Alternatives for Bilingual Education in Thailand: Theory and Practice

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ALTERNATIVES FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THAILAND:
THEORY AND PRACTICE

by
Charles K. Frederickson

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

February
1975
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Each man must seek for himself the people who hold the eternal beauty, and each man must eventually say to himself as I do, 'These are my people and all that I have I owe to them.'

--Robert Henri

In keeping with Thai tradition, the writer will begin by paying respect to his past teachers who shared their learned expertise: Mr. Kevin Delany, Mr. Kriang Lansakul, Dr. Ekawidya Natalang, and Dr. Roma Rosen.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to his Advisor and Committee Chairman, Dr. Gerald Gutek, for his assistance and encouragement, as well as to the members of the committee, Dr. Rosemary Donatelli, Dr. Jasper Valenti, and Dr. John Wozniak.

He would also like to thank Mr. Gaar Decker, Mr. Matthew McCarthy, Ms. Mary Ann Pollett, and Mr. Thomas Sharp for their critical reading and constructive suggestions, and Ms. Christine Bennett and Ms. Mary Joan Connolly for their assistance in typing.

Finally, the writer expresses his deep appreciation to his boss, Mr. James G. Moffat, for his continuous patience and understanding.
VITA

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I-
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.
--Robert Frost

At Johnson High School, Mr. Charles Frederickson was selected "Outstanding Senior" and at the University of Minnesota, he participated in the 2% club, Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, student government, and campus activities. He majored in Sociology, with minors in art and speech.

After graduation, Mr. Frederickson entered the Peace Corps in Thailand, where he taught on every level before joining the Supervisory Unit in the Ministry of Education. He organized and conducted seminars for Thai teachers, lectured at Chulalongkorn University, and appeared on radio and television, utilizing his fluency rating in the Thai language.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Frederickson studied for a Master's Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision at Roosevelt University. While working as an evaluator of bilingual programs in the Department of Government Funded Programs of the Chicago Board of Education, Mr. Frederickson coordinated the development of evaluation designs, proposals, reports, and publications and he visited more than one hundred schools, organizing workshops, auditing programs, and providing technical assistance.
Mr. Frederickson has participated in UNESCO regional seminars in Southeast Asia, attended a bilingual program workshop at the United States Office of Education in Washington, D.C., and made a presentation at the International Bilingual Conference in New York. He has lived abroad for more than seven years and has traveled to more than sixty countries.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The conflict between different approaches to the liberty of man and mind or between different views of human dignity and the right of the individual is continuous. The dividing line goes within ourselves, within our own peoples and also within other nations. It does not coincide with any political or geographical boundaries. The ultimate fight is one between the human and the sub-human. We are on dangerous ground if we believe that any individual, any nation or any ideology has a monopoly on rightness, liberty and human dignity.

--Dag Hammarskjold

To attempt to develop this dissertation, "Alternatives for Bilingual Education in Thailand: Theory and Practice," required certain arbitrary decisions as to methodological focus and substantive coverage. With regard to scope, no attempt will be made to try to capture the full range of socio-cultural, linguistic, and educational factors relevant to bilingual education in Thailand. Rather, the various sections will begin with broad, theoretical generalizations narrowing toward specific references and practical orientations for each topic area.

This dissertation is a preliminary step toward future in-depth in-country analyses to be conducted cooperatively with Thai educational officials. It is concerned with conceptual and methodological matters. The concept of bilingual education is considered briefly for the purpose of developing a definitional and theoretical basis and philosophical rationale for examining bilingual education in selected countries around the world, including Thailand. The concepts of language and culture first throughout Southeast Asia, then in Thailand, are explored in order to provide a framework and a perspective for understanding the
contextual setting for establishing bilingual programs. Implications related to historical, linguistic, societal, and political considerations are discussed; overall goals and needs for implementing bilingual programs are presented; the interrelated components of a bilingual program are described; alternative models of program designs are developed; procedures related to needs assessment and evaluation are reviewed. Finally, a summary and projection are formulated, and a description is offered of the manner in which this dissertation provides for inter- and intra-national adaptation.

The general goals of this dissertation follow:

(1) "Alternatives for Bilingual Education in Thailand: Theory and Practice" will provide background information and supportive evidence for schools and local communities; municipal district, provincial, and regional educators; and university/ministerial level program developers in planning and structuring for the implementation of bilingual education programs.

(2) The dissertation will serve as a resource document and catalyst to be adapted by Thai educators as they plan optional bilingual programs and as a prototype for other groups or nations as they structure similar programs.

(3) The dissertation will suggest steps to follow in planning and organizing a bilingual program, presenting numerous sets of educational alternatives and models, procedures for determining need, and suggestions related to evaluation, needs assessment, and accountability. These are intended to be guideposts for decision making rather than priority statements.
The dissertation will formulate a basic philosophy and rationale concerning bilingual education in Thailand, analyzing historical, socio-cultural, linguistic, and political perspectives.

The dissertation will offer flexible needs and goals for each of the interrelated components which would encompass instructional, staff development, community, and management services for Thailand's entire school population, from Prathom one through Matayom Suksa five or the equivalent.

The adoption of bilingual education in Thailand will benefit societal and political demands and the needs of individual students, will facilitate students' developmental processes in cognitive and affective areas, and will establish a mechanism for effective utilization of students' educational and economic potential.
CHAPTER II

DEFINITION OF TERMS

We are one hunk of ground, water, air, clouds, floating around in space. From out there, it really is 'one world.'

--Astronaut Frank Borman

This dissertation is written in the major area, Comparative International Education, and it incorporates a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing from a wide range of behavioral and social sciences, including anthropology, economics, history, linguistics, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology.

