonburee).

Village Social Structure

In most countries, the village, the smallest central place, performs only very localized functions for the small number of people living scattered in the nearby farming areas. The term 'village' is best defined by Rondinellis and Ruddle⁴⁰ in the following terms:

Although varying considerably in population size and in the dimensions of the hinterland served, villages are the smallest central places in nearly all countries, performing only very localized functions, often only for a population within walking distance. Ubiquitous in this class of settlement are retail and marketplace functions. Small retail shops are the most common enterprises along with coffee or tea shops.

The social and economic activities of villagers are also similar from place to place mainly centering around the procession of events from birth to death, such as greeting the newborn baby, the ordination of monks, weddings and funerals. At the present time, although there are some signs of a movement toward modernization, many rural villagers still live a simple life style, managing family and religious activities in their usual, traditional ways. Each member of the family performs his or her role in less complex and confusing circumstances than do

⁴⁰Denise A. Rondinelli and Kenneth Ruddle, Urbanization and Rural Development: A Spatial Policy for Equitable Growth (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978), p. 74.

urban people who have more kinds of pressures on them. From an outside point of view the typical rural life style can appear less productive.

Rural people are often accused of being less ambitious and less serious in improving their socioeconomic status than urban people since they simply work hard enough to acquire basic necessities, with the surplus, if any, viewed as 'wealth'. They have less materialistic ideas than city people. Naturally, rural people wish to improve their lives in variable areas which they may find deficient. But most willingly reside in the village of their birth for their entire lives surrounded by their family and neighbors.⁴¹

Village administration is also simple. A headman is elected by the villagers and he works with the government officials at the district or town level. Such administration is designed for central authority to flow down to the village level. Minor conflicts are usually settled by the headman before recourse to the town court. The village leader is usually selected from people of a higher economic status and he holds the major administrative post, giving him more authority than other villagers. But his power is limited by traditional village forms and alliances. Although lacking of an administrative power, the headman is still respected, and, "... Leaders' influence depends largely on their culturally-bound personal prestige and spreads through ramifying dyadic relations of bilateral kinship networks in which status and role are structured only by sex, age,

⁴¹Office of the Prime Minister, Thailand into the 80's.

and generation."⁴²

Occupation of Villagers

The major crop is rice, which is widely grown not only in Thailand, but throughout other Asian countries. While about 80 percent of the farmers are involved in rice growing, nearly 40 percent grow rice exclusively.⁴³ Besides rice cultivation, fruit growing is also popular among farmers living in the Central Plain, North, and South regions. Indications are that about 85 percent of rural people are self employed or involved with family businesses, with the remainder mainly working in the private sector or holding a permanent job.

Wat and Village

Beyond the family, the 'wat or temple' is the principal social unit. People meet there and use it as a village social center. Religious activities and family business matters are often the chief items of discussion. So, it is a place where friends and relatives have a chance to meet each other. Smith, et al⁴⁴ observed the following characteristics of the temple:

Besides its religious activities a village 'wat' may function as a charitable agency, recreation center, dispensary, school community center, place of safe deposit, community warehouse, home for the psychotic and the aged, employment agency, news agency, public guest house and information center.

⁴²Koichi Mizuno, "Thai Pattern of Social Organization: Note on Comparative Study," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 6 (September 1975): 130.

⁴³Prachuabmoh and Knodel, "The Longitudinal Study of Social....", p. 356.

⁴⁴Smith, et al, Area Handbook for Thailand, p. 212.

The wat is the place where a young man joins the priesthood. The priesthood is a common way to improve social status, especially for a person coming from a modest background. After a number of years in the religious life, a monk's position is considered by the villagers to be higher than that of a rich farmer or other property owner who has never been ordained as a monk.

Monks perform various roles for the village society. The services include joining in the ceremony held for the new born, weddings, and funerals. Monks with some special skills in medicine, diagnosis and treatment of certain diseases are highly recommended and respected. In addition, these monks "... help to preserve the social stability of the community by their example of patience and serenity."⁴⁵

Organization of the Family

Admittedly, the definition of a Thai family can be difficult. Foster,⁴⁶ who has spent some time studying the family organization in Thailand, has stated: "In the ethnographic literature on Thailand, a family is usually defined as a group of kinsmen, living in the same dwelling, preparing meals together, and mutually adjusting finances to some degree." In general, a family is the main small social unit in society, but unlike other associations, it has no recognized formal function. The only definite pattern is one of authority between a husband and wife. Usually, in the rural family, the father, as head,

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 213.

⁴⁶ Brian L. Foster, "Continuity and Change in Rural Thai Family Structure," Journal of Anthropological Research 31 (Spring, 1975): 36.

has more power over women and children. However, the equality between the two sexes is becoming more prominent, especially in the urban society. There is, for example, one study indicating that women perform almost equally to men.⁴⁷ This report, which studied the role of women in Thailand, India and United States, held that Thai women, in fact, have more equality in relation to men (as married partners), than do the women from the other two cultures.

The majority of Thai families are of a nuclear type (a couple with unmarried children). In his study of 910 families from 35 villages, Smith⁴⁸ observed that only one third of the families selected as samples were of extended families (two or three generations living in the same house). However these two types often overlap. The extended family usually develops for economic reasons since young married couples may not be able to start their own homes, and most of old parents with extensive farmland expect their offsprings to do the necessary hard work. When more than one generation lives together, the extended family is formed until the young married sons or daughters move out and start their own families. Whatever types of family classification are used, the typical Thai social structure still includes the following features: (1) The nuclear family with about five or six members which constitutes the basic unit of social

⁴⁷ Harry W. Gardiner, U.P. Singh, and D.E. D'Orazio, "The Liberated Woman in Three Cultures: Marital-Role Preferences in Thailand, India and the United States." Human Organization 33 (Winter, 1974): 413-414.

⁴⁸ Harold Smith, "The Thai Family: Nuclear or Extended," Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (February, 1973).

organization; (2) In each village, many families are related by blood or marriage; (3) There is an inequality among family members (age or sex classification), and a definite pattern of husband and wife's authority; (4) There is flexibility in performance of family functions, and a lack of specification of rights and duties of each individual member; (5) Attachment of children to parents in which children are disciplined and expected to respect their elders.

Social Relationship in the Village

Within and between families, social relationships are formed by kinship, physical proximity, and membership in informal groups outside the family. Villagers usually honor their friends well, and sometimes guests are even treated better than family members. Social relationships are hierarchical, based on superior and subordinate status.

Outside the family there are limited social groups, based on function rather than formality. The more notable of such groups are: temple committees, school committees, and community development committees. Since these groups are not formally organized, only a few individuals enjoy special status. The relationship between individual and society is also simple; there are no specific rules or regulations to follow. Anyone will join a group if he wants to, otherwise, nobody will force him to do so.

District and Provincial Social Structure

On the next level of sociopolitical units are districts and provinces. A district is a locally administered part of a province. Each province consists of any number of districts ranging from three and up. The main district in each province is also the location for

the provincial headquarters and the province is under the control of the 'governor' appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. Thus, local government consists of administrative units: village, commune (tambon), district and province. Each Ministry of the central government has representatives at the local levels. Government officials at district and province levels are required to carry out and implement policy directives ordered from the central government.

Towns have fewer features in common with villages. Town governmental units do provide a link between the central and local level. But otherwise town people dominate villagers. Notable features of town life include outlook, style of clothes, levels of education, wealth, and values. Such features are more initiative of urban people. The similarity of outlooks and other characteristics between town and urban people is directly related to physical distance. The further the town is located from the city, the less likely will those features be imitated, and such imitation is implied at province, district and village location as well.

Bangkok Social Structure

For many reasons, in the developing countries, the large metropolitan center plays a dominate role in national and economic development. In Thailand, the Bangkok and Dhonburee complex is the urban area where most industrial, commercial and governmental functions are located. As in the past, these twin cities (Greater Bangkok) still possess the greatest diversity of economic activities, since it is the nation's communication center, and has the largest airport, and harbor. Also, having the best universities and other educational institutions,

Bangkok is home to most of the educated people and intelligentsia.

The complexity of urban society is also reflected in attitudes towards career and occupational status. Thus, even if they have the same religion and cultural heritage, urban people tend to have higher social ambitions than people in remote villages. For example, a rural school teacher, with a college degree and earning the same amount of money, is more respected and honored by rural than urban people, because the status of the latter can be attained through many other existing formal urban organizations. Urban inhabitants also set the standard of life styles to be emulated. One scholar has noted that it is the people of Bangkok who establish those standards of behavior, dress, world outlook, and modern comforts that are necessarily of limited access to the rural inhabitants, even those aspiring to higher social status.⁴⁹ It is just that the degree to which these standards are acquired by non-Bangkok residents largely determines their prestige.

Wat and Urban People

Urban residents are less attached to the institution of the 'wat' (temple) than rural residents. It is no longer the social meeting place it still is in the village. Secular and religious activities are clearly separated in the city, especially for young adults who may not even believe that religious achievement is more significant to them than wealth and power. This means that Buddhism,

⁴⁹W. Blanchard et al., Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New Haven, Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1958), p. 407.

while still the center of the Thai views of life, forming the basis of most attitudes, has undergone changes in appearance. Just as the toughest material can be transformed under pressure, so has Buddhism been transformed under the pressures of Bangkok's urban city lifestyle.⁵⁰

Traditional Values in Thai Society

It is true that there are some regional differences in customs and values, but Thailand is basically a traditional society, the roots of which extend far back in time. Since ancient times, Thai people have held certain values that are unique and not quite like any other Southeast Asian people's values. Some of these are basic and national, for instance, adherence to hierarchical status, individualism and the accumulation of merit values.

The Hierarchical Status Value

Many scholars of Thai society have reported on the basic relationship between superior and subordinate. For example, it has been noted that, "... Deeply rooted in Thai society was the value attached to the hierarchical status."⁵¹ This

is the basic explanation of the kind of relationship that exists between two persons when one is considered 'superior' and the other 'subordinate'. It is not unusual for two strangers, when introduced, to feel uncomfortable, and not know how to behave until each discovers

⁵⁰Office of the Prime Minister, Thailand into the 80's.

⁵¹William J. Siffin, The Thai Bureaucracy: Institutional Change and Development (Honolulu: East West Center Press, 1966), p. 128.

the social category of the other. The main criteria to identify people are: age, level of education, wealth, power, knowledge, civil service status, and religious experience. Religious merit, official status and age are believed to be the most respected qualifications.⁵² Age is a status not to be earned because respect is given automatically to elders--age being considered a reliable guide to the individual levels of wisdom and virtue.⁵³

Some western people have remarked that Thai society is very much a status-bound society and equality among people is not known. As young children, their status has been already acquired. An individual's status is said to be dependent upon deeds (the more good deeds accumulated, the better social position obtained). Hanks noted that: "The important thing to remember is that the Thai categorize not people but tasks."⁵⁴ Also, other scholars on Thai society such as Henderson et al⁵⁵ have stated that:

The ever-present concern with status in the social hierarchy makes a formal organization with explicit status marks, such as uniform insignia and titles, a convenient device permitting large groups of strangers to work together comfortably.

⁵²Smith et al, Area Handbook for Thailand, pp. 114-116.

⁵³Frank J. Moore, Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (Connecticut: Human Relation Area Files, Inc., 1974), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁴Lucien M. Hanks, "The Thai Social Order as Entourage and Circle." In G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Krisch (Eds.), Change and Persistence in Thai Society (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 198.

⁵⁵John W. Henderson et al, Area Handbook for Thailand, 3rd revision. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 64.

Individualism

This value is derived from the Buddhist principle of independence. The essence of the value is that each person is responsible for oneself, responsible for working out the means to his own salvation.⁵⁶ A possible danger from such a value is a lack of social responsibility. Yet cooperation among villagers working on public projects also requires self-interest. Phillips,⁵⁷ studying social structure in one of Thai villages, has also observed that villagers relationships, based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit, are marked by a dyadic relationship. The main structural defect of this value is the possible lack of cooperation, failure to complete projects, or projects carried out but in extreme stress. Wichiencharoen,⁵⁸ a noted Thai scholar, has confirmed that individualism is the kind of value that is deeply rooted in Thai culture because Thais do not like being forced into predetermined social categories. Thais enjoy the freedom of being allowed to do things without prior constraints. The majority of Thai people, it should be remembered, are independent rice farmers, setting their own crop production and economic goals. It has been remarked that, in general, Thais do not make good soldiers and have not readily

⁵⁶ Bevars D. Mabry, "Peasant Economic Behavior in Thailand," Journal of Southeast Asia Studies 10:2 (September 1979): 401.

⁵⁷ Herbert Phillip, "Relationship Between Personality and Social Structure in a Siamese Peasant Community," Human Organization 22 (Summer 1963): 106.

⁵⁸ Adul Wichiencharoen, "Social Values in Thailand," Social Science Review 1-2 (March 1976).

adapted to regimentation and the routine of military life.⁵⁹

However, according to Mole's statement: "... Thai society functions quite well in spite of prominent individualistic orientation", he⁶⁰ suggested that the relationship among people, the reciprocity, helps Thais to perform their duties, since being individualistic does not imply that a person is left alone entirely. As soon as one starts to do things for others, he or she expects them to be returned. Usually the relationship does not last if no commitment between two people exists. Being individualistic in Thailand does not have the same meaning as it does in the United States. The individuality of Thai people, "... makes the American appear rather cultural-bound by external pressures."⁶¹ Phillip seemed to be in agreement with Mole's ideas in his later opinion and has stated:⁶²

Siamese are, first and foremost, free and independent souls. Much of the time they fulfill each other's expectations, but this is only because they want to, not because others expect it of them or because the situation demands it.

In comparison to western societies, Thais are not a nation of joiners. Only a few formal organizations have been created and then only in cities. Clubs, unions and other formal organizations common in the west have not worked for the Thai people who still are not caught up

⁵⁹Moore, Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture, p. 181.

⁶⁰Robert L. Mole, Thai Values and Behavior Patterns (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1973), p. 68.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 65.

⁶²Herbert Phillips, Thai Peasant Personality (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 60.

in formal institutional codes.⁶³ Blanchard et al.⁶⁴ explained that:

The society is organized laterally rather than vertically. Only two structures, church and government, are built in pyramid form and encompass the whole country. Even these hierarchies mean little to most Thai; for them Buddhism means the local temple, and government means the village elders.

The Value of Merit Accumulation

One of the most important social values deriving from Buddhist religious morality is the value of 'merit accumulation'. This value is accomplished by each person working out his own salvation, by being generous and donating to charity. The act of offering can be done by anybody at any age. Such a virtue is held to support the well being of society since one person can depend upon another; no one is expected to be left alone to suffer or die.

In addition to these three major values, other researchers have reported on related characteristics of Thai culture. They include, among others, wealth, power, nobility, generosity, gratitude, and wisdom. Messook and Bennett⁶⁵ also reported on the values of: (1) Sanook, the loving of the pleasure with the family or with close friends; (2) Krongchai, an accepting of different people as the way they are; (3) Kharma, this value is similarly determined as 'merit accumulations'; and (4) Work Ethnical, Thais work mainly to meet present demands of daily living. This attitude toward work is probably the

⁶³Blanchard et al, Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture, p. 8.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁶⁵Ambhorn Meesook and Nicholas Bennett, "Cultures in Collision: The Experience of Thailand," Solidarity 9:7 (September-October 1975): 24.

result of a fun loving, 'Sanook'.

A Comparison of Rural and Urban Values

Sociological theory generally categorizes three main types of societies: primitive, agricultural, and industrial. Thailand, although a developing country in Southeast Asia, still has more than 80 percent of its population engaged in agricultural, so it can still be questioned whether Thailand will truly join the industrial classification. As previously discussed, most Thais hold similar values. However, different environments like rural and urban ones can result in different characteristics and behaviors. To most villagers, for example, supernatural belief is still more important than scientific knowledge. It is not surprising that cultural conservatism in resistance to change also marks rural society. Successful rice growing is believed to require the performance of specific rites and ceremonies. Furthermore, many villagers are said to be more satisfied with the status quo, and more self-oriented than urban people who, showing many characteristics common to all urban, industrial societies, and tend to be energetic, acquisitive, impersonal, organization-oriented, and libertarian.⁶⁶

Social Classification in Thailand

Social Class in Thailand Concerning the Loose Definition and Its

Controversy

Although all societies exist with some form of stratification, the formation of social class in Thailand has been the subject of disagreement.

⁶⁶Wichiencharoen, "Social Values in Thailand," p. 157.

However, explanations posited by Wilson,⁶⁷ Embree,⁶⁸ Hanks,⁶⁹ Phillips,⁷⁰ Piker⁷¹ and so on, are similar in their emphasis that any forms of social class rankings determined in the western world tend to fail or are insufficient when used with Thai culture. In his earlier opinion, Hanks⁷² considered that the nature of Thai social order was a resemblance to a military organization rather than the usual class type of society. In the more recent viewpoint he not only portrayed Thai society according to what is called by Durkheim as mechanical solidarity, but also compared it to a circle of linked entourage as opposed to the American social order which is a collection of differentiated specialized units. In his view, Thai social order is analogous to a one-celled organism composed of different self-sufficient units. In contrast to the specialization in government, economics and public welfare in American society, he does not see these specializations in Thai society.⁷³

⁶⁷ D. Wilson, Politics in Thailand (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 50.

⁶⁸ J.F. Embree, "Thailand: A Loosely Structured Social System," American Anthropologist 52 (April-June 1950): 181-193.

⁶⁹ L.M. Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power in the Thai Social Order," American Anthropologist 64 (December 1962): 1252.

⁷⁰ Phillips, "Relationship Between Personality...", p. 106.

⁷¹ S. Piker, "Sources of Stability and Instability in Rural Thai Society," Journal of Asian Studies 27 (August 1968): 777-780.

⁷² Hanks, "Merit and Power...", p. 1252.

⁷³ L.M. Hanks, Jr., "The Thai Social Order as Entourage and Circle." In G.W. Skinner and A.T. Kirsch (Eds.), Change and Persistence in Thai Society (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 197.

Embree's concept of a loose social structure has been somewhat adopted. It is a term which means that the Thais have developed no real restrictions on individual behavior. In contrast to people of countries such as Japan, China and Vietnam, Thais lack a strong sense of duty, rules, and regulations in interpersonal behavior. This concept of a loose social structure has had for a long time a strong impact on anthropological researchers working in Thailand.

The debate about Embree's loosely structured term was collected in Evers's book on this topic, presenting various viewpoints and arguments of such scholars as Phillips, Piker, Moerman, Mulder, B. Punyodyana (a Thai scholar), Evers and so on.⁷⁴ Because the debate generated rather strongly held views, no clear-cut resolutions have been offered. Most of these scholars on Thai social structure were not satisfied with the term used, but tended to agree with the somewhat, simple definition of social structure as applied to the village. They also rejected Embree's collection of data which was based on individual characteristics but Embree used them to express the social structure of the society.

Potter,⁷⁵ another expert on Thai social structure, recently has suggested that the Thai social structure is more rigid than previously perceived by researchers. Still, the most widely accepted characteristic of rural Thailand is that of a loosely structured society. Embree's

⁷⁴Hans-Dieter Evers (Ed.), Loosely Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective by J.F. Embree and Others (Connecticut: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1969).

⁷⁵Jack M. Potter, Thai Peasants: Social Structure (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 1-11.

concept has persisted because, "... objections to the model have been based upon theoretical grounds rather than upon an examination of the ethnographic facts."⁷⁶ Potter also cited Geertz's statement indicating Embree's influence that, "... old theories tend less to die than go into second editions."⁷⁷ Finally, he concluded:⁷⁸

I see Thai society as an example of a recognized social type and not as an exotic peculiarity in Southeast Asia. It is necessary to clarify the nature of rural Thai society so that Thailand may be compared with China, India, and other peasant societies.

However, Potter's explanations have been criticized by Texter.⁷⁹

He holds that Potter did not provide a rigorous definition of structure and of the terms tightness and looseness. For Texter, Thai social structure is not well organized. He states that:

I believe the most important reason why these other scholars reported "loose structure" is that in their perception of Thai village behavior, they did indeed discern a certain looseness that was sufficiently pervasive and impressive that they would have reported it in some such fashion even had Embree and Sharp et al never published.

While some researchers still agree with Embree's conclusion of an unorganized Thai society, other investigations are beginning to point in different directions.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁹R.B. Texter, "The 'Loose Structure' of Thai Society: A Paradigm Under Pressure," Pacific Affairs 50 (Fall 1977): 468-469.

Evers,⁸⁰ in his research on social mobility in Thailand, reasoned that the contradictions between class and no class formulations may be the consequence of misconstruing the nature of the social order. Because the formation of the Thai class system is in the process of evolving, some factors such as rapid change make it difficult to analyze if a static model is being used. Embree's term was also thought to be loosely defined, vague, and misleading.⁸¹ Brand⁸² and Tominaga et al⁸³ also suggested the possibilities of stratification in Thai social structure. By using Weber's concept of 'class and structure', Brand suggested the Weberian typology was applicable to Thai society because of the process of change taking place. Even if only slowly, parts of Thailand are undergoing a process of modernization, urbanization and industrialization. The proper study of Thai culture requires, therefore, a knowledge of anthropological and sociological theories and an understanding of Thai culture.⁸⁴ Tominaga et al have reasoned that although the society of Southeast Asia has not been fully modernized or industrialized, it has been heavily influenced in

⁸⁰Hans-Dieter Evers, "The Formation of a Social Class Structure: Urbanization, Bureaucratization and Social Mobility in Thailand," American Sociological Review 31 (August 1966): 482.

⁸¹Mizono, "Thai Pattern of Social Organization: Note on a Comparative Study," p. 127.

⁸²Arie Brand, "Thailand's Loosely Structured Social System and Weberian Sociology," Southeast Asia Journal of Sociology 2 (May 1969): 3-13.

⁸³Kenichi Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization of Thai Society: A Sociological Analysis," East Asian Cultural Studies 9 (March 1969): Part I: 3.

⁸⁴Brand, "Thailand's Loosely Structured..."

those trends by other advanced societies. Many Thai professionals and academics have been educated in western countries, their careers gaining them respect and honor, thereby. Hence, it is possible that analysis of social classes is more or less identical by the use of western methodologies.⁸⁵ He also indicated that: "Social class in modern society is neither a close nor inherent status, but a mobile and abstract concept."⁸⁶

Finally, Jacob⁸⁷ has suggested what to expect when researching Asian society, especially Thailand. One needs to take note of the characteristic differences between western and Asian societies so that each analytical model is applicable to each culture. Jacob,⁸⁸ in his book on Thai social structure, has remarked on some characteristic behaviors of the patrimonial Asian culture which differs from the more familiar feudal and post-feudal societies of Europe. These include an authority system, the economy, a division of labor, a system of stratification, and a difference among other factors. It is misleading to suggest that western sociology is useless when applied to Thai social structure. He concluded, "... Thai modernization should be considered as a qualitatively different kind of experience consistent

⁸⁵Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization...", p. 3.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 3.

⁸⁷Norman Jacobs, "Max Weber, The Theory of Asian Society, and the Study of Thailand," The Sociological Quarterly 12 (Autumn 1971): 525-530.

⁸⁸Norman Jacobs, Modernization Without Development: Thailand as an Asian Case Study (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1971).

with the functional requisites of a different kind of institutional order, one which must be understood in its own terms...."⁸⁹

Forms of Stratification: Past and Present

The characteristics of Thai society fit well into Weber's sociological concept of patrimony. For centuries, the King as head of the state, ruled from the top and acted like the 'benevolent' father with absolute authority over his people and kingdom. "Benevolence", according to Jacobs, "refers both to the grant of material favors (positive) and to the client's ability to live in peace with a minimum of patronal demands imposed upon him (negative)."⁹⁰ The paternal king could punish or reward as he pleased since the fate of his subordinates rested in his hands. Although rules and regulations were decentralized, central authority remained at the top. The royal bureaucracy was established to reward, appoint and retain power accordingly. Royal rule fell into three main categories:⁹¹

1. Members of the royal family, directly involved with ruling.
2. Members of royal relationship not involved in ruling.
3. Officials of non-royal background.

This patrimonial system contrasted sharply from the European feudal system. The link between feudal kings and nobles was more contractual than hierarchical. The relationship between the Thai ruler and his subjects was filial. In Thailand, although each province was

⁸⁹Jacobs, "Max Weber, The Theory of Asian...", p. 528.

⁹⁰Jacobs, Modernization Without Development, p. 28.

⁹¹David A. Wilson, "Part I Thailand," In George M. Kahin (Ed.), Government and Politics of Southeast Asia (New York: Cornell University Press, 1964), p. 6.

administered by a different local prince or official, those individuals were themselves assigned "grades" according to a complex system which did much to determine their responsibilities and authority. Such responsibility and degree of authority derived from the king and his immediate staff.

Studying the social class systems in Southeast Asia, DuBois⁹² explained the differences in various terms applicable there and in Europe. In Southeast Asia, 'state' must be understood as a magico-religious order, not to be confused with developing European nationalism. The term 'class' in Southeast Asia did not imply class struggle because there was no class conflict; it was used solely to identify the hierarchical system and the acceptance of that system by all. Also, members of each class did not necessarily have a strong sense of identity with other members of the same class.

Stratification in Thailand began at the bottom of the hierarchy, the slave, and proceeded up to the king. More specifically, only two distinctive classes could be identified throughout the kingdom: the 'Nai' (master) consisting of all rulers and officials, and 'Phrai' (follower) which included both freemen and slaves. Subjects fell under the authority of officials for protection and the performance of services in which the patron-client bond was formed. Freeman owed their official patrons military and civil duty, which could be paid off in money to obtain exemption from labor service. Up until mid-

⁹²Cora DuBois, Social Forces in Southeast Asia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

nineteenth century, all freemen were subject to onerous corvees.*⁹³

Slaves were numerous since freemen could make themselves slaves if they wanted to be exempted from the corvee. Thus, the slave condition was flexible and not severe. Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century slaves turned from freemen were equivalent to a third of the free population.⁹⁴

Slaves were well protected by their masters who sometimes looked after them like their own children. Rabibhadna⁹⁵ remarked that slaves, in any circumstance, could not be killed by their masters, who, in general, could not, "... punish their slaves in such a manner as to cause permanent injury without enabling the slaves to redeem themselves at a lower price...". Slaves were neither taxed nor pressed into military service, and they were even allowed to own land of about 5 rai (2.5 rai = 1 acre), and establish families.⁹⁶ However, this right ended when the owner died. Siffin⁹⁷ had observed that the term 'slave' is misleading since the condition of slaves was not the same as

*Corvees: A system whereby free men were required to provide their services (labor) by the government for a variable period of time annually. The services could be paid off in money. Citizens affected were under the official patron's responsibility.

⁹³Siffin, The Thai Bureaucracy: Institutional..., p. 9.

⁹⁴Henderson, et al, Area Handbook for Thailand, p. 56.

⁹⁵Akin Rabibhadna, "Clientship and Class Structure in the Early Bangkok Period." G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (Eds.), Change and Persistence in Thai Society (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 106.

⁹⁶Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization..." p. 7.

⁹⁷Siffin, The Thai Bureaucracy: Institutional..., p. 9.

that of slaves in the west. This also helps explain the lack of class conflict and revolution in Thai history.

Rulers or patrons could hold land, according to an individual's rank of 'Sak-di-na'. The Sak-di-na system was the determination of land distributed according to each person's status, and was said to be the most important and refined index of status.⁹⁸ There was a correlation between a local ruler's rank and his holding of land, and people. As his status was increased, so was his power since he was able to obtain wealth, services, and military power from his belongings.

This characteristic social structure was still in existence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rabibhadna⁹⁹ has observed four distinctive stratifications. The two upper classes are similar to Wilson's classification, and the last two classes are in lower stratum: 1. Phari, freemen working in the rice fields and serving their masters (Nai) and; 2. slaves at the bottom. There was no distinct middle class. There was little social mobility, and forms of social stratification were ill defined.¹⁰⁰

Gradually, however, as a result of the combination of Chinese immigration, assimilation between Thai and Chinese, the creation of new occupations brought in by the newcomers, the increase in upward mobility

⁹⁸Rabibhadna, "Clientship and Class...", p. 102.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰G. William Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History, 1957, cited by Prachoom Chomchai, "Trend Report of Studies in Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Thailand," East Asian Cultural Studies 3-5 (March 1965): 195.

because of education, and the downward mobility of former aristocratic and bureaucratic elements of the old elite, a new middle class began to emerge in Thai society.¹⁰¹

At the same time, little scholarly work on Thai social structure took place during the 1950s and 1960s, so little change in terminology and criteria developed. Some scholars thought that social structure in urban Bangkok was based more on status and group than on the economic or social class forms and that these categories overlapped with each other.¹⁰² Skinner,¹⁰³ for one, realized that Western class formation had little meaning in the case of Thai social structure. Skinner's work, published in 1957, reported the following elements in Thai society:¹⁰⁴

1. The traditional elite class was made up of royal aristocratic families and old time bureaucratic families. Wealth, land-ownership, higher education, prestige, and respected family names were among the main characteristics for access to this level and, of course, this level was restricted to ethnic Thais.

2. The new elite consisted of decedents of the pre-modern bureaucratic as well as the pre-modern royal aristocratic class, the

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁰²Frank C. Darling and A.B. Darling, Thailand: The Modern Kingdom (Singapore: Donald Moor for Asia Pacific Press, 1971), p. 30.

¹⁰³Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History, cited by Prachoom Chomchai, "Trend Report of Studies...", pp. 194-195.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 194-195.

freeman class and the Chinese business class. These classes, which made up the class of the new elite, were based on wealth from business or public office, high political power, and high educational achievement and were composed of high ranking businessmen, professionals and military personnel.

3. The Chinese middle class consisted of business Chinese with an interest in maintaining their culture and an interest in commercial wealth.

4. The Thai middle class was mainly composed of white collar workers.

5. The Chinese artisan class: this class lacked the prestige of the Chinese middle class but distinguished itself from the lower classes in terms of wealth, skills and respect.

6. An unordered group of Thai 'artisans' consisted of members of service sectors such as chauffeurs and technicians showing a lack of class identification.

7. A Thai lower class which consisted of pedicab drivers, and domestic servants.

8. A Chinese labor class which consisted of unskilled laborers. Skinner foresaw the possibility of upward mobility on the part of these Chinese and their eventual replacement by unskilled Thai laborers.

Skinner's social class structure of Bangkok, based on anthropological field work and bibliographical records, may not be as extensive as other statistical studies, but, at least, the formation of social structure still could be seen and compared with later stratifications

indicated by such scholars: Wilson,¹⁰⁵ Blanchard et al,¹⁰⁶ and Darling and Darling.¹⁰⁷

Using criteria such as money, family status, education, career, and general life style, Wilson (1964) has categorized Bangkok into four classes including all ethnic groups:

1. The upper class consisting of top government officials, powerful politicians, and commercial leaders.
2. The upper middle class made of some white collar workers in the government bureaucracy and some presumably high status professionals.
3. The lower middle class composed of shopkeepers.
4. The lower class composed of unskilled wage workers in factories and shops.

In a similar manner, Blanchard et al derived five classes of Bangkok society which were quite similar to Wilson's, as shown in Figure 4.

The significant social classification in Bangkok was done through a statistical model which attempted to see the process of modernization and industrialization affecting social class and social mobility in Thailand. Tominaga et al¹⁰⁸ led a team of Japanese researchers, conducting a very elaborated sociological investigation. Data

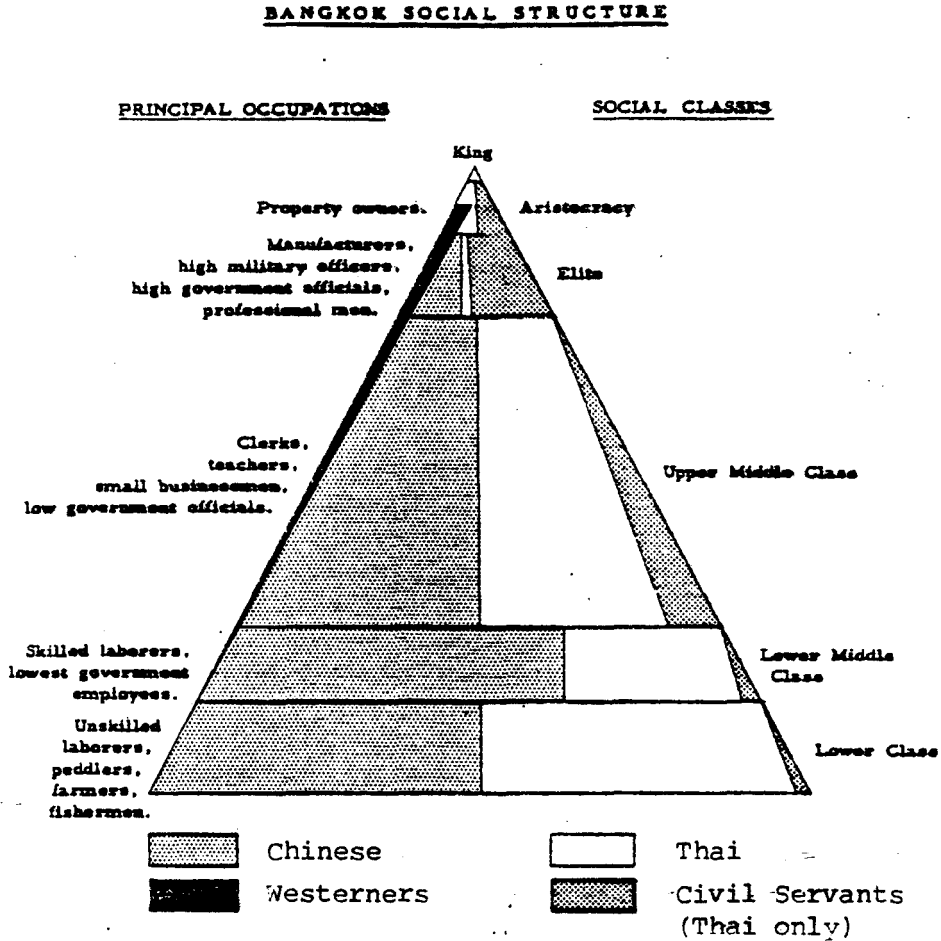
¹⁰⁵Wilson, "Part I Thailand," In Government and Politics of South-east Asia.

¹⁰⁶Blanchard et al, Thailand: Its People..., p. 410.

¹⁰⁷Darling and Darling, Thailand: The Modern Kingdom, p. 30.

¹⁰⁸Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industriliation...", pp. 18-19.

Figure 4. Bangkok Social Structure in 1958



Source: W. Blanchard et al., Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1958), p. 110.

collected from Bangkok were compared with data collected in Tokyo, which reflected some different viewpoints toward social class and social structure concepts of these two cities. Although located in Asia, Japan and Thailand do not share many things in common since economic levels, urbanizational and industrializational growth are very much unequal. Bangkok was chosen because it is the only place where secondary and tertiary industries exist. Also, there were ample higher educational and occupational opportunities available which made the study of social stratification based on these factors possible.

According to the process of data collection, such factors as income, and occupation were analyzed individually first, then combined and used as indices to indicate social strata. These findings will be reported briefly although the research involves much detail.

In terms of income, this study reported that significant income contrasts exist between the rich and the poor. The number of people in the low yearly income class (under 10,000 Bahts or 480.7 U.S. dollars in 1967) was ample, but people in the high income stratum (100,000 Bahts or 4,807 dollars) were also quite well represented. The contrast between the high-low income was so pronounced that median income people were almost nonexistent. Tominaga et al's finding was also supported by other studies done in the metropolitan area (Bangkok and Dhonburee) and the whole country in general by the National Statistical Center (Household Expenditure Survey 1962), Office of the Prime Minister.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ National Statistical Center, Office of the Prime Minister, Household Expenditure Survey B.E. 2505 (1962), cited by Tominaga et al, "Modernization and Industrialization of Thai Society: A Sociological Analysis," East Asian Cultural Studies 8 (March 1969), Part II : 20-22.

Only the government studies showed a greater proportion of the population as being poor due to the greater number of areas included.

The investigation of the occupational factor: The composition of occupations was classified in percentages first, then each type was ranked hierarchically according to the prestige accorded it in society. For the whole country, 82.3 percent versus 1.8 percent (in Bangkok) of people were engaged in farming. The highest percentage of Bangkok people belonged to the sales and skilled types which were 24.3 and 12.3 percent respectively. The high percentage of sales and services reflects their importance in urban life. Then, both factors, income and occupation, were classified as high, median and low before they were reclassified into five stratum as follows:¹¹⁰

Stratum I	7.3
Stratum II	10.4
Stratum III	28.2
Stratum IV	35.5
Stratum V	18.6
Total	100.0 (425)

The figure shows the narrow top and broad base, which means that the majority of people in Bangkok were engaged in low prestige careers (i.e., sales and manual jobs) which reflects the low incomes. And, according to the income and occupational combination, it appears that although the number of people having high incomes is quite large, their holding of high prestige occupations is not, which is seen to be

¹¹⁰ Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization...", Table 3.7

opposite from Japan where people holding high prestige careers have low incomes.

Forms of Stratification in Rural Society

In the past, rural and urban stratification was the same, given the lack of complexity between the two societies. However, over time, urban society became more influenced by western modes and customs. Parts of the Central Plain area have clearly witnessed the effects of modernization such as:¹¹¹

1. development of technology and the application of scientific knowledge in place of the traditional beliefs,
2. the commercialization of agriculture (e.g., sugar refining) for the international market,
3. industrialization and the replacement of human and animal power by machines, and
4. urbanization which means changes in ecological dimensions and the growth of larger urban areas.

Nevertheless, many rural villages outside the Central Plains region are still small and isolated. Many rural people are still illiterate. Their way of life is still expressed by the term, "traditional culture". Villagers still behave toward one another in a personal and uncritical manner. Social activities center around the temple and family business. Finally, modernization, if it is taking place, is only slowly accepted and the process of change is still scarcely noticeable.

¹¹¹Norman Long, An Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1977)., p. 10.

As seen, while research into the social structure of Bangkok has been undertaken, this has not been the case in most rural areas. This is partly explained by the influence of Embree which has led many field workers to conclude that such research is unnecessary. Actually, a study of the rural village, "Bangchan", has helped in this conclusion. Furthermore, some researchers agree that while the city has a highly stratified class system, rural society is seen as a classless place.¹¹² Piker has remarked that:¹¹³

...until recently no social class distinctions existed between villagers themselves, substantial wealth gradients notwithstanding. Indeed, even today landless as well as landed villagers continue to see themselves pretty much as rice farmers and affirm no class distinctions of any importance between themselves.

Until and unless some model to study the form of rural stratification in Thailand is created, the above information will be held in abeyance. Blanchard et al¹¹⁴ has noted that status differentiation in rural society is dependent on individual characteristics such as age, sex, religious and moral qualifications and so forth; still no better understanding of rural stratification can be obtained at present.

¹¹²Moore, Thailand: Its People..., p. 108.

¹¹³Steven Piker, "The Post-Peasant Village in Central Plain Thai Society." In G.W. Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (Eds.), Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essay in Honor of L. Sharp (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 318-319.

¹¹⁴Blanchard et al, Thailand: Its People..., p. 405.