Noah and Eckstein define comparative education as a part of a wider attempt to explain phenomena, first, within educational systems and institutions, and second, surrounding education and linking it with its social environment. Gezie states that international education deals mainly with the analysis of cross-cultural educational influences and the impact of one nation upon another and it focuses on programs relating to national education, planning within the political, economic, social, and cultural milieus. Kandel points out that education cannot be viewed as an autonomous enterprise, but must be viewed in relation to the national background, and the social, economic, political, and intellectual environment. These views are consistent with the general


3L. L. Kandel, Comparative Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), p XIX.
intent of this dissertation.

An expanded definition for education considers the school as society's chief lever for social improvement, but it also recognizes many other contributing forces, formal and informal, which are committed to education, but not organized as schools.

Valencia recommends that the language competence of the child be examined in the context of community patterns in language use, and that the interaction of these and other variables be considered in planning for bilingual programs.

Coleman's finding that a positive self-concept is related to academic success has supported the need for considering the affective dimension in addition to the cognitive areas. Purkey recognizes the need for respect and recognition, when he states: "The best evidence now available suggests...that there is a continuous interaction between the self and academic achievement, and that each directly influences the other."

As "education" is used in this dissertation, the term is synonymous with "enculturation," as described by Bailyn: "Education is the

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entire process by which culture transmits itself across generations."

For an understanding of the meaning of bilingual education, therefore, one must project his thinking beyond the schools to include other institutions in Thailand which educate: families, Buddhist temples, libraries, museums, fairs, publications, communication networks, groups, and organizations. Within this broad context, one can interpret and study such phenomena as acculturation, socialization, and modernization as they relate to an interdisciplinary and world-wide view of the role of bilingual education.

Planning for bilingual education needs to differentiate clearly between the children's native language (also called first language, home language, mother tongue, or vernacular), their target language (second language), and foreign languages. The language and culture into which a child is born is normally the language which exercises the most important and durable influence on him; it helps to fashion his basic style of speech and personality. For many children in Thailand, Thai is the second language. The teaching of Thai as a second language to children whose first language is not Thai requires a special approach, special techniques, special materials, and special understanding; second language learning is an important component of a well-planned bilingual program. Another important factor in planning a sound bilingual program is the proper ordering of language skills. Just as a child first learns to hear, understand, and speak his own language and then learns to read

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and write it, so should he learn his second language in the same way.

For many children in Thailand, Thai may very well initially be altogether foreign, but it has become conventional to refer to it as a second language since it is used actively and officially, even in bilingual areas. Social scientists tend now to restrict the term "foreign language" to languages not commonly spoken in a given community. Thus, for example, a Malay-speaking child in Narathiwat encounters his first language at birth, may not meet his second language (Thai) until he begins Pratom Suksa (elementary school), and perhaps studies a foreign language as a Matayom Suksa (secondary school) subject. That same child may be bidialectic, speaking the Southern Thai dialect in addition to "Bangkok Thai."

Following are reference definitions as they are used in this dissertation.

**Bilingualism** is the ability to understand and to communicate in two languages. Bilingualism varies from minimal comprehension of a second language to equal proficiency, at a high level of skill, in two languages. **Biculturalism** is the ability to function comfortably in either of two cultures and to shift easily from one to the other as the bicultural individual chooses or the occasion demands. **Cultural pluralism** provides subsocietal separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the existence of the group without interfering with the carrying out of standard responsibilities to the national welfare.

10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
Multilingualism (or polyglotism) refers to mastery of two or more languages.

Monolingualism (or unilingualism) is defined as knowledge of only one language.

First language is referred to as native language, home language, vernacular, or mother tongue.

Second language, or the language to be mastered, is referred to as the target language.

Foreign language is a language not commonly spoken in a given community.

Three elements, bilingualism, biculturalism, and curriculum, make up the educational approach called bilingual education. Michael Pool of the Texas Education Service Center explains what bilingual education is and is not as follows:

1. It is applicable to all children regardless of native language.
2. It is found worldwide and has been practiced for centuries.
3. It involves the entire curriculum being taught in two languages.
4. It recognizes the linguistic rationale underlying specialized techniques for teaching a second language and incorporates these into the program.

1. It is not applicable solely to children whose native language is other than English.
2. It is not a modern phenomenon encountered solely in the U.S.
3. It is not exclusively a language teaching program which excludes math, science, and other curriculum areas.
4. It does not attempt to teach a second language without understanding of the necessary materials and methods.

5. It encourages and develops the native languages of the children and at the same time introduces a second language, which is given equal importance.

6. It recognizes the inherent inseparability of culture and language and, thus, in dealing with two languages is essentially bicultural in nature.

7. It is vitally concerned with the creation and/or strengthening of a child's positive feelings about himself and aims toward this goal through development of the child's academic proficiency as well as through appreciation of his language and culture.

For the convenience of the reader, Thailand has been divided into seven regions: North Siam, Middle Siam, Northeast Siam, Southeast Siam, Lower Siam, Southwest Siam, and South Siam. The regional boundaries used were chosen to coincide with administrative boundaries which have not been appreciably changed during the present century.

The seventy-one jangwats (provinces) which follow, are arranged alphabetically under their respective regions. This list is meant to serve both as a reference and to define the seven regions used in this dissertation.

14 Ibid.
North Siam
- Chiangmai
- Chiangrai
- Lampang
- Lamphun
- Mae Hong Son
- Nan
- Phrae

Middle Siam
- Chainat
- Kamphaengphet
- Nakhonsawan
- Phitsanulok
- Phetchabun
- Sukhothai
- Tak
- Uthai Thani
- Uttaradit

Southeast Siam
- Chachoengsao
- Chonburi
- Janthaburi
- Nakhon Nayok
- Prachinburi
- Rayong
- Trat

Northeast Siam
- Buriram
- Chaiyaphum
- Kanlasin
- Khon Kaen
- Loei
- Mahasarakham
- Nakorn Phanom
- Nakonrat Chasima
- Nong Khai
- Rio-et
- Sakon Nakhon
- Sisaket
- Surin
- Ubon Ratchathani
- Udonthani

Southwest Siam
- Kanjanaburi
- Prachuap Khiri Khan
- Phetchaburi
- Ratchaburi
- Samutsongkhram

Lower Siam
- Angthong
- Ayutthaya
- Lopburi
- Nakhon Pathom
- Nonthaburi
- Phranakhon
- Prathum Thani
- Saraburi
- Singburi
- Samut Prakan
- Samut Sakhon
- Suphan Buri
- Thonburi
- Uthai Thani
- Uttaradit

South Siam
- Chumphon
- Krabi
- Nakhonsithammarat
- Narathiwat
- Pattani
- Phang Nga
- Phatthalung
- Phuket
- Ranong
- Satun
- Songkhla
- Surat Thani
- Trang
- Yala

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Thai terms used in this dissertation follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pratom Suksa</td>
<td>Elementary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matayom Suksa</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jangwat</td>
<td>Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siam</td>
<td>Thailand (prior to 1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangkha</td>
<td>The Buddhist Order of Monks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter has attempted to define terms as they are used in the dissertation. Other terms that are introduced in later chapters will be defined where they appear. It has been emphasized that bilingual education should be considered within a broad context, incorporating the various behavioral and social sciences. The next chapter will provide a basic rationale for understanding the meaning of bilingual education.
CHAPTER III

RATIONALE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

We are all citizens of one world...Let us have one end in view, the welfare of humanity.

--Amos Comenius

Jeffery Kobrick describes the contributions bilingual education can make, as follows:

Bilingual-bicultural education is perhaps the greatest educational priority today in bilingual communities. Its aim is to include children, not exclude them. It is neither a "remedial" program, nor does it seek to "compensate" children for their supposed "deficiencies." It views such children as advantaged, not disadvantaged, and seeks to develop bilingualism as a precious asset rather than to stigmatize it as a defect. The very fact of the adoption of a program recognizing a child's language and culture may help to change the way the school views the child. It may help to teach us that diversity is to be enjoyed and valued rather than fear or suspected.

The rapid advance of technology has brought the world's expanding populations with their many languages into close and frequent contact, increased the need for better relationships among peoples, and greater understanding and appreciation of other languages and cultures. Bilingual-bicultural education programs recognize the importance of cultural awareness: understanding and appreciating the folkways, customs, art, traditions, and lifestyles of different ethnic groups. Students are encouraged to understand the commonality of man and to learn how cultural differences enrich everyone's life.

An acceptance of one's own culture as well as others' cultures is

basic to the development of a sense of cultural pluralism, structural pluralism, or an even more comprehensive theory called "cultural democracy" by its proponents in the field of education and child development.

Ramirez and Castaneda, directors of the Multi-Lingual Assessment Project of the University of California at Riverside, are among the advocates of cultural democracy in education. They have characterized cultural democracy as a pluralism of cultures in the same educational process, and give three general reasons for this new approach:

1. Researchers have determined that permanent psychological damage often results when the student's cultural identity is denied or suppressed in school.

2. Students have been found to achieve better academically when teachers respond to their cultural identities positively, thus drawing on their strengths.

3. Each culture has a special contribution to make to the experience of all students in the educational process.

Castaneda, who is also a Professor of Education at the University of California, has contrasted cultural democracy with the "melting pot" theory of education. The latter, which has persisted in American public schools for decades, attempts to "deny or suppress cultural traits which are not a part of the dominant cultural tradition."

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4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.
Most important in this rationale, therefore, is the realization that one way of life or one language for communication is not better, nor superior, and not "more right" than another. Since a major goal of bilingual-bicultural education programs is to strengthen a positive self-image, educators must emphasize the individual needs of students, respecting bicultural knowledge and bilingual abilities. Ballesteros describes five purposes which bilingual education offers to the child and the school:

1. It reduces retardation through ability to learn with the mother tongue immediately.

2. It reinforces the relations of the school and the home through a common communication bond.

3. It projects the individual into an atmosphere of personal identification, self-worth and achievement.

4. It gives the student a base for success in the field of work.

5. It preserves and enriches the cultural and human resources of a people.6

These stated aims of bilingual education suggest than an interdisciplinary approach is appropriate when analyzing the area of bilingualism. If one accepts the close relationship between bilingual education and societal needs, it would seem to follow that the concept of bilingualism is a relative and not an absolute concept. To further clarify this point, bilingualism may be relative to the needs of a linguistic group at a particular point in its development and is certainly relative in terms of the time line of the entire educational process. This process may include, as part of an expanded definition of bilingual education,

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6 David Ballesteros, "Toward An Advantaged Society: Bilingual Education in the 70's," The National Elementary Principal, 1, 2, (November 1970), p. 27.
the training of bilingual-bicultural persons who participate in such programs, the integration of the study of the history and culture of the target group into the regular curriculum, the preparation and development of proper materials for such programs, and, most importantly, the assurance that children in the target group will no longer experience frustration, lack of educational growth, and failure. Each aspect of the total program must be success-oriented for the target group and should present alternate approaches and the possibility of terminating the process when the particular needs of the linguistic group have been met.

Some decision-makers in a multilingual nation such as Thailand may not encourage bilingual education for various reasons: the notion that speaking two languages retards progress in Thai, the clash between two different sets of cultural values, the assimilation policy of the government, and the attitude of superiority within ethnocentric groups.

To doubts such as these, Fishman and Lovas respond that in the United States:

We are just overcoming the deceptive and self-deluding view that teaching English as a Second Language, is, in itself all there is to bilingual education. We are just beginning to realize that public schools should belong to parents, to pupils, to communities. We may soon arrive at the disturbing conclusion that it is not necessarily treasonous for pupils, teachers, parents, and principals to speak to each other in languages other than English...