Social Mobility in Thailand

Social Mobility: Theory

Sorokin¹¹⁵ holds that, "social mobility is defined as the movement of social units from one position to another." A person's status moves in either a horizontal or vertical manner. And vertical movement can mean either in an ascending or descending direction.¹¹⁶ An understanding of the social mobility process requires an understanding of social composition and the dynamics of stratification.¹¹⁷ Social mobility is a result of the interconnected effects of various social processes. These processes or factors include family relationships, and the work place. Barber¹¹⁸ has suggested that, "the family is obviously of crucial importance for the processes of social mobility in all societies, for everyone in a society passes under its far-reaching and basic influence."

The analysis of social class and social stratification has been derived from identification of multidimensional criteria. The vertical aspect of social mobility, however, has often been based mostly on occupational status change. Also, occupations of father and son have

¹¹⁵Pitirim Sorokin, "Social Mobility," In C. Heller (Ed.), Structured Inequality, cited by V.P. Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy: Changes in a Stratification System (Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Inc., 1976), p. 12.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹⁷Vichai P. Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy: Changes in a Stratification System (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Inc., 1976), p. 12.

¹¹⁸B. Barber, Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1957), p. 359.

been used to compare the degree of intergenerational mobility. For example, the lower the association between the two generation's careers, the greater is considered the degree of mobility. Intergenerational mobility is also considered to have taken place in Thailand, for example, when rural farmers emigrate to urban centers for employment opportunities. Migration is held to be one of the significant factors in social mobility in traditional societies.

Forms of social stratification worldwide are often similar, but the degree of social mobility usually differs significantly,¹¹⁹ and no society is completely free of barriers.¹²⁰ Thai society, otherwise noted for its openness, still recruits its rulers from a narrowly-based elite. Generally, cultural factors contribute the social mobility in non-western societies; while social factors do the same in western societies.¹²¹ Thus, in a traditional society like Thailand, even a well-educated and skilled persons from moderate background, whose family lacks political influence will have a difficult time in increasing social status. Educational opportunity alone, without corresponding occupational opportunities, will do little to increasing social mobility. A period of time is also significant to determine the occurrence of changing status in the society. It has been noted that, "... mobility becomes more probable during times of rapid social change

¹¹⁹Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy..., p. 12.

¹²⁰Sorokin, "Social Mobility," cited by Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy..., p. 12.

¹²¹Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy..., p. 12.

and especially when changes are introduced into the economic system and the educational system."¹²²

Characteristics of Social Mobility in Thailand: Past and Present

Thai society is known for not having the rigidity of a defined social status system, and is admired for its flexibility of social mobility within the hierarchical structure in which social interaction takes place and which allows for relative ease of identification of superior and subordinate statuses in specific situations. Buddhist tenets have contributed to an acceptance of this hierarchical framework with its accompanying principle of merit accumulation, which helps determine social position. When there is no restriction by birth, social mobility is a more natural expectation. Possible hierarchical status conflict is eased when individuals readily understand their personal social position. So, with the exception of slavery which was abolished in 1872,¹²³ Thais are flexible in respect to improving status, given no barrier by birth like that of the Indian caste system.

Improvement in Social Mobility

From ancient times up to 1932, the year of the revolution, Thais advanced basically only by means of royal favor. In this patrimonial society, the king held supreme power so that official promotion depended upon his grace. The competition to gain royal favor was fierce. This royal principle extended down to local levels where lower-ranked officials

¹²²Neil J. Smelser and S.M. Lipset, "Social Structure, Mobility and Development," in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, eds., Smelser and Lipset, cited by Singh, Caste, Class and Democracy..., p. 12.

¹²³Hanks, Jr., "Merit and Power...", p. 1257.

and villagers competed for the favors of the local prince or administrator in the region. According to Hanks,¹²⁴ a person can climb in hierarchical status if he works hard enough to accumulate resources to distribute to his subordinates. So: "In accordance with one's reputation for generosity and managerial skill in making benefits more enduring one's group grows or withers."¹²⁵ At the same time, an individual of lower status, offering service to his superior in order to accumulate resources, redistributes those resources to his followers, and may eventually move up to a higher status and even become a 'superior' in Thai society. Such a characteristic allows relative freedom from class struggle, since a change in status is dependent on personal deeds. Hanks¹²⁶ states:

Hence, a primary rule of social movement may be stated: As groups grow in resources, they grow larger and more stable. Conversely, as resources diminish, group dwindle in size and stability.

Kirsch,¹²⁷ studying 'Phu Thai' a village in the Northeastern part of Thailand, observed four avenues to social mobility:

1. Becoming a Buddhist monk. A common man can gain his social status simply by becoming a monk. The prestige of a monk is accepted throughout the country because of the monk's moral character and religious knowledge. Respected as the most revered in all Thai society,

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 1250.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 1253.

¹²⁷A. Thomas Kirsch, "Development and Mobility Among the Phu Thai of Northeast Thailand," Asian Survey 6 (July 1966): 370-378.

monkhood seems to be the best avenue for a man coming from a moderate background or from a rural area since there is not too much access to wealth and status in the village.¹²⁸

2. Official status, and 3. Secular education. These two avenues are closely related. The acquisition of a high level of education allows a commoner to gain the status of a government official.¹²⁹

4. Fortune seeking (pai-thiaw). This takes place when young villagers leave their rural homes to seek employment in other places, usually in the Bangkok area.¹³⁰

Rate of Social Mobility

While many experts on Thai society agree that there is a high rate of social mobility in the country, this does not imply that the people have great desire to increase their individual status as an expression of a general motive of human nature. Bunnag¹³¹ observed that Thais express a high degree of self acceptance, "... or less flatteringly, that their self-approval borders on narcissism." Jacobs¹³² has made similar remarks, holding that although Thais are sensitive of being superior or subordinate, "... rising in the status hierarchy has never

¹²⁸Frederica M. Bunge, Thailand: A Country Study (Washington, D.C.: American University Foreign Area Studies, 1981).

¹²⁹Krisch, "Development and Mobility...", pp. 370-378.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 375.

¹³¹Jane Bunnag, "Loose Structure: Fact or Fancy? Thai Society Re-Examined," Journal of the Siam Society 59 (January 1971, Part I): 5.

¹³²Jacobs, Modernization Without Development..., p. 198.

been considered so unusual that it was worth making a fuss about." Mulder¹³³ cited studies done by Boesch, Hanks, and Phillips, which explained that a Thai's motivation to advance his status is, "... low and weakened by Thai education and that self-constraint and self-limitation are emphasized in literature and verbal statements."

The rate of social mobility may not be as high as it was thought to be. Ten field studies were cited by Mulder indicating that the rate of vertical social mobility was not high.¹³⁴ Moerman,¹³⁵ although finding some researcher stating the importance of social mobility, also found that, "... sociological data, however, indicate that mobility may be slight and decreasing (Evers, 1966a)." And, finally, using three models (the perceptive, the normative and the statistical-behavior models) to analyze the status mobility into higher bureaucracy of the Thai society, Evers¹³⁶ found contradictions in reports among three of them.

¹³³J.A. Niels Mulder, "Origin, Development, and Use of the Concept of "Loose Structure" in the Literature About Thailand: An Evolution." In Hans-Dieter Evers (Ed.), Loosely Social Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective by J.F. Embree and others (Connecticut: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1969), p. 19.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 19.

¹³⁵Michael Moerman, "The Study of Thai Society: Summary Comments." In Hans-Dieter Evers (Ed.), Loosely Social Structured Social Systems (Connecticut: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1969), p. 128.

¹³⁶Hans-Dieter Evers, "Models of Social System: Loosely and Tightly Structured." In Hans-Dieter Evers (Ed.), Loosely Social Structured Social Systems (Connecticut: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1969), pp. 124-125.

Factors Affecting Social Mobility: Modernization, Urbanization,
and Industrialization

Although these variables have been found to have a strong impact upon social mobility in industrialized societies, Thailand has not had a similar development. Therefore, it has been questioned as to how or if these factors affect social mobility in Thailand.

Evers¹³⁷ hypothesized that after the revolution year (1932), the governing power in Thailand had been changed to a group of people outside the old elite and royal family. The opportunities to enter high bureaucratic positions were more available to people of non-elite background. The aim of his study was to modify and advance Lipset and Bendix's statement that, "... social mobility is an integral and continuing aspect of the process of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization."¹³⁸ However, Evers did not find that urbanization and bureaucratization contributed to social mobility in Thailand as they did in the western industrialized countries since only 10 percent of high ranking officials were from farming backgrounds, 51 percent of them came from official families, 31 percent came from business and 8 percent were professionals. By considering that over 80 percent of the Thai population was involved with agricultural activities, the changing of social position of farmers' offsprings is very limited.¹³⁹ Evers'

¹³⁷Evers, "The Formation of a Social Class Structure: Urbanization ...," pp. 480-488.

¹³⁸S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 280.

¹³⁹Evers, "The Formation of a Social Class...".

explanation was: ¹⁴⁰

In Thailand, however, mobility has declined between at least certain strata of Thai society following the consolidation of a bureaucratic elite in the expanding urban centre of Bangkok. The growing size, the monopolization of certain status symbols, the development of a distinct subculture, and the concentration of economic and political power are indications that the bureaucratic elite is developing into a social class. It is therefore concluded that urbanization and bureaucratization in formerly loosely structured societies may lead to the formation of a class system and to a temporary decline of social mobility.

Still, Evers' study would have been more conclusive had it assessed a larger sample. In addition, the sample was not randomly selected, and how well it represents the true situation is open to question. It is evident, for example, that more Thais, through various means, have increased their wealth which has enabled their children to get a better education and thereby the means to obtain entrance to the elite. This is seen in Maxwell's study which is also involved with modernization and social mobility. ¹⁴¹

Maxwell investigated those persons entering the medical profession, and he found that for the last four decades, as hypothesized, students from elite backgrounds had the best chance of gaining entrance. More specifically, Maxwell tested the relationship of modernization and the rate of social mobility between students of elite and non-elite backgrounds. But regardless of this class element, a significant number of non-elite students also gained entrance. Maxwell stated that: ¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 480.

¹⁴¹ W.E. Maxwell, "Modernization and Mobility into the Patrimonial Medical Elite in Thailand," American Journal of Sociology 81 (November 1975): 465-489.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 465.

"Despite this class closure, the expansion of the medical profession is linked with a substantial increase in status mobility from families that own small commercial shops." This contradicted to some extent the work of Evers.

Such contradictions may be the result of theory and methodology. There is also the problem of difference in terminology, i.e. elite and non-elite, which has caused confusion in research. There is also the problem of knowing just when the process of modernization and urbanization began to occur in Thailand. All of these factors could affect research outcomes.

Tominaga et al¹⁴³ also studied the relationships between modernization, industrialization and social mobility in the Bangkok area in 1967. As with Maxwell and Evers, Tominaga et al's investigation was based on Lipset and Bendix's study.¹⁴⁴ In any event, Tominaga stressed occupational mobility in his study and two large categories were utilized. The manual occupations consisted of skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, agricultural, transportation, and communication jobs; while non-manual occupations included professional, administrative, clerical and sales. It was held that by such divisions a true upward and downward rate of mobility could be discerned, which was,¹⁴⁵ "... 38 percent of the fathers of those who are at present engaged in non-manual

¹⁴³ K. Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization of Thai Society: A Sociological Analysis," East Asian Cultural Studies 9 (March 1970), Part IV: 1-31.

¹⁴⁴ Lipset and Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society.

¹⁴⁵ Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization...", Part IV : 2.

occupation are manual, and 33 percent of the fathers of manual are non-manual." These figures, when compared to Lipset and Bendix's results, were higher than anticipated.¹⁴⁶ This finding was reconfirmed when the data was analyzed by separating agricultural from manual occupations and kept as a third category.

Tominaga et al explained that although the rate of social mobility, both upward and downward, is high in Bangkok, the distance between occupational levels is short. Except for the outflow from agriculture to other careers the mobility from manual to non-manual occupations is limited. Thus, it could be concluded that intergenerational mobility is extensive for a developing country like Thailand, but the pattern of career changing is unlike that in other advanced countries. The finding of intragenerational mobility was also similar to what has been found in other studies, indicating that the intragenerational mobility is lower than the intergenerational mobility.¹⁴⁷

Migration and Social Mobility

Migration is another important factor in occupational mobility. As people move from one region to another, they are more likely to experience upward mobility than non-migrants.¹⁴⁸ The causes of migration are many, but usually connected to a crisis like war or famine. But in Thailand, a massive movement of rural people to

¹⁴⁶Tbid.

¹⁴⁷Tbid., pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁸Joseph Lopreato and Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, Class, Conflict, and Mobility: Theories and Studies of Class Structure (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972), p. 408.

Bangkok and Dhonburee has mainly been due to employment opportunities. Because of rural and cultural ascriptions in respect to economic activities, migrants move almost solely for economic reasons. This movement is generally from the North, Northeast and Southern regions to the Central Plain. There is also a temporary migration during the dry season when many farmers will temporarily leave their farms to earn extra income and then return to their homes for farming and harvesting.

The basic pattern of Thai migration is rural-urban. However, the effect of migration on social or occupational mobility has not been formally reported. This is partially due to a lack of funding and a lack of consensus on the factors and career aspects to be studied. According to Tominaga et al's study, it has been noted that inter-generational mobility is very high in the Bangkok area.¹⁴⁹ This is explained by the fact that such mobility is the result of the inflow to non-manual occupations (i.e., sales, services and professions) from agriculture. Career changing is mostly taking place in Bangkok and Dhonburee because they are the only places in the country where modernization, industrialization and urbanization have developed to any extent. Although farming is not considered to be menial and farmers are not considered low class citizens, the unsteady incomes and the dependence on nature, make that occupation increasingly undesirable. So, getting any kind of employment in the big cities is

¹⁴⁹Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization of Thai Society...", Part IV.

usually considered a social promotion, especially by young rural farmers.

Assimilation and Social Mobility

For minority groups living in another country, the assimilation process seems to be a very significant factor for changing social status. Thailand contains ethnic groups who are usually integrated into the society without any kind of discrimination. This has been indicated in literature that mobility among minorities (Muslims or Thai Muslims, Chinese, Vietnamese etc.), is possible and even encouraged. Since there has been very little if any formal and conclusive study of other ethnic groups' assimilation into Thai society, only the Chinese assimilation will be considered in this report.

The report of the rate of assimilation among Chinese was indicated by Skinner in both studies of the Chinese community in Bangkok in 1957 and 1958.¹⁵⁰ However, this was corrected since such mobility had been decreasing since the early 1930's.¹⁵¹ Also in the literature coming out in the later year, the Chinese assimilation tended to be very high only among people from the upper class due to their high level of education and wealth. The Chinese from moderate background usually assimilated through intermarriage and did not assimilate as much. The rich Chinese's motivation to becoming Thai is substantial. Some

¹⁵⁰G. William Skinner, Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand 1958, cited by P. Chomchai, "Trend and Report of Studies in Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Thailand, East Asian Cultural Studies 3-5 (March 1965): 196.

¹⁵¹Prachoom Chomchai, "Trend and Report of Studies in Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Thailand," East Asian Cultural Studies 3-5 (March 1965): 196.

reasons could be given as follows: better educational attainment, more chances to have close relationships with Thai people, and more social pressure to be treated and respected as Thais.

In another study of Chinese assimilation in the Bangkok area in 1967, the educational factor was found to have a very strong impact upon changing the status of Chinese people; especially for the young generations who have better chances to be educated than their parents.¹⁵² The conclusion from this study was that: the high rate of assimilation led to the improvement of social position found among the Chinese people who had better educational qualifications, were younger or in the later generation, and were not from lower class families.¹⁵³ This investigation has been supported by literature in Thailand indicating lack of any class conflicts, racial or religious discrimination occurring in Thai society. Any one with certain skills is almost always given a chance to advance his status. This is seen in the case of many top administrators of the country coming from Chinese and other ethnic backgrounds.

Education and Social Mobility

Education is universally honored and used as a criterion to judge an individual's status. In the Thai bureaucratic system of centralized government, the appointments, rewards, and promotions in the civil and military services are based on the individual's level of education. Education is of vital importance when parents specifically direct their children to governmental service and the prestige and status such an

¹⁵²Tominaga et al, "The Modernization...", Part I, pp. 35-39.

¹⁵³Ibid.

appointment entails. This status is compounded in a society that is still in transition. Only persons with certain skills can perform the needed social, economic and administrative duties required that encourage this transformation. So in Thailand, the higher the level of personal education, the better the chance of obtaining a socially desirable position.

One needs to better understand the function of this social factor in Thai society, as reported by Tominaga et al.¹⁵⁴ It was indicated that the development of education is in the third stage or 'semi advanced' stage of development. The levels of education of countries were computed and divided into four levels: underdeveloped (level I), partially developed (level II), semi-advanced (level III), advanced (level IV).¹⁵⁵ According to this index, Thailand is considered next to Taiwan, to have the highest level of education in Southeast Asia. However, such educational attainment has not really affected the status of the country's lower socioeconomic strata. As indicated, poorly educated parents still have poorly educated children. Education does not play a significant role in intergenerational mobility. With limited education, sons cannot hold better occupations than their fathers, which is shown in the high correlation reported between father and sons' occupations in each social class.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴Tominaga et al, "The Modernization and Industrialization...", Part IV, pp. 11-13.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

The degree of education one obtains is highly prescribed by birth, and this goes far in explaining why poor rural people do not improve their social status. The people having high educational qualifications are mainly in Bangkok and other urban areas. Children born to such people are not only wealthier, but have greater access to institutions of higher education than their rural compatriots. Tominaga et al clearly showed the unequal educational opportunities that exist between rural and urban societies. As noted, there is the anomaly that education does not improve social mobility in Thailand, even though the country shows relatively high educational progress. The study suggested that the most serious educational issue facing Thailand is the need to open and expand educational opportunities for lower class children, at least at the secondary level and hopefully, beyond. Only then would education truly be a factor encouraging the changing of social position.

These conclusions are similar to another study done in Tamil Nadu, India, indicating that education is an important factor for occupational achievement, but not a significant one for occupational upward mobility.¹⁵⁷ Thailand and India are in the same semi-advanced educational level.

¹⁵⁷S. Savarimuthu, "Educational and Social Mobility in Tamil Nadu, India: An Empirical Study of Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility and Occupational Aspiration" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1978).

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION IN THAILAND

General Characteristics

As noted, Thai education, like that in other Southeast Asian countries, was monastic, reserved almost exclusively for males. A boy aged 9-10 was sent to the 'Wat' (temple) where he learned to read, write and do simple arithmetic. While in attendance, the boy would also serve his teacher-monk by doing various chores such as sweeping the floor and running errands. Concurrently, he would be learning and practicing necessary monkhood skills and behavior and acquiring religious doctrine. Upon reaching the age of 20, a boy was considered a young man, ready for ordination as a Buddhist monk. In fact, the form and content of schooling in Thailand remained in such a pattern for over seven hundred years.

Since printing presses and textbooks were still fairly recent innovations in the earlier stages of Thai education, students usually wrote on a slate with a stylus and used exercise books made from palm leaves sewn together.¹ The blackboard was the only teaching aid used regularly in class. There was no regular classroom as commonly understood, so instruction took place in any vacant area: in the Wat hall, or in the pavillion, or even under the shade of big trees. There were

¹Conrad Oppen, "Educational Development in Thailand," Asia 3 (Spring 1965): 73.

no fixed schedules, courses or grades. Although classes usually ran from 1 to 4 P.M., they could also be held in the morning period after breakfast or at night before bedtime. Boys usually stayed in the Wat, although those who lived nearby came in the morning. School attendance varied and was not required because school days had to be followed by the monks' and temples' activities.

The purpose of the academic curriculum, as noted by Watson,² was to teach reading and writing, some languages such as Pali and Sanskrit, and elementary Arithmetic including addition, subtraction, division and multiplication. Illustrations from daily life in the market or farm, samples of Buddhist ethics, and some simple medicine and manners were the basis of instruction. Nevertheless, each child was taught individually and allowed to go at his own pace. This kind of teaching was used by Thai monks for centuries. Yet, it was considered revolutionary when proposed by Dewey during the Progressive movement in the United States.³

So there were no formal courses, grades or other forms of educational structure. Watson had indicated approximately some stages of this kind of education.⁴

1. Primary education: The earliest stage of learning took place when young boys had to master language and arithmetic skills. The

²J.K.P. Watson, "The Monastic Tradition of Education in Thailand," *Paedagogica Historica* 13:2 (1973): 515-529.

³*Ibid.*, p. 523.

⁴*Ibid.*

goal of education at this stage was to enable the student to acquire those skills necessary for everyday living. Upon finishing, most boys were likely to return to their rural families, but there was the possibility of employment as a court clerk.

2. Secondary education: This stage began after all needed skills were mastered. Boys continuing at this level either became novice monks or, if from noble families, could start their specialized subjects with private tutors at homes.

3. Vocational education: This also referred to advanced and professional types of education. Such education was obtained through family means, on-the-job training, informal apprenticeships, or specialized teachers with other families. The student learned farming, medicine, astrology or even self defense and so forth. Children of elite families usually studied more formal subjects such as history, literature and administration, areas designed to enable them to join the ruling class. Training at this level helped differentiate the elite from the masses.

4. The Fourth stage: Only the most interested students remained with the religious life and pursued a specialized course of instruction that included history, astrology, law, literature, and medicine. After this, it was possible for that individual to become the abbot of a temple or teacher of other monks. He could also give service to his family, his village and the court. For example, a gifted and educated monk could obtain royal recognition through a system of countrywide patronage that extended to select monasteries. This enabled such specialized instruction to develop and provided the

framework for those bureaucratic and personal contacts through which a few especially gifted monks might come to the attention of the king.⁵

As noted, girls were not allowed to attend the temple school because of Buddhist prohibitions forbidding monks to live with or touch members of the opposite sex. But this lack of instruction applied only to formal education.⁶ Usually, girls from common backgrounds were taught to read and write at home by their elders, who also taught them crafts, housekeeping, caring for the younger children and cooking. Girls from noble backgrounds or wealthy families could be sent to the palace for training in court etiquette. But the goal of either form of education was still to prepare women to be good housewives, and to support their future husbands.

This traditional process of teaching and learning had been going on for centuries. From about the thirteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, education thus remained virtually unchanged in form and content.⁷ Descriptions supplied by foreign travelers from two different centuries show the relatively unchanging nature of Thai education. In the seventeenth century, a Dutchman, Joost Schouten⁸ noted that until their fifth or sixth years, children were allowed a

⁵David K. Wyatt, "Education and the Modernization of Thai Society," In G.W. Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (Eds.), Change and Persistence in Thai Society (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 126.

⁶Watson, "The Monastic Tradition...", p. 524.

⁷Ibid., p. 515.

⁸Joost Schouten, Siam 250 Years Ago: A Description of the Kingdom of Siam, written in 1636, quoted by J.K.P. Watson, "The Monastic Tradition of Education...", p. 518.

large measure of freedom and action. Then they were sent to the monks to learn to read and write and to acquire other useful arts. Novices, however, seldom were allowed home. When the student could read and write properly, they were sent to learn a trade or to take up some form of employment.

Then, from the early nineteenth century, Bishop Pallegoix noted:⁹

After, or sometimes before, the tonsure ceremony the parents send their sons to the monastery to learn to read and write. In the monastery, the boys serve as oarsmen or attendants to the monks who, in return, share their food begged from the people with the boys, and every day give them one or two reading lessons. The boys may spend the rest of the time taking a walk or playing among themselves....

In explanation of this relatively unchanging pattern it has been held that: "As long as the traditional arts and sciences were essentially unchallenged, and as long as the court and bureaucratic nobility remained unreceptive to new educational qualifications, there was little inducement to major changes in educational patterns and little demand for such either from the court or from upwardly-mobile young men."¹⁰

But this educational trend was also valuable because of the predominantly agricultural nature of Thai civilization. It concentrated on character training that accorded with religious ideals. And it included vocational training under parental or a craftsman's guidance. Also, since children and novices were allowed to leave the monasteries

⁹ Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam, Vol. I, p. 25, quoted by Watson, "The Monastic Tradition of Education...", p. 519.

¹⁰ Wyatt, "Education and the Modernization...", p. 128.

to help families at the harvesting and growing season, they were not cut off from the everyday aspects of life. In this way, the monastic school was really a community school that prepared pupils for life in the larger society.¹¹ There were also fewer distinctions between urban and rural life. No advanced scientific and technical knowledge was needed then. Careers were not as complex and competitive as they are at present. Certainly education was not a common road to social mobility. Such mobility was more a feature only among the rich to obtain the government positions.

Significant Periods in the Development of Thai Education

Despite this similarity in pattern, Thai education can be viewed as a series of epochs and periods, marked mainly by relocations of the country's capital cities, leading up to more formal structures that reflect current educational practices. These periods are labeled by the city and its period of dominance. They include:

1. Lanna Thai
2. Suko Thai
3. Ayudthaya
4. Dohnburee
5. Bangkok

The discussion of educational developments during the Bangkok period will be arranged according to the reigns of various kings.

This discussion is divided into the:

¹¹Watson, "The Monastic Tradition...", p. 525.

- a. Early Bangkok Period, which details developments from King Rama the First to the Fifth, i.e., 1782 to 1910.
- b. Middle Bangkok Period, 1910-1959
- c. Present Era, 1960-1980.

Educational Developments in Each Period

1. Lanna Thai Period (-1280): After the Thai people moved from the area of South China to what is now Thailand, the first recorded kingdom was called Lanna Thai, located in the north according to present knowledge. Little is known of the educational practices there, although it can be assumed that it was similar to the succeeding period: Suko Thai and Ayudthaya. The only known language of this period, as reported by the Thai scholar, Chongkol,¹² was the so-called "Northern alphabets". However, the Cambodian and Thai language were in use during Suko Thai and later periods. The Cambodian language was in wide use in Thai society, especially among the nobles and at court. The schooling process at this time has been described as:¹³

Education in Lanna Thai was so great that it was mentioned in one of the inscription stones and in Tripoom Phra Ruang that King Lithai of Sukhothai Kingdom studied from Lanna Thai Scholars. The zenith of education in Lanna Thai was that this kingdom organized the eighth revision of the tripitaka of the world successfully during the reign of King Tilokaraja.

2. Suko Thai Period (1280-1350): As is known, teaching by monks for boys attending monastery schools was a common educational feature

¹²S. Chongkol, "An Historical Sketch of Thai Education Administration: Evolution of the Administrative Organization." In E. Nathalang (Ed.), Education in Thailand: A Century of Experience (Bangkok, Thailand: Karnasasana Press, 1970), pp. 62-63.

¹³Ibid., p. 63.

of this and the following periods. But this was more strictly book knowledge. Career training for the common people, and all trades like physician, silversmith, caster, farmer, carpenter, and so on, were educated and trained within families which handed down trades and professions from generation to generation. This practice continued through the periods of Suko Thai and Ayudthaya.¹⁴

The schooling process in the Suko Thai period became more organized after the invention of the contemporary Thai alphabets by King Ramkamhaeng in 1283. However, there was little if any schooling for women so it is very possible that women were virtually illiterate.¹⁵

Another study, although not specifically noting schools for women, did mention that there was education available for women in this period. It was arranged under two main areas:¹⁶

1. Secular education or what we could call the three R's for commoner and elite children, taught at monasteries.
2. Religious education which was directed to the study of Buddhist doctrine. The formal curriculum for this education consisted of:
 - a. Military: military arts (self defense, weaponry, strategies)
 - b. Civil: astrology and medicine.

¹⁴Opper, "Education Development...", pp. 72-73.

¹⁵Jasper Valenti and Gerald L. Gutek, Education and Society in India and Thailand (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977), p. 320.

¹⁶N. Harnpol, "Karnsuksa khong Thai Samaibolan" (Schooling in the Ancient Time of Thailand) Prachasuksa 26 (July 1975): 46-47.

c. Women's education: embroidery, weaving, clothmaking, arts and crafts, and the like.

3. Ayudthaya Period (1350-1767): Most of educational processes remained unchanged, but some significant events in education and foreign relations portended future changes. The first Thai text book named "Chinda Manee" was written and used by school children until 1871. Contact with Westerners further affected the kingdom's culture, educational methods and scientific knowledge. French Catholics organized a school to teach Christianity for the first time. Thus, during the reign of King Narai the Great, education and literature, it was claimed, had reached the highest peak of their development.¹⁷ Other innovations took place in spite of Burmese warfare. Literature flourished, especially among royalty and nobility. The sculpture, painting and architecture of this period are considered the most delicate specimens of Thai culture.¹⁸

In later years, the Ayudthaya kingdom engaged in extensive warfare with the Burmese and its own internal conflicts which weakened the kingdom. Finally, one of the Thai leaders, decided to move his people to the South and the new kingdom, Dhonburee began.

4. Dhonburee Period (1768-1782): King Taksin succeeded in restoring many lost features. Nevertheless, Dhonburee did not last very long. Education and literature were rarely practiced. King Taksin was a

¹⁷Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation, Ministry of National Development, Thailand: Facts and Figures 1965 (Bangkok, Thailand: Thai Watana Panich B.E. 2508), p. 2.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 2.

victim of confinement during the struggle for power among his aides. Finally the capital city was moved again and rebuilt on the opposite side of Chao Phaya River and named "Bangkok". This new city has been the home of the Chrukkree dynasty since 1782.

5. The Early Bangkok Period (1782-1910): For at least the first eighty years (1767-1847) Dhonburee to early Bangkok, culture, life style and education remained about the same as during the previous periods. During the reigns of King Rama I, II, and III, only a few significant literacy events can be noted, otherwise nothing of interest. Most of various changes in western directions were initiated during the reign of King Mongkut.¹⁹

King Mongkut (Rama IV, 1851-1868) became interested in western ideas and peoples to a much greater extent than previous kings. His open policy was to westernize and modernize the country; a policy continued by his son and successor, Rama V. This involvement, however, was mainly the result of pressure from western nations for colonies. So King Mongkut had to open the country to foreign trade with Great Britain in 1855, for example. But this year can be considered the starting point of that long economic revolution in economic necessities, into a country dependent upon foreign imports.²⁰ However, this economic change was the price paid for national independence.

King Mongkut hired an English tutor to teach the future King

¹⁹ Robert L. Pendelton, Thailand: Aspects of Landscape and Life (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1962), p. 24.

²⁰ Ibid.

Chulalongkorn or Rama V. With the firm grounding in foreign policy laid by his father and his western education, King Chulalongkorn led the country into a notable period of modernization and westernization in almost every field.

Education Under King Rama V (1868-1910): Western pressure and influence during this period motivated Thai leaders to institute social and economic changes if the country was to deal with that pressure adequately. Thailand had, however, been undergoing westernization since Rama IV which eased the task of Rama V. But the problem was exacerbated by more such demands and political conflicts. For example, the survival diplomacy adopted by Rama IV was proving insufficient. The country needed more educated and skilled people to run the various government posts created to meet the domestic demands of the growing country. And contact with western nations required its own brand of skilled and experienced individuals.

Education was considered a significant strategy in attaining the goal. King Rama V's motive in organizing the nation's schools can be explained in terms of future needs. That is, any person not having minimum educational qualifications would not be allowed to become a government official. Current students were expected to set a future schooling pattern that could be followed by others. For the continued prosperity and the advancement of the country, schooling was to be encouraged and reorganized. He also noted the need for more equal educational opportunities. Children of commoners as well as of nobles would be allowed an equal chance for education. He confirmed that: "Education was held to be the first and most significant task that I

intend to accomplish."²¹ This educational goal, especially with its emphasis on government employment, has been largely valued and followed ever since.

In addition to educational change, other modernization practices were initiated around the same time. They included new management practices in the bureaucratic system, and there were also: "The first railroads, the first roads, the first postal service, the first maps of the country, the first schools (before, the only education available had been the traditional Buddhist temple instruction) all of these and many more 'firsts' came in Chulalongkorn's reign."²² However, before reaching the goal: "By the end of the reign Thailand was well on its way toward becoming a modernized centralized state"²³, there were many internal struggles and conflicts especially within the educational system, which had to be settled. There was a great deal of mistrust. The nobility, at first, did not respond well to this secular education even though scholarships were provided for them by the government. Parents of common children were afraid that their children would become soldiers if they attended these schools. A public announcement was made to correct this misunderstanding.

In addition to palace-operated schools, private schools were also encouraged by the king who suggested that Samuel McFarland, an American missionary, established a modern private school especially for children

²¹Harnpol, "Karnsuksa Khong Thai Samaibolan"..., p. 49.

²²Pendelton, Thailand: Aspects of Landscape and Life, p. 25.

²³Tbid., p. 25.

of royal descent.²⁴ This policy was ignored by McFarland who also admitted children of the less noble. Indeed, these latter children finally outnumbered the royal student population even though they did not have the benefit of scholarships because scholarships were only offered to applicants from the royal and noble families.²⁵

Prince Damrong also aided significantly in the development of Thai education. Suankularp school founded by him in 1881 at first attracted noble children, but later included children of the less noble. This school was modern in subject matter and administration. As these newer schools, Suankularp and McFarland's, gained more influence, more types of students turned to them from the traditional monastic schools. Minority groups like the Chinese also attended these schools in increasing numbers, since they realized that such education would help them to gain social status in Thai society. So, more schools run along these modern lines were built to meet new educational demands.

In order to increase the number of modernized schools, the king also decreed that royal monasteries teach secular education. But initially, although all expenses such as books were provided by the government through the new Department of Religious Affairs, the monastic schools did not respond well to this decree.²⁶ It took at least a decade before the monasteries gradually added secular subjects

²⁴Wyatt, "Education and Modernization...", p. 134.

²⁵Ibid., p. 135.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 133-134.

into their curricula. And even then many monastery schools remained religious centers.

But the modernization process continued with a further decree in 1898 which stated that all monasteries had to be made places of study so that one school in every province would become a model for other schools supported by government funds.²⁷ Thus, up to the present, although all schools are state managed employing secular teachers and curricular, they are connected to the temples in some ways. Many primary and secondary schools are still located inside temple grounds and some monks still teach certain subjects like religion. However, all schools use the same planned curriculum.

With the addition of secular schools and the establishment of the Department of Education, more and more schooling became a responsibility of government. Schooling was no longer limited to the elite. Mass education was supported by private citizens, the government and the temples. Still, it remained problematic how extensive education was at that time since there was still no compulsory education.²⁸ It could be assumed, however, that wealthy children would have more educational opportunities and support.

These newer educational forms did not mean that educational opportunity for the rural poor was better. Major problems in this sector included lack of funding and qualified teachers. This problem

²⁷Watson, "The Monastic Tradition...", p. 526.

²⁸Sirmsree Servatanmorn, Education in Thailand: From Old to New (Storrs, Connecticut: World Project, University of Connecticut, 1977), p.25.

was only slightly corrected by using temple monks.²⁹ Rural educational problems persist to this day.

On a brighter note, girls, for the first time, had a chance to attend school, learning subjects similar to those taught in the boys' schools but still oriented toward female roles like cooking and home-making, etc. Before the end of this period, girls were also allowed to attend some institutions of higher education and to receive teacher training.

After the abolition of corvees and slavery, more common people had the opportunity to attend school. So educational opportunities had been somewhat attained by both sexes, and all classes. As the number of primary schools increased through various means, the government was beginning to achieve its goal of incorporating universal elementary education - by about 1910 throughout the provinces, where more than 90 percent of the population lived.³⁰ Other educational innovations included public examinations, teacher training, school inspections, state-produced textbooks, a provincial system of administration, and the placement of some school authorities in Japan, beginning in 1902, to study that country's educational structure.³¹

Thus, before the end of King Chulalongkorn's reign, three educational schemes were announced: 1895, 1898 and 1902. These plans indicated that Thai education was on the road to modernization and

²⁹Opper, "Education Development...", p. 77.

³⁰Wyatt, "Education and the Modernization...", p. 145.

³¹Opper, "Education Development...", p. 78.

secularization with firm ground laid for the future. King Chulalongkorn has rightly been honored as 'the father of modern education' and 'the Great' was placed after his name. He died in 1910, praised by the nation with the thought that: "Throughout this time the nation of Siam had changed for the better by all accounts."³²

6. Middle Bangkok Period (1910-1959): After King Rama V died, his son, King Wachirawit, ruled and carried on his father's policies on education and modernization. He was much interested in western ideas, art and literature. More Thai students were sent to study abroad and foreign advisors came to aid in the administration of the country. But not much new happened in these areas after him, largely because of the worldwide depression, war, and the later internal conflicts which led to the abdication of King Pok-Klau in 1935. In 1932 there had been a revolution, and the system for ruling the country changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. The introduction of this form of democracy motivated many top administrators to improve education again, since it was realized that democracy could only be sustained if the people were educated to understand democratic principles.

After King Pok-Klau, who ruled after King Wachirawit resigned from the throne in 1935, King Anantamahidol ruled for a short time before being assassinated in June, 1946. King Phumipol, the ninth king of the Chakree dynasty has ruled the country ever since.

³²W.L. Bradley, Siam Then 1981 (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1981), p. XV.

The Introduction of Compulsory Education: In 1921, during the reign of King Wachirawuit, the first Compulsory Education Act was promulgated. Thailand, in fact, was the second Asian nation, after Japan, to introduce compulsory education. The Act stated that children aged 8 to 14 had to attend school unless they had completed the three compulsory years earlier. The operation of the act proved to be highly successful. The literacy level, for example, was considered very high by Asian standards.³³ However, after the revolution in 1932, the illiteracy level was still considered high and efforts were made to reduce it.

The new educational scheme which came out in the same year extended the length of primary education from three to four years. Enforcement of the act began in 1936 but real success did not take place for another 20 years.

Overview of Thai Education from the Past up to 1959: Before discussing the effects of the 1960 educational plan, it will be worthwhile to note various aspects of the above plans in more detail. This discussion is summarized under the following topics: Setting educational goals: 1895-1959, administration and supervision, curriculum and instruction, finance system and educational wastage.

Setting Education Goals: As noted, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the first school built was intended to train civil servants who were in great demand for various government posts. The king was initially convinced that, "... the only way to reform and

³³Opper, "Educational Development...", p. 82.

modernize his country was to educate and train an elite of government officials...".³⁴

It was from this start that more and more Thais sought work in the government. Private business employment had less social status. Government employees may have been paid less, but they were secure and highly respected in society by comparison.

This preference for civil service employment was well understood by King Chulalongkorn himself. In a letter of one of his court officers, he wrote:³⁵

The idea that schooling is the duty of the government to find civil servants is all wrong. All citizens need to be trained in knowledge to earn their living, to become good persons. At the moment, students study in schools with the objective of being a clerk and of becoming a ranking officer. They should realize that education in school is to cultivate in them the qualities of effective citizenship and abilities related to earning their living like people in other nations.

Efforts to solve this problem had been started as early as 1898 when vocational training was authorized. The educational plans of 1902, 1907 and later, constantly stressed the two aspects of education: general and special. In 1919, an institution for training teachers in agriculture was established. Teachers graduated were expected to introduce scientific and technical agricultural techniques to rural children. Such education slowly spread but by 1940-45 it had been transformed into general teacher training. Such agricultural teaching

³⁴Watson, "The Monastic Tradition...", p. 525.

³⁵A. Sunhachawee, "Evolution in Curriculum and Teaching." In E. Nathalang (Ed.), Education in Thailand: A Century of Experience (Bangkok: Karnasasana Press, 1970), p. 98.

was deemed appropriate, since the majority of Thai students were from farming backgrounds. However, the change over was officially marked in 1934 when agricultural education ceased. But this change has not been without criticism, some holding it to be a terrible mistake.³⁶

Over time, the government of Thailand has incorporated educational planning within the National Social and Development Plan which is created every five years. Such revisions attempt to place education within new economic and social factors of the country. In terms of education, for example, the period of compulsory education has been lengthened and adult education or non-formal education has been instituted. Such changes are aimed at increasing literacy and meeting manpower needs.

In summary, the goals of education appearing in each educational scheme are set so that people receive education according to their abilities. Education is to be instrumental in democracy and to aid people to acquire those skills and knowledge necessary for earning a living efficiently. It is the aim of the government to have children in school up to age 15 at a minimum. Education is to be an integrated harmony of the intellectual, physical and manual skills.³⁷

Educational Plans: The first educational plan of 1895 was very simple. Only three levels of primary education were mandated. There were two grades in Level I, three in Level II, and four grades in Level III. There was no requirement to complete a grade in one year. In

³⁶Ibid., p. 106.

³⁷Chongkol, "An Historical Sketch of Thai Education...", p. 80.

1898, the general and special areas of education were introduced. Grade levels were extended into secondary and higher education. In 1902, government service was open only to secondary and higher graduates. These three plans originated during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

The educational schemes of 1907, 1913, 1921, 1932 and 1936 were more complex, reflecting the demands of the government and other political and economic realities. Educational revisions were on-going, all subject to criticism. It has been noted, that many plans, for instance those of 1902 and 1907, were nothing more than charts, lacking in details and offering only confusion and conflicts. For example, from 1945 to 1950 there were ten ministers of education, with each minister serving only an average of six months.³⁸

In 1951, the educational pattern was reorganized and structured close to the current one of 1978. It included four levels of education: preprimary, primary, secondary and higher education. The division of schooling into academic and vocational lines began at the secondary level. A Department of Elementary and Adult Education was established within the Ministry of Education in the early 1950's. This meant that nonformal or continuing education was being paid more attention than in previous plans.

Administration and Supervision: The control and administration of education in Thailand has been centralized. After the State took over

³⁸W.C. Eells, "Educational Progress in Thailand," School and Society 76 (August 1952): 103.

the responsibilities for mass education from monasteries, all educational structures and processes have become uniform. The supervision, textbooks, plans and policies created by Ministry administrators have been practiced and followed by teachers and students in all regions. Schools usually follow the same vacation schedules.

Up to this time, education of the country has been under the control of the following central agencies: the Ministry of Education, Ministry of the Interior, the National Education Commission and the Bureau of State Universities. At the local level, there are regional, provincial and district officers implementing the plans and projects originated from central headquarters. This process of educational administration has largely been in effect up to the present time. Some minor changes have taken place and the educational administration system will be described further in the discussion of the 1978 plan since some structural changes have taken place.

Financial System: When education was the sole responsibility of the state, the government had to fund education at all levels. After the educational budget was planned at the central level, funding was distributed to each region and province on a request basis. This, of course, meant unequal distribution. At the primary level, schools under the Ministry of Education were funded by the government at close to 100 percent since there were no school fees. The remainder of the funding, less than one percent, came from donations.³⁹ Primary school

³⁹N. Bennett, Problems of Financing: The Thai Educational System During the 1960s and 1970s (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975).

under this Ministry of the Interior obtained about 50 percent from the central government, while the rest came from local revenues of municipal areas. At secondary and higher levels, government funding made up about 90 percent while the rest came from fees.

Curriculum and Instruction: Despite the fact that education plans have changed from 1898 to 1959, with new goals, and the like, the process of learning and teaching in many Thai schools remains essentially unchanged. The adoption and imitation of modern and western education has done little to alter the emphasis on traditional book knowledge and rote learning used since the time of monastic schools. Learning the alphabet can be started on the first day of schooling. During class hours, children are expected to work on their workbooks. There is little physical movement involved in learning. All students learn from the same textbooks no matter what part of the country they live in.

A typical classroom scene from 1950 has been described by Chumsai and it is still typical today. He noted that:⁴⁰

The children sit in an uncomfortable position on the floor, listening to the teachers asking them to repeat their lessons in unison, and memorizing them from the blackboard. How dry the lessons are. There are no pictures; no models; and the textbooks printed on cheap paper contain no attractive colored illustrations. The teachers themselves have no handbooks, no details for a working program, no suggestions of any kind to give the details of the subjects to be taught and the methods to be used. The curriculum tends toward fact-cramming and is entirely academic. No experiments are allowed because everything is strongly centralized and controlled by the Ministry of Education (pp. 59-62).

⁴⁰M.L. Manich Jumsai, "Compulsory Education in Thailand," quoted by W.C. Eells, "Educational Progress in Thailand," School and Society 76 (August 1952): 103.

The above description, despite efforts and financing to the country, is still especially evident in rural schools.

Educational Wastage: There were many factors related to educational quality such as repeating grades and the high drop out rate, some common factors affecting low quality were (1) the low number of qualified teachers; (In 1950, only 19 percent of primary school teachers were qualified.⁴¹) (2) lack of teaching aids; (3) traditional learning methods that emphasized memorization; and (4) limited budgets. All these factors are found to have very strong impact on educational achievement and still have not been adequately dealt with. A 1950 report on these problems took special estimation that, "... while probably at least three children out of every four enter the doors of a school at some time between the ages seven and 14, only one out of every three actually complete the five grades, though a considerably greater number may in fact spend five years in school."⁴²

Using 1951 figures from the Ministry of Education, Eells computed the enrollment in each grade, indicating that for each 1000 pupils entering the first grade, only 240 would finish the four years of compulsory education and only 25 out of those 240 would start the first year of secondary school with only 10 staying on to finish the first three years of lower secondary school. In total, only 1.1 would complete the formal 12 years of education. Figures of each grade enrollment are shown in Table I.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 103.

⁴²J. Sargent and P.T. Orata, Report of the UNESCO Educational Missions to Thailand (Paris: Imprimerie Union, 1950), p. 17.

TABLE I
The School Enrollment during 1951

	GRADE	NUMBER
Primary	1	1,000
	2	395
	3	310
	4	240
Secondary	5	25
	6	19
	7	17
	8	13
	9	10
	10	10
Pre-University	11	1.6
	12	1.1

Source: W.C. Eells, "Educational Progress in Thailand," School and Society 76 (August 1952), Table II: 103.

Evaluation: Before closing the discussion of this long educational period it can be noted that educational patterns and organization had improved over the traditional approach. Educational opportunities became more accessible to students of all classes, and for boys as well as girls. The compulsory educational law gave some kind of education to more than 90 percent of Thai children. Various educational schemes generally served both the individual and the country and formed the basis for the recent 1960 and 1978 plans. If some past educational practices are still in use, new structures and processes have been added.

Educational Development: 1960 to the Present

The Educational Plan of 1960: This plan was used for 18 years before the new plan of 1978 came out. Indeed, many of the Former plan's

features such as the system of administration, the grade levels, the central and local control and other aspects were taken over by the later plan. Thus, the development of education from 1960 will be discussed along with the affects of the new scheme for comparison and contrast purposes.

Education under this plan was to be 7:5 or seven years of primary, and five years of secondary education. These 12 years of formal education were required for entrance to higher education. The educational structure still consisted of four levels as usual.

The Educational Plan of 1978: The current educational plan stresses equality of educational opportunity. This is emphasized in the onset of out-of-school educational programs. The plan also focuses on democracy, the unity of the nation, and the development of an individual's various abilities. Nine specific objectives are listed, dealing with the individual and his place in society.⁴³

1. To promote respect for one's own and other's rights and duties; discipline; respect for and abiding of the law, religion and moral principles.

2. To promote understanding of and arouse enthusiasm in having a part in the governing of the country under democratic constitutional monarchy, with unflinching allegiance to the nation, religion and monarch.

3. To inculcate a sense of responsibility for the nation, the community, the family and oneself.

4. To realize the collective sense of being Thai and being a part of humanity; to have national pride; to bear in mind national security; and to have a say in the protection of the country.

5. To uphold equality, integrity and justice.

6. To develop good personality, good health and hygiene, both mental and physical.

⁴³Ministry of Education, Thailand National Educational Scheme 1977 (Bangkok: Sassana Press B.E. 2520), pp. 1-2.

7. To encourage diligence, professional abilities, economy as well as legitimate co-operation in all enterprises.

8. To develop a sense of communication, mutual understanding and co-operation; search for truth; creativeness; ability to solve problems and conflicts by intelligent, rational and peaceful means.

9. To promote knowledge, understanding and appreciation of sciences, art, culture, nature, environment and resources to the nation.

The 1978 plan then is only the latest in the many educational revisions devised to meet perceived changes. The newest plan retains the four-level structure but other changes have been made.

1. Primary or elementary education is reduced from seven to six years. The compulsory aspect is to be enforced nationwide as soon as possible. The schooling reduction came about because of budget and time decisions. The six-year length was also held to be available more quickly to all. Under the new plan children could start compulsory education at six years of age compared to the seven or eight years of age start in previous plans. But this starting age is not mandatory. It is a district's responsibility to determine a child's ability to start school.

2. The basic educational structure is 6:6 or six years of compulsory elementary and six years of secondary education.

3. The vocational education is emphasized more than in previous plans.

4. Both 'Special and Welfare' education are still provided as usual in a special institution or in any ordinary school. According to this plan, special education is aimed for, "... those who have special traits of character, or who are physically, intellectually or mentally

abnormal.⁴⁴ And, welfare education, "... is that which the State is bound by its obligation to give to people of certain categories, e.g. the poor and the educationally disadvantaged, in order to guarantee an equal opportunity in education."⁴⁵

5. Out-of-School Education is emphasized at all levels of education. It is aimed at offering various kinds of skill training and for increasing literacy. The out-of school or adult education concept was begun during the 1940s and it had shown rapid development in many provinces. That education taught general subjects and vocational skills needed in communities. Although this adult education proved useful in reducing the illiteracy rate the government did not pay much attention to it at the time. Funding in this sector was less than one percent of the national budget as compared to 18 percent on formal education during 1971.⁴⁶ There were also various government and private agencies operating the programs. But it was not until the 1978 plan that this education received fuller government commitment.

Educational Administration: Structure and Process: Some changes within the educational agencies at both the central and local levels have been made in the most recent plan but, essentially, the 1960 plan still remains in effect here. The process of overall educational planning are still involved by these major government agencies: (1) Office of the National Education Commission, (2) Office of the National

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Bennett, "Problems of Financing...", p. 27.

Economic and Social Development Board, and (3) the Budget Bureau. The government agencies involved in administration and operational planning at the central level are the Office of the National Education Commission, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Interior and Office of the University Affairs (Bureau of State University). At the local level, the agencies are represented by regional provincial and district officers, working for various departments of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Interior.

Functions of the Central Administrative Agencies:

1. The Office of the National Education Commission has had the function of overall educational planning since the late 1950s.
2. The Office of the University Affairs is responsible for institutions of higher education. At present there are 13 of them.
3. The Ministry of Interior has its Local Department, controlling provincial schools in the country. However, those rural primary schools will be transferred back to the Department of Formal Education of the Ministry of Education in the near future.
4. The Ministry of Education has been given increased control of the educational administration. This is noted especially in Section 4 of the 1978 educational plan.⁴⁷ It states in brief that all agencies, whether governmental, private or foreign operating in Thailand under appropriate legislation will come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. This Ministry, in turn, is to administer education under terms of the 1978 plan. The Ministry is to be responsible for seeing

⁴⁷Ministry of Education, "Thailand: National Educational Scheme...", p. 13.

to it that the various agencies adhere to the provisions of the plan.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for all secondary schools, most teacher training and vocational and technical education, with overlaps with post-secondary education; and a small number of primary schools. Lists of departments and offices within the Ministry of Education are: Department of Vocational Education, Department of Teacher Education, Department of Physical Education, Department of Fine Arts, Department of Formal Education, and Office of Private Education.

The role of the various private agencies and schools is more flexible than governmental ones, but they must still adhere to Ministry of Education supervision and follow the legislative guidelines of the 1978 plan.

Functions of Local Educational Agencies: Local educational administration is under the control of the Ministry of Education, Provincial and Municipal administrative authorities. Local administration operates within a framework of 12 educational regions, 71 provinces and 620 districts.⁴⁸ The educational administrative power is decentralized gradually down through the district level. These levels form a bridge to the central agencies. Plans and policies created in Bangkok, for instance, are transmitted over this bridge. Requests from the lower levels are also transmitted along these levels to Bangkok. Approval discretion increases from level to level but it is obvious that the least amount of discretion is allowed at the district level.

⁴⁸ Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistics: 1979) (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 11.

However, for the purpose of decentralized administrative operation, the Ministry of Education also initiated the Regional Educational Planning Project which is aimed at creating a viable two-way planning process. Under this project local administrations can build plans suitable for local needs and socioeconomic conditions.⁴⁹

Financial and Budget System: Each government agency has to plan and make a request for its own budget spent for schools and colleges under its responsibility. Budget requests are devised from the district level up and sent to Ministry of Education, Ministry of Interior or Office of the University Affairs as appropriate. Those budgets requested are then forwarded for approval to the main central agencies which are: Office of the National Education Commission, Budget Bureau, Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, and finally to the Cabinet. The general process and agencies involved with educational budget of the country are shown in Figure I.

Educational Budget, Grand Domestic Product and the National Budget: Spending on education has increased annually. This increase in the educational budget (EB), reflects increases in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and corresponding increases in the National Budget (NB). From 1967 to 1980, for example, the average spent on education came to 18.75 percent of the NB and accounted for 3.36 percent of the GDP. In Table 2 we noted that in 1980, the 21.76

⁴⁹Sadab Attasara, Somchai Wudhiprecha and Surat Silpa-Anan, "Educational Administration in Thailand," Bulletin (The UNESCO Regional Office of Education in Asia), No. 15 (June 1974): 194.

EDUCATIONAL BUDGETING PROCESS

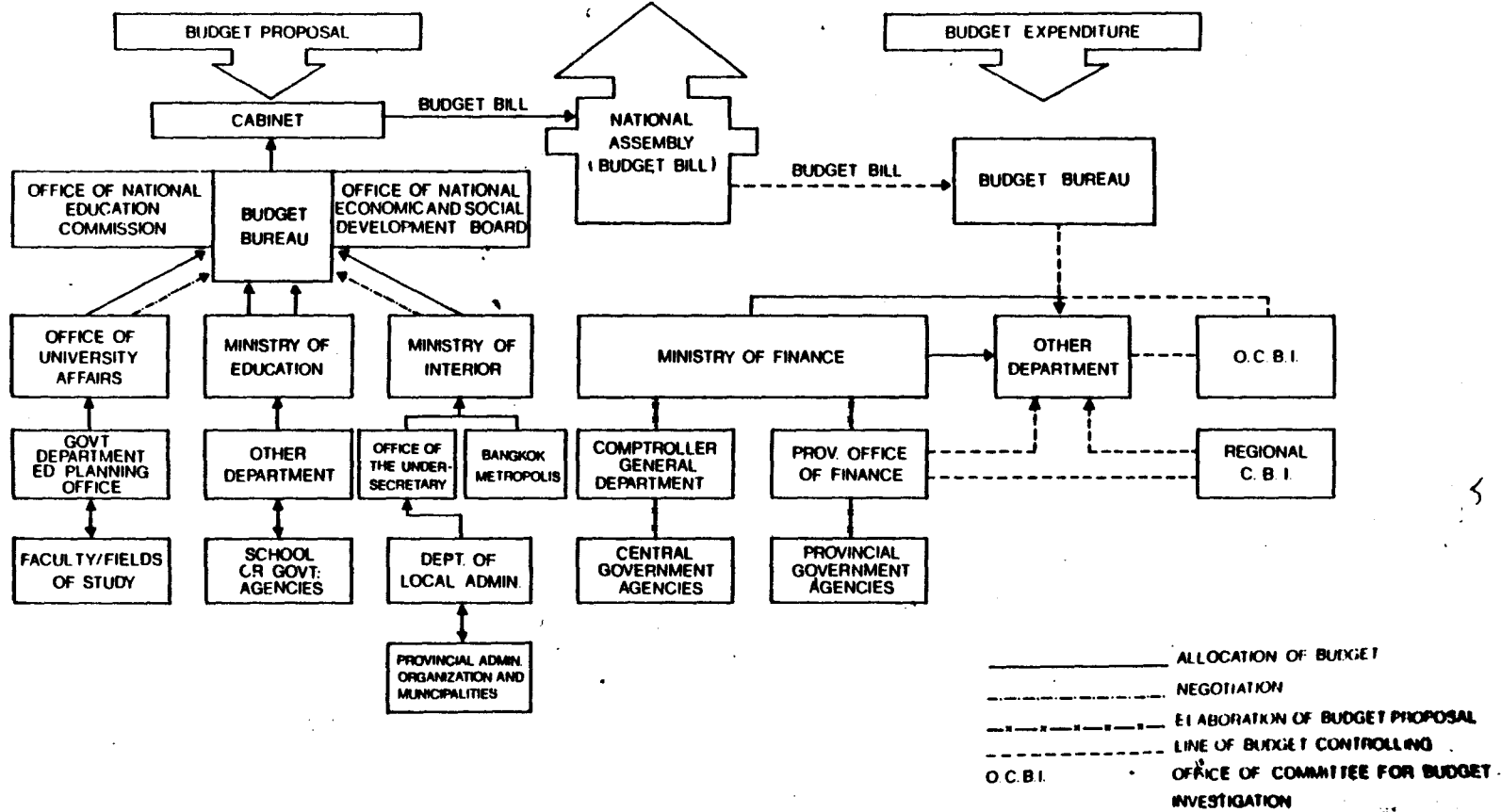


Figure 1

TABLE 2

Expenditure for the Fiscal Year 1976-1980 (in Million Baht)

	1976	%	1977	%	1978	%	1979	%	1980	%
1	16,144.3	25.8	14,583.5	21.1	16,076.6	19.9	17,603.9	19.1	23,343.1	20.4
2	13,255.7	21.2	14,841.2	21.6	16,358.4	20.2	18,004.2	19.6	24,924.0	21.7
3	10,569.7	16.9	13,101.1	19.1	16,405.1	20.3	19,066.2	20.7	23,473.4	20.5
4	2,649.3	4.2	3,430.8	5.0	3,263.2	4.0	3,884.8	4.2	4,817.0	4.2
5	4,249.0	6.7	4,748.5	6.9	5,538.0	6.8	7,160.1	7.8	7,874.3	6.9
6	2,127.2	3.4	2,279.2	3.3	2,726.0	3.4	2,657.0	2.9	3,870.8	3.4
7	3,381.7	5.4	3,904.7	5.7	4,523.6	5.6	5,036.3	5.5	6,634.4	5.8
8	7,619.1	12.2	6,417.4	9.3	10,821.1	13.3	10,026.9	10.9	12,392.9	10.8
9	2,684.0	4.3	5,843.6	8.0	5,287.8	6.5	8,559.6	9.3	7,226.6	6.3
Total	62,650.0	100	68,790.0	100	81,000.0	100	92,000.0	100	114,556.5	100

Classification of Expenditure: 1. Economic Services, 2. Education, 3. Defense, 4. Public Health, 5. Social Services, 6. General Administration, 7. Internal Peace Maintenance, 8. Debt Services, 9. Miscellaneous.

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistics:1979) (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 35.

percent of the NB spent on education was the highest in the nation's history and represented the largest single outlay. Defense and economic development accounted for the next two highest levels of spending. From 1976 to 1980 education took first place in spending in two of the five years and was second in the other three years.

The 1980 figures for EB, GDP and NB are shown in Table 3 and the total, respectively, are 24,924.0, 608517.0 and 114,556.5 million baht. This means that the educational budget is 21.76 percent of NB and 4.10 percent of GDP. The cost of education in 1980 was 8.5 times greater than the cost in 1967, which came to 2,973.3 million baht or 15.46 percent of NB and 2.75 percent of GDP. The increased cost of educational spending in each year from 1967 to 1980 indicates the inflation rate, the population growth and the improvement of the whole system of education itself.

A Brief World Wide Comparison of Educational Budgets: The 1980 Thai figure of educational spending as 4.10 percent of the GDP is somewhat behind the world average of 4.9 percent. However, developed countries, even by 1965, were spending 5.2 percent of their GDP on education. There has been a steady increase in spending on education as a percentage of GDP except in the case of Thailand, considered a "developing country", which has shown a fluctuating picture. For example, it was 2.5 percent in 1960; 3.39 percent in 1970; and then a reduction to 2.77 percent and 2.60 percent in 1973 and 1974. These reductions, further took place in the face of increased inflation and reductions in the rate of exchange of the Thai baht in relation to some other currencies. In short, in 1974 Thailand spent about 5 percent

TABLE 3

Grand Domestic Products, National and Educational Budgets
(1967-1980)

Year 1967-1980	Grand Domestic Products		National Budgets (NB)			Educational Budgets (EB)			
2510	108,224.3	6.75	19,228.3	17.77	27.00	2,973.3	2.75	15.46	18.74
2511	116,770.0	7.89	21,962.0	18.21	10.58	3,363.9	2.88	15.82	13.14
2512	128,570.0	10.10	23,960.0	18.64	12.69	4,039.7	3.14	16.86	20.09
2513	135,940.0	5.73	27,299.8	20.08	13.94	4,604.8	3.39	16.87	13.99
2514	143,900.0	5.85	28,645.0	19.91	4.93	5,191.1	3.61	18.12	12.73
2515	162,100.0	12.65	29,000.0	17.89	1.24	5,543.5	3.42	19.12	6.79
2516	215,190.0	32.75	32,030.0	14.88	10.45	5,952.5	2.77	18.58	7.38
2517	270,010.0	25.47	39,027.6	14.45	21.85	7,023.3	2.60	17.99	17.99
2518	295,610.0	9.48	50,500.0	17.08	29.39	10,011.3	3.39	19.82	42.54
2519	325,900.0	10.25	62,650.0	19.22	24.06	12,982.3	3.98	20.72	29.68
2520	376,125.0	15.41	68,790.0	18.28	9.80	14,841.0	3.95	21.57	14.32
2521	444,196.0	18.09	81,000.0	18.23	17.75	16,358.4	3.68	20.20	10.22
2522	523,128.0	17.87	92,000.0	17.57	13.85	18,004.2	3.44	19.57	10.06
2523	608,517.0	16.22	114,556.5	18.88	24.52	24,924.0	4.10	21.76	38.43

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Brief Educational Statistics: Educational Years 1979 (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 35.

less on education than other developing countries and in fact, did not even maintain the previous year's 3.94 rate. All figures mentioned are shown in Table 4.

Educational Budgets Allocated Among Agencies: Educational allocation details are given in Table 5. For the moment, however, the 1980 budget of 22,489.4 million baht (23 baht equals about one U.S. dollar) gave the largest amount to schools under local administration (50.30 percent or 11,312.3 million baht). The Ministry of Education's own administrative expenses made up the next highest portion of the EB, 7,622.9 million or 33.90 percent. The remainder of the budget went to the Bureau of State Universities (14.5 percent for higher education) and to Office of the National Education Commission. Finally, about 1.3 percent went to other types of education.

Despite the fact that the largest portion of the budget had been spent on local schools since 1968, according to Table 5, these schools also formed the largest amount of the total number of schools in the country. Over 90 percent of primary schools are local and located in rural areas. There is a continuing problem of unequal resource allocation and consequent lack of educational opportunity. Under the 1978 plan, the State has proclaimed the need to be more efficient in subsidy allocation, especially at the district level. The evidence of unequal resources allocation between rural and urban schools will be further discussed in Chapter IV.

The Educational Budget Spent on Schooling Levels: It is apparent from everything that has been stated that the budget is allocated unequally in all areas. Table 6 refers to funding at each level of

TABLE 4

Educational Budgets as Percentage of GDP

	1960	1965	1970	1972	1973	1974
World's Rate	3.8	4.9	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.5
Developed Countries	4.0	5.2	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.7
Developing Countries	2.3	3.0	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.9
Thailand*	2.5	na	3.39	3.42	2.77	2.60

Source: International Council for Educational Development, UNESCO in Summarization of Educational Situation and Recommended Policies. A Report to the Cabinet by the National Education Committee, Office of the Prime Ministry, Bangkok Thailand, April 1979, p. 16.

Thailand*: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistics: Educational Year 1979) (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education 1979), Table 15, p. 35.

TABLE 5

Educational Budgets Distributed Among Government Agencies: 1967-1980

Years	Total Budgets	MOE's Budgets % of EB		NEC's & Uni- versity Affair Budgets % of EB		Provincial Agencies' Budgets % of EB		Other Educational Budgets % of EB	
2510	2,973.3	2,369.6	79.69	473.3	15.91			130.4	4.38
2511	3,363.9	1,190.1	35.37	602.4	17.90	1,470.4	43.88	95.0	2.84
2512	4,039.7	1,326.0	32.83	605.6	14.99	1,838.7	45.51	269.4	6.66
2513	4,604.8	1,520.2	33.01	633.5	14.95	2,307.1	50.10	89.0	1.93
2514	5,191.1	1,700.1	32.75	778.1	14.99	2,599.5	50.08	113.4	2.18
2515	5,543.5	1,866.1	33.66	747.3	13.45	2,813.3	50.75	116.8	2.10
2516	5,952.5	2,043.3	34.30	743.8	12.50	3,057.0	50.36	109.6	1.84
2517	7,023.3	2,373.1	33.79	1,017.3	14.49	3,568.0	50.81	64.9	0.93
2518	10,011.3	3,387.7	33.84	1,386.1	13.67	5,077.1	50.72	160.4	1.61
2519	12,982.2	4,021.3	30.98	1,868.4	14.40	6,819.0	52.53	273.5	2.11
2520	14,841.2	4,963.7	33.45	1,930.0	13.01	7,674.8	51.71	217.8	1.82
2521	16,148.2	5,644.9	34.95	2,063.3	12.77	8,167.2	50.58	272.9	1.69
2522	17,148.2	6,074.0	34.14	2,455.4	14.31	8,999.9	50.60	257.3	1.45
2523	22,489.4	7,622.9	33.90	3,267.0	14.53	11,312.3	50.30	286.2	1.27

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor
(Brief Educational Statistics, Education, 1979)

TABLE 5

Educational Budgets Distributed Among Government Agencies: 1967-1980

Years	Total Budgets	MOE's Budgets % of EB		NEC's & Uni- versity Affairs Budgets % of EB		Provincial Agencies' Budgets % of EB		Other Educational Budgets % of EB	
2510	2,973.3	2,369.6	79.69	473.3	15.91			130.4	4.38
2511	3,363.9	1,190.1	35.37	602.4	17.90	1,470.4	43.88	95.0	2.84
2512	4,039.7	1,326.0	32.83	605.6	14.99	1,838.7	45.51	269.4	6.66
2513	4,604.8	1,520.2	33.01	633.5	14.95	2,307.1	50.10	89.0	1.93
2514	5,191.1	1,700.1	32.75	778.1	14.99	2,599.5	50.08	113.4	2.18
2515	5,543.5	1,866.1	33.66	747.3	13.45	2,813.3	50.75	116.8	2.10
2516	5,952.5	2,043.3	34.30	743.8	12.50	3,057.0	50.36	109.6	1.84
2517	7,023.3	2,373.1	33.79	1,017.3	14.49	3,568.0	50.81	64.9	0.93
2518	10,011.3	3,387.7	33.84	1,386.1	13.67	5,077.1	50.72	160.4	1.61
2519	12,982.2	4,021.3	30.98	1,868.4	14.40	6,819.0	52.53	273.5	2.11
2520	14,841.2	4,963.7	33.45	1,930.0	13.01	7,674.8	51.71	217.8	1.82
2521	16,148.2	5,644.9	34.95	2,063.3	12.77	8,167.2	50.58	272.9	1.69
2522	17,148.2	6,074.0	34.14	2,455.4	14.31	8,999.9	50.60	257.3	1.45
2523	22,489.4	7,622.9	33.90	3,267.0	14.53	11,312.3	50.30	286.2	1.27

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistics: Educational Year 1979) (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 36.

TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of Education Budget by Level of Education 1978-1979 (million baht)

Levels of Education	1978	%	1979	%
Preprimary	69.3	0.4	99.4	0.6
Primary	8,298.5	53.5	9,432.5	54.2
Secondary	2,605.6	16.9	2,763.6	15.9
Teaching Training	473.9	3.1	414.8	2.4
Vocational	1,039.4	6.8	1,234.7	7.1
Higher Education	2,257.9	14.7	2,670.4	15.3
Non-Formal Education	259.7	1.7	304.7	1.7
Private School	374.6	2.4	487.3	2.8

Source: Survey and Data Processing Section, Educational Statistics and Analysis Division, Office of the National Education Commission, Statistical Country Profile for Administrators (Bangkok: Ruam Chang Ltd., 1980), p. 41.

schooling during 1978-79. The latest year for which figures are available, 1979, shows that primary, secondary and higher education received 54.2, 15.9 and 15.3 percent respectively. But by considering numbers of students in those schooling levels, it can be seen that primary school children proportionately were given the least amount of the budget.

In Table 7 numbers of students enrolling in 1979 by school levels are shown. The unequal budget allocation is clearly seen when comparing the number of students and amount of budget distributed at each level. The overall conclusion of budget spent for each student is that the primary children are the least fortunate ones concerning funding for their education by the government.

Present School Enrollment: Thai school enrollment has been increasing every year. However, comparisons between primary (elementary) and secondary school enrollment are difficult because the different plans decrees have devised different lengths for compulsory education. One can note, for instance, that the 1951, 1960 and 1978 plans organized national education around the patterns 4:6:2, 7:3:2 and 6:3:3 respectively. At best, one can make estimates of student enrollment in each of the decades, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The following figures relate to various decades in respect to enrollment.

TABLE 7

Enrollments in Public and Private Schools/Institutions by
Level of Education, Whole Kingdom 1979

Levels of Education	Public	Private	Public/Private
Preprimary	129,827	190,280	0.68
Primary	6,319,349	622,789	10.15
Lower Secondary	1,042,928	274,427	3.80
Upper Secondary	367,710	180,869	2.03
General	240,868	43,669	5.52
Vocational	126,842	137,200	0.92
Vocational School	220,971	91,072	2.43
Teacher Training	56,311	--	--
Higher Education	78,290	18,958	4.13
TOTAL	8,516,942	1,559,264	5.46

Source: Survey and Data Processing Section, Educational Statistics and Analysis Division, Office of the National Education Commission, Statistical Country Profile for Administrators (Bangkok: Ruam Chang Ltd., 1980), p. 39.

ENROLLMENTS IN 1948⁵⁰

Schooling Levels	Numbers of Students
Pre-primary	1,020
Elementary	2,566,873
Secondary	48,082
Pre-university	2,322
Vocational	11,246
Teaching Training	3,661
University	10,561

ENROLLMENTS IN 1961⁵¹

Lower Elementary: G1-4	3,716,969
Upper Elementary: G5-7	373,953
Secondary: G8-10	253,124
Secondary: G11-12	65,320
University and Post Graduate	36,625 919

ENROLLMENTS IN 1971⁵²

Kindergarten	142,000
Lower Elementary	4,735,000
Upper Elementary	970,000 (Included all streams)
Secondary: G8-10	516,000
Secondary: G11-12	67,000
University	45,950

ENROLLMENTS IN 1980⁵³

Kindergarten	367,313
Elementary: G1-6	7,392,563
Secondary: M.S.1-6	1,617,465 (Academic line only)
University and Post Graduates	191,310 (1979 Figures)

⁵⁰Sir John Sargent and Pedro T. Orato, Report of the UNESCO Educational Missions to Thailand (Paris: Imprimerie Union, 1950), p. 12.

⁵¹Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation, Ministry of National Development, Thailand: Facts and Figures 1965, p. 64.

⁵²Ministry of Education, Education in Thailand 1971 (Bangkok: Kurusapha Ladprao Press, 1971), pp. 25-55.

⁵³Office of the National Education Commission, Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province 1980 (Bangkok: Office of the Under Secretary, Ministry of Education, 1980), p. 9.

This fuzziness in precision applies to secondary and higher education also since official figures for the secondary level include students holding equivalent informal education certificate; while at the higher education level, some figures include teacher training enrollment and graduates, others do not.

The Enrollment at Primary Level: The main success of Thai education in recent decades has apparently taken place at the primary level. In 1948, 2,566,873 students were enrolled in primary schools and these figures increased to 4,090,922 in 1961, 5,705,000 in 1971 and 7,392,563 in 1980 for an overall increase of 4,825,690 or an average increase of about 1.2 million for each of the four decades up to 1980 (figures computed from enrollments in 1948, 1961, 1971 and 1980 are shown on page 140). So, given an illiteracy rate of a little over 60 percent (less than 40 percent of population were educated in 1947 census,⁵⁴ only about one-third of the Thai people had received some education. Since that time, about 81.8 percent of Thai children aged 7-14 have been enrolled in primary schools. The rate of population growth of this age group (by 1970) was slightly higher than the rate of enrollment. Yet, Thailand had almost achieved the aim of the "Asian Model" plan referred to earlier (80 percent), to the end that 96.7 percent of the 7-14 age group enrolled in 1979 became the number to be maintained.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Eells, "Educational Progress...", p. 103.

⁵⁵UNESCO, "Educational Development in Thailand, 1960-1970," Bulletin (The UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia) V 6:2 (March 1972), p. 190.

Enrollment at the Secondary Level: Although there has been an almost 100 percent increase in secondary school enrollment between 1970-1979 (the 14-18 age group) the picture here is less satisfactory. The respective enrollments were 11.1 percent in 1960: 12.3 percent in 1970,⁵⁶ and 24.3 percent in 1979.⁵⁷ Thus, the "drop-off" rate for those going on to school has been high and is a traditional phenomenon in Thai educational history. This lower rate applies to higher education as well. Naturally, much of this drop-off is natural. The percentage of student-enrollment for their respective age groups is shown in Table 8.

As can be seen, the primary enrollment rate was high up to 1973, before dropping slightly for four years, before reaching the 92.8 percent figure (7-13 years) in 1978 and 96.7 percent in 1979. Of all the educational levels, only the pre-primary and higher levels showed a constant rate of increase but the biggest percentage gains have been at the primary level. In 1979, for example, the primary enrollment rate went up 3.9 percent from the already high 1978 figures. Pre-primary and higher levels increased 0.9 percent and 0.3 percent respectively. Enrollment percentages at the secondary level declined.

Educational Wastage: The term "educational wastage", is taken from UNESCO and refers to repetition of the same grade and dropouts.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 190.

⁵⁷ Figures from Table 8.

⁵⁸ UNESCO, "The Problem of Educational Wastage at the First Level of Education in Asia" Bulletin (The UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia) V 1:2 (March 1967): 1.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Students Per Various Ages Group Population 1973-1979

Schooling levels	Aged Ranges	% of Students : Aged Group Population						
		1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
All Levels	4-26	38.5	38.5	38.9	39.2	39.4	39.7	41.1
Pre-primary	4-6	4.4	4.6	5.2	5.6	5.9	7.0	7.9
1	4	5.0	5.3	6.1	6.4	6.5	7.9	8.2
2	5	4.2	4.6	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.2	7.0
	6	3.9	3.8	4.3	5.0	5.5	6.8	8.0
Primary	7-13	87.9	86.5	85.6	84.5	83.7	92.8	96.7
1	7	137.2	129.4	125.7	122.6	117.6	124.6	115.5
2	8	117.7	115.0	108.0	106.1	102.6	103.2	108.8
3	9	113.6	111.2	108.0	105.2	105.0	102.0	102.4
4	10	100.4	99.9	100.7	97.3	93.9	93.9	95.5
5	11	50.8	51.8	55.4	58.8	62.3	78.8	87.6
6	12	42.1	43.9	45.6	46.9	49.5	50.2	67.5
7	13	35.6	38.5	41.0	40.7	42.3	-	-
Secondary	14-19	18.0	19.7	21.8	23.2	25.2	24.0	24.3
Lower S.	14-16	25.7	26.2	30.7	31.3	31.3	29.3	28.9
M. 1	13	-	-	-	-	-	29.3	29.7
MS. 1, M. 1	14	29.5	31.7	34.2	33.8	32.9	30.7	29.2
MS. 2	15	25.4	28.1	30.5	31.4	31.6	29.0	29.2
MS. 3	16	21.8	24.1	27.3	28.5	29.3	28.3	27.5
Upper S.	17-19	9.8	10.5	12.0	14.1	15.7	20.0	17.2
MS. 4	17	14.6	15.2	18.5	19.2	21.8	21.1	23.2
MS. 5	18	10.5	11.3	13.0	17.6	18.7	19.2	19.8
MS. 6	19	4.2	4.8	4.2	5.2	6.2	7.0	8.0
Ter Edu.	19-24	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.7	3.5	3.3	3.6
1	19	4.1	4.4	3.7	4.1	4.3	4.4	4.2
2	20	3.4	3.7	4.4	5.2	5.9	6.1	6.7
3	21	2.1	2.2	3.2	3.7	4.1	4.5	5.1
4	22	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.6	2.9
5-6 % up	23-24	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitakarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistic: 1979) (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 22 (Table 4).

The high drop-out rate especially is a common phenomenon among underdeveloped and developing societies. UNESCO has estimated that out of 30 million students in the first grade in some Asian nations, fewer than 50 percent or less than 15 million will complete the primary grades.⁵⁹

This wastage phenomenon is prevalent in Thailand. It has been repeatedly referred to by various studies and educational plans. Although the rate of drop out at the primary level is not as heavy as during the 1950s, up to the present time, the number of first graders dropping out of school is still substantial.

Enrollment and Wastage Rate of Asian Countries: UNESCO has estimated that Thailand's wastage ratio in the first educational level fell between 36 and 55 percent.⁶⁰ Among the Asian nations surveyed, Burma and Laos had the highest rates, over 80 percent, while the lowest belonged to Mainland China, Taiwan and Mongolia.⁶¹ These countries also showed an initially high primary enrollment, about 81 percent of the 7-14 age group in 1960, but with a high drop out rate taking effect immediately. Thailand, overall, is categorized by a high enrollment rate (over 70 percent) and a medium dropout rate (26-55 percent).⁶²

This wastage story continues for the secondary level. Of the 17

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 1.

⁶⁰Ibid., Table 2, p. 8.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., Table 3, p. 9.

Asian countries surveyed, less than 50 percent of all students continue secondary education and this transition rate was notably low in Afghanistan, Laos and Nepal in 1963.⁶³ Thailand's enrollment was between 10-19 percent.⁶⁴

It is obvious that both secondary and higher education is not as popular as primary education in Thailand, nor as accessible. Most universities are found in the Bangkok Metropolis which cuts down significantly on rural opportunities. Also, more than 60 percent of the nation's higher education institutions have been established since 1945. Higher education enrollment rates were 1.51 in 1955 and 2.43 percent in 1963. This rate was based on the 18-21 age group. More recent figures from 1973 to 1979 show figures of 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 3.5, 3.3 and 3.6 yearly, based on the 19-24 age group population.⁶⁵ Thus, enrollment has tended to increase somewhat.