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We still do not realize that the need for bilingual education must not be viewed as merely a disease of the poor and the disadvantaged.9

A group of Scandinavian professors emphasized the need to create understanding throughout the community concerning the important connection between one's mother tongue, one's self-image, and one's heritage in the following statement: "L'extermination d'une langue, d'une culture et d'un peuple sont une seule et meme chose." (The extermination of a language, of a culture, and of a people are one and the same thing.)

Bruce Gaardner lists five main reasons which support bilingual education, the first three applying to the child as a student, the last two as an adult. Adapted for Thailand, they are:

1. The more than ten percent of the Thai population who enter the Thai school system and speak a first language other than Thai will probably become retarded in their school work to the extent of their deficiency in Thai if Thai is the sole medium of instruction. On the other hand, the bilingual child's conceptual development and acquisition of other experience and information could proceed at a normal rate if the first language were used as an alternate medium of instruction. Retardation is unlikely if there are only a few non-Thai-speaking children in an entire school, but it is almost inevitable if the non-Thai-language is the language of communication for larger groups of children.

2. Non-Thai-speaking children come from non-Thai-speaking homes. The use of the child's first language by some of the teachers and as a school language is necessary if there is to be a strong, mutually reinforcing relationship between the home and the school.

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(3) Language is the most important manifestation of the self, of the human personality. If the school rejects the first language of an entire group of children, it can be expected to affect seriously and adversely those children's concept of their parents, their homes, and of themselves.

(4) When the bilingual child becomes an adult, if he has not achieved reasonable literacy in two languages, it will be virtually useless to him for any technical or professional work where language matters and his unique potential career advantage, his bilingualism, will have been destroyed.

(5) Multilingual talents and cultural diversity are Thai national resources which are needed and must be conserved.  

In this chapter, the positive aspects of bilingual education have been emphasized, suggesting that bilingual-bicultural education programs help the individual appreciate his own and other languages and cultures while progressing in academic areas.

It is the contention of the writer that in order to provide equal educational opportunities for all linguistic segments of a multilingual society, the concept of bilingual education needs to include within its framework a flexible and evoluationary interpretation based on the particular needs and aspirations of a particular linguistic community. A philosophy and related psychology are discussed in this chapter, emphasizing the needs and aspirations of the Thai population.

Underlying Philosophy of Bilingual Learning

Increasing numbers of educators are realizing that today's schools must seek to provide innovative educational programs which meet students' individual needs, interests, and abilities rather than expecting students to accommodate to the traditional demands of the schools. Ballesteros

writes:

The time has come for schools to recognize that they must change their program to meet the needs of students instead of trying to compensate the students for failure to meet the needs of schools....

In the 1970's the bilingual person will demand a rightful place in our society. He will no longer be that patient, romantic, non-violent figure of the past. He will be striving to share in the rights and privileges of a full-fledged citizen. If social relationships are to improve, the school and community must be constantly reminded about the needs for a multilingual and multicultural environment.12

The following concepts were adapted from Frances Sussna of the Multi-Culture Institute and represent an underlying philosophy for developing bilingual and multilingual programs.

**People are Different**

1. Every group can benefit from the rich diversity of the population.

2. "Different" does not in itself imply "better" or "worse."

**People are the Same**

3. There is an overriding "humanity" which unites all mankind regardless of difference.

4. People of all groups have the same basic physical needs (e.g., food, shelter) and the same basic emotional and spiritual needs (e.g., freedom, security, dignity, achievement).

**People are Individuals**

5. Stereotypes have been harmful throughout history and still pose dangers.

6. Every individual should be judged on his individual merits, rather than be prejudged as a member of groups (and associations he was born into).

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Ethnic Groups are Different

7. The world is made up of thousands of cultures, each with its own special beauty and excitement.

8. Each culture is unique, special, and important just as each individual is unique, special, and important.

Ethnic Groups are the Same

9. Every ethnic group has benefited from contributions of persons who are not members of that group; there are valuable learnings to be gained from each group.

10. Ethnocentrism has both positive and negative aspects; some degree of ethnocentrism continues to be found in all groups.

The Future

11. Each group has an evolving identity and every individual in that group has some influence on the evolving group identity.

12. Group histories, like personal histories, can always be built upon for better tomorrows.

Empathy

13. The feelings and sensitivities of others are to be respected even if not always understood.

14. Hurting others in order to advance is neither necessary nor desirable. On the contrary, development of compassion and concern for others enhances personal growth.

Intergroup Relations

15. Building positive relations among individuals and groups, whether similar or different, is a constant challenge. Intergroup, and other human relations, have posed challenges in every country and at every time.

16. Critical and creative thinking, awareness of socio-cultural and political factors, both historical and current, knowledgeable communication among groups, and intellectual and social relationships across group lines are healthy and desirable.

Racism

17. Not only people we may think of as being malicious, but also our own friends, families, and teacher — and we ourselves — have a legacy of prejudice (and often hostilities within ourselves) to overcome. It is important to understand this legacy and to recognize its manifestations, the better to deal with them.
18. Respectful behavior between teachers and pupils and recognition of others as important and worthwhile individuals is desirable and necessary.

Knowing Yourself

19. Self-respect and self-love are not "selfish" in a negative sense, but normal and healthy. We should be able to maintain this respect and love, while squarely facing and trying to correct shortcomings.

20. Increasing self-knowledge and self-understanding should be life-long goals.

Bilingualism is a Talent

21. Each individual is special and important and may have ideas and talents to contribute. This includes children, even though it is possible that some adults fail to recognize this.