The Situation at Present: As once it was reported that of 100 fourth graders, only 22 wish to continue their education,⁶⁶ by 1969, this figure had improved to 40.1 percent as shown in Table 9. Also according to this table, in 1979, this figure had reached 93.05 percent. But this situation is reversed somewhat as students proceed on to secondary school. During 1969-79, only two years (1969 and 1972)

⁶³UNESCO, "A Review of Educational Progress in the Asian Region," Bulletin (The UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia) V 1:1 (September 1966), Table I.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Table 8, p. 52 this chapter.

⁶⁶UNESCO, "A Review of Educational Progress...", Table J, p. 28.

TABLE 9

Rates of Enrollments at Transitional Grades (1969-1979)

Years	G 4-5	G 6-MS 1	G 7-MS 1	MS 3-4 (Academic Line)
1969-70	40.01		90.26	35.71
1970-71	41.85		85.00	33.46
1971-72	46.78		86.72	32.02
1972-73	50.53		91.11	30.75
1973-74	51.94		88.95	31.75
1974-75	55.18		87.65	33.45
1975-76	58.18		82.06	35.61
1976-77	63.62		80.96	40.15
1977-78	85.31	62.13	75.81	42.46
1978-79	93.05	59.15	--	45.85

Source: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathitikarnsuksa Chababyor (Brief Educational Statistics: Educational Year 1979 (Bangkok: Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, 1979), p. 30 (Table 10).

showed that 90 percent of seventh graders stayed on. These figures raise some questions. Why, after 1972, did this rate decline? Why did not the high rate of fifth graders positively affect secondary school enrollment? Why, in fact, given the need for education to enter the bureaucracy, the apparent high value placed on education, and perceptions in respect to social mobility and career opportunities, is not secondary education more valued and practiced? This value appeared to be taking hold by 1968-69 and 1972-73 and then, unaccountably declined. This decline is especially puzzling considering that compulsory education has been reduced from seven to six years.

Conclusion: This investigation of the major characteristics found in Thai educational history helps us to understand the structure and evolution of the Thai educational system, and eventually the existing unequal educational opportunities in Thai society. By comparing the progression of education between the past and present, it has been realized by Thai people that there is some great improvement going on. But some disadvantage of quality and quantity of Thai education still lingers on in many schools, especially in rural areas. Further evidence discussed in the next chapter will help us to understand why such an unpleasant rate of academic success still belongs mostly to rural children.

CHAPTER IV.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN THAILAND

The Determination of Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) and its Related Characteristics

An investigation of the status of EEO in Thailand falls within those concepts and criteria discussed in Chapter II. These are:

1. access to school
2. investments in education
3. educational outcomes

This study has concentrated more on the primary or elementary school level than others because of its compulsory nature which also means that more rural people have attained this level. Finally, private schools are excluded from the analysis because they are few in number in rural areas and their high fees act to prohibit attendance.

Thus, as noted in Chapter II, the determination of EEO will rest on a comparison between urban and rural areas, however, other major analytical factors include:

- some emphasis on public secondary and higher level schools
- academic line
- educational reports by Provincial Authoritative Organization (PAO), Municipality of the Ministry of the Interior and the Department of General Education of Ministry of Education (MOE).
- educational reports classified by geographical region and

educational region. These classifications are discussed below.

The Classification of Educational Regions and Types of Schools

For purpose of this study, one can note that educational reports and EEO analyses have been done on provincial, geographical and educational regions. But schools in Thailand also fall under different governmental agencies and the schools are listed under various categories. School classification by type and location are important elements in understanding the EEO situation. For example, schools that fall under the Department of General Education of the Ministry of Education and located in the Bangkok area are usually better qualified than schools under PAO, and Municipality. Schools in the Central Plain are better than schools in the Northeast region. Also primary schools within municipal areas usually produce better outcomes than schools under PAO even when they are located in the same region.

There is a close relationship between school location and the economic status of the region where schools are located. Simply looking at the school location, one can almost tell why one school is better qualified than the others.

Educational Region: Under terms of the present decentralized administrative system. Thailand is divided into twelve educational regions. Each region contains a number of provinces and districts. These regions are:¹

¹Office of the National Education Commission, Office of the Priminister, The Illiterate Population of Thailand: 1957-1980 (Bangkok: Thanapradith Karnpim, 1977).

Region 1: Bangkok, Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Samut Prakan, Samut Sakhon, Nakhon Pathom

Region 2: Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, Satun

Region 3: Songkly, Phattalung, Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Surat Thani, Chumphon

Region 4: Phuket, Trang, Krabi, Phangnge, Ranong

Region 5: Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Kanchanaburi, Samut Songkhram, Suphan Buri

Region 6: Phra Nakhon Si Auydthay, Ang Thong, Sing Buri, Lop Buri, Saraburi, Chai Nat, Uthai Thani

Region 7: Phitsanulok, Nakhon Sawan, Uttaradit, Phichit, Kamphaeng Phet, Sukhothai, Tak, Petchabun

Region 8: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lumpang, Lumpun, Phrae, Nan, Mae Hong Son

Region 9: Udon Thani, Nong Khai, Loei, Khon Kaen, Sakon Nakhon

Region 10: Ubon Ratchathani, Roi Et, Maha Sarakham, Kalasin, Nakhon Phanom

Region 11: Nakhon Ratchasima, Chaiyaphum, Buri Ram, Surin, Si Sa Ket

Region 12: Chachoengsao, Prachin Buri, Chon Buri, Chanthaburi, Rayong, Trat, Nakhon Nayok.

Geographical Areas: Educational regions thus are found within the four traditional geographical areas: North, South, Northeast and the Central Plain. Each of these areas contains between two to four educational regions. Both educational and geographical areas are classified as follows:

Bangkok and Dhonburee	- region 1
Central Plain	- regions 5, 6, 12
South	- regions 2, 3, 4
North	- regions 7, 8
Northeast	- regions 9, 10, 11

As was discussed previously, the Central Plain and Bangkok Metropolitan areas have stronger economic bases than other regions, schools in such areas are also well known for their high qualifications. The twelve educational regions and four geographical areas are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

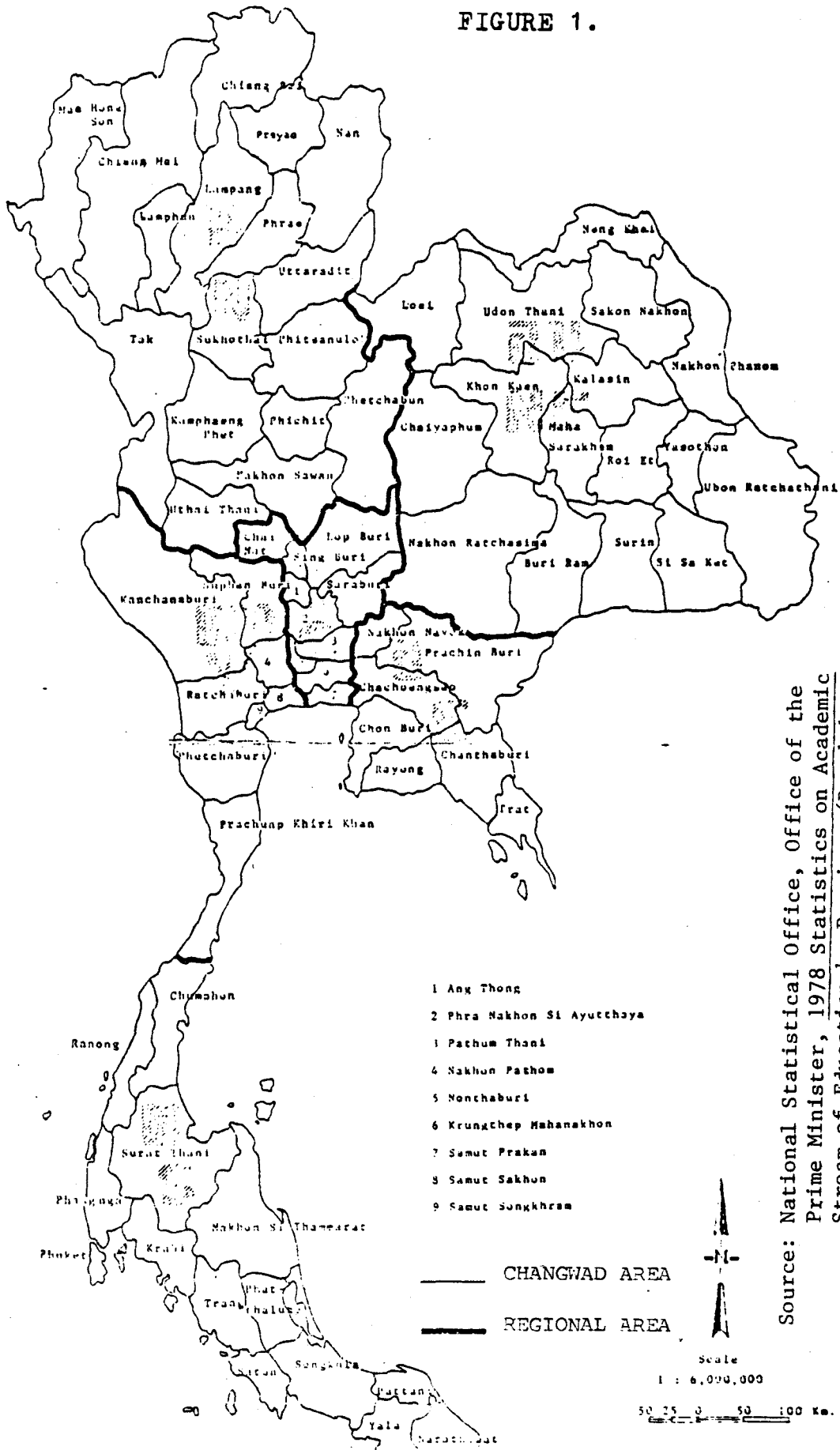
Types of Public Elementary Schools

Since more than one government agency is responsible for elementary and secondary schools, the following terminology is a composite of the classification used in various reports and research studies.

Kindergarten: A school under the jurisdiction of Department of General Education and established to instruct pupils in grades Kindergarten to Prathom 6 (Grade 6).

Elementary School: These schools fall under few government agencies, and have been widely studied for their qualifications and performance. In this study, elementary schools investigated will be under the responsibility of the following: the Department of General Education of Ministry of Education, the Municipality of the Ministry of the Interior, and the Provincial Authoritative Organization (PAO). Schools controlled by the Municipal authority are called "Municipal school". Provincial schools or PAO schools are located in the countryside and out of municipal areas.

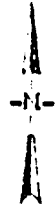
FIGURE 1.



Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1978 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1978).

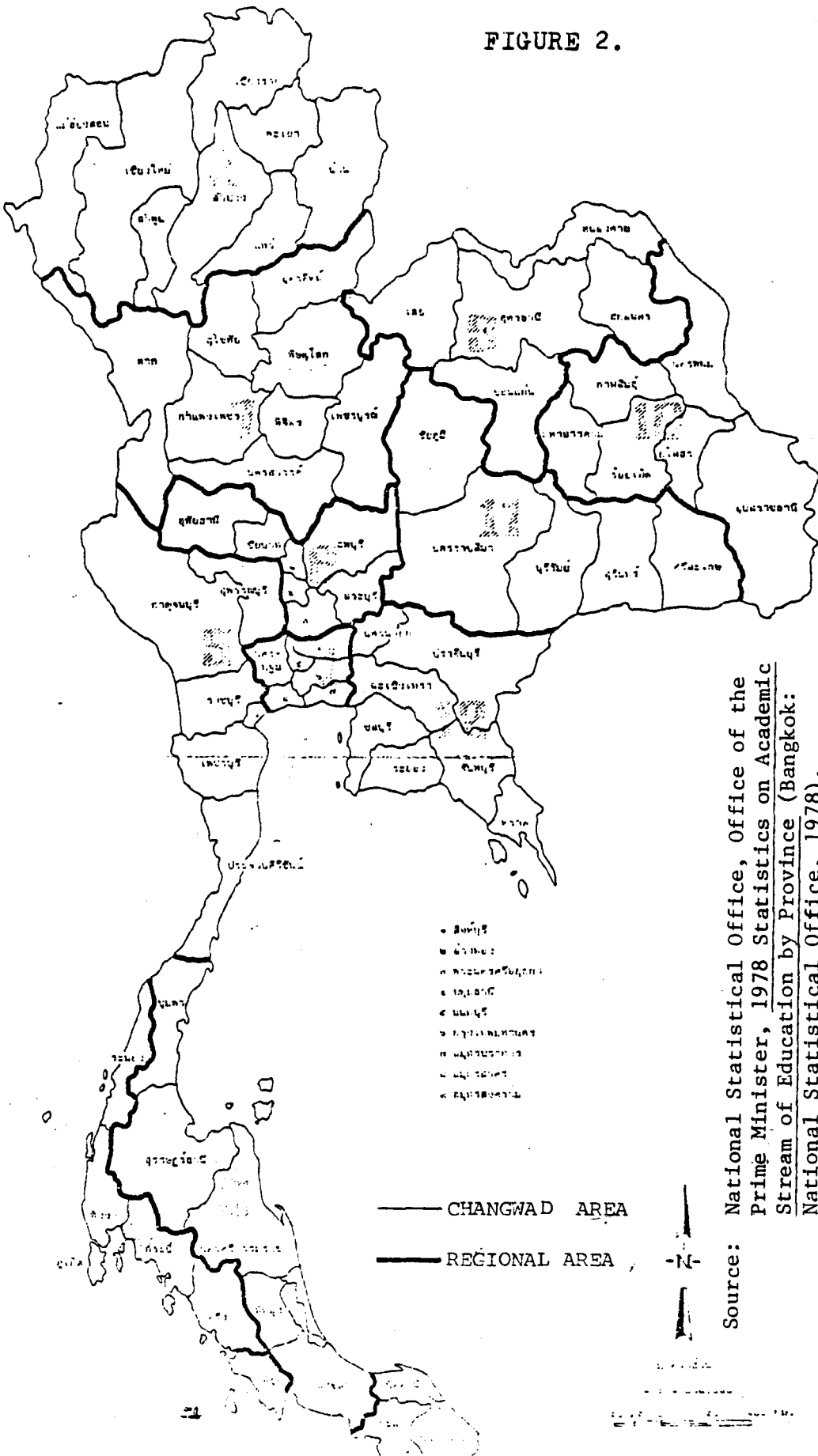
- 1 Ang Thong
- 2 Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya
- 3 Pathum Thani
- 4 Nakhon Pathom
- 5 Nonthaburi
- 6 Krungchep Mahanakhon
- 7 Samut Prakan
- 8 Samut Sakhon
- 9 Samut Songkhram

— CHANGWAD AREA
 — REGIONAL AREA



Scale
 1 : 6,000,000
 50 25 0 50 100 km.

FIGURE 2.



Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1978 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1978).

Secondary School: These schools fall under the authority of the Department of General Education of MOE.

Other schools found in the country, but not included in this study are: Special Welfare schools under the Department of General Education; Demonstration schools attached to universities and teacher training colleges; and private schools.

Special Terms of Note

Prathom: indicating the grade levels (i.e. Prathom 1 means Grade 1)

Mawsaw (M.S.): referring to secondary grades

PAO School: referring to "Prachaban school" or Provincial Administrative Organization.

MOE: referring to Ministry of Education

NEC: referring to The National Educational Commission.

Educational Opportunity: Its Relevance to Society

During the long period of monastic school predominance there was obviously little social difference among students so that educational opportunity was not a necessary consideration. Education was not a path to economic opportunity and social mobility. After learning some simple skills and the three R's, most boys from rural backgrounds would return to the family farm.

But these conditions began to change when Thailand was opened to foreign trade and influence during the reign of King Mongkut. The need to increase rice production meant a greater emphasis on schooling in order to learn modern techniques.

This general production situation is even more critical since, as

UNESCO has reported, rural peoples now generally know they require the benefits of modern education.² Such benefits are seen aiding handicraft as well as agricultural production and thereby increasing personal as well as national incomes. The new technological age has brought about an increasingly interdependent international order in which changes can be swift, affecting economic levels. In the most simple terms, the rural producer has to know about planning work, fertilization, crop rotation, machine repair and operation and wide-scale marketing. Such people need to know both how to increase harvests, and to do so without destroying the ecological balance on which they depend.

Further, an increase in social complexity lessens the effectiveness of a mere primary education by increasing the demands and desires of parents for their children. In addition, high population growth in Thailand during the decades of the forties, fifties, and sixties resulted in limited land availability and ownership. Such factors have motivated a large segment of the rural population to seek schooling beyond the compulsory grades. Indeed, such additional education is held to be necessary in terms of human resources and rural development. It was noted:³

From the point of view of human resource development (and for rural development, this is a fundamental problem), lack of facilities for education and training beyond the primary level is a crippling handicap. It means that the group of young people

²UNESCO, "Education in Rural Areas in the Asian Region: A General Review," *Bulletin* (The UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia) 5:1 (September 1970): 2.

³*Ibid.*, p. 25.

who complete grade V or VI, and in whom considerable investment has been made, have no opportunity to retain and use their skills of literacy which will equip them to contribute more productively in the labour force.

One can note for example, that, according to Bennett,⁴ the present Thai reward system still values educational attainment and cultural expertise more highly than physical labour. It is also a fact that high education usually means a high income and social status. Unlike the United States in which a high school graduate is still able to earn a good living and has little or no social stigma attached to him, an equivalent secondary school Thai student views economic attainment differently. The Thai student is more likely to be motivated by what is termed a "white collar" position, not looking with favor on anything socially beneath this.

Finally, of course, education helps promote democracy and justice, aids in the distribution of social services, and serves as a means whereby individuals in the various economic, social and political hierarchies can be effectively replaced. Such education will better qualify the individual for social position, prestige and influence.

Attempts for Equal Educational Opportunity in Thailand: Historical Overview

Even during the monastery school period, girls were not allowed to attend and the children of slaves could only do so with their

⁴Nicholas Bennett, Barriers and Bridges for Rural Development (Bangkok: The Foundation for the Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbook Project, 1978), pp. 52-53.

master's permission. Thus, EEO was an unknown concept up to the time of King Rama I and later.

During the reign of King Rama III, the early Bangkok period, an attempt at greater educational opportunity was started. What can be called the first open Thai university was begun in one of the temples in Bangkok. Apparently, anyone could take an offering of information in medicine, health and other useful subjects since this information was carved into the stone walls of "Chattuphon" temple. But, since that temple was located in Bangkok, it is evident that many rural people living far from this area could not have the opportunity to obtain such benefits.

What can be termed true efforts at increasing educational opportunity took place during the reign of Rama V (1868-1910). He abolished corvee labor and slavery and established the first public schools. Girls were allowed to attend formal schools. The king himself noted that he had intended to have children of all classes of people educated.

The above royal efforts were complimented by the further order for the monastic schools to offer secular education. By this strategy, wherever there is a temple located in a village, there is often a chance for children to be educated.

The introduction of compulsory education in 1921 which was enforced nationwide in 1935 also implied an increase in schooling opportunity. From the time of the revolution in 1932, many plans and projects for rural education have been initiated by the government which realized that participation in democracy requires increased education.

Attempts at Equal Educational Opportunity 1971-76 (The Third Educational Developmental Plan)

From the time of King Rama VI to 1970, there were no significant programs for increasing equal educational opportunity. Such support as there was for rural education was tied to social and economic development. The National Education Commission indicated the significant landmark attempt for EEO of Thai people started in the mid 1970s. In the report by the government entitled "Education for Life and Society", it was noted that:⁵

Equality of educational opportunity aimed at the promotion of justice in a democratic society should be achieved through the following:

(1) The government must ensure that all individuals have equal rights to receive compulsory education, regardless of sex, race, religion, economic status, or locality.

(2) The government must ensure that all individuals have equal rights and freedom to receive non-compulsory education. Government scholarships should be provided to those disadvantaged by poverty or other reasons.

(3) The government must upgrade low quality education in order to reduce disparities, especially between urban and rural institutions.

In 1974, the National Education Commission (NEC) started an investigation of EEO comparing urban and rural children at the primary level. Other studies followed in quick order.

Great efforts from the government toward EEO in this Third Educational Developmental Plan were, "... to provide more opportunity for the people to receive education particularly through the expansion of compulsory education in conformity with the increasing number of children

⁵Committee for Establishment of the Framework for Educational Reform, Summary of Education for Life and Society (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1974), pp. 4-5.

of school age and the improvement and expansion of secondary education in the provinces."⁶ Most of budgets spent were aimed at expanding education at all levels.

Upon completing the programs there were higher enrollments in all levels of school but inequality was still very noticeable. Achievement was still found more among urban than rural children. The report of the evaluation of the Third Educational Developmental Plan indicated:⁷

During the Plan period, inequality in receiving education still exists for both pre-school children and children of school age. At the pre-school level children in the rural areas and in slums have less chance to attend kindergarten classes... .. In the Central region, the enrollment rate of children from 7 years old in lower primary level education is higher than in other regions... ..At the secondary education level, despite the increase in the enrollment ratio from 26 percent of the total number of children of school age in 1961 to 42 percent in 1975, children in rural areas still have less opportunity to continue their education at the secondary level... ..At the university level, according to the survey in 1973, it was revealed that only 6 percent of the total number of students enrolled came from farm or rural families.

Attempts at Equal Education Opportunity: 1977-1981 (The Fourth Educational Developmental Plan)

The fourth plan is basically a continuation of the third, but there are some changes of note. The principal aims of this plan were as follows:⁸

- transforming the schooling system from 4:3:3:2 to 6:3:3
- expanding enrollment of compulsory education at the average

⁶Ministry of Education, Thailand: National Educational Policy and National Plans for Social and Educational Development (1977-1981) (Bangkok: United Production, 1977), p. 9.

⁷Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁸Ibid., p. 34.

rate of about 6 percent yearly; 11 percent for general secondary education, 8 percent for vocational education and 4 percent per year for higher education.

- reducing the teacher training enrollment at the lower diploma level.

Specific EEO guidelines were set that included the need to improve educational quality at all levels, reduce educational wastages, and make schooling more accessible to rural people. The effectiveness of this Fourth Plan still awaits analysis.

Factors That Affect EEO Among Rural Children

The general concept of EEO is, of course, complex. There is disagreement about the aspects, factors and variables that make it up and these elements may never be fully known. Even so, limited knowledge about these elements can still aid educational planning and policies. For example, the more that is known about human diversity the better will be specific analysis about why urban and rural Thai children do not perform equally well academically even in the face of a uniform educational system. The two major factors affecting the individual are personal and social conditions.

I. Individual Characteristics: These are unique to the individual and include actualities and potentialities. They affect a child's development and future. Such characteristics include, but are not limited to, intelligence, interest, motivation, traits, aptitudes and various kinds of mental abilities.

II. Social Characteristics: Social disparity is the result of many environmental conditions. In this study only home and school factors are emphasized. However, which set of factors is the most

significant is subject to continuing disputes. Home factors have been researched in terms of socioeconomic status, and home environment among others. Schooling factors studied include socioeconomic status of the school, school facilities, budget allocation and so forth.

Obviously, personal, school and home factors interact to affect academic performance. These factors, in turn, are aspects of equal educational opportunity.

In any event, Coleman⁹ has reported on a comparison of home, student and school characteristics as influences on verbal achievement. He concluded that school factors were the least important set of characteristics. He stressed the importance of home factors and students' self concepts. Home factor had been strongly emphasized by NEC's investigation of EEO at the primary school level in 1974 as well.¹⁰ The study was concluded as:¹¹

It should be recognized, however, that equalizing opportunities to enroll, and eliminating imbalances in the quality of primary education services, are only partial solutions. Even if a high degree of equalization were achieved, children born with equal ability would still have unequal opportunities to develop their capacities because of the substantial effect of home environment on learning. Children from rich and poor environments, though exposed to similar standards of education will usually differ in learning outcomes.

⁹James Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Government Printing Office, 1966).

¹⁰Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand: Equality of Educational Opportunity (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press Co., Ltd., 1976).

¹¹Ibid., p. 1.

In this study, the three salient factors: individual student, home and school, will be centered upon their influences upon rural and urban children's attainment of EEO.

1. Individual Characteristics. Those characteristics most prominently noted in the literature on this subject, and discussed in relation to urban and rural children are intelligence, related mental skills, and language, i.e. language of origin and instruction.

a. Intelligence. Almost all biological and behavioral scientists would assert that an individual's cognitive ability is, "... a combination of genetic mechanisms established at birth and the environmental influences experienced during childhood."¹² Which of these is most significant has, however, never been absolutely determined. Certainly, that rural children 'inheritance' is inferior to urban has never been shown. In respect to Thailand, all that is actually known is that, as measured by various academic performance tests, certain mental abilities of rural and urban children show a high degree of difference. Urban children usually show higher academic performance than rural children, who did not perform equally well even when they lived in the same region or province. This would seem to imply that environment is the crucial factor, but this conclusion has been disputed.

Academic scores of rural and urban children have been used as factors to indicate the intelligence level in many studies done in Thailand both by college students and government agencies. The most

¹²Sarane S. Boocock, Sociology of Education: An Introduction (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), 2nd ed., p. 108.

popular subjects are language and mathematic skills in which students from Bangkok perform well.¹³ Other related mental skills measured between urban and rural children also confirm the finding of academic performance.

In Nan Province, children living in municipal areas were found to have better conceptual development (i.e. capacity to determine lengths, heights, etc.) than children living outside, although they both are in the same province.¹⁴

Another study was based on the Inhalers and Piagets Combinatorial Test and the researcher's concepts of probability analyzed children (aged 11-16), from Bangkok and Pratumtanee provinces, both located in the Central Plan region. As expected, the Bangkok children as a group scored higher, but these scores were more evident at the upper age ranks.¹⁵

Rural secondary students in Chiyapoom province, in the Northeastern part of Thailand, were found to have more academic, social and personal problems than Bangkok students. Such variables were related to low

¹³Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand...

¹⁴P. Chootiful, "A Comparative Study of Substance Conservation Development and Problem-Solving Ability Between Urban and Rural Children in Nan Province" (Master Degree Thesis, Srinakarinwirot University, 1979).

¹⁵S. Thipyathusn, "A Comparative Study of Urban and Rural Children's Cognitive Development in the Period of Formal Operation and Concept of Probability" (Master Thesis, Srinakarinwirot University, 1979).

academic performance of rural students.¹⁶

The relatively low intelligence scores of rural children as measured by such instruments as academic performance and other mental skills become even more pronounced when their social environmental variables are taken into consideration. The overall validity of such tests as actually representing rural children's low mental ability is still open to question, however. As Dobshansky¹⁷ has noted, the precise nature of "intelligence" cannot be measured and, while no competent scientist would accept IQ as an overall measure of individual worth, some others would, deny that IQ testing provides any scientifically valid information, and see in it merely a device used by the privileged classes to maintain their status at the expense of the underprivileged ones.¹⁸

Nevertheless, the various tests of mental ability do show a definite disparity in school outcomes between rural and urban children. So, tentative conclusions do center on the unequal levels of cognitive development and recognize that individual factors do play a part in schooling performances.

B. Language. Language has been believed to be closely related to, and representative of, mental ability by many researchers. The

¹⁶K. Sangdach, "A Comparative Study of Schooling, Social and Personal Problems of Secondary Students in Bangkok and Chaiyapoom Provinces" (Master Thesis, Srinakarinwirot University, 1975).

¹⁷Theodosius Dobzhansky, Genetic Diversity and Human Equality (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), p. 10.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 11.

language skill of urban and rural children is another individual factor related to the attainment of EEO because while the dialect of the Central Plains is the accepted language of instruction not all Thais can speak it. Watson¹⁹ has remarked that: "Thailand has no stated official language policy, although it has pursued a consistent and successful one of using Thai as the national language and as the medium of instruction in all schools since state education began in the early 1920s."

There are different dialects found throughout the country. In the North the predominant dialect of discourse is Northern Thai. The South uses another dialect, including over 700,000 (80 percent of the Southern population) people who speak Malay and practice Islam;²⁰ while in the Northeast, a Loatian dialect generally prevails. That these children do have trouble with texts and manuals written in Central Thai is understandable. The problem is compounded when one realizes that the two populations in the Northeast and South together make up over one-third of the population in the country.

Because the majority of Thai speak Central Thai, the problems of a second language may not be fully realized by educational authorities. Some analyses have been performed and attention will now then turn to these studies.

¹⁹J.K.P. Watson, "Education and Cultural Pluralism in South East Asia, with Special Reference to Peninsular Malasia", Comparative Education 16 (June 1980): 148.

²⁰Ibid., p. 148.

Hymes²¹ indicated the contradiction of language used at home and at school: "Children may be linguistically deprived if the language of their natural competence is not that of the school; if the contexts that elicit or permit use of that competence are absent in the school; if the purposes to which they put language and the ways in which they do are absent or prohibited in the school."

Gurevich²² has also reported on the relationship between language, academic achievement, and social mobility. In his study of education in Northeastern Thailand, he noted that those children who did not speak Central Thai, did not perform well in school.

In addition, many teachers in rural areas do not use Central Thai for instruction. One break down noted that:²³ 96.15 percent of teachers in Bangkok used it; 93.53 percent in the Central Plains region; 47.17 percent in the North, only 14.87 percent in the Northeast and 21.05 percent in the South. As noted, in the area holding one third of the population (the Northeast), Central Thai is used the least. Further, PAO in basically rural schools use it sparingly. For instance, 77.59 percent of schools under Ministry of Education use

²¹D. Hymes, The Functions of Language in the Classroom. In C.E. Cazden, V.P. John and D. Hymes (Eds.) (New York: Teacher College Press, 1972), quoted by Robert Guervich, "Language, Minority Education, and Social Mobility: The Case of Rural Northeast Thailand," Journal of Research and Development in Education 9 (Summer 4, 1976) : 137.

²²Robert Gurevich, "Language, Minority Education, and Social Mobility: The Case of Rural Northeast Thailand," Journal of Research and Development in Education 9 (Summer 4, 1976) : 138-144.

²³Office of the National Education Commission, Raingankanwichai-prasidtipap Rongrianprathomsuksa: Kormunbiantonkiawkup khruprachumchan prathom 3 (A Study of Primary School Efficiency: Characteristics of Primary School Teachers (Bangkok: Office of the Secretary of Ministry Publisher, 1977), Table 28.

it; while only 37.34 percent of the schools under PAO do so.²⁴

The use of different dialects in rural regions certainly contributes to a low standard of language ability in Central Thai, and this implies that corresponding low intelligence scores may be matters of misinterpretation.

The answer may lie in testing in a native dialect. This has been the case in the Northeast, as reported by Gurevich,²⁵ who noted that the spoken language of the children is 'Isan',* the regional dialect. Even though Central Thai may be somewhat familiar (through the radio, for example), it had never been spoken by these children. It is true that the Northeast teachers often disregarded the formal requirement of Central Thai usage, or they used it only formally, reverting to Isan on all informal school occasions.²⁶ Such practice is also common in the rural South and North also. But this only means that at testing time, Central Thai language proficiency scores will be relatively low in those areas. The average Central Thai language scores among the regions studied by NEC in 1974 were:²⁷

²⁴Ibid., Table 29.

²⁵Gurevich, "Language, Minority...", p. 141.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling..., p. 7.

*Isan referring to the "Northeast region."

Regions	Pupil's Language Scores
Bangkok	51.3
Central Plains	33.6
South	31.8
North	29.7
Northeast	25.9
Whole Country	32.9

The dialect impact, in fact, extends on from the primary into secondary and higher schooling levels as well since Central Thai still continues to be used in those institutions either for examination or instruction.

Language proficiency is also a matter of being in the lesser or more developed areas. Within the same province, children born inside and outside of municipal areas were found to have unequal levels of language ability. Outside or smaller districts tended to have less educational resources, especially in terms of books and access to mass media.

II. Home Characteristics. The home is the first environment where the child experiences and develops all his significant emotional, cognitive, social and physical characteristics. Although the importance of the home environment on academic success has long been recognized, the degree of this influence is in some dispute. Boocock²⁸ has noted:

²⁸Boocock, Sociology of Education..., p. 39.

Scholars have not, however, reached agreement on certain aspects of this fact: the strength and permanence of the effects of family background compared to other influences in a student's life; the way in which different patterns of child rearing affect school performance; and the extent to which the formal educational system can offset the effects of family background and experiences.

This issue becomes more sensitive to low income families when their ways of bringing up children and organizing families are criticized.²⁹

Nevertheless, family characteristics of urban and rural children have been used in investigating the outcomes of schooling in Thailand. Research areas studied have included socioeconomic status, parental aspiration in respect to their children's education, family resources, and some other family features. Unlike some other countries, race and religion are not important differentiating home characteristics in Thailand.

Income: The National Statistic Office (NSO) undertook a survey of income disparity between urban and rural groups in 1976.³⁰ The whole kingdom was grouped into the Bangkok, North, Northeast, South and the Central Plain regions with a total number of 12,189 households used for the analysis. Within each region incomes were investigated on a group basis in terms of residence (i.e. Municipal areas, Sanitary Districts, Villages).

As postulated, people in Bangkok had the highest incomes while those in the Northeast had the lowest. The difference between the

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰National Statistical Office: Office of the Prime Minister, Report: Socio-Economic Survey 1975-76: Whole Kingdom (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1977).

two regions was better than 2 to 1. People in Bangkok also saved more of their income which was not the case for rural families in the other regions. Rural people living in all four regions not only earned less but spent more than they earned.³¹ The general breakdown of income and expenditures is listed in Table I.

When income is categorized by career, rural people (farmers) also appear at the bottom. One can note, for example the average per capita income for a farmer was 21,531 baht while individual business were averaging 42,100 baht annually.³² In terms of the Northeast region, by simply analyzing existing figures, it has been noted that in 1981, given an average of six individuals in a household and average income of 4828.95 baht, the income per person works out to be 804,80 per year or slightly better than 67 baht per month which means about 2 baht per day which works out to less than 10 cents (U.S.) at the present exchange rate of \$1:23 baht.³³

Efforts at modernization of rural areas since World War II have not significantly altered this picture. The present socioeconomic conditions in the countryside still show a widening gap in income and living standards, including increased rural unemployment, that need to be addressed as a critical national issue.

³¹Ibid., p. 25 (Table A).

³²P. Saphianchai, "Punha Lukkan Rae Nawinome Khong Karnjudkarn-suksakhongthai (Guidelines for Thai Educational Management), Journal of the National Education Council 13 (October-November, 1978): 7.

³³Sarathade, "Punhakhong Parktawnokchaingnur (Conflicts and Problems of the Northeastern Region)," Maticchon 1 (February 1982): 5.

Table I

Average Annual Income and Expenditures

Region and Community Type	Household Size	Average annual income		Average annual expenditures	
		Household	Per capita	Household	Per capita
Whole Kingdom	5.47	23,136	4,230	24,048	4,396
Greater Bangkok	5.65	41,304	7,310	39,876	7,058
City core	5.64	46,392	8,226	43,884	7,781
Suburbs	5.60	40,536	7,239	40,560	7,243
Fringe Area	5.73	30,516	5,326	29,604	5,166
Central Region	5.24	27,000	5,153	28,500	5,439
Municipal Areas	5.11	42,324	8,283	40,980	8,020
Sanitary Districts	5.10	30,984	6,075	32,604	6,393
Villages	5.29	24,432	4,619	26,184	4,950
Southern Region	5.24	21,456	4,095	22,956	4,381
Municipal Areas	5.26	40,332	7,668	36,132	6,869
Sanitary Districts	4.94	23,160	4,688	26,232	5,310
Villages	5.28	18,012	3,411	20,268	3,839
Northern Region	5.05	18,432	3,650	19,104	3,783
Municipal Areas	4.79	41,628	8,691	37,728	7,876
Sanitary Districts	4.89	22,020	4,503	21,492	4,395
Villages	5.11	15,816	3,095	17,088	3,344
Northeastern Region	5.91	17,952	3,038	19,344	3,273
Municipal Areas	5.43	36,564	6,731	36,996	6,813
Sanitary Districts	5.60	27,144	4,847	27,696	4,946
Villages	5.98	15,636	2,615	17,304	2,894
Municipal Areas	5.15	40,224	7,810	37,812	7,342
Sanitary Districts	5.18	26,532	5,122	27,396	5,288
Villages	5.52	17,784	3,222	19,428	3,520

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Report: Socio-Economic Survey 1975-1976 Whole Kingdom (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1977), p. 25 (Table A).

The influence of income on schooling in general is certainly well accepted as a fact in Thailand and in other countries. One interesting piece of data regarding the College Board data in the U.S. has shown the relationship of income and students' scores in 1974.³⁴ This United States example can be used to support the consideration of rural children's low scholastic performance and their limited income families in Thailand as well. The test performance and incomes related are:

<u>Student's Score</u>	<u>Student's Mean Family</u>
750-800	\$24,124
700-749	21,980
650-699	21,292
600-649	20,330
550-599	19,481
500-549	18,824
450-499	18,122
400-449	17,387
350-399	16,182
300-349	14,355
250-299	11,428
200-249	8,639

Parents' education: Figures of parents' education available are from the National Education Commission's study of the third graders' family background in 1973-74.³⁵ The investigators sampled children from 986 primary schools and 1972 parents throughout the country.

³⁴James Fallows, "The Tests and the 'Brightest' How Fair are the College Boards?," Atlantic, February, 1980: 47.

³⁵Office of the National Education Commission, Raingankarnwichai-parsidtipap Rongrianprathomsuksa: Raingansapaptaurpai khong Bidamandaru Poopokkrongkhongnukrainprathom 3 (A Study of Primary School Efficiency: Homebackground Characteristics of Grade Three Pupils) (Bangkok: Office of the Secretary of Ministry Publisher, 1976), (Mimeographed).

Some major conclusions were:³⁶

- a. The fathers' educational level was usually higher than the mothers'.
- b. Parental educational achievement in Bangkok was the highest of all reporting areas.
- c. The lowest levels were reported for the North.
- d. Parents whose children are in schools under the Ministry of Education tend to have higher educational levels than parents whose children were in Municipal schools.
- e. The gap between urban and rural parents educational levels increased as higher levels were reported.
- f. The Northern region reported no parents with secondary or higher education.

In addition to educational levels, other differentiating urban-rural characteristics included:

Family size: The most commonly reported family size was 5 to 7.

Parents' help in child's schoolwork: Although the urban third graders received more help from their parents in schoolwork than did the rural children, the difference in percentage was not great. In general, both rural and urban children had been paid attention for schoolwork by family members quite well.³⁷

School absence: In this particular case, no significant differences were reported between urban and rural children. As a matter of

³⁶Ibid., pp. 65-66 (Tables 31 and 32).

³⁷Ibid., p. 56 (Table 15).

fact, the highest rate of absence (sickness) reported belonged to children in the Central Plain. Bangkok came in second.³⁸

Father's career: Careers were broken down into seven categories: 1 agriculture, 2 sales, 3 services, 4 professional, 5 government civil services, 6 industry, and 7 no career. Most fathers were found in agriculture which showed a 60.8 percentage.³⁹

Language used at home: It has been noted that not all regions are accustomed to the Central Plain dialect. Thus, children in the North, Northeast and the South have to face the conflicts of language used at home and at school. Listed below are the percentage of parents using central Thai at home.⁴⁰

Regions	Central Thai Language Used at Home	
	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Bangkok	79.5	87.2
Central Plains	76.0	79.9
North	31.9	31.0
Northeast	5.1	5.5
South	14.6	14.2
Average for whole country	35.1	37.1

Thus, the Northeast used Central Thai the least.

Parental attitudes toward education: All Thais seem to value education highly, thus regional differences center around the "ability

³⁸Ibid., p. 57 (Table 19).

³⁹Ibid., p. 61 (Table 25).

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 69 (Table 37).

to send children to school for longer periods."⁴¹

Number of books in home (pupils textbooks excluded): The number of books and periodicals in the home is an index of the learning environment. Overall, those households reporting having books, reported that number to be in the 1-10 category mostly. However, as Table 2 shows, most Thai households, no matter the regional location, have no books. Of the whole country the percentage of households reported as having no books is 69.9.⁴²

TABLE 2

Number of Books in Home Reported by Regions

No. of Books	Bangkok	Central Plain	Northeast	North	South	Average
1-10	14.0	13.3	14.5	14.6	14.7	14.1
11-20	7.8	3.6	3.3	3.2	8.6	4.8
21-40	4.3	1.9	0.4	1.3	3.6	1.9
41-60	2.7	2.4	0.7	0.6	2.6	1.6
61-80	0.4	0.5	0	0	0	0.2
81-100	3.1	1.9	1.0	0.3	1.0	1.3
100&up	5.0	3.6	8.1	5.2	7.6	6.2
None	62.7	72.8	72.0	74.8	61.9	69.9

Office of the National Education Commission, Raingkarnwichai-parsidtipap Rongrianprathomsuksa: Raingnasapap taurpai khong Bidamanda rue Poopokkrongkhongnukrianprathom 3 (A Study of Primary School Efficiency: Home Backgrounds Characteristics of Grade Three Pupils) (Bangkok: Office of the Secretary of Ministry Publishing, 1976) (Mimeographed).

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 82-83 (Tables 61 and 62).

⁴² Ibid., p. 73 (Table 43).

In fact, the percentage of households even in Bangkok having no books is slightly higher than in the poorer South. However, the lack of books in urban households can be compensated for by other media. This is usually not the case in rural households.

This same general picture applies in respect to periodicals. Households reporting "no periodicals" total 78.7 percent in Bangkok; 87.1 percent in the Central Plain; 91.3 percent in the North; 92.8 percent in the Northeast; 83.1 percent in the South, and the average of the whole country is 88.0 percent.⁴³

Other media and communication indices also reflect this gap between urban and rural households. These include television sets, telephones and radios.

Radio is the most important and pervasive medium for rural areas. Yet the number of radios outside the Central Plains is still low. Including Bangkok in the Central Plain, NSO had indicated the number of households with radios to be 64.23 percent in the Central Plain; 41.02 in the North; 33.32 in the Northeast; and 35.64 percent in the South. The average of the whole country was 44.52 percent.⁴⁴

Parents' career and educational level show increased influence when the level of children's schooling becomes higher. One report from 1976-77 noted that university students whose fathers were in

⁴³Ibid., p. 74 (Table 45).

⁴⁴National Statistical Office, "Statistical Yearbook of Thailand, 1967-69," Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics (September 1973).

"sales" formed the largest group at 38 percent.⁴⁵ Students whose fathers' occupations was listed as professional composed the next highest rank at 13.7 percent. The students whose families were farmers formed the very small group (10.3 percent).

III. School Characteristics. School is probably the second most important social environment of a child. Conclusions about the true significance of this environment have varied in published research reports, however. Coleman and Jencks, et al, for example, have downplayed this factor strongly. A special thought from Jencks, et al which is quite famous is that increasing school quality to make schools more equal does not have much impact upon equal educational opportunity, and the equal schooling opportunity also does not result in the reduction of poverty.⁴⁶

As Corwin⁴⁷ has further noted, it is not possible to precisely assess school success or failure on the school, home or the individual. Corwin did go so far as to hold, nevertheless, that school characteristics might make a difference for some children.

⁴⁵S. Nituangkorn and C. Vutisart, Research Report Series Number 23: The Distribution Flow of Education in the Formal School System in Thailand: An Analysis on Factors Affecting Scholastic Performance of Students at Different Levels of Education (Bangkok: Faculty of Economics, Thammasart University, 1980), p. 19 (Mimeographed).

⁴⁶Christopher Jencks, et al, Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972), cited by R.G. Corwin, Education in Crisis: A Sociological Analysis of Schools and Universities in Transition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), p. 145.

⁴⁷Ronald G. Corwin, Education in Crisis: A Sociological Analysis of Schools and Universities in Transition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974).

Such criticisms of school have been reinforced by other media which have stressed the unemployment problems of graduates and the bureaucratic nature of schools. In fact, answers to the question of how schools function has proven to be a difficult research problem. Doubts about benefits of schools have been posed as: "Schools are a mixture of bureaucratic and professional systems and are not functioning very well as either."⁴⁸ Boocock has also noted that schools are complex social organizations which make them sources of both interest and frustration to any social scientist. This has led her to conclude that, "... no researcher can actually 'observe' an entire school."⁴⁹

Thus, the supposed benefits of schools is itself subject to debate. For purposes of this study, the functions listed by McDill and Rigsby⁵⁰ would seem to have some validity and are used as guidelines in the discussion of school characteristics in Thailand: Their factors were: (1) community resources, i.e., community cultural resources, financial resources; and (2) formal organizational properties and educational necessities such as classroom size, teacher qualifications, and the like.

⁴⁸S.M. Dornbusch, "A Theory of Evaluation Applied to Schools," Paper presented at annual meeting, Sociological Research Association, New York, cited by S. Boocock, Sociology of Education: An Introduction 2nd ed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), p. 127.

⁴⁹Boocock, Sociology of Education..., p. 127.

⁵⁰Edward L. McDill and Leo C. Rigsby, Structure and Process in Secondary School: The Academic Impacts of Educational Climate (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973).

1. Community Characteristics and Resources: The reader is referred to urban and rural differences already described in Chapter II. The main new factor to consider is school location. Specifically, the distance of a school from Bangkok and other urban centers is an important factor affecting scholastic performance. A distance between home and school was examined by NEC's investigation in 1974 for its influence upon pupils' achievement.⁵¹

The Thai government, in cooperation with foreign agencies (i.e. UNESCO), has attempted to confront the rural environmental problems. Reading centers have been set up to increase communication and literacy. Mobile libraries have also been utilized. As of 1977, the latest report available, the Adult Education Department listed 328 existing rural libraries, 4 mobile libraries, 24 village reading centers, and 3,979 so called newspaper reading centers.⁵² These numbers of facilities cannot adequately reach all rural areas. Indeed, there are some provinces and districts that did not have even one library.

Lack of enriched environments has lead to many rural children losing interest in their homelands. Part of the problem lies with the lack of flexibility in the curriculum devised by the central government.

⁵¹Office of the National Education Commission, The Final Report: Factors Affecting Scholastic Achievement of the Primary School Pupils (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1977) (Mimeographed).

⁵²Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapapkarn-judkarnsuksa: Peekarnsuksa 1977 (A Report of the Schooling Management in the Educational Year 1977) (Bangkok: Statistics and Educational Analysis Division, Office of the National Education Commission, 1977), p. 104 (Table 37).

This along with the missing relationship between what is taught in school and what is found in rural life, have proven a hardship for rural teachers. As has been noted, the hidden message of the central curriculum is that the rural way of life is wrong. The unintended result is to encourage the bright children to leave the rural areas and seek their fortunes in towns.⁵³

School type and location: As has been noted, there is more than one agency controlling primary schools. Each school type is representative of its socioeconomic status which is also indicated by its location. For example, the schools under the General Education Department of Ministry of Education are often found in Bangkok and main districts. Such schools are often large and attended by mostly middle-class children. Their budgets are also usually larger than PAO schools.

Municipal schools tend to fall, in their socioeconomic characteristics, between MOE and PAO schools. Located in municipal areas, the financial base that supports them, the central government and local taxation, allow for larger budgets than PAO schools. So also related to budget size is municipality. Thus, there is some variation among these schools.

PAO schools are well known for their low socioeconomic status. Their general characteristics include small size, high student teacher

⁵³N. Bennett, "Commitments for Compulsory Education or Miseducation in Thailand? Some Alternative Strategies," Paper presented to the Seminar on "The New Face of Thai Education" held at Wang Kaew Garden, Rayong, 1-4 May 1973 (Mimeographed).

ratio, low budgets, limited educational facilities, and their usual location in remote villages.

The NEC (1977) also summarized factors affecting the scholastic performance of primary pupils (third grade) that applied to each type of school in the main. The variables appearing to be related to each school type most were ranked according to their significance as follows:⁵⁴

MOE's Schools

- pupils had attended kindergarten
- pupils did not usually repeat grades
- larger school size on average
- less pupil absence on average
- shorter distance to school on average

Municipal Schools

- pupils did not usually repeat grades
- less pupil absence on average
- high number of qualified teachers
- pupils' low socioeconomic backgrounds

Provincial Schools

- pupils' low socioeconomic background
- smaller school size on average
- pupils usually repeat grades
- teachers had low expectation on children's learning ability

⁵⁴Office of the National Education Commission, The Final Report: Factors Affecting Scholastic Achievement..., p. 41.

- large pupil teacher ratio
- pupils' poor health (measured by weight)
- pupils did not attend kindergarten

As one can see, not only are PAO schools limited in their educational resources, but they are also attended by children coming from low socioeconomic background. As rated by NEC in this study, the socioeconomic factor is one of the main influential variables that is responsible for poor schooling performance of children in PAO schools.

2. Formal Organization Characteristics: Provincial schools are marked by a lack of material and educational resources. Thus, poorer student performance is also a consequence of instruction by less-qualified teachers, low educational budgets, lack of teaching aids and so on. This disparity will be further shown in great detail in the topic of 'educational inputs between urban and rural schools'.

Evaluation: From what has been stated, one can conclude that in comparison to urban children, rural children come from poorer homes, attend poorer quality schools and score lower on measured tests of mental abilities. Of all three main factors: individual, home and school, and in most of all other variables considered, rural children were found to be inferior to urban children. Learning about this will help contribute to a better understanding of equal educational opportunity in Thailand in the following discussion.

Evidence of Unequal Educational Opportunity as Determined by "Unequal Access"

Equal access to school is the first criterion for determining whether urban and rural children have "equal" educational opportunity. The measurement of such access is often a matter of enrollment. Perfect 90 to 95 percent enrollment (at primary level) has not been found in too many countries.⁵⁵ In Southeast Asia, the percentage of this criterion decreases as schooling continues. Further, highest enrollment patterns are found in urban centers. Thailand falls into this general Southeast Asian picture.

As noted, a good deal of time elapsed before four years of education was made compulsory and a little over 90 percent enrollment was the highest ever achieved. Then, in 1960, compulsory education was extended to seven years but facilities and administration for such extensions were completed in only about 3,000 tambons (communes), less than half the actual number.

The 1978 educational plan then reduced compulsory education to six years. Such reduction was necessary for budgetary reasons and in order to make compulsory education universal in every tambon (commune) throughout the whole country as soon as possible. Yet this attempt still had not been successful, mainly because of financial restraints.

Actually, analysis of the results of the 1971-1976 educational plan suggested that enrollment in all schooling levels was increasing,

⁵⁵UNESCO, "A Review of Educational Progress in the Asian Region," Bulletin (The UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia) VI:1 (September, 1966), Table D.

but unequal access to those levels was reported and is still being reported in much literature and by government agencies. The annual report of formal education by the National Statistic Office (NSO) in 1978 indicated that Educational Region 11 had the highest percentage of students enrolled in the lower primary grades, 89.9; while Educational Region 1 had the lowest, 63.7 percent. This percentage situation was roughly reversed at the upper elementary level.⁵⁶

Educational Region 1 then had the highest secondary school enrollment, although only a meager 29.6 percent. Educational Region 11 had the lowest rate at 10.9 percent. The Bangkok metropolis accounted for 33.8 percent of total secondary school enrollment, whereas Kamphaeng Phet province was the lowest with 8.3 percent.⁵⁷

Upper secondary school enrollment is low nationwide, but again, Educational Region 1 reported the highest percentage (4.8) because there are large numbers of secondary schools in the Bangkok metropolitan area.⁵⁸

A 1981 enrollment report repeated the pattern in which enrollment decreases at the secondary and higher levels. So unequal access is a matter of both urban-rural incidence and educational levels. This 1981 breakdown is reported in Table 3.

⁵⁶National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1978 Statistic on Academic Stream..., p. 25.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 25 (Also Table 12).

⁵⁸Ibid.

TABLE 3

A Comparison of School Aged Students and Population by
the Percentage (1981)

Levels	Age Range	No. of Students	No. School Aged Population	Students/Population %	Whole Students %
Pre-primary	4-6	379,400	4,120,302	9.21	3.77
Primary	7-12	7,499,219	7,711,194	96.60	74.01
Lower Secd	13-15	1,106,791	3,555,712	31.13	10.99
Upper Secd	16-19	884,075	4,303,731	20.54	8.78
Higher & Eqv	19-24	235,092	5,600,845	4.19	2.45
Total		10,065,882	24,268,404	41.48	100.00

Summarized from: The Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Sathiti karnsuka chabubyor: Peekarnsuksa 1981 (Brief Educational Statistics: Educational Year 1981), (Bangkok: Aksronsuwan Press, 1981), Table 3, p. 22.

Such enrollment reductions at secondary and higher schooling levels are not unusual. It is just that in Thailand, again, like in some other countries, these reductions also widen the gap between urban and rural enrollments. The figures are especially striking when comparing Bangkok and the Northeast.

Why unequal access to schooling exist. Factors that affect unequal access are numerous. It has been shown that such unequal access exists between urban and rural areas, among levels of schooling, especially between the so-called transitional grades, between municipal and nonmunicipal areas of the same province, and so on. Although three main factors (individual, home and school) do play a

significant role, some other interesting features needed to be mentioned.

The relative lack of schools and colleges in rural areas. Indeed, many tambons are not even equipped to operate the six years of compulsory education. As Table 4 shows, only Bangkok offers the six year process in all its tambons. All other regions report numerous tambons not offering such education. The school shortage has been realized by the government, stating that "... the demand for schooling exists, but that the number of accessible places is insufficient."⁵⁹

TABLE 4

Number of Tambons Offering Compulsory Education

Regions	No. Tambons	No. of Tambons with compulsory education	%
Bangkok met	66	66	100.00
Central Plains	1657	1080	65.18
South	890	574	64.49
North	1168	804	68.84
Northeast	1763	1127	63.93
	5478	3585	65.84
Total	5544	3651	65.85

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapap-karnjudkarnsuksa: Peekarnsuksa 1977 (A Report of the Schooling Management in the Educational Year 1977) (Bangkok: Statistics and Educational Analysis Division, Office of the National Education Commission, 1977), p. 17 (Table 3).

⁵⁹Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary School in Thailand..., p. 17.

Secondary school is also limited in many provinces. Students who want to further their education must migrate to the main district, town, or city. Since Bangkok is reported to have the highest number of secondary schools with the best qualified teachers, this city has been the ideal place for many rural students who can and cannot afford such migration. In Table 5, of the total 1,437 secondary schools in the country, 107 of them (7.8 percent) are located in Greater Bangkok. Percentagewise Greater Bangkok has the largest proportion of secondary schools in spite of the fact that 107 is not the highest number of secondary schools in a region. In each educational region there are four to five provinces combined. In some of these regions, the percentage of secondary schools can be as low as 2.0 percent.

TABLE 5

Number and Percentage of Secondary Schools to All Schools by Region 1980

Educational Region	All Schools	Secondary Schools	Percent
Whole Kingdom	35,149	1,437	4.1
Region Bangkok Metropolis	1,378	107	7.8
Region 1 (Excluding Bangkok Metropolis)	1,107	80	7.2
Region 2	1,203	49	4.1
Region 3	2,779	121	4.4
Region 4	1,006	47	4.7
Region 5	2,109	101	4.8
Region 6	2,326	117	5.0
Region 7	3,756	143	3.8
Region 8	4,004	129	3.2
Region 9	3,971	89	2.2
Region 10	4,560	89	2.0
Region 11	4,688	137	2.9
Region 12	2,262	107	4.7

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1980 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province (Bangkok: Office of the Under Secretary, Ministry of Education, 1980), p. 15

The selection process. Rural students have to compete with urban students in primary, secondary and college entrance examinations. Most of these examinations are uniform and often work a hardship for rural students wanting to take them.

The above factor is mitigated by the fact that rural individuals normally do not need or desire higher education if they have to move out from their hometown. But it is true that a degree does involve mobility on the part of the rural candidate.

Evidence of Unequal Access Between Urban and Rural Areas

1. Unequal access at the pre-primary level: Unequal access at this level is not surprising because, not being compulsory, it is not necessary to offer it. As of 1978 report, 33 percent of the 4,437 pre-primary schools were found in rural locales.⁶⁰ Only 1.7 percent of these schools are managed by the government (Ministry of Education) as an example to be followed. A further 30 percent are private schools. Figures in Table 6 confirm the fact that this kind of schooling is still basically an urban phenomenon. Of the 78.4 percent of Thais who make up the rural population (farmers), only 23.6 percent have children in pre-primary schools. The index of rural children's educational opportunity is the lowest. The following Table 6 summarizes pre-primary attendance according to parental occupation.

⁶⁰G. Fry, "Taubongcheekwarmtawtiam rae kwarmsamurpark tangkarnsuksa nai pratadethai," (An Indication of Equality and Educational Opportunity in Thailand) trans. K. Pungkanon, et al, Journal of the National Education Council 15 (August-October, 1981): 57.

TABLE 6

Parents' Careers Related to Their Children Being in Pre-Primary Schools

Parents' Career	Population %	Parents %	Index of Opportunity*
Farmers	78.4	23.6	.30
Traders	6.8	16.8	2.47
Civil Services	5.2	28.7	5.52
Unskilled and Skilled Laborers	9.6	30.9	3.22

*The index is devised by dividing the percentage of parents having children in school by the percentage of those parents holding the specific occupation.

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Rainganphon-karnwichai Karnjudsoondekkonwairain naiprathadethai:1978 (A Report of Pre-Primary School Management in Thailand) cited by G. Fry, "Taubong-cheekwarmtawtiam rae karmsamurpark tangkarnsuksa nai pratadethai...", p. 57.

2. Unequal access at the first grade: A 1973-74 report by the NEC categorized access to first grade by region and province. Enrollment among the regions was not significantly different.⁶¹ The imbalance became sharper when reference was made to the individual provinces, especially those located in the same region. The following table shows the unequal access of high and low provincial ratio for each region.

⁶¹Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand..., p. 16 (Table 8).

TABLE 7

High and Low Province Adjusted Grade 1 Enrollment
Ratio by Region

Central Plain	113.9 (Chanthaburi)	64.1 (Ratchaburi)
South	147.8 (Chumporn)	60.7 (Narathiwat)
North	119.4 (Phrae)	57.4 (Mae Hong Son)
Northeast	110.6 (Sri Sa Ket)	69.7 (Khon Kaen)

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand: Equality of Educational Opportunity (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panish Press Co., LTD., 1976), p. 17 (Table 9).

3. Unequal access at the two transitional grades: Grade 5 and Mawsaw 1. The factor of unequal access is especially important in student movement within the "transitional grades; i.e., between the primary and secondary levels, going from Grade 4 to Grade 5, and between lower and upper secondary. Two governmental studies are significant in this respect.

Kom Wichakarn of Ministry of Education (1974-75) reported that transfer to Grade 5 is low in 46 provinces, medium in 20 provinces, and high in only 5 provinces (64.8, 28.1 and 7.1 percent respectively). Most of provinces with low enrollment at this level are located in the Northeast. This picture is just a little better in respect to secondary (Mawsaw 1) enrollment. The low, medium, and high groups became 35, 26, and 19 provinces (50.0, 36.6, and 13.4 percent

respectively).⁶²

The NEC undertook a similar enrollment study for the period of 1968 to 1974.⁶³ An increasing rate of enrollment was reported for most provinces over this time span in the transitional grades, but Bangkok still reported the highest rate of increase at both Grade 5 and Mawsaw 1. While the percentage of increased enrollment in Bangkok at Mawsaw 1 is 16.2 in 1974, other rural provinces are reported to be low and even decreased in their enrollments of the same grade level.⁶⁴ At least 22 out of 72 provinces show the unsatisfactory rate of secondary students' continuation onto secondary schools. This NEC reports the survival rates by province and is shown in Table 8.

4. Unequal access at Mawsaw 1 and IV. The next highest transitional period takes place between lower and upper secondary level. The fewer rural students enrolling at Mawsaw 4 also indicates the fewer number of rural college students.

Investigations on this topic were done by either researchers using such variables as parental occupation and their residence in all

⁶²Kom Wichakarn, Ministry of Education, Karn Suksa Witeetang Rare Owekard Tangkarnsuksa Kong Prachachon (The Study of Strategy and Educational Opportunity of People (Bangkok: Kom Wichakarn, Ministry of Education, 1975), Table 24.

⁶³Office of the National Education Commission, Raingarn wichai ruang: Owekardkarnkaukarnsuksa nai chan mathayomsuksatontone (Report of the Study of Educational Opportunity at Lower Secondary Level) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978) (Mimeographed).

⁶⁴Ibid.

TABLE 8

Rate of Enrollment at Two Transitional Grades: Prathom 5
and Mawsaw 1 of Two Different Periods 1968 and 1974

Provinces	Grade 5 Rate of Enrollment (Different Groups)		M.S.I. Rate of Enrollment (Cohort)	
	1968	1974	1968	1974
Bangkok Metropolis	77.78	88.46	80.76	96.95
Nonthaburi	50.57	84.37	91.08	98.74
Pathum Thani	33.89	63.49	67.71	76.63
Nakhon Pathom	34.38	76.35	82.50	83.95
Samut Prakan	48.60	78.30	87.24	82.84
Samut Songkhram	31.78	63.10	59.43	60.49
Pattani	38.77	58.42	86.25	75.98
Narathiwat	38.93	54.83	76.68	71.89
Yala	49.21	72.26	98.33	93.26
Satun	32.03	51.49	88.45	90.96
Chumporn	42.77	66.47	84.33	93.77
Nakhon Si Thammarat	32.88	57.04	84.01	92.21
Phatalung	31.77	53.95	80.26	93.95
Songkla	41.60	61.48	90.10	94.05
Surat Thani	37.42	55.15	81.59	90.09
Trang	32.00	53.40	84.34	92.57
Phangnga	40.23	66.22	70.93	73.21
Puket	77.47	102.12	83.46	87.93
Ranong	46.18	64.38	82.32	88.55
Krabi	26.50	50.51	80.42	98.64
Prare	30.88	59.99	94.72	92.56
Lampang	34.17	52.66	96.11	89.45
Lamphun	22.17	47.31	81.31	80.39
Mai Hong Son	35.69	56.85	89.08	76.32
Khon Khan	18.16	43.01	77.12	88.75
Loei	17.76	46.46	87.22	86.85
Sakon Nakhon	16.82	41.16	85.97	81.00
Nong Khai	18.73	38.82	93.25	79.69
Udon Thani	15.82	30.18	94.11	89.70
Kalasin	17.58	41.69	70.89	87.11
Nakhon Phanom	21.56	40.07	77.53	76.81
Maha Sarakham	17.66	43.18	81.32	87.89
Roi Et	16.38	37.59	77.34	72.79
Ubon	18.77	35.17	80.03	79.49
Yaso Thon	--	37.33	--	70.60
Chaiyapoom	18.79	31.54	70.04	87.40
Nakhon Ratchasima	18.55	35.77	85.67	83.60
Buri Rum	12.29	29.27	77.44	81.00
Si Sa Ket	15.72	44.53	68.73	75.18

TABLE 8 (continued)

Provinces	Grade 5 Rate of Enrollment (Different Groups)		M.S.I. Rate of Enrollment (Cohort)	
	1968	1974	1968	1974
Surin	17.43	31.67	75.89	81.79
Chanthaburi	32.94	36.30	75.14	68.50
Chachoengsao	39.38	54.19	83.98	77.66
Chon Buri	43.22	54.40	84.27	85.74
Trat	33.66	66.49	71.43	66.02
Nakhon Nayok	39.49	60.76	88.62	88.60
Prachin Buri	25.60	39.73	78.96	84.80
Rayong	30.78	43.72	68.16	82.60
Kanchanaburi	29.43	42.68	64.84	80.31
Prachuap	31.40	49.83	78.07	85.64
Petchaburi	36.74	62.09	84.12	84.80
Rachaburi	37.16	52.65	89.30	87.24
Samut Songkram	72.88	93.96	62.96	61.65
Supanburi	25.88	41.29	71.39	80.50
Chai Nat	30.24	54.05	75.82	87.40
Ayutthaya	39.44	60.56	83.00	86.61
Lop Buri	40.78	53.62	79.39	83.38
Saraburi	33.22	51.85	83.27	91.25
Sing Buri	46.65	87.30	82.80	97.63
Ang Thong	44.48	74.44	84.15	92.93
Uthai Thani	36.73	60.00	66.79	81.56
Kamphan Phet	14.05	33.25	55.01	73.74
Tak	30.07	52.15	68.06	82.05
Nakhon Sawan	25.75	55.82	80.69	82.21
Phichit	20.05	44.46	78.79	82.16
Phitsanulok	23.90	47.58	88.20	87.93
Petchaboon	17.67	35.76	71.07	84.50
Sukothai	20.20	39.49	84.13	84.39

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Rainganwichai ruang: Owekardkarnkawkarnsuksa nai chanmathayomsuksatontone..., pp. 43-45 (Table III) (Mimeographed).

regions.⁶⁵ Table 9 and Table 10 show that rural students from farming backgrounds in all regions have the least chance to continue their secondary schooling at both lower and upper levels. Even laborers' children have a better chance of enrollment at both schooling levels than farmers' children (except in the Northeast region and at Mawsaw I). Yet, students and their farming parents make up the bulk of the secondary school population and total population.

One can note, for example, that at Mawsaw I in the Central Plain, farm parents make up 70 percent of the population in the region, and students from this background make up 26 percent of the student body, but their index of opportunity is only 0.37. Students whose parents are in Services and Professionals, although much fewer in the population composition (6 and 2 percent respectively), have their index of opportunity for school enrollment as high as 4.83 (Services) and 4.50 (Professionals).

In conclusion, from these studies, it can be clearly seen that access to secondary schools in the different regions varies with the predominant social and economic status of the region. Thus, children of parents in "Services" have the best chance in most of all regions, except in the South at Mawsaw I, and IV and in the Central Plain at Mawsaw IV. The stable incomes of the Service group (civil service

⁶⁵Office of the National Education Commission, Kwarsamurparkkhong-gorekard tangkarnsuksa: Raingankarnwikrakarnkrachai khong orekardtangkarnsuksa nairadubmathayomsuksa naitarapark (Equal Educational Opportunity: A Report of the Analysis of the Distribution of Educational Opportunity at the Secondary Level in Each Region) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978) (Mimeographed).

TABLE 9

Students' Background and Their Opportunity for Secondary School: M.S.I

	Northeast			North			South			Central Plains		
	% population	% M.S.I students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S.I students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S.I students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S.I students	index of opportunity
Parents' Careers	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1
Professionals	2	2	1.00	2	4	2.00	3	8	2.33	2	9	4.50
Business	1	1	1.00	1	5	5.00	1	7	7.00	1	1	1.00
Sales	4	9	2.25	6	22	3.67	8	14	1.75	9	30	3.33
Services	3	20	6.67	3	21	7.00	5	11	2.20	6	29	4.83
Farmers	86	65	0.76	81	38	0.47	76	43	0.57	70	26	0.37
Laborers	4	3	0.75	7	10	1.43	7	17	2.43	12	5	0.42
Total	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Kwarnsamurpark-khongorekard tangkarnsuksa: Raingankarnwikharkarnkrachaikhong orekard tangkarnsuksa nairadubmathayomuksa naitarapark (Equal Educational Opportunity: A Report of the Analysis of the Distribution of Educational Opportunity at the Secondary Level in Each Region) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978), p. 17 (Table I) (mimeographed).

TABLE 10

Students' Background and Their Opportunity for Secondary School: M.S. IV

	Northeast			Central Plains			South			North		
	% population	% M.S. IV students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S. IV students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S. IV students	index of opportunity	% population	% M.S. IV students	index of opportunity
Parents' Careers	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1	1	2	2/1
Business	1	2	2.00	1	14	14.00	1	5	5.00	1	2	2.00
Sales	4	12	3.00	9	23	2.56	8	14	1.75	6	28	4.67
Services & Professionals	3	26	8.67	8	23	2.87	8	20	2.50	4	21	5.25
Farmers	88	57	0.65	70	34	0.49	76	48	0.63	82	41	0.50
Laborers	4	3	0.75	12	6	0.50	7	13	1.86	7	8	1.14
Total	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00	100	100	1.00

*Northern region: other careers were excluded.

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Kwarmsamurpark khongorekard tangkarnsuksa..., p. 18 (Table II).

workers are the main component of this group), play a significant role in schooling at these levels which are no longer free or compulsory. In the South where the dominating career is in the Business and Industry categories, children of these people have the best chance in their schooling.

5. Unequal access at the university level. As the ladder of schooling is ascended, the unequal access between urban and rural children becomes much more evident. Various studies, official and private, have often reported the wide gaps of college enrollment of students coming from various backgrounds. All studies have arrived at the same general conclusions: students from Bangkok or those whose parents are in business or commerce have the highest rate of enrollment. There is increased optimism in respect to more enrollment of rural students because, since 1964, universities have appeared in all regions. Before this date, a university education entailed migration to the Greater Bangkok area.

However, the above optimism has to be tempered by two reports, one from the Bureau of State Universities and the other from the NEC, covering the years 1972-75 and 1977-78 respectively. The first report clearly showed that the highest enrollment rates still belonged to students from Bangkok (40.50 percent in 1974-75) and students whose parents were in private business and trading (50.78 percent in

1974-75).⁶⁶

The later NEC study also confirmed both of those findings but with a little change in percentages. There were 48 percent of Bangkok students and 53 percent of students whose parents were holding positions in trades and commerces, having chances to entrance into higher institutions.⁶⁷

The following Tables 11 and 12 show university student enrollments in respect to parental residence and occupation.

Further, in Table 13, one can note the difference of enrollment rates from primary to higher education showing that urban students living in the Bangkok area have the best opportunity in the country for their schooling.

Also, as shown in Table 14, although living in the same province, the rural children's school attendance are still unequal by their municipal and nonmunicipal residential sectors.

⁶⁶Bureau of State Universities, Raingankarnsobkudliak kausuksator nai satabunudomsuksa (Report of the Entrance Examination in Higher Educational Institute, cited by R. Timpanpong, "Okard tangkarnsuksa radubudomsuksa (Educational Opportunity at Higher Educational Level) Journal of the National Education Council 13 (October-November, 1978) : 28, (Table 2 and 3).

⁶⁷Office of the National Education Commission, Raingan polkarnwichaikarnsuksa radubudomsuksa (Report of the Study of Higher Education, 1978), cited by G. Fry, "Taubongcheeqarm tautiam rae karnsamurpark tangkarnsuksa nai patedthai (The Indication of Equality and Educational Opportunity in Thailand)," Trans K. Pungkanon et al, Journal of the National Education Council 16 (August-September 1981)

TABLE 11

Percentage of Students Passing the Examination for Higher
Institutions Classified by Parents' Careers

Parents' Careers	% students passing the examination			
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
Trades & Business	53.39	52.26	50.39	50.78
Civil Service	24.11	23.57	24.99	23.38
Farmers	5.87	5.32	6.84	7.43
Services	9.42	11.83	10.84	11.21
Others	6.36	5.13	4.50	4.04
No Indication	0.81	1.56	2.44	3.16

Source: Bureau of the State Universities, Raingankarnsobkudliakkawsuksa naisatabunudomsuksa Peekarnsuksa 1972-73, 1973-74, 1974-75 (Report of the Entrance Examination at Higher Educational Level, 1972-1975) cited by R. Timpanphong, "Orkardthangkarnsuksa (Educational Opportunity at the Higher Level," Journal of the National Education Council 13 (October-November, 1978), : 28, (Table 2).

TABLE 12

Percentage of Students Passing the Examination for Higher
Institutions Classified by Residential Areas

Residential Areas	% students passing the examination		
	1973-74	1974-75	1978*
Bangkok Metropolitan	46.67	40.50	54.08
Central Plains	6.19	7.62	6.74
North	10.07	12.48	7.28
Northeast	8.17	19.99	7.61
East	7.52	8.15	7.41
South	12.87	12.85	8.64
West	7.82	7.74	8.21
Others	0.69	0.68	
			100% (11,528)

Source: Bureau of The State Universities, Raingankarnsobkudliakkawsuksa ..., p. 28 (Table 3).

*Figures 1978: M. Smithisumpan, "Kwammmaisamurpark tangudomsuksa (Unequality of Higher Education)" Kurupritud 5 (October, 1980): 47.

TABLE 13

Percentages of Students of Various Levels of Education
Expressed as a Percentage of Enrollment in the Lower
Primary Level by Educational Regions

Educational Regions	Lower Primary	Upper Primary	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary	University
Bangkok	100	57.6	48.5	37.0	22.5
Edu. Region 1	100	51.0	23.5	8.5	1.5
Edu. Region 2	100	28.1	14.7	5.9	0.9
Edu. Region 3	100	33.3	22.5	7.2	1.7
Edu. Region 4	100	33.6	18.8	5.8	0.5
Edu. Region 5	100	32.2	17.0	5.0	0.5
Edu. Region 6	100	38.2	21.9	6.4	1.0
Edu. Region 7	100	26.0	12.4	9.1	4.0
Edu. Region 8	100	26.3	14.6	5.4	2.4
Edu. Region 9	100	23.6	11.7	3.9	1.0
Edu. Region 10	100	23.5	11.8	3.3	0.7
Edu. Region 11	100	20.7	10.0	3.0	0.7
Edu. Region 12	100	30.1	16.7	4.4	1.1

Source: Educational Statistics, Planning Division, Office of the Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education, Bangkok, Thailand (Mimeographed), in Klin-Keo P. Chintanakanda, "The Role of Investment in Education in Thailand's Economic and Social Development (1961-1976)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1980), p. 57 (Table 2.12).

TABLE 14

Rate of School Attendance of Children and Youth
by Age, by Region, by Municipal/Village, 1975

	Total	4-6	7-9	10-14	15-19	20-24
Kingdom	38.9	6.3	11.4	72.4	24.3	5.1
1) Municipal	58.6	27.4	85.2	89.7	59.3	19.8
2) Non-Municipal	35.7	3.7	69.6	69.7	17.7	2.1
Bangkok	56.8	21.2	83.1	89.8	57.6	21.7
1) Municipal	59.2	25.6	85.0	91.0	61.0	24.0
2) Non-Municipal	46.2	6.1	76.0	84.2	40.5	9.7
Central	42.2	9.8	74.2	76.3	53.3	4.8
1) Municipal	57.1	29.6	84.2	88.2	53.3	11.9
2) Non-Municipal	40.6	8.1	73.2	75.1	23.3	3.9
Northern	39.5	6.9	77.5	71.5	19.2	3.0
1) Municipal	62.6	43.8	89.5	88.2	60.1	15.5
2) Non-Municipal	38.0	5.1	76.9	70.4	16.3	2.0
Northeast	29.9	1.1	63.2	61.6	12.3	1.2
1) Municipal	53.5	8.9	82.4	86.0	55.7	14.1
2) Non-Municipal	30.0	.5	62.5	60.7	10.3	.5
Southern	44.3	6.1	72.2	85.1	33.6	3.8
1) Municipal	58.8	27.6	86.4	89.0	59.4	11.7
2) Non-Municipal	42.5	3.9	70.6	84.6	30.1	2.8

Source: National Statistical Office (NSO), The Children and Youth Survey: 1975, cited by W. Naiyavitit and E.A. Tan, Research Report Number 26: The Distribution Flow of Education in the Formal School System: Analysis on Distribution of Educational Attainment (Bangkok: Faculty of Economics, Thammasart University, 1980), p. 7, Table 2.

Evidence of Unequal Educational Opportunity as Determined by "Unequal Resource (Educational Inputs) Allocation"

Overall, more educational resources are allocated to urban than to rural schools and to higher than to lower educational levels. According to Bennette, this syndrome, peculiar to many developing countries, is the result of choosing a prestige type of education over concern for all grades.⁶⁸

The Thai educational budget increasingly reflects more expenditures on secondary and higher education than on primary, despite the high social returns from the latter. This trend has been confirmed by a number of studies (Blaug,⁶⁹ Chintanakanda,⁷⁰ etc.) which also criticizes the implications involved.

This unequal allocation also exists between urban and rural schools. At the same time, because rural people earn less, they are unable to contribute as much to their schools and income is both a consequence of educational attainment and one of the causes of continued unequal resource allocation. The lower educational quality in rural areas is affected by such factors as an inadequate number of qualified teachers, high student-teacher ratios, inadequate facilities, and minimum budgets. As a 1974 report showed, during 1970-73, Bangkok

⁶⁸N. Bennett, Barriers and Bridges..., p. 18.

⁶⁹M. Blaug, The Rate of Return to Investment in Education in Thailand (Bangkok: The National Education Council, 1970).

⁷⁰Klin-keo P. Chintanakanda, "The Role of Investment in Education in Thailand's Economic and Social Development (1961-1976)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1980).

received the highest expenditure per pupil in two out of three years while the Northeast received the least.⁷¹

Why Unequal Resource Allocation Exist: Unlike unequal access which can be adversely affected by such variables as residence and school location, resource allocation is significantly affected by the educational administration system.

Teachers obviously are unevenly distributed in rural areas, especially in sensitive districts (along borders) and villages that cannot be reached by any kind of transportation. Although all teachers receive the same benefits and pay, and rural teachers tend to have a higher social status in the villages than the city teachers, most teachers still prefer working in city rather than rural schools. The reasons they list center around the safety, and lack of higher educational opportunities for themselves and family members. Normal incentives such as promotions, salary raises, housing which are often less evident in many rural schools are additional factors.

Rural teachers and educational administrators have presented the problems caused by the welfare, working conditions and economic structures specific to their rural situation. Some authorities have concluded that it is the number and quality of the teachers in rural areas that are the main bottle necks to educational development.

For the budget allocation there is no ready answer as to why rural schools are also shortaged in respect to their educational finances.

⁷¹Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling..., Table G.