22. Language learning contributes to the understanding of a culture.

Biculturalism is Broadening

23. Respect for the groups we belong to is also desirable and will help toward another important goal: understanding and respect for other groups and the relation of their members to them.

24. The individual can choose to adapt to the practices of his own life those cultural traditions and expressions of his group he considers most appropriate for himself and can also adopt cultural expressions other other groups that may suit his personality and values.

Bilingual-Bicultural Programs are Beneficial

25. It is possible to be a valuable member of the general society while being a knowledgeable and active member of one's own group.

Many of the foregoing concepts can and should be used by the teacher to inspire every child with the knowledge that he affects both the character and destiny of each group to which he belongs and of society at large; that he cannot choose whether or not to affect them but only how he affects them; and that this is true to some extent even while he is a child.
Sussna suggests that teachers should seek to:

(1) Take account of current developments in educational research and adapt this information to school practices;

(2) Stimulate a genuine interest in an enjoyment of learning, minimizing artificial rewards and punishments;

(3) Sharpen abilities to think creatively and objectively;

(4) Provide for all individual differences and encourage individual expression and development; and

(5) Further all aspects of the child's development as both a happy and socially responsible person; and to impart to the children:

   - Enjoyable experiences with the group identification; a "good feeling" about being part of that group;
   - A realistic grasp of the group's common past and present, and its potential for contributing to society as a whole;
   - Development of useful and creative tools for further "self-definition" and exploration of their past.

The writer contends that the above philosophy is consistent with the basis of the Thai government's ethnic and linguistic policies, i.e., concern for the nation, its development, and its unification.

The basic aim of the Thai government's ethnic policy toward all permanent residents is to bring about complete assimilation, to stimulate participation of all residents in national life, and to create a common national outlook by all citizens regardless of racial or cultural origin.


The ultimate objective of the Thai linguistic policy is to eliminate minority problems by absorbing the minority populations into the Thai national culture. Great emphasis has been placed on weakening the linguistic roots of the ethnic minorities and on promoting knowledge of Thai among all residents. The major instrument in implementing this policy has been the Primary Education Act, which calls for the compulsory education of all children, regardless of ethnic background, in the Thai language.

The nature of the measures used to implement these policies and their success vary from group to group, depending on the degree of ethnic solidarity, on political implications, and on repercussions of assimilationist actions both in Thailand and abroad.

In Thailand, education is viewed as an important instrument in the assimilation process. Schooling is both free and compulsory for seven years, though in many rural areas the children in fact attend for only four years. The law requires that this education be given in the Thai language in all schools, regardless of the ethnic background of the children enrolled. In Chinese schools, instruction in Chinese is permitted for a few hours per week, but no child may attend a Chinese school for more than four years beyond kindergarten. Thus, secondary education is exclusively Thai. Overall, more than 95 percent of ethnic Chinese children attend Thai government schools rather than those operated by their own community.

Among the Malays, completion of the basic course of religious instruction offered at the local mosque is expected of every village

16 Ibid., p. 86.
child, but only a minority attend the village schools. In these
schools, some teachers comply with government regulations requiring
that instruction be in Thai, but others, recognizing the difficulties
this presents to the Malay-speaking children, continue to teach in
Malay. The Thai government is trying to develop better language in-
struction programs in the Malay-speaking area. Efforts toward this
goal include the introduction of experimental programs in which Malay
teachers are given intensive seminar courses in the national language,
with prizes offered as incentives for the outstanding students. Des-
pite this and other endeavors in the direction of meeting the special
needs of the Malays, there is still strong resistance to government
education.

The Thai government maintains two types of schools for children
from remote areas who cannot attend the regular government schools in
the villages and towns. One type of school is established locally and
staffed by the Border Patrol Police in the areas they patrol. The
other type is composed of several boarding schools to which certain
young people from the ethnic minorities are brought to study. The
government expects these students to become increasingly important in
their home communities as contact between the minorities and the Thai
increases.

For a bilingual program to operate effectively, it must be
integrated into either the philosophy or the practice of the school
or of society. In Thailand, where Theravada Buddhism, the established
religion, is professed by almost 94 percent of the country's populace,
the importance of the Buddhist philosophy, beliefs, and practices as

a vital force permeating the daily lives of the people cannot be ignored.

The Buddhist religion is central to the thoughts and concepts of the Thai population, and next to royalty, the Buddhist monks are the most honored and respected persons in the society. The honor and respect applies to the whole group, not just to individuals. The Sangkha (Buddhist order of monks) has justified this attitude by living with very few exceptions the Buddhist precepts, and thus acting as a moral and ethical example. The people generally respect the moral code and try to follow the more basic rules.

Instruction in Buddhist morals must be given in all schools except those in Muslim areas, where local officials may exercise an option to omit it. Like other scriptural religions, Buddhism's formal doctrine is intertwined with customs, attitudes, traditions, animistic beliefs, and supernatural cosmological and astrological concepts which are not sanctioned in writing. Some of these are derived from the Indian milieu in which Buddhism developed; others were added after Buddhism reached the mainland of Southeast Asia. The result has been a complex relationship of belief and practice that is in many ways uniquely Thai and that penetrates virtually every phase of the nation's life.

Buddhist tolerance for the expression of other forms of religion has led to coexistence rather than attempts at conversion of other religious traditions. Of the large ethnic Chinese minority, some have

18 Ibid., p. 147.


adopted the Theravada beliefs of the Thai, but most retain the mixture of Confucian social ethics, formal veneration of ancestors, Mahayana Buddhist doctrines, and Taoist supernaturalism that is characteristic of the popular religious tradition in China. The influence of Islam is confined chiefly to the ethnic Malay in the southernmost provinces, but also includes the Pakistani immigrants in the urban centers and ethnic Thai in the rural areas of the central region. Education and cultural traditions not indigenous to the country are vital interests of these groups. The Hindu and Sikh communities are largely centered in Bangkok. About half the total Christian population lives in the central region of the country, the remainder primarily in the northern and northeastern regions.