In simple terms, the budget system works as follows: budget requests are generated in the various districts and forwarded to the district authority, and then to the provincial authority. The individual school request seems to be the determining factors (at the local level). However, one study has shown that large district requests tend to be increased at the province headquarters while a small request will be cut further.⁷² For example, one can note that one district request 732 baht per pupil for recurring expense (the highest rate of budget requested in 1972 at the lower primary level), and this figure was increased to 1023 baht by the provincial authorities when sending requests to the central agency, with the final figure of 841 baht approved. Conversely, on original district requests for the same item of 132 baht the final figure became 43 baht. This variation could be quite extensive.⁷³

Research analysis has shown that unequal resource allocation can be grouped into school and nonschool factors. The first relates to such items as administration, the specific budget, and educational planning. The second refers to individual ability, home, school and community resources. This last set of factors have already been discussed.

⁷²Frank Farmer, Project to Improve School Finance Practices in Thailand, Six Quarterly Report, p. 47 cited by R. Kawedang, "Ngobpraman kubkarmsamurparkkhongkarnsuksa (Budgets and Equal Educational Opportunity) Journal of the National Education Council 12 (October-November, 1977), 26 (Table 3).

⁷³Ibid.

Thus, school factors can further be broken down into human and nonhuman factors.

a. Human factors: These include teachers, students, personnel, and administrators.

b. Nonhuman factors: These are related to other elements of the educational process such as school plant, budgets, instructional aids, and all those educational processes designed to improve educational outcomes.

Resource Allocation Related to Human Factors

Human Factors: Teachers in Thailand are qualified by reference to seven categories. Each classified teacher is different in levels of teacher training and number of years of formal education. In the discussion of urban and rural teachers' qualification, the main emphasis will be limited to the first three categories. The classification of teachers by their qualifications are as follows:⁷⁴

1. Bachelor's degree or equivalent and graduate degree: Teachers holding a bachelor's degree have either six years of teacher education after the completion of Grade 10 or four years after the secondary school, M.S. 5 (Grade 12).

2. Diploma in Education or equivalent: It requires at least four years of teacher education after Grade 10 or two years if the individual has had 12 years of formal schooling. This diploma is called Higher Paw Kaw Saw, or Lower Paw Kaw Saw if a student teacher has only two years of teacher education after Grade 10.

⁷⁴National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1978 Statistics on Academic Stream..., p. 22.

3. Certificate or equivalent: Upon completing teacher training college, a student teacher can obtain a Certificate in Education called Paw Paw.

Others are: Pre-Primary Teaching Certificate (teachers with one year of teacher education after completing Grade 10 or M.S. 3); other Lower Teaching Certificate (teachers with two years in teacher education after Grade 6; Vocational Certificates (teachers with three years of vocational courses after completing Grade 10 or M.S. 3); and General Grade Certificate (teachers with courses of instruction from regular secondary schools, religious schools, etc.).

The discussion of educational inputs as referred to 'Human Factors' will be centered around:

- Number of qualified teachers in each schooling level
- Teachers' formal education classified by regions
- Teachers' professional education classified by regions
- Teachers' achievement tests
- Teacher-student ratio
- Teaching loads and hours
- Teacher shortages and 'One-Teacher' schools

'Nonhuman Factors' will be related to:

- Government subsidy and local incomes
- Recurring expenditure
- Capital expenditure
- Budget allocation at educational levels

1. Number of qualified teachers in each school level: From 1957 to 1974, the rise in the number of qualified teachers at the primary level was clear. One report indicated that in 1954 only 30 percent of primary teachers were certified. By 1974 this figure had risen to 70 percent.⁷⁵ Another report covering the period 1964-1977 noted the sharp rise in teachers at all levels holding the Bachelor's degree, or higher, those holding the Diploma in education, and diplomas in vocational education and the corresponding drop of those holding only lower certificates.⁷⁶

At the different levels, primary schools still show more less qualified teachers than those at the secondary level. As of 1980, only 7.8 percent of primary school teachers had the Bachelor's degree or higher. But 54.0 percent had the Diploma and 28.5 percent had two years of teaching education while the remainder (9.7 percent) had one year of teacher training after Grade 10. Secondary school teachers made up the largest teaching group holding the Bachelor's degree, 52.1 percent. A further 38.1 percent held the Diploma and 9.3 percent the 'Certificate in Education'. Thus, only 0.5 percent of secondary school teachers held less than the certificate qualifying measure. The total

⁷⁵Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Faculty of Education, Srinakarinwirot University, Final Report: Project Element (C) (a): Development of Mechanisms and Instruments for the Assessment and Improvement of Practice Teaching at the Primary Level, as a Basis for Quality Improvement of Pre-Service Teacher Education in Primary Teacher Education Institution: Project Report Vol. 1 (Bangkok: Rungriangtum Publisher, 1977), p. 1.

⁷⁶National Statistical Office, Office of the Priminster, 1978 Statistics on Academic Stream..., p. 24.

number of teachers and their qualifications in each school level are shown in Table 15.

2. Teachers Formal Education Classified by Regions: An NEC study of the period 1972-1974 sampled 1000 third-grade teachers according to whether they taught at private, MOE, municipal, or PAO schools.⁷⁷ The sample came from 52 provinces and 148 districts and was composed of 51.7 percent male and 48.33 female teachers. Most teachers (46.30) were between 20-29 years of age. The study attempted to comprehensively relate innumerable characteristics and attitudes by region and in the country as a whole.

The major findings were that 63.5 percent of the sample population had only 10 years of formal education, slightly over 5 percent had 11 years, about 11.65 percent had between 11-12 years of formal education. In Table 16, teachers in the Bangkok area showed the highest percentage of those with 11-12 years of formal education, of those with Bachelor degrees, and also reported the highest achievement test scores.⁷⁸ Various of these characteristics are shown in each table separately.

3. Teachers Professional Education Classified by Regions and School Type: A more recent (1979) report reemphasized the continuing differences between the professional qualifications of urban and rural teachers when it was noted that although the primary teachers under the administration of PAO formed the majority of teacher group

⁷⁷Office of the National Education Commission, Rainganwichaiprasidtipap Rongrianprathomsuksa..., Chapter 2.

⁷⁸Ibid.

TABLE 15

Number and Percentage of Teachers by Qualification
and Type of Institution 1980

Type of Institution	วุฒิ Qualification									
	จำนวน Number					ส่วนร้อย Percent				
	รวม Total	ปริญญาตรี หรือสูงกว่า Bachelor's Degree or Higher	อนุปริญญา หรือ เทียบเท่า Dip. in Ed. or Equivalent	ป.ศ. และ ประกาศ นียบัตร อาชีว Cert. in Ed. and Voc. Cert.	ต่ำกว่า ป.ศ. Lower Teaching Certificate	รวม Total	ปริญญาตรี หรือสูงกว่า Bachelor's degree or Higher	อนุปริญญา หรือ เทียบเท่า Dip. in Ed. or Equivalent	ป.ศ. และ ประกาศ นียบัตร อาชีว Cert. in Ed. and Voc. Cert.	ต่ำกว่า ป.ศ. Lower Teaching Certificate
1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total All Types	416,729	63,039	204,351	104,772	44,567	100.0	15.1	49.0	25.2	10.7
Public School	369,674	60,048	188,334	91,838	29,454	100.0	16.3	50.9	24.8	8.8
Elementary	299,473	23,448	161,573	85,292	29,160	100.0	7.8	54.0	28.5	9.7
Secondary	70,201	36,600	26,761	6,546	294	100.0	52.1	38.1	9.3	0.5
Private School	47,055	2,991	16,017	12,934	15,113	100.0	6.4	34.0	27.5	32.1

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, 1980
Statistics on Education Stream..., p. 10 (Table 4).

TABLE 16

Teachers' Formal Education Classified by Region

Levels of Formal Education	BK		CP		N		Regions NE		S		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
G. 4 and below	--	--	7	3.48	8	5.03	13	3.79	8	5.26	36	3.65
5	--	--	5	2.49	3	1.89	7	2.04	4	2.63	19	1.93
6	--	--	4	1.99	1	0.63	18	5.25	3	1.97	26	2.63
7	3	2.31	13	6.47	13	8.18	26	7.58	10	6.58	65	6.59
M.S. 1	3	2.31	3	1.49	7	4.40	5	1.46	2	1.32	20	2.03
2	1	0.77	4	1.99	5	3.14	1	0.29	1	0.66	12	1.22
3	92	70.77	118	58.71	94	59.12	226	65.89	95	62.50	627	63.53
4	5	3.85	12	5.97	6	3.77	18	5.25	9	5.92	50	5.07
5-6	22	16.92	33	16.42	19	11.95	24	7.00	17	11.18	115	11.65
others	--	--	1	0.50	--	--	2	0.58	--	--	3	0.30
no answer	4	3.08	1	0.50	3	1.89	3	0.87	3	1.97	14	1.41

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Rainganwichaiparsidtipap Rongrianprathomsuksa ..., p. 124 (Table 58).

(245,149) only 5.6 percent of them held education degrees.⁷⁹ Meanwhile of the 9,559 teachers under the MOE (kindergarten and primary teachers), 23.8 percent of them have such degrees. Most of the MOE teachers, as noted previously, taught in urban or city schools. The low qualified teachers working in rural schools (PAO) for a period of five years are shown in Table 17, which is classified by the school type. The classification of urban and rural teachers by their holding professional educational degrees (as opposed to diplomas and certificates) is also shown according to the region where they work in Table 18.

4. Teachers Achievement Tests: In 1973, the NEC analyzed the formal academic qualifications of the third grade teachers in terms of mathematics, reading comprehension, instructional methods accomplishment, psychological knowledge, etc.⁸⁰ Of the 987 teachers so surveyed, the following conclusions were made:⁸¹

⁷⁹National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Final Report on Educational Statistics: 1979 (Bangkok: The National Statistical Office, 1979) (Mimeographed), p. 22 (Table 17).

⁸⁰Office of the National Education Commission, Raingankarnsummana Karnwichaiprasidtipaprongrianprathomsuksa (Report of the Semina of the Primary School Efficiency: Pathaya 3-8 August, 1977) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1978) (Mimeographed).

⁸¹Ibid., p. 51.

TABLE 17

Number and Percent Distribution of Teachers in Academic Stream
(1975-1979)

Type of Institution	Qualification				
	รวมทั้งหมด Total Number of Teachers	ปริญญาตรี หรือ สูงกว่า Bachelor's Degree or Higher	ปริญญา หรือ เทียบเท่า Dip. in Ed. or Equivalent	ป.น. หรือ เทียบเท่า Cert. in Ed. and Vac. Cert.	ป.น. ต่ำกว่า Lower Teaching Certificate
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total All Types					
1975	287,631	8.5	33.6	35.9	22.0
1976	308,605	10.2	37.0	33.4	19.4
1977	330,965	11.9	41.8	29.8	16.5
1978	356,168	13.4	45.5	27.1	14.0
1979	385,414	14.1	47.4	26.3	12.2
Kindergarten and Elementary (Min. of. Ed.)					
1975	11,314	17.4	54.0	21.9	6.7
1976	10,747	17.7	54.5	21.4	6.4
1977	11,101	21.3	53.3	18.8	6.6
1978	9,939	23.7	52.6	15.9	7.8
1979	9,559	23.0	53.2	16.0	7.0
Provincial Authority					
1975	163,854	2.5	33.5	42.1	21.9
1976	198,950	3.4	38.8	38.1	19.7
1977	211,519	4.7	45.1	33.5	16.7
1978	225,124	5.3	49.6	30.8	14.3
1979	245,149	5.6	51.8	30.6	12.0
Municipal					
1975	14,058	6.3	49.7	26.3	15.8
1976	15,690	11.3	50.2	25.2	13.3
1977	15,690	12.8	51.1	25.1	11.0
1978	19,849	11.0	51.9	24.5	9.6
1979	20,702	15.9	53.8	21.5	8.8
Secondary (Public)					
1975	28,668	49.5	39.1	10.6	0.8
1976	34,782	52.9	35.4	10.9	0.8
1977	42,290	51.1	37.8	10.4	0.7
1978	54,833	50.1	39.5	9.9	0.5
1979	64,018	50.9	38.9	9.8	0.4
General Ed. (Private)					
1975	49,710	5.2	21.9	33.5	37.4
1976	48,499	5.8	22.7	35.2	36.3
1977	47,831	6.5	24.5	35.1	33.7
1978	46,423	6.3	24.3	33.1	32.3
1979	45,906	5.8	21.9	30.3	31.8

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Final Report on Educational Statistics: 1979 (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1979), p. 22 (Table 16) (Mimeographed).

TABLE 18

Teachers' Instructional Education Classified by Regions

Levels* of Training	Regions											
	BK		CP		N		NE		S		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
1	2	1.54	9	4.48	6	3.77	21	6.12	8	5.26	46	4.66
2	--	--	5	2.49	1	0.63	2	0.58	--	--	8	0.81
3	7	5.38	23	11.44	27	16.98	44	12.83	20	13.16	121	12.26
4	30	23.08	59	29.35	64	40.25	156	45.48	54	35.35	364	36.88
5	55	42.31	73	36.32	27	16.98	59	17.20	49	32.24	263	26.65
6	7	5.38	2	1.00	--	--	1	0.29	3	1.97	13	1.32
no answer	29	22.31	30	14.93	34	21.38	60	17.49	18	11.84	172	17.43

*Levels of Training: 1-3: Teachers with less than 2 years of teacher education after completed Grade 10 (M.S. 3)

4: Teachers with 2 years of teacher education after Grade 10.

5: Teachers with 4 years of teacher education after Grade 10.

6: Teachers with degree or higher.

Source: Office of the National Education, Rainganwichaiprasidtipap Rongrianprathomsuska..., p. 127 (Table 61).

High AchievementLow Achievement

Teachers in Bangkok and the Central Plains areas

Teachers working in the North, North-east, and South regions

Teachers taught in MOE schools

Teachers under the administration of PAO and Municipal Schools

Young teachers

Older teachers

Teachers with higher qualifications (degree)

Non-degreed

Fewer years of teaching time

More years of teaching time (19 years and over)

Since the conclusions were derived from academic test scores, those teachers out of college for a long time tended to score less than recent graduates. Thus, there was a degree of bias in the survey against more experienced teachers.

5. Student-Teacher Ratios and Students Per Class: Rural

teachers not only have lower academic and other qualifications, they usually have to carry a heavier workload than urban teachers. Further, since lower qualifications entail less pay, these teachers also do more work for less remuneration. Yet, income is most often associated with college attendance, and rural teachers do not have this opportunity to improve their professional status to the extent that their urban colleagues do.

Table 19 reports on student-teacher ratios by region. Bangkok is included in the Central Plain region. As can be seen, classes in the Northeast have the highest average number of students, 32; while those in the Central Plain and the South have only an average of twenty-three. Table 20 following this one indicates that PAO classes have the highest average of students, 24; but low in number of students per school (199:1).

TABLE 19

Teacher Pupil Ratio (1977) in PAO Schools

Regions	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils	Teacher: Pupils
Central Plain	57,597	1,308,860	1:23
South	34,758	804,614	1:23
North	50,326	1,221,257	1:24
Northeast	73,090	2,371,331	1:32
Total	215,773	6,706,062	1:26

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapap-karnjudkarnsuksa..., Table 15.

TABLE 20

Ratios Related to School Size, Teachers, Pupils and Classrooms
(1978)

School Types (Primary)	Pupils: Teacher	Pupils: Teacher	Pupils: School	Teachers: Class
MOE Schools	22:1	854:1	34:1	1.54:1
Private Schools	17:1	320:1	33:1	2.00:1
PAO Schools	24:1	199:1	26:1	1.11:1
Municipal Schools	22:1	507:1	30:1	1.39:1
Bangkok Met Schools	20:1	540:1	31:1	1.50:1
Whole Country	23:1	220:1	27:1	1.21:1

Source: M. Meelumyai, "Sathiti: Dankarnprathomsuksa (Statistics Related to Elementary Education)," Journal of the National Education Council 14 (February-March, 1980): 68 (Table 4).

The low number of students in PAO schools implies the small school size which is a typical characteristic of most rural schools.

Teacher-Student Ratio at the University Level: Teacher-student ratio at this level is about 1:10. However, since almost 90 percent of the country's universities and colleges are located in the Greater Bangkok area, no comparison will be made with rurally-located universities. A more meaningful comparison would seem to be with other countries and here the 1:10 ratio is deceptive. Mainly this ratio does not give a real picture of the workload of university instructors, nor of their other responsibilities.

Further, Table 21 shows instructors are classified as either full-time or part-time and the ratio at an 'open' university such as 'Ramkhamhaeng' requiring no entrance examination for students can be as high as 1:202 for the full-time professor, while it may be as low as 1:8 in a 'closed' university like Chulalongkorn which has an entrance requirement.

6. Teaching Load and Hours: Besides carrying a larger size class, rural teachers also have to teach more hours per week (on the average) than urban teachers. An hourly breakdown is given in Table 22. As can be seen, considering the rate of 25-29 teaching hours per week to be the norm nationwide (as it is), the percentage of teachers in Bangkok performing this load is the lowest (44.6 percent) while those in the Northeast total 76.38 percent. This is almost double the workload as compared to that of urban teachers.

PAO teachers also carry more teaching hours than Municipal and MOE teachers. In Table 23 the teaching hours of primary (all types), and

TABLE 21

Instructor-Student Ratio: Higher Education 1977

Universities & Institutes	Full-Time Instructors: Students	Part-Time Instructors: Students	All Kinds Instructors: Students
Chulalongkorn	1:8	1:26	1:6
Kasetsart	1:8	1:35	1:6
Khon Kaen	1:5	1:93	1:5
Chiengmai	1:7	1:14	1:7
Thammasart	1:20	1:60	1:15
Mahidol	1:3	1:9	1:2
Ramkhamhaeng	1:202	1:1,198	1:173
Srinakarinwirot	1:21	1:333	1:20
Silpakorn	1:7	1:23	1:6
Prince of Songkla	1:8	1:28	1:6
Inst of Agricul- ture Tect	1:3	1:14	1:3
King Mongkut's Tech	1:9	1:39	1:7
Nat Inst of Development Admn	1:6	1:30	1:5
Average	1:21	1:93	1:17

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapapkarn-judkansuksa Peekansuksa 1977..., p. 85, (Table 31).

TABLE 22

Distribution of Teachers' Teaching Load and Hours

Number of Teaching Hours	BK		CP		Regions N		NE		S		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
0-10	4	3.08	--	--	1	0.63	3	0.87	3	1.97	11	1.11
10-14	1	0.77	11	5.47	5	3.14	2	0.58	3	1.97	22	2.23
15-19	13	10.00	9	4.48	8	5.03	10	2.92	7	4.61	47	4.76
20-24	52	40.00	20	9.95	18	11.32	51	14.87	21	13.82	162	16.41
25-29	58	44.62	142	70.65	120	75.47	262	76.38	115	75.66	699	70.82
Over 30	2	1.54	18	8.96	7	4.40	13	3.79	3	1.97	43	4.36
No answer	--	--	1	0.50	--	--	2	0.58	--	--	3	0.30

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingankarnwichaiprasidthipap Rongrianprathomsuksa: Kawmoonbiangtonkiawkuk Khruprachumchan prathom 3..., p. 175, (Table 109).

TABLE 23

Distribution of Teaching Hours by Sex of Teacher and Type of Institution

จำนวนชั่วโมงที่สอน	ประเภทโรงเรียน Type of Institution							Teaching Hours
	รวมทุกประเภท All Types	อนุบาล Kindergarten	ประถมศึกษา Elementary (Min. of Ed.)	ประถมศึกษา Elementary (Prov. Auth.)	เทศบาล Municipal	มัธยมศึกษา Secondary (Public)	ราษฎร์ General Ed. (Private)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	รวมทั้งสองเพศ Both Sexes							
รวม	385,414	2,616	6,943	245,149	20,702	64,018	45,986	Total
ไม่ได้สอนเลย	10,014	160	366	3,619	1,268	3,160	1,441	No Teaching Assignment
๑ - ๑๐	12,078	88	399	6,416	559	2,909	1,707	1 - 10
๑๑ - ๑๕	22,922	107	650	8,620	1,082	9,621	2,842	11 - 15
๑๖ - ๒๐	89,056	632	2,414	25,337	7,555	40,912	12,206	16 - 20
๒๑ - ๒๕	37,151	600	1,353	12,536	3,877	5,616	13,169	21 - 24
๒๕ - ๒๖	133,985	783	970	118,233	4,006	451	9,542	25 - 26
๒๗ - ๒๘	14,179	104	135	11,788	473	129	1,550	27 - 28
๒๘ - ๓๐	40,940	42	141	38,040	768	35	1,914	29 - 30
สูงกว่า ๓๐	19,338	48	342	17,154	817	61	916	Over 30
ไม่ทราบ	5,751	52	173	3,406	297	1,124	699	Unknown
ชั่วโมงสอนมัธยมฐาน	25.03	25.33	21.66	26.98	22.04	18.67	24.17	Median Teaching Hour

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Final Report on Educational Statistics, 1979..., Table 28.

secondary schools is compared. Primary PAO teachers have an average of 26.98 hours per week, while primary MOE teachers have only 21.66 hours per week. The average teaching hours per week of a secondary school teacher is only 18.7. Both primary and secondary school teachers have been paid the same amount of salary if they hold the same level of educational qualifications.

7. Teacher Shortages and 'One-Teacher' Schools: Because of the scattered nature of much of the rural population, 'one teacher' schools are common in many provinces. This situation does not exist in the Bangkok area, however. Overall, there are 489 schools of this kind, with 279 of them (57.1 percent) in the Northeast. Another 87 are found in the rural districts of the Central Plains, 70 in the North and 53 in the South. Such schools also arise when there is a teacher shortage.

In Table 24, one-teacher schools and schools reporting teacher shortages are shown. The Northeast is the highest in both categories.

II. Resource Allocation as Related to Nonhuman Factors

A number of studies have agreed that unequal central budget allocation remains between urban and rural schools and among the different educational levels. Rural schools further suffer because of the limited resources of their respective provinces. Obviously, all this combines to produce poorer educational outcomes.

Attention in this part is directed toward an analysis of unequal budget allocations between urban and rural schools, and between school levels.

1. Government Subsidy and Local Income: In Thailand, the

TABLE 24

Schools With One Teacher and Teacher Shortages

Regions	Schools With One Teacher		Schools with Teacher Shortages	
		%		%
NE	279	57.06	5,067	53.56
CP	87	17.79	1,425	15.01
S	53	10.84	1,112	11.71
N	70	14.31	1,892	19.92
Total	489	100.00	9,496	100.0

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapakan-judkarnsuksa Peekarnsuksa 1977..., p. 20 (Table 5).

educational budget is supported by the central government by about 20 percent of the national budget. Further financing then comes from the provincial government.

Although the largest amount of the central budget is given to PAO schools, this type of school makes up about 90 percent of all primary schools. Thus the individual school impact is considerably less than might appear at the surface. This is especially the case when PAO schools' local incomes was less than 1.8 percent (1977) as compared to 33.31 percent of Municipal schools' incomes. The following Table 25 lists the local allocations by school types as a proportion of total budget. Figures were not available for the same year in each case. Yet, the overall conclusion is inescapable.

2. Recurring Expenditures: Expenditure per pupil is derived by dividing the total budget by a number of pupils and in this aspect, MOE pupils are allotted the most, 1857 baht per student. Pupils in Municipal schools receive the least, 872 baht. But municipalities have the highest local tax rates, compensating for this relative lack. Conversely, even though pupils in PAO schools are allocated 1025 baht, they have little or no corresponding local resources to supplement this figure. Table 26 and Table 27 report total budget figures and expense per pupil by school type and by regions from which can be concluded that PAO schools that are located in the Northeast region have suffered the most.

3. Capital Expenditure: On the average and over the country as a whole, about 90 percent of capital expenditure is spent on plant and buildings and the remainder on equipment of all kinds. At present,

TABLE 25

Central and Local Budget (Primary Schools)

School Types	Numbers (1979)	Subsidy	Local Incomes	Total
MOE	228	100.00	--	100.00
PAO	29,486	98.19 (1977)	1.81	100.00
Municipal	420	66.87 (1978)	33.31	100.00
Bangkok Met	400	67.46 (1979)	32.54	100.00

Developed from: Montree Meelumyai, "Sathiti: Dankarnprathomsuksa...",
Table 1 combined with Table 3.

TABLE 26

Primary Educational Budgets and Recurring Expenditure
Per Pupil (Average):1978

Type of Schools	Amount of Budgets (million baht)	Recurring Expenditure (Per Pupil)
MOE's Schools	379.10 (3.80)	1857
PAO Schools	8888.30 (89.09)	1025
Municipal Schools	264.52 (2.65)	872
Bangkok Schools	444.85 (4.46)	1442

Source: Montree Meelumyai, "Sathiti: Darnkarnprathomsuksa...", Table 2.

TABLE 27

Recurring Expenditures Per Pupil for Lower
Primary Provincial Schools (1970-1973)

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Bangkok	430	410	403	539
Central Plain	412	394	478	520
South	405	430	476	511
North	373	381	445	470
Northeast	368	390	424	414

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand..., p. 42 (Table C).

as Table 28 shows capital expenditure per pupil at both levels is lowest in the Bangkok area (1973) which may only reflect that effect of resources previously allocated. The Northeast still shows a low level of capital expenditure, especially at the lower primary level.

4. Budget Allocation at Educational Levels: As Table 29 shows, Thailand (and it is not unique in this report) has given a greater amount of funding to higher education than to the levels beneath it. From 1961 to 1978, the primary school has been given between 50 to 57 percent of educational budget, but with the largest number of pupils at this schooling level, it turns out to be that the primary school children are the least well accommodated. As per the breakdown of budget per capita in 1977, the following figures reported by the government speak for themselves.⁸²

Recurring Expenditure Per Student (NEC, 1977)

Pre-Primary & primary	1,333 baht
Secondary	2,202
Special and Welfare Edu	6,085
Vocational Education	6,757
Teacher Training	7,513
Higher Education (Ramkhamhaeng University included)	9,148
Higher Education (Ramkhamhaeng University excluded)	21,499

⁸²Office of the National Education Commission, Raingan sapaapkarn-judkarnsuksa Peekarnsuksa, 1977..., p. 122.

TABLE 28

Capital Expenditure Per Pupil in Provincial School

Lower Primary Level				
Regions	1970	1971	1972	1973
Bangkok	160	153	119	87
Central Plain	105	103	133	105
South	107	117	107	107
North	71	81	82	82
Northeast	47	56	51	54

Upper Primary Level				
Bangkok	257	209	180	136
Central Plain	337	299	262	231
South	370	323	251	229
North	327	304	264	212
Northeast	234	216	183	147

Developed from: Office of the National Educational Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand..., Table L and M, p. 47.

TABLE 29

Percentage Distribution of Educational Budget for Administration
and Various Educational Levels, 1961-1978

Year	Adminis- tration	Primary	Secondary	Univer- sity	Voca- tional	Adult Education, Libraries, Museums	Other Education
1961	13.23	52.65	14.21	7.39	9.93	1.63	.95
1962	13.64	51.01	15.13	7.56	10.14		2.53 ^a
1963	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a. ^b
1964	8.78	56.29	8.69	11.74	11.37		3.13 ^b
1965	7.88	56.91	8.42	11.79	11.90	2.48	.62
1966	8.88	54.87	8.55	14.50	11.20	1.26	.74
1967	7.46	51.38	10.03	15.07	14.41	.98	.67
1968	6.38	50.92	9.51	15.98	14.81	1.01	1.39
1969	5.33	53.68	9.01	12.97	16.74	.85	1.42
1970	5.57	55.66	10.31	12.83	14.11	.85	.67
1971	5.00	54.80	10.50	13.70	13.90	.90	1.20
1972	5.50	55.30	10.80	12.40	14.00	.90	.80
1973	5.10	54.80	11.50	12.70	14.30	1.10	.50
1974	5.40	54.10	11.40	13.50	13.80	1.10	.90
1975	5.70	54.30	12.80	12.20	12.90	1.10	.80
1976	4.60	56.60	12.30	14.20	10.00	1.30	.90
1977	4.20	56.60	13.40	12.90	10.90	1.30	.80
1978	4.10	53.90	16.80	12.90	9.90	1.50	.90

Source: Budget in Brief, 1960-1978, The Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Prime Minister, Bangkok, Thailand, cited by Chintakanda, "The Role of Investment in Education...", p. 55 (Table 2.10).

^{a&b} Figures include proportion of expenditure on adult education, libraries and museums.

These figures have been further grouped into an index to the point where it has been concluded that a primary grade student in a PAO school received 1.0 (the lowest level of expenditure) while a medical student received an expenditure of 49.0.⁸³

These expenditures have been studied also in terms of social return or how much the educational investment can produce in terms of outcomes for the society. Blaug's analysis of educational investment in Thailand clearly shows the benefits of primary education over other schooling levels even though this level has been funded with the lowest budget (expenditure per capita).⁸⁴ Rate of social return as classified by Blaug are: lower primary 20, upper secondary 14, secondary (formal line) 10, secondary (vocational line) 8, and higher education 7. The highest rate of social return at primary school has led to the suggestion that the government should speed up the expansion of compulsory education in the country.⁸⁵

Unequal Educational Opportunity Determined by Unequal Quality of Education

Educational outcomes are measured in both educational and socio-political-economic terms. This attempt to measure educational "quality"

⁸³Nicholas Bennett, "Supphyakorn purkayai patirupe rae plainplang-tangkarnsuksa nai prathadethai (Resources for Expansion and Alternation of Education in Thailand), Soonsuksa (October-December, 1974), p. 43. In R. Thanaponpan, "Karnpatirupeudomsuksa (The Improvement of Higher Education)," Soonsuksa 21 (May-July, 1975), Table 8.

⁸⁴Blaug, The Rate of Return to Investment....

⁸⁵Chintanakarnda, "The Role of Investment in Education...."

is a complex matter. Further, quality is often associated with quantity, at least to a degree.

Being a developing country, however, Thailand would seem to be an example of a country having to decide on either quantity or quality. For example, in the latest educational plan, the reduction of compulsory education from seven to six years can be viewed as an attempt to attain greater quantity at the expense of quality.

In his study of education in the developing countries of Asia, Beeby noted that:⁸⁶

As more has been learned about the educational problems of emergent countries, it has become increasingly obvious that quality and quantity in education are inextricably intertwined, and that the relation is a complex one. Sometimes, as the Asian Ministers of Education feared, the rapid expansion of school systems has been achieved by taking on less qualified teachers with a consequent drop in the quality of work in the schools. But it is by no means certain that the increase in the total number of pupils in the schools will result in a corresponding increase in the number of useful graduates who will emerge from each level of the school system, because any fall in the quality of the work may be expected to increase the number of failures and dropouts.

Why Unequal Educational Outcomes Exist: The impact of educational outcomes is not only difficult to measure but is constantly affected by social and individual variables. However, numerous studies and analyses have concentrated on a set of factors deemed especially important. These include social class, income, intelligence, class size, pupil-teacher ratio, and expenditure per student. At the same time, none of these factors has been conclusively shown to have direct

⁸⁶C.E. Beeby, The Quality of Education in Developing Countries (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, third printing ed., 1973), p. 15.

influence on academic performance. Contradictory findings have been reported for most of these factors.

In a report of educational attainment in primary schools in countries of Asia and Oceania, UNESCO analyzed a number of such factors and their effect upon academic performance. They often contradicted what had been perceived to be "true". In respect to some of them, one can note:⁸⁷

-class size: The report showed that better academic performance could not be strictly correlated to small class size.

-pupil background: Although there appears to be a definite connection between academic performance and the intellectual home background of students, schooling factor in Asia by itself has a greater effect than in Europe or the United States.

-regional background: High achievement in general is associated with educational spending and family socioeconomic status, but Asia affords many examples of relatively high academic achievement with low national prosperity and educational expenditure.

-other contradictions have been shown to be related to family background, school size, and educational materials which means that there is some confusion over what to base academic performance on, including the recognition that we still have little real knowledge of what kind of attainment is feasible at a specific age.

It also appears that little effort has been made to "...determine

⁸⁷UNESCO, "Educational Attainment in Asian Primary Schools" Education in Asia: Reviews, Reports and Notes, No. 13 (September, 1978).

what an educational system should strive to give students in the way of understanding, knowledge, attitudes, and skills to fit them for their future."⁸⁸ Testing and evaluation procedures in most schools are often culturally biased. Urban children have been given more benefits in respect to these biases than have rural children (i.e. using Central Language in testing in Thailand). Thus, the search for those factors affecting unequal achievement in any country is often faced with problems.

In this study, the main interest in educational outcomes centers upon educational levels, and on differences between urban and rural schools. Some of the societal aspects will be noted as necessary. For the latter, outcomes are related to literacy, social mobility and rate of educational return to the society. For the former, educational outcomes are related to all typical school tests, examinations, drop out rates, and so forth.

Educational Outcomes and Societal Considerations

Society prefers to view education in terms of contributions valued by the particular society. These values are many, ranging over the whole political, economic and cultural spectrum. The setting of these contributions and their validity and measurement is as much a matter of controversy in Thailand as in most other countries.

In the main, and as has been pointed out throughout this study, the educational system has provided less support for rural students as

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 16.

compared to urban students. The effects of this unequal treatment of rural students include problems of social status, less economic opportunity and increased rural migration, among other factors.

Education and Employment: The rate of unemployment and the level of educational attainment is an important measuring index. Of those people who had achieved a primary education in Thailand, they made up the majority of the population, and also the majority of the unemployed, 61.2 percent in 1976. This percentage decreased with higher educational attainment. The figures were 24.8 percent for secondary school graduates and only 2.8 percent for those above this level. However, the unemployment rate of the latter is increasing. The figures mentioned are shown in Table 30. Also in Table 31, the high rate of unemployed graduates in various fields has been shown.

Education and Earning: Increased years of schooling seems to have some impact upon an increased income. From Table 32 one can see that an individual 42 years of age with no education can earn only 3645 baht per annum, while with 1-9 years of schooling income is increased to 4715 baht or a percentage increase of 29.6. Likewise, as the years of education is increased to 15 years and higher, the income of a 42 year old person is also more than four times that of the 3645 baht income of the comparably aged noneducated person.

Rate of Literacy: The literacy rate is the most common measurement of educational outcomes in a society. Actually, this rate is not static since many literate people revert to illiteracy after having been out of school for three or more years. This has been especially

TABLE 30

Unemployed Persons by Levels of Education 1974-1976: Thousand

ระดับการศึกษา Levels of education	2517 1974		2518 1975		2510 1976	
	จำนวน Amount	%	จำนวน Amount	%	จำนวน Amount	%
ไม่มีการศึกษา None	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.7	3.3	2.1
ประถมศึกษา Primary	31.2	43.0	23.3	31.7	94.6	61.2
มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้นเทียบเท่า Secondary	31.6	43.5	32.9	44.8	38.3	24.8
อาชีวศึกษา Vocational	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
ฝึกหัดครู Teacher training	4.8	6.7	13.5	18.3	12.6	8.1
อุดมศึกษา Higher education	4.3	5.9	3.1	4.2	4.4	2.8
อื่น ๆ Others	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.5	1.0
รวม Total	72.5	100.0	73.5	100.0	154.7	100.0

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Statistical Country Profile for Administrators (Bangkok: Ruamchang Publisher, 1980), p. 10.

TABLE 31

Higher Education Graduates and Unemployment Estimates
by Field of Study and Level, 1973

Level and Field of Study	1973			1974			1975		
	Graduates	Unemployment Number	Unemployment Percent	Graduates	Unemployment Number	Unemployment Percent	Graduates	Unemployment Number	Unemployment Percent
Total	73,896	18,708	25.3	95,761	41,176	44.0	102,760	43,665	42.5
<u>M.A. or above</u>	1,636	-	-	1,398	62	4.4	1,473	65	4.4
<u>Bachelor degree</u>	12,039	783	6.5	14,556	2,205	15.1	17,513	2,648	15.1
Humanities	944	92	9.7	949	150	5.8	919	145	15.8
Education	4,162	271	6.5	6,343	1,180	18.6	7,880	1,466	18.6
Fine arts	143	4	2.8	174	18	10.3	174	18	10.3
Social sciences	2,896	203	7.0	2,685	325	12.1	3,146	381	12.1
Laws	793	115	14.5	846	231	27.3	1,110	303	27.3
Sciences	478	26	5.4	667	106	15.9	619	108	17.4
Engineering	756	24	3.2	945	95	10.0	1,052	105	10.0
Medical sciences	1,145	23	2.0	1,194	20	1.7	1,734	29	1.7
Agriculture	722	25	3.5	753	80	10.6	879	93	10.6
<u>Diploma</u>	7,570	1,488	19.7	7,234	2,714	37.5	9,373	3,566	38.0
General	1,676	282	16.8	1,645	364	22.1	1,921	425	22.1
Technical	5,894	1,206	20.5	5,589	2,350	42.0	7,452	3,141	42.1
<u>Teacher training</u>	35,017	10,278	29.4	55,833	29,445	52.7	54,411	28,699	52.7
<u>Vocational high school</u>	17,634	6,159	34.9	16,740	7,750	46.3	19,990	8,687	43.5

Source: The Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-81), The National Economic and Social Development Board, Office of the Prime Minister, Bangkok, Thailand, cited by Chintanakanda, "The Role of Investment in Education in Thailand...", p. 71 (Table 2.16).

TABLE 32

Adjusted Earning of All Earners by Age and
Education, 1969 (Before Tax, in Baht)

Age	Levels of Education				
	0	1-9	10-11	12-14	15-16+
14	975	1,300			
17	1,360	1,630			
18	1,500	1,795			
20	1,800	2,155	3,660		
22	2,120	2,540	4,315	5,570	
24	2,460	2,950	5,010	6,470	7,730
26	2,975	3,410	5,970	7,430	8,430
27	3,050	3,495	6,115	7,930	8,640
32	3,400	3,900	6,830	9,360	9,645
37	3,470	4,490	7,260	11,030	12,795
42	3,645	4,715	7,620	11,580	13,430
47	3,700	4,865	8,550	13,195	15,305
52	3,760	5,285	9,290	14,340	16,635
57	3,860	5,200	13,725	27,320	35,070
62	3,415	4,075	12,150	24,185	31,040

Source: Chintanakarnda, "The Role of Investment in Education in Thailand...", p. 142 (Table 4.16).

evident in rural Thailand.⁸⁹

The last literacy census was taken in 1970 and the illiteracy rates stood at 18.2 percent.⁹⁰ A recent official estimate put this figure at 16.6 percent (1980), and the estimate of the illiterate population by regions are as follows:⁹¹

Geographic Region	Population*	Illiterate	%
Total	30,916,776	5,160,209	16.6
Bangkok Metropolis	3,524,803	61,559	1.7
Central Plain	6,467,260	226,822	3.5
North	7,024,167	1,403,581	19.9
Northeast	10,212,765	2,681,137	26.2
South	3,687,781	787,110	21.3

*Population aged 10 years and over

Educational Outcomes Measured Within the School: The educational outcomes of urban and rural children are used to determine their respective chance to obtain equal educational opportunities. Such evidence will be basically a matter of measurement of book knowledge. Such outcomes are also measured at the primary level since such schools are significantly different in their rural and urban setting. These differences are less evident at the secondary and higher levels.