In regard to formulating a philosophy of education for Thailand, the views of three high-level decision makers in the Ministry of Education are presented as philosophical perspectives. Saroj Buasri suggested that a philosophy of education should be rooted in the fundamentals of Buddhism:

In Thailand the majority of people believe in Buddhist philosophy. Perhaps Thai educators, if they want to build an indigenous educational system, should consider Buddhist wisdom in forming the Thai educational philosophy.22

Ekavidya Nathalang wrote that the application of Buddhism to education may prove inadequate since society changes rapidly and the new

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technology is quickly transforming the way of life:

Besides, the educators should pay attention also to other related aspects of the philosophy of education, namely, metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and aesthetics. Some, therefore, would prefer the eclectic approach in developing the present philosophy of education.23

Finally, Kaw Swasdipanich remarked:

The conflict will always exist between the old reliable way and the surge of the progressive new way. The struggle will be endless, and the blending, the merging, and the assimilating of ideas will always be at hand. That is what we call evolution.24

In summary, a philosophy for bilingual learning must consider the Thai social system and the importance of Buddhism on the Thai way of life. It must also remain consistent with political ideologies and policies, as well as advancing a humanistic point of view for participation in the global community. The next section looks at the psychology of bilingual learning, establishing a theoretical framework for viewing the importance of bilingual education.

**Psychology of Bilingual Learning**

Cole and Bruner emphasize the role of the psychologist in describing bilingual learning, as follows:

Psychologists concerned with comparative research and comparisons of social and ethnic group differences in particular must take seriously the study of the way different groups organize the relation between their hands and minds; without assuming the superiority of one system over another, they must take seriously the dictum that man is a cultural animal. When cultures are in competition for resources, as they are today, the psychologist's task is to analyze the source of

24 Ibid.
cultural difference so that those of the minority, less powerful group, may quickly acquire the intellectual instruments necessary for success in the dominant culture, should they so choose. 25

In examining the issue of bilingualism, this section will review the literature available on its possible immediate and long-range effects. Much of the literature, especially studies before 1960, emphasized disadvantages whereas investigations in the past fifteen years have stressed the advantages of bilingualism. It should be noted that many research studies labeled "bilingual education," especially the earlier ones which were based on incomparable data, advanced the naive view that there are only two types of schooling, unilingual and bilingual and that before a bilingual program is introduced, it must be proven that bilingual schooling will not harm the mental growth of the children.

The literature on bilingualism does little to dispel such a simplistic view of a complex and multifaceted question. Much of the literature, labeled with all-embracing titles, deals with studies of a few dozen--rarely more than a few hundred--individuals in particular circumstances, and after examining the subjects, draws conclusions about the effects of bilingualism in general, and by inference, of bilingual schooling anywhere.

Since this dissertation involves alternatives for bilingual education in Thailand, interpretation of the findings of psychological


studies should consider whether the particular situational determinants expressed in a study are significant within the Thai milieu.

Gay and Cole, for example, conclude that cultural differences reside more in the situations to which different culture groups apply their skills rather than to differences in the skills possessed by the particular groups. They cite one of their studies in which the problem was to estimate the number of cups of rice in each of several bowls. Comparisons of "rice estimation accuracy" were made among several groups of subjects, including nonliterate Kpelle rice farmers from north-central Liberia and Yale University sophomores. The rice farmers manifested significantly greater accuracy than the Yale students, the difference increasing with the amount of rice presented for estimation. Just as Kpelle superiority at making rice estimates is clearly not a universal manifestation of their superior competence, the superiority of Yale students in an academic area is no basis for inferring that their competence is superior.

The arguments favoring bilingual education include psychological and educational concerns within the broad context of the various behavioral and social sciences. Bilingual educators argue that bilingual education is a more humane and enriching school experience for the child whose first language differs from the dominant group, that it provides a means for developing a more harmonious, positive self-image. It is further argued that it is pedagogically sound to teach young children the primary subjects and basic concepts in their native language.


In *Effects of Childhood Bilingualism*, J. Vernon Jensen writes:

> Acquisition of a language during early childhood is extremely important. It helps to satisfy the child's immediate physiological needs, it satisfies his curiosity about his environment, and it permits him to formulate and express his thoughts and feelings. It enables him to secure information and share experiences, to make educational progress, and to identify with and adjust to the people around him. Anything which would seriously interfere with these basic functions would indeed be a handicap to the child. 29

Investigators have pointed out that many of the misconceptions linking childhood bilingualism with intellectual impairment originated from low scores on intelligence tests which relied upon language facility, and these authors go on to assert that the use of nonlanguage testing materials shows that the bilingual child is not necessarily handicapped in intellectual capacity or growth. According to some investigators, intelligence tests also have not taken into consideration the low socioeconomic level of the children, their rural or urban backgrounds, their lack of proper adjustment to taking tests, and their poor adjustment to school in general.

A closer look at the studies that have shown detrimental effects on bilingualism reveals that such studies have not controlled the socioeconomic variable and the differing degrees of bilingualism have not been measured. In view of these weaknesses it can be stated that there is little evidence to suggest that bilingual and monolingual children differ on non-verbal intelligence.

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Many scholars claim that childhood bilingualism aids intellectual growth. Christophersen, Haugen, Hoffman, and Leopold assert that since the bilingualist has two terms for one referent, his attention is focused on ideas and not words, on content rather than form, on meaning rather than symbol, and this is highly important in the intellectual process. They and other investigators suggest that bilingualism sharpens one's mind, brings greater insights into life, extends one's mental horizons, and enriches life.