1. Educational Outcomes: Academic Scores: As has been previously

⁸⁹Gurevich, "Language, Minority...."

⁹⁰Office of the National Education Commission, The Illiterate Population of Thailand, 1957-1980 (Bangkok: Thanapradith Karnpim, 1977), p. 1 (Table 1).

⁹¹Ibid., p. 61 (Table 17).

discussed, in the NEC which has reported (1973-74) on the academic achievement of third graders as measured by arithmetic and Thai language scores. While students in Bangkok attained the highest scores in both subjects, students in the Northeast had the lowest. In respect to school types, students in PAO school performed the lowest.⁹²

This same study was redone in 1980 by the same government agency, the NEC.⁹³ Samples of 11,442 third graders from 399 schools of all types throughout the country were investigated and measured in regard to academic performances. The results were generally similar to those seven years previous. Thus:⁹⁴

-Students in Bangkok, the Central Plain, and the south scored higher than students in other regions, and had higher than average scores.

-The students in the North and Northeast scored less than the average scores of the country.

-Students in all school types except PAO scored higher than the average scores. Students in private schools in Bangkok achieved the highest scores. The lowest scores were recorded by PAO students in the Northeast (38 percent of the total scores).

⁹²Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling in Thailand..., p. 6.

⁹³Office of the National Education Commission, Rainngankarnwichai-prasithtipap khongkarnprathomsuksa: Karnpramurnsumrithpontangkarnrian khongnukrianchanprathomsuksa peetee 3 (Report of the Primary School Pupils' Achievement: Third Grade, 1980) (Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission, 1981), Chapter 4.

⁹⁴Ibid.

By comparing the overall results of the first (1974) and the second study (1980), students in both rural and urban schools have improved their academic performance about 16.3 percent. But, as usual, this second study still confirms the rural students' low schooling abilities.

Academic Scores at the Secondary Level: Another study compared the percentage of students passing the uniform National Twelfth Grade Final Examination between public school students in Bangkok and other local secondary schools.⁹⁵ Again, students in the central (Bangkok) area scored higher than students in other local secondary schools. The means and standard deviations of students' achievement were .72 and .16 in the central schools, and .66 and .18 in local schools, respectively.

However, another report (1975), showed that academic achievement of twelfth graders or M.S. 5 students was not much different either as related to parental career or to regional residence.⁹⁶ Rural children performed as well as children coming from professional families. And in a comparison of Bangkok students and students from other parts of the country; some students outside Bangkok did equally as well or better than the urban students. These results are shown in Table 33.

⁹⁵Panormporn Chantarapunya, "The Extent of Equalization of Educational Opportunity in Public Secondary Schools in Thailand" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1976), Tables 6 and 7.

⁹⁶Wanasiri Naiyavitit and Edita A. Tan, Research Report Number 26: The Distribution Flow of Education in the Formal School System: An Analysis on Distribution of Educational Attainment (Bangkok: Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University, 1980), pp. 13-14.

TABLE 33

Distribution of Students by Region and Father's Occupation
1975

Occupation	Lower than 2.5	(1) 2.50-2.99	(2) 3.0-4.0	(1) + (2)
Professional	43.1	37.1	19.8	56.9
Administrative	37.1	44.0	18.9	62.9
Clerical	42.1	38.6	19.3	57.9
Sales	37.6	38.5	23.9	62.4
Farmers	46.9	35.0	18.1	53.1
Transportation	39.5	41.9	18.6	60.5
Craftsmen	41.7	43.7	14.6	58.3
Services	25.0	37.5	37.5	75.0
Laborers	49.0	31.9	19.1	51.0
Unclassified	46.2	39.1	14.7	53.8
Region				
Bangkok	42.1	38.1	19.8	57.9
Central	41.7	36.9	21.4	58.3
North	29.6	43.0	27.4	70.4
Northeast	42.2	37.8	20.0	57.8
South	47.3	42.7	10.0	52.7
EAst	34.4	34.4	31.2	65.6

Source: W. Naiyavitit and E.A. Tan, Research Report Series 26: The Distribution Flow of Education..., p. 14, Table 5.

Actually, these results may have been affected by selection bias since poor rural students rarely reach high school anyway, but of those who can reach this level are the ones who probably, "... possessed a different set of traits from the typical students for them to be able to survive the disadvantages of their environment."⁹⁷

2. Educational Outcomes: Rate of Enrollment at Transitional Grades: We have referred earlier to the importance of the transitional grade (4 to 5) at the primary level, transition from the primary to the secondary level, and from the lower to the upper secondary level. The rate at which children continue on in their education is a measure of educational achievement in a region.

The NEC (1972) reported that the Northeast had the lowest rate of pupils entering grade 5 and the Central Plain had the highest rate. The difference between the two regions was about 18.9.⁹⁸

In Table 34 from 1977, the NEC still confirms that PAO schools in the Northeast had the lowest percent of pupils in compulsory education. Almost one out of two pupils there dropped out of school at grade 4. Both the North and Northeast have enrollment rates for grade 5 below the national average rate of 58.4.

But as Table 35 shows further, the rate of students entering the secondary schools is even much smaller than the rate of those entering grade 5. The overall students dropping out at each transitional grade

⁹⁷ Naiyavitit and Tan, Research Report Series 26: The Distribution Flow of Education..., p. 13.

⁹⁸ Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling..., Table 11.

TABLE 34

Transitional Rates for Primary Pupils: Grade 4 to 5

Regions	No. of Pupils 1976	No. of Pupils 1977	% of Fourth Graders/ Fifth Graders
Central Plain	214,469	153,614	71.63
South	120,904	79,102	65.43
North	203,374	113,693	55.90
Northeast	383,327	192,191	50.14
Total	922,074	538,600	58.41

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapapkarn-judkarnsuksa..., p. 25 (Table 9).

TABLE 35

Transitional Rates for Secondary Students: Grade 7 to
M.S.1 and M.S.3 to M.S.4

Regions	Students G.7 1976	Students M.S.1 1977	Students G.7:M.S.1 %	Students M.S.3 1976	Students M.S.4 1977	Students M.S.3:4 %
Bangkok Met	68,644	67,494	98.32	53,716	31,206	58.09
Central Plain	112,869	84,474	74.84	64,461	21,565	33.45
South	63,458	52,129	82.15	40,230	15,193	37.77
North	74,315	53,071	71.41	42,288	16,572	39.19
Northeast	111,672	80,702	72.27	61,350	24,671	40.21
Total	430,958	337,870	74.40	262,045	109,207	41.67

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapapkarnjudkarnsuksa...,
p. 42 (Table 21).

is high and this trend even applies to Bangkok where only 58.1 percent of the applicable student population continued on to upper secondary schools. The national average for this study sector is 41.7 percent and all regions outside Bangkok fall below that figure. Northeast students do exceptionally well at their enrollment to upper secondary schools. The percentage of enrollment to M.S. 4 of Northeast students turns out to be the second highest of the country, 40.2.

3. Educational Outcomes: Percent of Students Passing the Primary and Secondary School Examinations: Table 36 shows that students in MOE schools have the highest primary examination rates, both at the upper and lower sections, 97.06 and 97.88 percent, respectively. Students in PAO schools have the lowest rate, 88.87 percent at the lower primary, and 89.84 percent at the upper primary level which are the lowest rates of all school types.

Table 37, which is concerned with secondary school examinations, shows the similar results that the central students have with a higher rate of passing 80.40, than the local students with a percentage of 60.53 (M.S. 4-6). These figures include students majoring in all fields (i.e. Science, Liberal, Academic, Vocational, etc.).

4. Educational Outcomes: Students Entering in Secondary Schools: A high number of secondary school students can be an indication of educational achievement. A relatively high number of such students, for example, can mean a high number of students who will continue to higher education. Furthermore, the high number of secondary school students reported in any region can imply the degree of the educational attainment of people living in such areas. Figures from NEC (1977)

TABLE 36

Primary Pupils Passing the Examination in 1972
Classified by School Type

Grade	School Type				
	Private	MOE	Municipal	PAO	Total
1	91.69	97.35	86.74	82.76	86.61
2	98.03	95.87	92.20	88.68	91.51
3	96.66	96.65	90.51	91.19	92.50
4	99.43	98.52	97.89	95.15	96.80
Total	95.96	97.06	91.61	88.87	91.47
5	96.67	98.07	94.35	93.43	95.82
6	97.36	98.83	97.08	96.96	97.77
7	99.72	99.12	98.95	97.44	98.82
Total	97.79	98.64	96.52	95.57	97.31
Lower+Upper Grades	96.54	97.88	92.79	89.84	92.99

Source: Office of the National Education, Raigankarnwichaiprasithtipap rongrianprathomsuksa: Kachijaitangkarnsuksa arkarnsatantee rae khru (Report of the Primary School Efficiency: Educational Expenditure for Buildings and Teachers) (Bangkok: Office of the Secretary of the Prime Ministry Publisher, 1976), p. 34. (Table 19)

TABLE 37

Percentage of Secondary Students Passing the Examination in 1972

	No. Students	Applicants	No. Students Passing	
		Local Schools		
M.S. 4-6	24,660	22,801	13,680	(60.53%)
M.S. 1-3	269,095	265,206	247,910	(93.48%)
		Central Schools		
M.S. 4-6	19,681	19,201	15,437	(80.40%)
M.S. 1-3	63,862	62,682	58,966	(94.07%)

Developed from: Krom Samansuksa, Ministry of Education, Rainganprachumpee 1972 (The Annual Educational Reports 1972) (Bangkok: Kurusapha Publisher, 1973), Tables 30 and 31.

show that there is not much difference between Bangkok and the remainder of the country in terms of numbers of upper and lower secondary school students. Indeed, the highest percentage belonged to the Northeast with 25.9 at the lower secondary sector, but only in the third place as regarded to enrollment at the upper sector. Yet the Northeast maintained almost the highest enrollment when considering both levels combined.⁹⁹

But this percentage is probably a reflection of the low total population base. Thus, a more recent set of figures again placed Bangkok in the first position in numbers of all secondary school students. In Table 38, of the twelve current official educational regions, Bangkok has more secondary school students than regions 9 and 10 combined in both lower and upper levels. Region 11 (part of the Northeast) has the lowest absolute percentage of such students.

5. Educational Outcomes: Repeat and Dropout Rates: Thailand shows a high overall rate of students repeating grades, especially at the primary level and most often in rural schools. Over the period of 1961-64, the first graders had the highest rate of repeating class. By rough estimate, the percentages of students repeating grade 1, 2, 3 and 4 was 50, 25, 18 and 7, respectively. Significantly high rates were recorded in the four southern provinces of Yala, Narathwat, Satun and Pattanee.¹⁰⁰ Another study done in 1973 also

⁹⁹Office of the National Education Commission, Raingansapapkarn-judkarnsuksa..., p. 40, Table 20.

¹⁰⁰E. Nathalang, Grade Retardation in the Elementary School in Thailand, trans by Sucha Chunaim, "Karntoksumchan nai rongrian prathom-suksa khongpratadethai," Prachasuksa 18 (December, 1966) : 245.

TABLE 38

Number and Percentage of Secondary Students to all Students
by Educational Region 1980

เขตการศึกษา	จำนวน Number				ส่วนร้อย Percent			Educational Region
	นักเรียนทั้งหมด All Students	มัธยมศึกษา Lower Secondary	มัธยมศึกษา Upper Secondary	มัธยมศึกษา Secondary	มัธยมศึกษา Lower Secondary	มัธยมศึกษา Upper Secondary	มัธยมศึกษา Secondary	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
พระราชอาณาจักร	9,377,341	1,352,983	264,482	1,617,465	14.4	2.8	17.2	Whole Kingdom
กรุงเทพมหานคร	941,025	261,499	55,503	317,002	27.8	5.9	33.7	Bangkok Metropolis
เขต ๑ (ไม่รวม กทม.)... ..	449,875	87,741	12,618	100,359	19.5	2.8	22.3	Region 1 (Excluding Bangkok Metropolis)
เขต ๒	258,933	28,505	5,568	34,073	11.0	2.2	13.2	Region 2
เขต ๓	781,552	140,127	23,364	163,491	17.9	3.0	20.9	Region 3
เขต ๔	235,661	35,682	7,304	42,986	15.1	3.1	18.2	Region 4
เขต ๕	556,668	77,951	12,713	90,664	14.0	2.3	16.3	Region 5
เขต ๖	528,534	92,651	15,588	108,239	17.5	2.9	20.4	Region 6
เขต ๗	895,614	102,370	18,852	121,222	11.4	2.1	13.5	Region 7
เขต ๘	800,700	109,241	23,446	132,687	13.6	2.9	16.5	Region 8
เขต ๙	996,112	104,595	20,888	125,483	10.5	2.1	12.6	Region 9
เขต ๑๐	1,144,916	119,521	30,028	149,549	10.4	2.6	13.0	Region 10
เขต ๑๑	1,210,490	109,643	25,132	134,775	9.1	2.1	11.2	Region 11
เขต ๑๒	577,261	83,457	13,478	96,935	14.5	2.3	16.8	Region 12

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Final Report on Educational Statistics 1979..., p. 17 (Table 11).

confirmed similar patterns.¹⁰¹ It was noted that approximately 69 percent of repeaters in the lower primary cycle were found in the first two grades, and rural children had much higher rates of repeating a class than urban children.

In respect to school type, the NEC reports PAO schools show the highest average repeats for grades 1 to 4. At 15.8 percent, this is 3.5 times greater than for students in MOE schools, 4.1 (1969-1972).¹⁰²

By comparing the figures of repeating grades 1 to 4 in 1961 with 1979, the primary pupils' achievement upon their schooling is very striking. In 1979, the percentages of repeaters from grade 1 to 4 were: 15.7, 9.5, 10.1 and 5.5, respectively. These figures are shown in Table 39.

Dropout Rates: Figures from 1978 for PAO, Municipal and MOE schools are shown in Table 40. Here one finds that Municipal school students dropout at a higher rate, despite the undoubted higher socio-economic status of the students. The recorded dropout rates are 2.7 in Municipal schools as opposed to 2.1 in PAO schools. The MOE school has the lowest dropout rate, 1.9 which is expected. The high rate of dropout in Municipal school may reflect a high transfer rate instead. For example, a change rate of 2.4 has been reported for these students, compared to 1.5 for PAO students who may not have had a transfer opportunity.

¹⁰¹Ministry of Education, A History of Thai Education (Bangkok: Kurusapha Lad Prao Press, 1976), p. 62.

¹⁰²Office of the National Education Commission, A Study of Primary Schooling..., p. 41.

TABLE 39

Percent of Repeaters by Grade and Type of Institution 1979

ชั้นและระดับการศึกษา	รวม Total	โรงเรียนรัฐบาล Public Schools			ราษฎร์ Private Schools	Grade and Level of Education
		รวม Total	ประถม Elementary	มัธยม Secondary		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
รวม	8.4	9.1	9.9	—	3.1	Total
อนุบาลและเด็กเล็ก	8.1	11.9	11.9	—	5.6	Kindergarten and
อนุบาล ๑	7.4	1.4	1.4	—	7.4	Pre-Primary
อนุบาล ๒	3.2	5.6	5.6	—	3.2	1 st Year
เด็กเล็ก	12.0	12.0	12.0	—	—	2 nd Year
						Pre-Primary
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	10.0	10.6	10.6	—	4.1	Lower Elementary
ประถม ๑	14.8	15.7	15.7	—	8.0	Pratom 1
ประถม ๒	8.8	9.5	9.5	—	1.5	Pratom 2
ประถม ๓	9.5	10.1	10.1	—	2.4	Pratom 3
ประถม ๔	5.2	5.5	5.5	—	0.9	Pratom 4
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย	6.9	7.5	7.5	—	1.8	Upper Elementary
ประถม ๕	9.0	9.6	9.6	—	2.4	Pratom 5
ประถม ๖	3.4	3.7	3.7	—	1.1	Pratom 6
มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น	1.9	2.1	—	2.1	1.0	Lower Secondary
ม. ๑	0.4	0.3	—	0.3	0.5	Maw 1
ม.ศ. ๒	3.3	3.7	—	3.7	1.8	Maw Saw 2
ม.ศ. ๓	2.3	2.4	—	2.4	2.0	Maw Saw 3

Source: Office of the Education Commission, Final Report on Educational Statistics 1979..., p. 19 (Table 1.08).

TABLE 40

Drop-Out Rate in the 1978 Academic Year by Reason,
Type of School and Level of Education

ประเภทโรงเรียน และระดับการศึกษา	รวม Total	อัตราส่วนร้อยละ Percent				Type of Institution and Level of Education
		ไปศึกษาต่อที่อื่น ⁴⁴ Changing of School	ขาดทุนทรัพย์ Lack of Fund	พ้นเกณฑ์อายุ Over Compulsory Age	เหตุผลอื่น ⁴ Other Reason	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
โรงเรียนอนุบาล	1.4	1.3	—	—	0.1	Kindergarten
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	1.4	1.3	—	—	0.1	Lower Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย... ..	1.1	0.9	—	—	0.2	Upper Elementary
โรงเรียนประถม	1.9	1.5	0.1	0.0	0.3	Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	2.1	1.6	0.1	0.0	0.4	Lower Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย... ..	1.6	1.6	0.1	—	0.2	Upper Elementary
โรงเรียนประชาบาล	2.1	1.5	0.1	0.3	0.2	Provincial Authority
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	1.8	1.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	Lower Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย... ..	3.2	1.4	0.4	1.0	0.3	Upper Elementary
โรงเรียนเทศบาล	2.2	2.4	0.0	0.1	0.2	Municipal
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	2.8	2.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	Lower Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย... ..	2.6	2.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	Upper Elementary
โรงเรียนมัธยม	2.4	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.4	Secondary
มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น	2.3	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.4	Lower Elementary
มัธยมศึกษาตอนปลาย	2.5	1.5	0.4	0.0	0.5	Upper Elementary
โรงเรียนราษฎร์	2.1	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.7	Private
ประถมศึกษาตอนต้น	1.6	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.7	Lower Elementary
ประถมศึกษาตอนปลาย... ..	1.7	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.9	Upper Elementary
มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น	3.0	2.1	0.3	0.1	0.5	Lower Secondary
มัธยมศึกษาตอนปลาย	4.8	2.7	1.0	0.0	1.0	Upper Secondary

Source: Office of the National Education Commission, Final Report on Educational Statistics 1979..., Table 1.09.

6. Educational Outcomes: Wastage Ratios and Internal Efficiency of Elementary School: Chantawanish devised an educational wastage index to measure the efficiency of Thailand's primary schools, by using various educational figures from 1974-1977. Types of primary schools such as private, PAO, MOE and Municipal were compared with one another. His final formula is as follows:¹⁰³

$$\text{Input-output ratio} = \frac{\text{number of pupils X years in school}}{\text{number of pupils completing school}}$$

$$\text{Wastage ratio} = \frac{\text{Real input-output ratio}}{\text{estimated input-output ratio}}$$

The analysis was done at both the lower and upper primary levels (grade 1-4 and grade 5-7). Some of his conclusions are:

Many pupils spent much longer than seven years to finish grade 7. That wastage ratio was higher than the index number '1' which means there were a higher number of pupils who either dropped out or had to repeat grades in all types of schools.

Although the wastage ratios are more frequent in lower primary schools, this rate has been improving. Meanwhile, the quality of schools at the upper level has been unpredictable.

At both the lower and upper levels, the wastage ratio is higher in private and PAO schools than in the other two kinds. Table 41 shows an efficiency ranking of elementary schools into high, medium, and low categories. The highest wastage ratio was recorded for educational region 2 at the lower primary level and for regions 2, 7, and 11 for

¹⁰³A. Chantawanich, "Karnwikrawprasithtipap khongkarnprathomsuksa" (An Analysis of the Efficiency of the Elementary Education) Journal of the National Education Council 14 (October-November, 1979) : 13-29.

TABLE 41

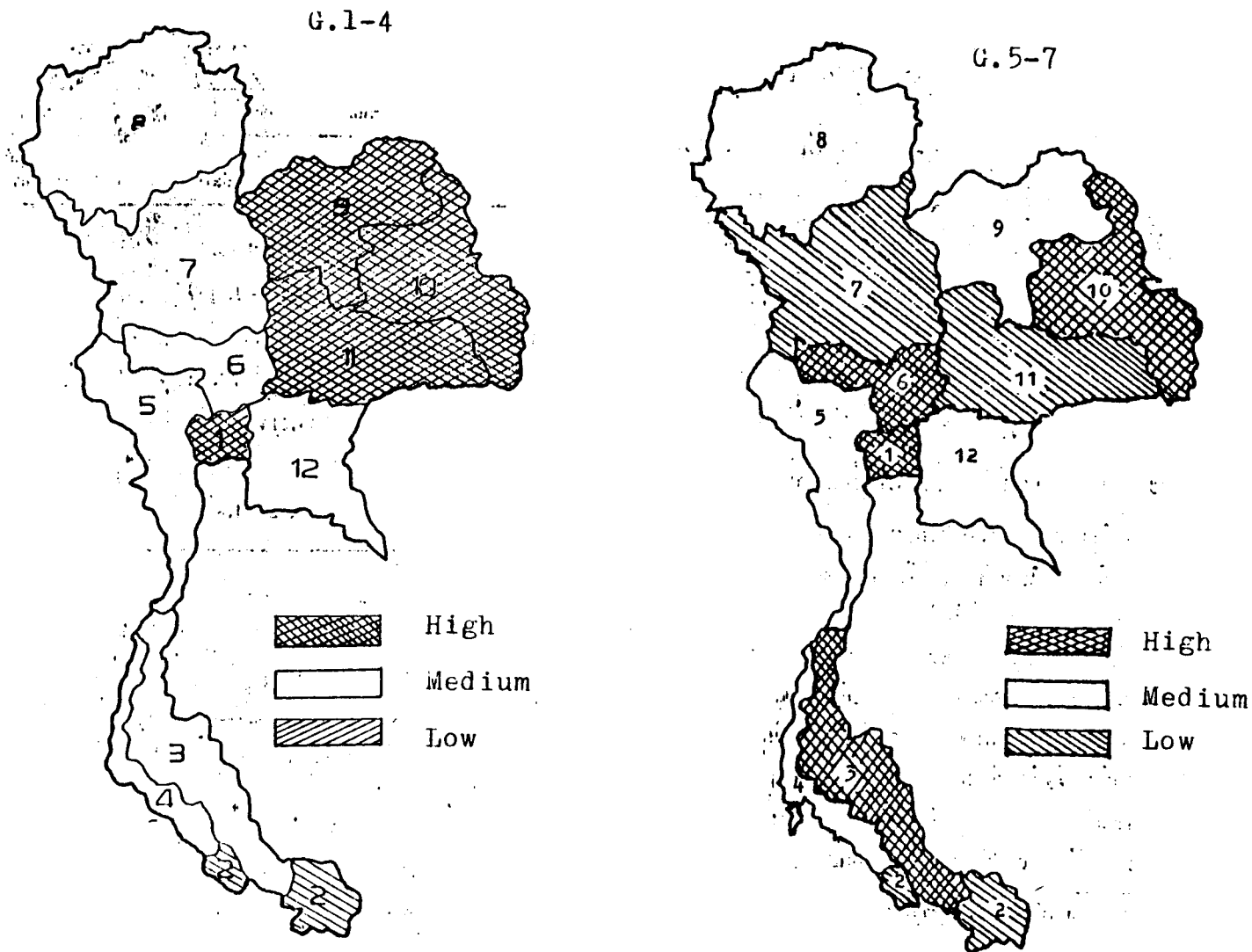
Educational Regions Classified According to the Quality
of Elementary Education 1976-77

Quality	Lower Primary (G1-4) Educational Regions (Index of Wastage)	Upper Primary (G5-7) Educational Regions (Index of Wastage)
High	1, 9, 10, 11 (1.102-1.213)	1, 3, 6, 10 (1.121-1.165)
Medium	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 (1.214-1.325)	3, 5, 8, 9, 12 (1.116-1.210)
Low	2 (1.326-1.437)	2, 7, 11 (1.211-1.255)

Source: A. Chantawanich, "Karnwikraprasithtipap khong karnprathomsuksa"
(An Analysis of the Efficiency of the Elementary Education)
Journal of the National Education Council 14 (October-November
1979), Table 6.

FIGURE 3

A Comparison of Schooling Quality in Each Educational Region: 1977-78



Source: Chantawanich, "Karnwikraprasitthipap khongkarn prathomsuksa...", Figure 1 & 2.

the upper primary schools. The efficiency of schools in the country can also be seen in Figure 3.

Conclusions

From the reported evidence, a simple conclusion is that educational opportunity is unequally distributed in respect to rural areas. This conclusion is supported by the interpretation of access to school, educational investment, and educational outcome figures. For example, rural children do not have equal access simply because there is a shortage of schools. The expansion of compulsory education has not reached all tambons. Further, secondary schools are available only in the main districts. In short, access becomes a more difficult proposition at each higher level of schooling.

Educational inputs are also unequally distributed. The main factors here are lack of financial resources and teachers. The final evidence of unequal EEO is the continued budget imbalance in favor of urban schools.

This inequality only exacerbates the continuing fact of unequal educational outcomes. No matter how those outcomes are measured, rural schools must be considered inferior.

All interpretations of EEO (access, inputs and outputs) are even more pronounced when reference is made to the more specific comparisons between:

- Greater Bangkok and Northeast Schools
- School types (e.g. PAO schools)
- School levels (primary, secondary, higher education)
- Greater Bangkok and Northeast region

CHAPTER V

DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE: IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL EDUCATION

The Need to Improve Rural Education

The discussion of rural villages in Chapter II and the evidence offered of poor educational quality in rural schools (Chapter IV) are sufficient motives for administrators to increase their efforts to reorganize and institute projects in the rural sector. Actually, every government administration has apportioned funds to create education projects for rural villages; but the expansion of school enrollment in some rural schools does not completely remedy the faults of the system or of the schools. Education should do more for rural people than just oversee expansion of enrollment. Most of all, the rural population is marked by a high illiteracy rate. Rural children perform less well academically than urban children in all school levels (educational outcomes in Chapter IV), and they still to go school without shoes, half dressed, without lunch, few or no textbooks, and so on. The typical scene of rural children and their schooling in most countries is well described by Fratoe:¹

Rural students not only attend schools with fewer support staff and services, less revenue, and less funding per pupil, but they are also more likely to enroll in school later, progress through school more slowly, complete fewer years, and score lower on national tests than students attending metro area schools.

¹F.A. Fratoe, Rural Education and Rural Labor Force in the Seventies, Rural Development Research Report No. 5, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., p. iv, 1978, cited by Dale Carmichale, "The Challenge of Rural Education," Rural Educator 4:1 (Fall 1982): 6.

The economic picture is not much better and is strongly inter-related with the educational process. In the end, the poorest-of-the poor still remain the same, and the greatest inequality of education, incomes and employment are still found in the rural areas. At the same time, poverty is being transferred to urban areas while the former still remain poor.²

In addition to Thailand, Cogan has cited UNESCO's Statistical Yearbook and Sivard's World Military and Social Expenditures, showing the continuing educational gap between lesser and well developed countries.³

The wealthiest quarter of the world (30 countries with 24 percent of the population) spends 75 times more per inhabitant on education than the least developed quarter (23 countries with 24 percent of the population), a ratio three times greater than their economic disparities which are 25 to 1.

Sixty percent of the world's population receives 6 percent of world expenditures on public schools.

The USA, USSR, and Japan account for more higher education than the rest of the world put together (in terms of university expenditures, graduates, and professors).

In half the world's countries, half the children never complete primary school. In 1980, there will still be 240 million children between 5 and 14 not attending school.

Thirty-seven countries representing 30 percent of world population possess 91 percent of the total number of scientists, engineers, and technicians, while 115 countries with over two-thirds of world population possess about 9 percent of these qualified personnel.

²Martin Carnoy, "Education for Alternative Development," Comparative Education Review 26:2 (June, 1982): 160-177.

³John J. Cogan, "Education and Development in the Third World," Educational Leadership 39:6 (March, 1982): 431.

Attempts to Improve Rural Education: Suggestions and Guidelines

Ample literature exists showing how education in the United States and elsewhere faced the problems of rural education, once it had been recognized. That educators and authorities have certainly been exposed to the situation through agencies such as UNESCO. A further review of some recent literature in this area will be helpful.

An important report in this respect is that by Nachtigal⁴ who, after analyzing 14 rural educational programs, pointed out the importance of having the rural school-community link be considered as one system. Trying to make a rural school a copy of an urban school would not work, since a rural school has its own reality.

Willey⁵ concluded that the major administrative problem was maximizing the composite of available resources in order to offer a quality instructional program. But he also noted other problems, supported by the literature, such as faculty instability, restricted curriculum, limited professional programs, and the higher costs of transportation and energy. He did suggest a reduction in the rural school week to four days.

Tillman,⁶ along with Nachtigal,⁷ agrees that rural schools and

⁴P. Nachtigal, "Are We Ready to Accept Rural School Realities?," The Small School Forum 2:1 (Fall 1980) : 20-23.

⁵Darrell S. Willey, "Considerations for Rural School Improvement," Rural Educator 4:3 (Spring, 1983) : 31-33.

⁶Jerome Tillman, "In Pursuit of Quality: The Agenda for Rural and Small Schools," Rural Educator 5:1 (Fall, 1983).

⁷Nachtigal, "Are We Ready to Accept Rural School...".

locales are characteristically different from urban schools and communities. The major characteristic differences are isolation, small size and sparseness. Thus, he suggested a number of remedies: a comfortable and pleasant school building, strong leadership from teaching staff and personnel, a core curriculum which includes the rural culture and values, and the use of standardized tests to measure progress and to aid in implementing program improvement.

Still, these suggestions are probably insufficient in that reality also suggests that many programs are inoperable because of teacher shortages and the fact that many teachers do not want to work in rural schools no matter how beautiful the building. Thus, a persistent problem is the inability of rural schools to attract and retain well qualified teachers. Many rural programs have to be directed to the teacher only. Teachers' salaries need to be more competitive, teacher training colleges need to provide programs about working rural areas, teacher housing has to be addressed, supplemental salary programs provided and recreation and medical projects supported.

Ankrah-Dove⁸ has focused on the teacher training programs since it has been realized that we cannot produce better rural schools if we still lack better qualified teachers. Four interrelated features of an overall program to improve teacher education are suggested:

Field-based preparation: to provide teachers experience with remote rural schools so they can be reassured about the environment and

⁸Linda Ankrah-Dove, "The Development and Training of Teachers for Remote Rural Schools in Less-Developed Countries," International Review of Education 28:1 (1982): 3-27.

develop some sense of confidence, involvement and motivation to work in such an environment.

Team work in training: a process stretching out from teacher training institutions to all those actually working in or on behalf of rural educational programs.

Community support of training: necessary for smooth project operation, and

Recruitment and preparation of local teachers: the importance of attracting teachers to remain in rural schools.

Lotven⁹ has suggested a program for the training of rural school teachers under the correct assumption that most teacher educational programs have been directed toward urban schools. The student teachers should have been trained to work in rural schools since the majority of schools in many countries are located in rural areas.

Abeje¹⁰ has criticized the traditional education strategies as being too expensive and elitist. There are also problems in respect to lack of opportunity, curriculum content and an emphasis on schooling as an academic preparation for the professions, among other criticisms. He suggested three different approaches, which are expected to increase both quality and quantity of education, based on actual demand and educational resource limitations.

The Two-Hour School Day. This would enable schools to serve more

⁹Brian Lotven, "Multicultural Experiences Exist in Rural Areas," Rural Educator 5:1 (Fall, 1983): 17-19.

¹⁰Haile Y. Abeje, "New Approaches for Creating Universal Learning Opportunities," Convergence 16:2 (1983) : 23-29.

groups of children in one day and to accomodate children who have to work part time.

School Every Other Day. This would be a recognition of the travel distances to rural schools. Schooling would be on alternate days for different groups to shorten travel time and hardships.

A Combination Approach. This would combine elements of the first two approaches.

These approaches, however, would work best with improvements in relevant educational content for rural pupils and rural communities, decentralization of the educational management system, and linking formal with nonformal educational instruction so learning opportunities can be extended to parents and out-of-school rural youth.

Medlin,¹¹ dealing more generally with what is referred to as the Third World (which would include Thailand), notes that the most important planning consideration is the actual social environment as is, not as something to be reshaped. In respect to the educational planning for non-industrial society, Medlin is in favor of a simple, direct to-the-point approach, and believes that no further or elaborate research on some school topics (i.e. school enrollments, innovation adoptions) are needed when dealing with such areas as hunger, human wastage, and rural economic productivity. These are universal facts and are fundamental problems. His plan is really designed to improve and deliver those "...cognitive and behavior skills essential to the

¹¹William K. Medlin, "A Model for Planning Rural Education Development: Synthesis of Experiences in Non-Industrial Societies," Convergence 16:1 (1983): 30-41.

ability of clients to perform those roles needed to sustain and improve life conditions in their community."¹²

Two principles underlining the planning for the improvement of rural education can also be summarized:

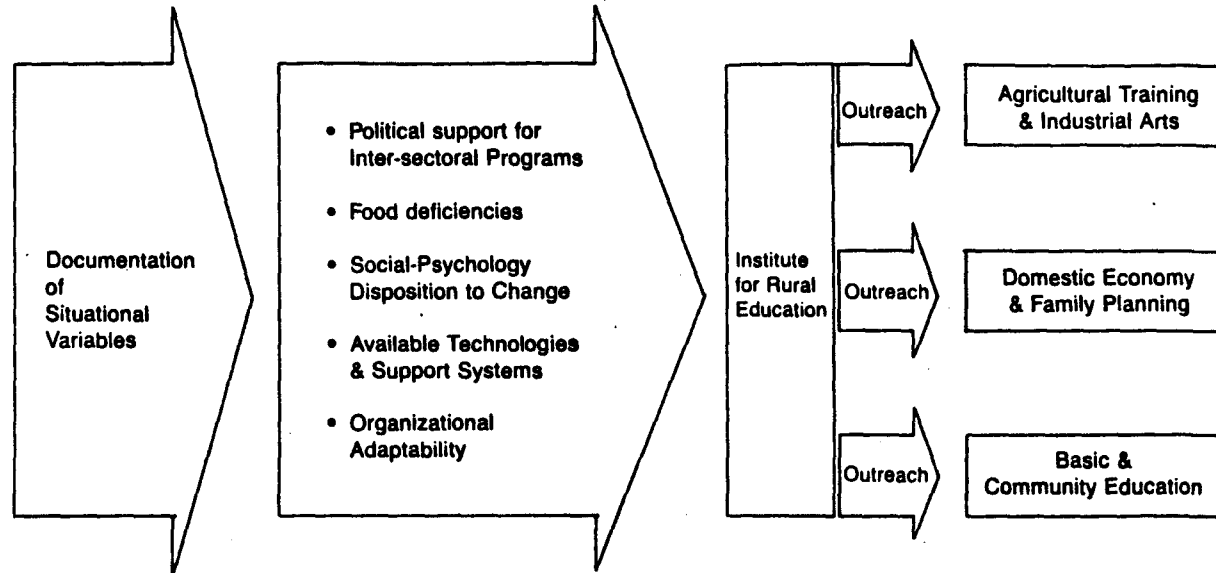
1. Contextual analysis: According to Medlin, before planning, it is necessary to investigate those 'situation-structural variables' that exist in communities. Exploration should deal with the main features of rural people such as cultures, behavior traits, and work habits. The social and cultural resources that will be utilized and be of benefit to them also need to be stated.

2. After the above is completed, it is necessary to note those forms of social communication that transfer knowledge. Also needed is new management of curricula and instruction that can be assimilated to what is known and applied directly to community problems.

Medlin has suggested plannings in four diagrams. The first shows the "process" and is "indicative" in structure, but not meant to "embrace" all specifics of program planning. After the investigation of variables needed in the community has been completed, and as can be seen in Diagram I, the variables are organized into service and knowledge categories related to the community. The diagram shows how the resources (institutions) for these tasks are related to the variables. The second position follows the first process and involves making needed resources available and, in turn, is related to the third position where education is "outreached" into the community.

¹²Ibid., p. 32.

DIAGRAM I
Hypothetical Construct of a Rural Educational Planning System



(Data for this construct are drawn from different studies of projects on educational development programs in Africa, Asia, and North and South America. The model can be interpreted only in conjunction with another construct in this series: 'properties of teaching and learning systems in community development', 1960-1980.)

DIAGRAM II

<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Organization/ Communication</u>	<u>Knowledge System</u>
Social Justice	Indigenous control over communications	Non-traditional subject matters related to community development
Social Mobility		
Occupational Mobility	Live linkages between admin/local groups; 'open systems'	Vocational, economic & technical education
Self-governing aspirations	Programme differentiation; pluralistic & autonomous features	Education in indigenous culture, values, traditions
Desire for material progress		
Trust in community ethics, local organization, etc.	Situational & goal relevance of messages	

In diagram II, all significant factors needed for a teaching and learning system are suggested: Motivation, Organization-Communication, and Knowledge Systems.

Diagram III shows how the three systems are ranked according to their significances: the Social-Psychological Demand System which is related to community's needs; the Organizational Process System which is related to how knowledge transferring can be organized; and the Knowledge Development System shows the services performed in the community. Diagram IV must be used with Diagram I since they are related to each other.

Diagram IV shows how the model was actually used in Kenya. In this last diagram, the completed teaching-learning process is shown step-by-step which seems to be simple and applicable to many rural communities of other countries.

All of the aforementioned suggestions for the improvement of rural schools will have to be taken seriously into consideration if any worthwhile changes equilibrating rural and urban education in Thailand are to occur. In addition to these suggestions, a consideration of older tried and tested methodologies should also be given due consideration. In essence new ideas in conjunction with older ideas may work synergistically for the betterment of education as a whole.

Any improvement in rural education must also relate to both formal and informal educational processes. We will note examples from both the West and Thailand.