In Canada, recent research studies on the intellectual and academic performances of bilingual, in contrast to monolingual, children (Peal and Lambert; Lambert and Ainsfeld) showed the bilinguals to be superior on measures of intelligence, reliably further ahead in school grade, significantly better than the monolinguals in school work in general, and more sympathetic in their attitudes toward speakers of other languages.

The St. Lambert Experiment demonstrated that through language programs with coordinated home and school efforts, children can become fully proficient in French and English.

A similar trend is noticeable in an Irish study of the effects of bilingualism on schooling. In this study, bilingual (Gaelic-English) children switched home and school languages and appeared to progress with no difficulties.

The Russian psychologist, Vygotsky, analyzed benefits derived from studying a foreign language, emphasizing the transfer of conceptual development from the foreign to the native language. Therefore, if a child learns concepts in his first language, there will be carry over as masters in the second languages increases and vice versa.

With Navajos in the state of Arizona and with Indians in Chiapas, Mexico, proficiency in both the first and second languages was found to be greater than it would have been with instruction solely in one language.

Tomb points out that by a process called intuitive learning, young children have been observed to learn several languages simultaneously without the slightest confusion or without the slightest danger.


their general development.

Potential intellectual and cognitive advantages of bilingual-bicultural instruction have been stressed by researchers such as Ainsfeld and Lambert and Peal. Other researchers (Klineberg and Lambert) have discussed social advantages associated with bilingualism. Child investigated the social conflicts Italian-Americans face, and, in a follow-up study, Havelka, Gardner, and Lambert used a series of attitude scales to assess the allegiances of French-American adolescents to both their French and American heritages. Subgroup one was characterized by a general rejection of their French background. Subgroup two identified with French. Subgroup three was ambivalent about their identity.

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Subgroup four was described by Lambert, as follows:

French-American youngsters who have an open-minded, nonethnocentric view of people in general, coupled with a strong aptitude for language learning are the ones who profited fully from their language-learning opportunities and became skilled in both languages. These young people had apparently circumvented the conflicts and developed means of becoming members of both social groups. They had, in other terms, achieved a comfortable bicultural identity.

Bilinguals, therefore, face varying degrees of social conflicts, but the implications for those able to work out a new, nonethnocentric mode of social intercourse could be of universal significance.

Bloom is particularly concerned with language development in the early years, since language is one of the most critical factors in the development of human intelligence, thus, the importance of bilingual education as a model for these children. Bloom points to the family as the major influence in the cognitive development of children.

Davidson supports the role of the home in the developmental learning process.

Smilansky has written that for bilingual or all educational programs to succeed, two conditions are necessary: "The child must have a clear picture of the meaning of the school, and the home must give its support to the school." He adds that, in order for the home to be able

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to support the school, the school must:

1. accept the home as a home
2. try to understand and support its particular functions
3. not try to change the home or undermine it
4. seek a union with the home at the point of common concern—the successful progress of the child in school.\textsuperscript{49}

Coleman emphasized the importance of socio-economic factors as influences on the level of achievement, isolating four factors:

1. inborn ability or disability
2. kind of family or family training
3. quality of schooling
4. self-concept or aspirational level.

In relation to self-concept, Jersild differentiates between the desire for enhancing self-esteem and striving to preserve the integrity of self as follows:

The needs associated with a person's ideas and appraisal of himself include both desires for enhancing his self-esteem and also striving to preserve the integrity and consistency of his self.\textsuperscript{51}

Related to the area of psychological concern are the new concepts of "coordinate" and "compound" bilingualism which have been studied by Lambert, Havelka and Crosby and Jakovits and Lambert.\textsuperscript{52,53}

\textsuperscript{49} Moshe Smilansky, "Effects of Bilingual Education, Saturday Review (October 15, 1966).


Although this concept was proposed by linguists, recently it has been examined by psychologists.

A "coordinate" bilingual is a person who has, during the process of acquisition, been temporarily, culturally, or functionally segregated. A "compound" bilingual is a person who has learned both languages within one context and whose symbols for either language are virtually inter-changeable. The learning context is the basic determinant in stipulating which form of bilingualism presumably develops.

Two other concepts of importance in bilingualism are "bilingual balance" and "linguistic dominance." One is said to be in "bilingual balance" when the skills in both languages are essentially similar. On the contrary, "linguistic dominance" is that situation where there is greater facility in one of two languages.

Another approach to the psychology of bilingualism concentrates attention upon the "route" which leads an individual toward bilingualism. This path to bilingualism not only includes the primary learning of a language which includes encoding, decoding, and intonation, but also a "cultural" barrier. This latter aspect will be greatly influenced by the individual's attitudes toward the dominant society and its languages.

Bilingual education is focused upon at a time when psychologists are probing the role of language in the intellectual development of

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55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.
children. Instruction in the native language assumes particular impor-
tance in light of the importance of cognitive theories, which emphasize
the idea of learning to learn as one of the most important aspects of
education.

For a long time educators believed that learning was additive and
that the earlier a child was exposed to a body of material (e.g., a
second language), the more likely he was to achieve lasting mastery.
However, according to Piaget, intellectual development proceeds through
qualitatively distinct stages that occur in a definite sequence. During
each stage, the child acquires the abilities to prepare him for the next
stage. The rate of preparation, according to Piaget, is determined by
four factors: maturation, experience, social interaction, and equili-
bration (made up of two important mechanisms, assimilation and accommo-
dation; through progressive assimilations and accommodations, equilibrium
is achieved). Experience and social interaction are cultural rather than
57 genetic factors. Both experience and social interaction are taken into
consideration in bilingual education.

The factor of social interaction in Piaget's developmental theory
includes the explicit and implicit teaching of the child by other people
in his environment. Learning two languages or two symbols for every
object implies the need for a greater degree of explicit teaching. One
can say that a young child learning two languages at the same time is
exposed to a greater amount of social interaction when compared to some-
one his own age learning only one language.