DIAGRAM III

Schema on Properties of Teaching-Learning Systems for Planning Community Development (1960-1980)

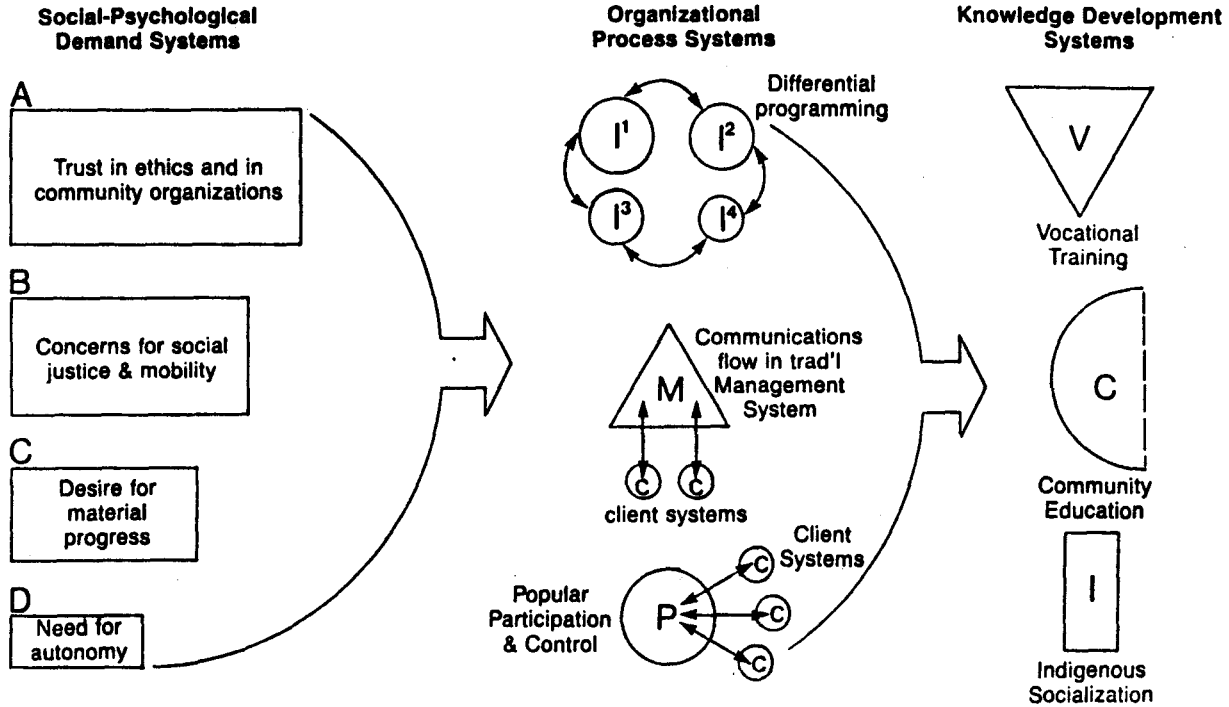


DIAGRAM IV

Components of Educational Delivery System

Curricula: 4 levels
(Knowledge systems) (1)

Applied Maths (market economics,
cost accounting)
Fertilizers
Cultivation
Crop protection
Harvesting
Storage

Sources included Ministry of
Agriculture manuals on new crop
requirements

Instruction: 4 levels
(Message systems) (2)

Visual aids, including wall charts
(trainees fill in progress charts)

Instructors' impartation:

classroom teacher/mediator- motivator*	extra-mural field assistant/ adviser helper
--	---

Trainees' participation in exercises
Demonstrations, exhibits (in addition
to other visual aids)

Final Test on course objects to
determine understanding

*Teachers received in-service training in motivation, adult social-psychology, special communication skills, handling special problems, etc.

(1) These relate to the interlocking steps, which coexist and are coordinated, by which knowledge and understanding are acquired in each subject area. It was found that learning tasks had to be designed in terms of level of comprehension—from basic or rudimentary notions about numeracy, to cost-accounting in a management system.

(2) These connote the mode or vehicle of communication employed to transmit the particular knowledge component, e.g., from:

- 1) *non-directional group discussion* led by an opinion leader; to
- 2) *passive instruction* via media such as a wall chart or slide presentation; to
- 3) *direct teacher instruction/impartation*; to
- 4) *dialectical teaching-learning interchange*.

Rural Educational Program in Thailand: Formal Education

Ehly¹³ has defined the term rural to mean country, farmland, small towns and/or outlying areas. The above applies to the situation in Thailand with the addition of poor or poverty situations prevalent in most lesser-developed countries.

Rural education then, according to Charmichael,¹⁴ means that education which is provided to children in rural locales. For the purpose of this study, as noted, such education is that provided for schoolage children residing outside the Bangkok metropolitan area.

The Organization of Formal Education for Rural Children: Currently, about 20 percent of the national budget is devoted to educational improvement generally, and over 50 percent of the educational budget is distributed for the administration of rural education. In addition, the educational history of the past 30 years or so has witnessed foreign educational aid, principally from the United States and other western and European countries.

The Department of General Education of the Ministry of Education has also provided what is termed "special education" programs.¹⁵ In addition to the usual provisions for handicapped children (as the term is normally understood elsewhere), special education in Thailand also

¹³Stewart W. Ehly, "School Psychological Services in Rural Settings," Rural Educator 4 (Fall, 1982): 11.

¹⁴Dale Carmichael, "The Challenge of Rural Education," Rural Educator 4 (Fall, 1982): 5.

¹⁵Ministry of Education, A History of Thai Education (Bangkok: Kurusapha Lad Proa Press, 1976), p. 67.

refers to children living in remote areas and to economically handicapped children. These special programs thus include the following groups:¹⁶

1. Hill Tribes children's education: Most Thai Hill Tribes live in the valleys and along the hills of the mountain areas of the North. These areas are marked by a lack of public transportation and no real roads. Children of these people have to go to school on foot. Further, each tribe has its own culture and dialect. What formal schooling there is usually takes place in one or two room schools built by villagers. These schools are administered by the provincial authorities. But the Ministry of Education is responsible for teacher training, textbooks and other materials. Funding is provided by the central government.

2. Schools for children living in remote areas: Outside of the Hill Tribes many rural Thai live scattered in remote villages and communes (Tambons). The MOE is responsible for their schools. These are basically boarding schools for those children who, for whatever reason (i.e. live too far to walk to school), cannot attend the regular formal school in the area. The children are provided with food, clothing and lodging and their education consists of skills relevant to their rural backgrounds, in addition to formal book knowledge, of use when they go back to their native villages.

Schooling is also provided for other children of this generally large category, the so-called "boat children" and children of parents with leprosy. Boat people live on the rivers, moving from place to

¹⁶Ibid.

place to earn a living. These children also attend MOE boarding schools for various lengths of time, hopefully until compulsory education is completed, but at least until some skills are learned before the children rejoin their parents.

Children of parents with leprosy are required to attend specified MOE schools, usually near where their parents live. These children are also taught vocational skills so they can hopefully lead productive lives in the community. However, there are only a limited number of both types of schools.

In addition to these special education programs, poor and other disadvantaged children fall under the "Welfare Education" projects previously discussed. The major benefit of these two types of formal programs is that there is no age limit for entrance. The latest educational plan also allows local authorities to be flexible in respect to age given that rural children tend to receive education at later ages than urban children. The government has made a commitment to accelerate the compulsory education process to be available in every commune as soon as possible.

At the secondary level, formal education programs best suited for rural students seems to be comprehensive schools. This type of school has been modeled on the U.S. version and an experimental type has been in existence in Chashoengsao province since 1951. The chief aim of this program is to allow students the opportunity to explore vocational and academic skills for future choice. Such a program appears especially suitable for those students who do not want to continue their education in urban centers. After schooling, students

can, rather, seek employment in their home locales. The curricula of these schools is based on the economic and occupational factors of the locality.

Regional Universities: Such universities now exist in every region. The expansion of universities in rural areas began after 1960. Again, curricula centered around rural life and the usual departments are: health, engineering and agriculture. Graduates are expected to serve in those communities needing technical and skilled manpower. However, these universities also face the problems of a shortage of skilled faculty and failure to attract bright students, the latter of whom still prefer to attend urban universities.

Suggestions for the future: Probably the most practical and beneficial suggestions for improving formal rural education, among others, are: (1) combining small schools for better resource allocation; (2) providing lunch programs; (3) regularized "scholarship programs" and (4) create a more automatic or assured promotion system to cut the repeat and dropout rates.

Certainly the notion of one school system for two societies (urban and rural) has been questioned. Bennett,¹⁷ for example, would prefer to see compulsory education in rural areas reduced to five or six years with the seven-year program remaining for urban students. Further, this

¹⁷M. Bennett, "Commitments for Compulsory Education or Miseducation in Thailand? Some Alternative Strategies," Paper presented to the Seminar on "The New Face of Thai Education," Wang Kaew Garden, Rayoung, Thailand, 1-4 May 1973.

rural program¹⁸ "... would concentrate entirely on transmitting the skills and knowledge, attitudes and ideas that a person (adult or child) in a village would need if he is to improve quality of life and increase his level of satisfaction."

Meanwhile, the Office of the National Elementary Education Commission of the Ministry of Education has made some plans to improve elementary education over the years 1982-86.¹⁹ These plans include a school radio program and provision of educational supplies to help reduce the unequal educational opportunity gap. Other programs of note that were proposed are the organization of pre-primary educational centers; at the primary level, expansion of compulsory education in all tambons as soon as possible; reduction of unequal educational opportunity; reduction of educational wastage (dropout and repeating grades); and increasing teacher qualifications. Similar plans have been applied to secondary and vocational education as well.

Rural Educational Programs in Thailand: Nonformal Education

Interpretation and scope: Nonformal or alternative formal education programs have been described variously as, out-of-school, nonformal, second chance, basic, fundamental, functional literacy, adult, continuing, recurrent, extension, and lifelong education.²⁰ The term nonformal

¹⁸Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Panpatanakarnsuksa, sasana rae watantum: 1982-1986 (Plans to Develop Education, Religion and Culture: The Fifth Plan) (Bangkok: Chongcharoen Publisher, 1983).

²⁰Harbans S. Bholia, "Non-Formal Education in Perspective," Prospects 13:1 (No. 1, 1983): 45.

education, widely used as the main choice for the improvement of rural education, was essentially recognized during the mid-sixties as an educational concept. Then, in the following decade, the official educational taxonomy became Formal, Informal, and Nonformal education.²¹ The distinctions are really based on the two dimensions, modes of transferring knowledge and instructional objectives.²²

Formal education is more structured and organized than nonformal education. It is a traditional type of schooling that offers the typical learning, teaching and testing processes in the formal school building. Informal education basically originated in the traditional social institutions of family and work place. It is a kind of education where,²³ "...everyone acquires knowledge, skills and attitudes through experience and through contact with others - provides an important foundation, but it cannot function as a substitute for formal or nonformal education and training."

Nonformal education is more organized than informal, but less structured in content, teaching and learning processes than formal education. It is not a true alternative to the demands of society and its requirements for formal education. The main aims of nonformal education are to give a second chance to those who missed formal

²¹Manzoor Ahmed, "Critical Educational Issues and Nonformal Education," Prospects 13 (No. 1, 1983): 35.

²²World Bank, Education: Sector Policy Paper (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1980), p. 16. In H.S. Bhola, "Non-Formal Education in Perspective," Prospects 13:1 (No. 1, 1983) : 53.

²³Bhola, "Non-Formal Education in Perspective," p. 47.

education, to aid urban and rural poor to acquire useful knowledge, attitudes and skills and to afford a wide array of learning activities associated with work.²⁴

Contributions of Nonformal Education: The adoption of nonformal education (NE) programs in many countries is the result of seeking new methods to deal with educational inequalities and regional disparities, especially since the formal system has been found lacking. Although nonformal education has many critics, governments of underdeveloped and developing countries have found it a useful strategy in dealing with the poor and the educational needs of their rural populations.

Nonformal education has certain characteristics that appeal to administrators. It is not routinized or systemized like formal programs. Educational resources can be obtained from a variety of sources, not only the government. It can also be incorporated into formal education to some extent.

However, undertaking NE requires an awareness of certain facts. A national commitment to mass welfare means expansion and equalization of educational opportunity to its citizens. Decentralization in educational planning and management means popular participation. Finally, an important end result of all this will probably be socio-economic change.²⁵

One review of these issues noted that NE had a number of significant roles for the developing countries whose critical educational issues

²⁴Ibid., pp. 47-48.

²⁵Ahmed, "Critical Education Issues...", p. 36.

are:²⁶ (1) universalization of primary education; (2) expansion of post-primary learning opportunities; (3) care and education of the young child; (4) relevance of school experiences; (5) efficient use of scarce resources; and (6) strengthening the link between education and development. These problems cannot be simply overcome by increasing educational investments, formal schooling or relying on the government alone.

It has been noted that over the last twenty years or so certain educational measures suggest educational improvement in developing countries. Yet, the function of formal education to the society has been distrusted and reinvestigated. The term 'deschooling' and other topical issues related to the traditional schooling system, starting in the late 1970s, will be with us for quite some time until better solutions have been discovered.

Carnoy,²⁷ in two hypothetical situations, has shown (1) that if there is no "inherent division" in a society, then the problems of the rural poor should be amenable to solution by financial and technical means; and (2) if, however, the society is class-structured and organized on a capitalist basis, merely increasing resource allocation in the educational sector will not work. Most societies reflect either or both of the social class and organized productive modes, so such societies, according to Carnoy, have to deal with changes in the class structure simultaneously with other changes. He also held that the

²⁶Ibid., p. 37.

²⁷Carnoy, "Education for Alternative Development," pp. 161-163.

educational alternatives are very necessary:²⁸

The only way for most Third World countries to increase mass standard of living significantly in the future is to concentrate on the employment of people in the rapidly increased production of basic necessities: food, shelter, health care, and the machinery and energy necessary to produce those necessities. The more that the types of goods produced and the way they are produced respond to the needs of the mass of people in the society, the more likely it will be that coercion will not be necessary to achieve desired development.... So the elements here are self-sufficiency, independence, catering to mass needs, and full participation--a development which has the worker-participant rather than capital and property at the center of the production and development process.

An alternative education which fits into such an alternative development might still be organized on the basis of classroom for part of the time, but socialization and the process of skill acquisition, to be consistent with the alternative development we have described, would have to be much more cooperative and set in more cooperative and participative work forms than under the present system.

So, NE can focus on the landless, the unemployed of all kinds, children of the rural poor, women, and migrants, among others. The main problem, however, is the doubt as to NE's benefits, a concern that still plagues many authorities. In the end, there are no guarantees in respect to the results of nonformal education. What is certain is that it is institutionally and programmatically amenable to initiation.²⁹

Nonformal Education in Thailand: Nonformal education was begun in Thailand in 1940 when it was called 'Adult Education' and was under the Adult Education Division of MOE. It was viewed as only a limited program and funding for it matched that perspective. It was aimed at decreasing the high illiteracy rate of the population during that time. Later,

²⁸Ibid., pp. 174-75.

²⁹Bhola, "Non-formal Education...", p. 49.

the program proved to be a successful strategy in dealing with education of the people at very low costs.³⁰

The most recent national educational scheme has given it more emphasis; it is popularly known as the "nonformal education" program and its official position can be seen by reference to the following educational chart. The main goal of the program is still directed toward the development of both academic and vocational skills so that a person can achieve a more useful, and productive life.

Government agencies that have operated Adult Education programs in the early 1970s are:³¹

A. Ministry of Education:

1. Division of Adult Education in the Department of General Education (at present, the Adult Education Division has been made into the Department of Adult Education because of its increasing responsibilities and role in developing rural villages).

2. Division of Vocational Promotion in the Department of Vocational Education.

B. Ministry of Interior:

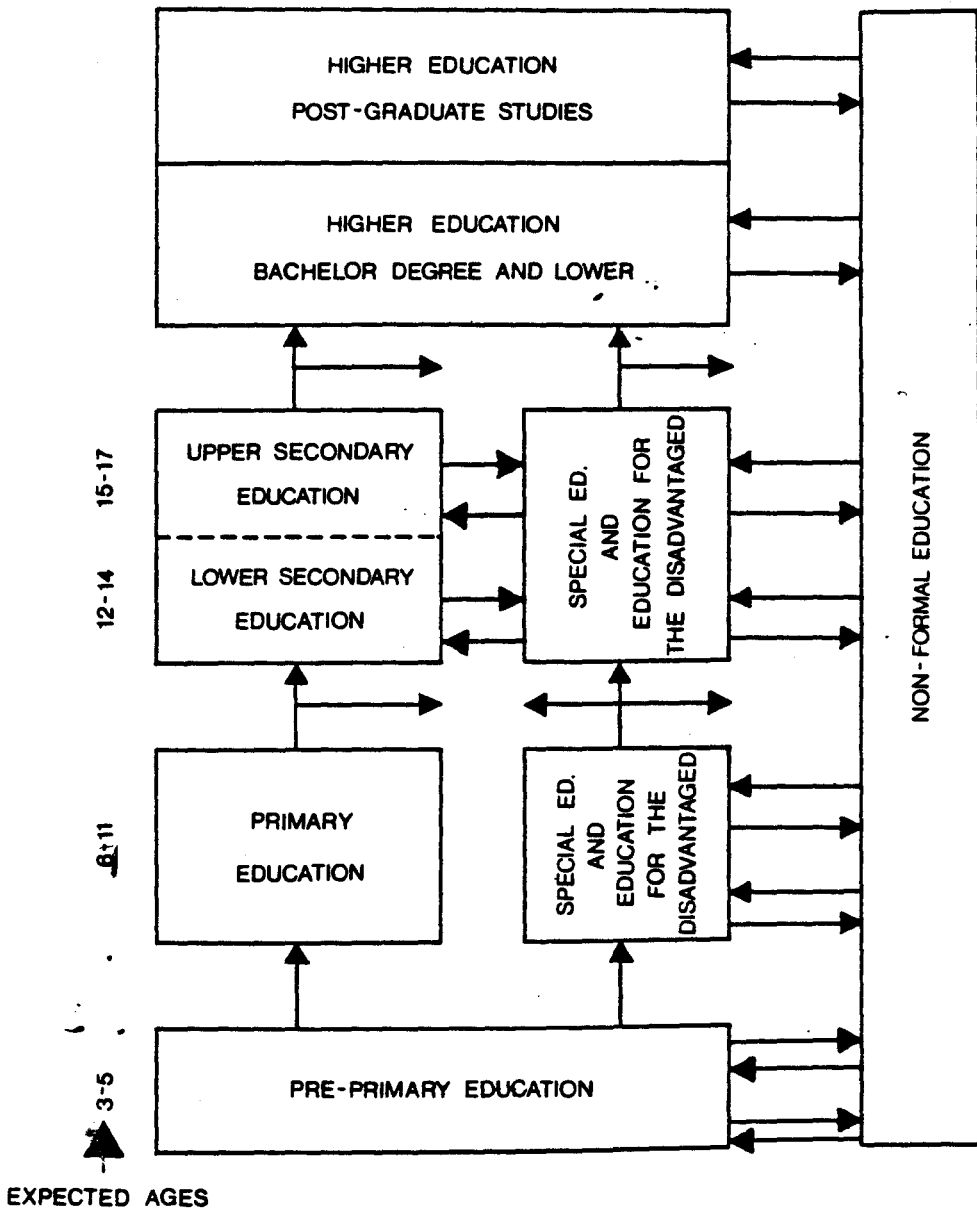
3. The Skill Training Center in the Department of Labor.

4. All Rural Leadership and Vocational Training Centers in the Department of Community Development.

³⁰ Nicholas Bennett, Problems of Financing the Thai Educational System During 1960s and 1970s (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975), pp. 26-27.

³¹ Ministry of Education, Education in Thailand: 1971 (Bangkok: Kurusapha Ladprao Press, 1972), pp. 61-62.

CHART OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM



Source: Survey and Data Processing Section, Educational Statistics and Analysis Division, Office of the National Education Commission, Statistical Country Profile for Administrators (Bangkok: Ruamchang Publisher, 1980), p. 19.

C. Office of the Prime Minister

5. Rural Youth Vocational Training under the National Youth Promotion Committee (NYPC)

6. Vocational Training Center under the Accelerated Rural Development (ARD)

D. Ministry of Defense:

7. Vocational and Training Centers in sensitive areas under the National Security Council (NSC)

In 1971, there were 85,600 students attending these various programs, and there were 4,409 teachers. These figures have been increased as the programs have been expanding at the present time.

Expansion of the programs began in 1971 when the Functional Literacy and Family Life Program (FLFLP) was instituted in the two northern provinces of Lampang and Prae as a "pilot project".³² It proved highly successful and further expansion was planned for other provinces and eventually the whole country by 1977. But teacher shortages and other problems have delayed this expansion. As constituted nevertheless, the aim of these adult education programs are to teach literacy skills. Included are family education programs designed to help a person to live a better family life which stresses earning a living, family economic and consumer education, health, family planning, and civic responsibilities. But, as stated before, these programs are

³²Kowit Vorapipatana and Kasama Varavarn, "Out-of-School Education for Youth: A Case Study from Thailand," Bulletin (The Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asian, No. 14 (June, 1973): 245-253.

still heavily academically oriented.³³

In respect to the literacy aspects, most courses are designed to give learners skills in the three R's and the courses are basically derived from the core curriculum of the compulsory education programs. The FLFLP is conducted by the local learning centers which assess rural needs prior to planning and operating specific courses. Programs are usually operated in the evening in the local temples, and school buildings. Group teaching methods and discussion are common modes of instruction.³⁴

To evaluate the accomplishment of the existing curriculum areas, literacy ability, occupation, health, economic and civic responsibility, three types of testing are used.³⁵ A pre-test is usually given to assess the learners' fundamental abilities; tests during the courses are given about three times, and finally, a post-test is given to evaluate the overall accomplishment of the learners.

In 1977, six types of FLFLP were reported.³⁶ Each program was designed to meet the specific needs of local people as well as to attain the goals of the programs.

1. Classroom Sub-Project: This program is directed at the literacy function. Classes are operated by local school teachers and

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Unesco, "Functional Literacy and Family Life Planning, Thailand," Education in Asia: Reviews, Reports and Notes, No. 12 (September, 1977).

³⁶Ibid., pp. 20-22.

are held in primary school buildings. Student numbers range from 20 to 25 and include those about 15 years old or older who dropped out of school after four years of formal schooling.

2. Volunteer Walking Teachers Sub-Project: When there are not enough students to form a class of at least 20, then the volunteer teacher organizes smaller classes of at least three students. Such classes are usually organized close to where students live and work. Teachers, then walk to the different classes which are held at various times during the week.

3. Buddhist Monks FL Sub-Project: A class of small size (at least three students) can also be taught by monks. This program was started in 1976. At the time this report came out there were about 100 monks involved with the project in five provinces.

4. Radio Correspondence Sub-Project: In places where there is no walking teacher available, radio programs have been used for literacy projects. Students must listen to radio about three times a week and are assigned to practice literacy skills with volunteer teachers.³⁷

Radio has been found to be most effective medium in working with villagers for educational purpose. One of the government departments is cited in NEC's survey in 1976. Using 1,536 people from nine provinces, including Bangkok, it reported that 87 percent of the sample listened to radio; 74 percent watched movies; 47 percent read newspapers; 34 percent watched television, and 16 percent read magazines.³⁸

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Government Public Relations Department, "Education," Featuring Thailand 4 (July-August, 1978).

5. Hilltribes Sub-Project: This project was begun in early 1977 and was aimed at improving the quality of life of Hilltribes people. Besides literacy skills, these people were taught to develop a sense of belonging to the country.

6. Teachers' College Sub-Project: Starting in 1976, the project was directed to train teachers to work with FLFLP programs. Student teachers are provided with first-hand experience of nonformal educational programs and the rural environment during a training period of about three months.

Besides FLFLP program, training centers for life-long education have been set up in each province administratively connecting the central educational system to the National Committee on Nonformal Education. The program's success has relied heavily on the mass media which, as noted, has been very effective in transmitting information to most rural villages. Local educational resources have been important to these programs and the demand has accelerated because of the growing population.

About 80 percent of the rural population is now involved in some way with nonformal education. Some significant programs that have been instituted and under MOE's responsibilities are:³⁹

Interest Group Program: The program is aimed to provide training on the basis of requests by local groups who are interested in specific subjects. The program was begun in 1973, and has proven very popular and exists in almost every province. The courses designed to meet the

³⁹ Ministry of Education, A History of Education....

groups' needs and interests can last anywhere from 5 to 30 hours.

Mobile Vocational Training Program: These courses are based upon meeting such immediate village needs as motorcycle and bicycle maintenance, cooking, hair dressing, and the like. Individual courses run between 20-50 hours. Students can proceed from these courses to more intensive training leading to a new profession. Such training will last between 100-200 hours. After completing the training program, a learner can obtain a certificate from MOE.

Functional Literacy Program: This program offers basic educational skills training and is similar to the formal classes found in primary schools. The basic courses are reading, writing and arithmetic. The courses can be conducted almost anywhere. The program was initiated in 1970, but despite the professed aim by 1975 only 17,807 adults were enrolled. The small enrollment is caused by many problems which are being overcome by MOE. The program is in need of expansion since a functional literacy program is usually the most effective way to raise the standard of living.

Village Newspaper Reading Centers Project: This program is intended to help people maintain their literacy ability. Local people can use such centers for self-education and to obtain news and information from the world outside their villages.

Radio Correspondence and Television for Nonformal Education: This project is intended to help people who lack educational opportunity to attend other nonformal programs. The program's popularity has arisen because of its accessibility. Radio is the most popular of the two since over 70 percent of Thai households have radios. Television is

less experienced by many villagers due to the cost and lack of electricity.

General Education Project: The curriculum of this project is equivalent to primary and secondary courses. It is a kind of formal type substitute program for those unable to attend formal daytime classes. After completing the courses, students are given certificates equivalent to those from the formal schooling system.

Vocational Adult Education Project: This short training is aimed at helping people to improve their professional skills. Courses are offered at: (1) a 'stationary school' using local secondary vocational school facilities. The training is offered in 25 various subjects and lasts from 100 hours up to one year; (2) a 'mobile vocational unit and mobile trade training school' moving to distant villages. Some courses offered are similar to what has been offered in the 'stationary school', but are offered during daytime. The mobile trade training school also serves in a larger community. All vocational programs are designed to meet the local needs and interests (i.e. barbering, mechanics, agriculture, and trading).

In addition to these projects from the Adult Education Department, other government agencies have been involved with nonformal educational programs. The Ministry of Interior has organized these plans: Women Development Plan which is aimed directly to train women who need certain skills to better their lives; and the Welfare Volunteer program which is aimed at the relief of domestic disasters such as fires and floods. These are just two of many other worthwhile programs under the auspices

of this Ministry.⁴⁰

The Department of Teacher Education has added about 90 projects in 25 out of 36 teacher training colleges to train teachers to work with nonformal education and rural developmental programs. Some of these interesting projects are⁴¹ structured to combat disease, to improve the quality of drinking water, to fight drug addiction, prevent environmental pollution, to promote fresh-water fishery, and other worthwhile projects.

Office of the University Affairs: Besides performing the function of higher institutional education, Thai universities also play significant roles in improving rural life and education. In 1974, three universities started the first phase of the "Maeklong Integrated Rural Development Project" by collecting data from 1,430 households.⁴² The purpose of the program was to help rural families learn some skills taught by the three universities. The results of these projects would form the data for further planning of the Fourth Social and Economic Development Plan, 1977-1981.

Pilot projects organized by each university during Phase II (1975)

⁴⁰Community Development Department, "Non-Formal Education," Fact Sheets on Thailand: A Publication of the Government Public Relations Department, Bangkok, No. 1: Classification E (January, 1980).

⁴¹Department of Teacher Education, "Teacher Education," Fact Sheets on Thailand: A Publication of the Government Public Relations Department, Bangkok, No. 10: Classification E (October, 1979).

⁴²Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, "Rural Development in Asia," Rural Development (RDN) Bulletin, No. 4 (November, 1975).

were:⁴³

Thammasat University: organized a program of nonformal education which included innovation in agricultural systems, health practices, health education, nutrition, and family planning.

Kasetsart University: organized new agricultural systems to help rural people achieve economic improvement.

Mahidon University: organized all health care programs such as maternal and child health, nutrition, and environmental sanitation.

Considering all nonformal educational programs in Thailand since 1940, it can be seen that rural people and their education have not been neglected by the government as previously thought. Rather, the socioeconomic structure has been the main delaying block. Most of these programs, even if not directly set for rural people, have the nature and characteristics tending to be more beneficial for rural people. Many other future plans from government agencies will be developed during 1982-1986 including:⁴⁴

1. Projects to produce reading materials that are relevant to rural life.
2. Projects for organizing out of school education for the purpose of development.
3. Projects to develop the poorer rural villages.
4. Projects to increase local leader's roles in the villages.

⁴³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁴Educational Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Panpatthana-karnsuksa..., pp. 101-116.

Nonformal Education Programs in Other Countries

The main thrust of nonformal education considered internally is on increasing the literacy rate and offering training in health, nutrition and agricultural skills. However, the first area is emphasized the most in many countries because literacy is believed to be the key to everything else. Literacy programs are also more cost effective. Further, volunteers can do much of the teaching that would otherwise require regular instructors.

Literacy campaigns, however, have taken various forms. In most developing countries, mass campaigning is the most common. Some authorities hold that this form is especially effective in authoritarian and centralized frameworks.

In a worldwide survey of such literacy programs, Noor⁴⁵ has summarized the main features of a typical one.

Organization of the program: The implementation of a successful literacy program involves:

a. responsible authorities. The normal authority has been the Ministry of Education, but it is possible to put its operation in other ministries. Indeed, a major fault with an ME administration is the tendency to regard nonformal education in too formal terms or to operate it as extracurricular adjunct or branch of the formal system.

b. interdependence. Such a program must be operated in cooperation with both educational and non-educational (external) sectors.

⁴⁵Abdun Noor, "Managing Adult Literacy Training," Prospects 12 (No. 2, 1982): 163-184.

c. decentralization. Local authority must have more latitude in appointing teachers, creating teaching and learning programs and the like.

d. linkage with the formal schooling system. Even when local people are allowed to manage the programs, those programs still need access to the formal methods of teaching and learning. Teaching styles, lesson plans, and activities are still based on existing traditional education.

e. equivalency of primary school certificates. The equivalency of the literacy program should be set to the primary schooling level by administration. That is, learners are expected to be trained in certain skills of basic education such as: skills to communicate, skills to improve quality of life, and skills to contribute to, and to increase economic production.

Thus, although literacy skill is only part of the above described program, most students in a literacy class expect to obtain a primary school certificate. In recognition of this, Thailand organizes literacy plus vocational skills training (about 30% of total course time), about six months for illiterate rural children. Upon completion, students obtain the certificate for Grade 2, and if completing another course, the learners can obtain the Grade 4 certificate. The purpose of the certificate is to show that the student has been trained in the literacy program, but not to be used to continue formal schooling at Grade 5, nor to be used as a normal primary school certificate.

Adult Education Department of Thailand also offers a certificate

in many other non-formal career training programs. Adults who complete a period of training, are given certificates which are believed to be best motive for them to pursue further training, if needed, or to apply for work.

Resources: Generally, local facilities have been used for non-formal education programs, since it reduces expenditures. Some countries have set up separate places in order to give "... a distinct and significant identity to the adult as learner."⁴⁶ In Thailand, temples have been used as learning places since the establishment of the Kingdom in the 13th century. Buddhist monks have also performed the role of teacher for both formal and non-formal schooling to local people since that time as well. The use of local volunteer personnel and other resources help the government reduce the cost of the program tremendously. However, the Thai government still has to provide teaching and learning materials that are not available in rural provinces. The village reading centers, and mobile libraries are similar facilities used in Thailand as well as in other countries like Zambia, Nigeria and India.

Financial resources: Community contributions can play a significant role in financial support. It has been reported that in Latin American countries (during the 1970s) the non-formal education program could be funded by the community from between 25 to 50 percent of the total

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 173.

costs.⁴⁷ The community contribution, however, still depends upon the economic status of its rural people. In many rural villages of Thailand, central budget funding still plays a more significant role than local contribution.

Language: The major question is what should be the language of instruction. Regional dialect has the advantages of appropriateness, and the ease of enhancing self image, and ethnic identity. But it probably has long-term disadvantages in respect to mainstream economic and political processes.

Teaching in both languages may prove to be complicated and expensive. Thus, the choice of instruction is not easily answered.⁴⁸

This description of a "typical" literacy program essentially describes the situation existing in Thailand. But obviously, non-formal education has other uses besides increasing literacy. In India⁴⁹ it has been used to extend primary education that cannot be achieved through the formal system, especially in the face of reduced budgets for formal education. For example, school is a part-time, informal affair running between seven and ten in the evening. The local school building is utilized and trained farmers and volunteers are teachers. Tuition is free.

The United Kingdom has used "non-formal education" in a context of

⁴⁷Francisco X. Swett Morales, "Aspects of Financing Non-Formal Education." Prospects 13:1 (1983): 59.

⁴⁸Noor, "Managing Adult Literacy...", p. 177.

⁴⁹Chitra Naik, "India: Extending Primary Education Through Non-Formal Approaches." Prospects 13:1 (1983) : 61-72.

youth unemployment.⁵⁰ Like other countries, Britain has a large drop-out problem resulting in a large group of unskilled youth. In Bristol, to take one example, "Education Services" has been selected as an alternative form of education for young adults between the ages of 14 to 16 who have dropped out of formal school. These students have been found to be poor readers, with low self-concept and so on. At the service center, boys are trained to take responsibilities in maintaining the building and preparing meals. They are also taught various employment skills, how to find a job, and how to be independent. A literacy program then forms part of the evening work.

Chile's employment of radio programs for non-formal education during the 1970s,⁵¹ and the United Republic of Tanzania's Folk Developmental College, are often cited examples of non-formal education that have been organized. Such programs are increasingly stressed when the particular government recognizes the increasing social importance of the program to rural areas. Tanzania's Folk Developmental Colleges, for instance, provide training in agriculture, technical subjects, domestic service, political science and economics.⁵² Students average 26 years of age and upon completing their training

⁵⁰David Brockington and Rodger White, "United Kingdom: Non-Formal Education in a Context of Youth Unemployment." Prospects 13:1 (1983) : 73-82.

⁵¹Marcela Gajardo, "Chile: An Experiment in Non-Formal Education in Rural Area." Prospects 13:1 (1983): 83-93.

⁵²H.J. Mosha, "United Republic of Tanzania: Folk Development Colleges." Prospects 13:1 (1983): 95-97.

are expected to return to their villages. This program begun in 1975 is funded by the Tanzanian government and Sweden.

A post-literacy program was established in the Republic of Mali the aim of which was,⁵³ "... to set in motion a process of continued education and, beyond that, a lifelong education." The benefits of the program were aimed at both adults who have already completed the literacy courses and adults who have dropped out, are self-taught and or otherwise have not found an economic place in the society. Mass media and a large production of reading materials are the main feature of the post literacy program. A large quantity of high quality reading materials has also been emphasized by the Director of the National Institute of Adult Education in England.⁵⁴ Reading skills, among other skills, would certainly help adults to become and stay literate.

While the benefits of non-formal educational programs have been reported in literature around the world, some other thoughts have also been brought up.

Duke,⁵⁵ Associate Secretary-General of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), has reported some interesting points in respect to the relationship between adult education and poverty. The 1982 report of the commission concluded that adult education alone does

⁵³Adama Ouane, "Rural Newspapers and Radio for Post-Literacy in Mali." Prospects 12:2 (1982): 244.

⁵⁴Arthur Stock, "The United Kingdom: Becoming and Staying Literate." Prospects 12:2 (1982).

⁵⁵Chris Duke, "Adult Education and Poverty: What are the Connections?." Convergence 16:1 (1983).

not reduce poverty. Adult education is a dependent variable necessarily interrelated with other important factors such as technology, economic development and the socioeconomic structure. All affect the rate of poverty. Adult education has to be integrated with other programs such as family planning, health and agriculture. It also cannot be denied that adult education is a political process, often used by politicians to increase their power in rural areas. As the report partially stated:⁵⁶

The studies so far fail to prove that adult education reduces poverty, or is essential to its reduction. It appears impossible, logically and in terms of methodology, unequivocally to demonstrate a direct cause- and -effect relationship. Further studies are unlikely to produce such proof.

There is however compelling cumulative evidence of the importance of adult education to the process of reducing poverty and removing its causes providing certain conditions are met. Adult education is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the reduction of the poverty of groups, communities and classes: it is frequently a crucial element in such development work, whether national or local in scale. Adult education can remove deficiencies which are obstacles to development - deficiencies of skill, of communication (such as illiteracy), and of attitude (such as low self-esteem and sense of powerlessness. In practice this makes adult education indispensable for the reduction of poverty.

Direction for the Future of Rural Education: Formal or Non-Formal

Before creating any further rural educational programs, it is necessary to consider which type of schooling is better to be emphasized: formal or non-formal. Decisions on educational investment must be made with care.

For about a century, Thailand has operated only one kind of formal

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 77.

school system for two different societies, the urban Bangkok area and all other rural areas. This system has not proven efficacious enough for the later sector. So, it is necessary to look at alternative educational strategies to provide a new kind of schooling for people who, after all, compose about 80 percent of the population. Considering all this and despite its apparent newness on the international scene, non-formal education promises to be best alternative for the poor, rural, and otherwise disaffected from the formal system.

This does not mean that formal education should be abandoned. It can still serve a useful purpose in rural society. Non-formal education in the end also cannot perform all the goals attributed to it. Non-formal education is, rather, one significant factor in bringing about needed social improvement. At the same time, the concurrent need for economic development has to be emphasized.

The selection of non-formal education programs for the improvement of rural education is supported by a number of reasons. In comparison to formal education:

-Non-formal education programs can create a love for the land and an appreciation of rural life. NE is designed to meet local needs, interests, culture, and traditions.

-Internal migration can be slowed down. With appropriate skills and training, rural people can create local businesses and have less reliance on civil services.

-Non-formal education programs can help to preserve literacy and other basic educational skills that are the outgrowth of formal schooling.

-It reduces the high unemployment rate during off-growing season.

With some training acquired through NE, farmers can seek other temporary or permanent employment.

-Non-formal educational can increase equal educational opportunity. In relation to formal education, NE tends to aid rural people in obtaining more of a chance for schooling.

When EEO is interpreted as "equal access", NE has a flexible school nature that makes schooling attainable by the poor. NE programs do not require five days per week of attendance, nor are courses conducted during the day only. Attendance may require as little as two to three hours a day, two to three days per week, and can be organized for evening hours. Most courses last only a few months. School locations are also convenient in very remote areas; a walking teacher can conduct a class with as few as three learners. Ages of students are also not limited. The formal dropout pupils are given another chance.

If EEO is interpreted as "educational inputs", the unequal resource allocation between rural and urban schools can be reduced by NE programs. Local resources such as school buildings, temples, and other human and nonhuman resources from local areas can be utilized. School programs would be less effected by the usual budget cuts, budget shortages and teacher shortages.

If EEO is interpreted as "educational outcomes", then methods, objectives and the nature of NE programs are different from formal educational programs so that the traditional evaluation of schooling success cannot be the same. The educational outcomes of a NE program should be determined by its contribution to the learner's life in the

society. By using these measures, NE tends to help rural people to be able to cope with the rural environment better than formal schooling. In combination with physical work, all students are given a chance to succeed. Finally, literacy skills can be maintained by post learning centers.

Major Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

The major conclusion of this study is that the socioeconomic status of the society does play a significant role in the formal and informal education of that society. The poor quality of schooling and a variety of evidence of unequal educational opportunities in rural areas of Thailand reflect this fact.

An attempt to overcome the poor schooling in any society cannot be successful alone without overcoming economic problems and vice versa.

Although an attempt has been made to collect conclusive evidence of unequal educational opportunities between urban and rural sectors, still much more future research related to this topic can be done.

At the moment, there are few investigations in this area being done in Thailand and most of these investigations have used scholastic achievement as a measure of equal educational opportunity. Access to school and educational inputs which are other characteristics of EEO should be investigated as well.

Other methodologies should be created.

Since a lack of EEO is a national and international problem, cooperation among countries should be created to face this problem (i.e. countries in Southeast Asia). The results of the EEO studies will be helpful for future educational planning in all countries.

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

November 9, 1989
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