57 David Elkind, "The Continuing Influence of Jean Piaget," Grade
Teacher (May/June 1971), pp. 7-15.
58 Ibid.
Flavell emphasizes the process of learning, not the accumulation of information as the goal of early education. According to the cognitive view, a great deal of a child's early learning consists of ordering the world around him, i.e., reducing ambiguities and simplifying the "buzzing of confusion" that surrounds him; imitating and discovering ordering devices, grouping events and people into classes; learning to recognize regularities of time, sequence, and routines. This view holds that language plays a critical (though not exclusive) role in the young child's ordering process.

The child's use of language, between the ages of five and seven, is accelerated and words become a medium of learning and problem solving. This is the age in which a non-Thai-speaking child enters into the "formal" learning institutions and is confronted with not only learning Thai, but also thinking in Thai. This can pose a difficulty for the child, especially if it is remembered that language is one of the tools which enables the child, through the symbolic function, to represent reality through the signifiers which are distinct from the objects of the actions which they signify.

If the view that language plays an important cognitive role in the child's development is accepted, it follows that the introduction of a second, weaker language at this point simply confuses the ordering process. John McNamara found in his studies in Ireland, for example,

that children instructed in their weaker language showed deterioration in reading, and arithmetic, particularly in the area of problem solving. Saer found similar retardation in school achievement with Welsh children instructed in a weaker language.

The writer believes that after the child has learned the value of words for memory and thought in his first language, he can apply this knowledge to a second language and in turn further extend his intellectual skills. For persons developing a bilingual program, a review of research studies and psychological principles will provide a basis for sound educational decision-making, interpreting the information and findings within the limitations required of cross-cultural comparisons. The following chapter will provide an overview of bilingual programs around the world in order to show the variety of approaches possible and to see which options might be applicable to the needs of the Thai educational system.

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CHAPTER IV

BILINGUALISM, AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE:
A DESCRIPTIVE SAMPLING

My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world; ask not what American will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

--John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Bilingual education programs in such countries as Belgium, Canada, Mexico, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, Sweden and the United States have revealed positive results. In 1953 and again in 1963, UNESCO published strong support for such instruction.

The origin and status of bilingual education in different countries vary widely. It cannot be assumed that practices which have succeeded in the United States, Europe or in another Asian country, will necessarily succeed in Thailand. On the other hand, the experiences of other societies in their development of bilingual programs should not be ignored.

Without any attempt at complete coverage, this section will present examples from ten countries to lend perspective and to provide an orientation. The countries were selected to suggest some of the diverse linguistic, sociocultural, and political conditions which affect education. The analysis includes countries with official bilingualism or multilingualism and pluralistic countries having an official language.

1 Perry Alan Zirkel, "Two Languages Spoken Here," Grade Teacher (April 1, 1971), p. 53.
The countries are:

- Canada
- China
- India
- Paraguay
- Philippines
- Switzerland
- Union of South Africa
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- United Kingdom
- United States

Canada

Canada's two official tongues, English and French, are both prestigious international languages. However, the pressure is greater on the French speakers to learn English than on the English speakers to learn French because English speakers out-number French speakers two to one and have a greater economic advantage due to the proximity of the United States. Until five years ago, French-speaking Canadians were treated legally as a minority. At that time, the Canadian government created the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to study the language question. Three volumes have been published by this commission. The reports stand as a model of what needs to be done in countries whose language and cultural differences constitute serious problems.

In Canada, two official languages are taught extensively in the public schools. The common pattern is to use the majority language of the particular province as the medium of instruction and to teach the other official language as a subject. Bilingual education, using two languages as mediums of instruction for part or all of the curriculum, is rare in Canada.

Worthy of note is the case of the City of Welland located in Southern Ontario, population 40,000. Welland's 8,000 Franco-Ontarians

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Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, February 1, 1965), 3:211.
are completely isolated from the French-speaking communities living in the northern and eastern parts of the province. However, since the city's public schools provide education for the French-Canadians in their native tongue, the French speakers of Welland have been able to preserve their own language and culture in educated form. For example, in two schools, French is used as the medium of instruction and communication in grades K through 6. English is introduced as a subject in grade 3 and continued through grade 6. Furthermore, in some of the newer schools "...it became possible for the French-Canadian children of Welland to continue their bilingual education throughout the secondary grades within the publicly supported school system.

Canada also has Ukrainian schools that are at least trilingual and Jewish schools that are at least quadrilingual. Their social setting is far different from that of the English or French schools, and the sociology of the multilingualism that they simultaneously protect and engender is far different from that of schools dealing only with the two official languages. The models developed in Canada provide suggestions of what needs to be done in other countries. Thai officials, therefore, can use these reports, learning from the descriptions of the Canadian experience.


China

The national language of China is Mandarin (Kuo-yu), and it represents the language with the largest number of speakers in the world.

What may comprehensively be called Chinese is spoken by ninety-five percent of China's population.

Many of the eight subgroups of native non-Chinese languages never had any fully developed scripts until the advent of the People's Republic of China. The new policy focused on helping the minority people either to perfect, or to create forms for their languages. In theory, the government first helped the people become literate in their own language to facilitate their education, and then later would come the incentive to join the mainstream of Chinese society, i.e., to learn the official Chinese language in addition to their own. For example, in 1955, a script was developed for the Chuang Minority Nationals in Kwangsi Province, Southeast China, using the Latin alphabet as the basis. Some of the comparative linguistic diagrams and materials developed for Chinese speakers could be useful for bilingual programs in Thailand.

India

India has the most complex multilingual situation in the world. There are over 1,000 different languages. Of the 63 major tongues,


about 25 claim over half-a-million speakers. Nearly all minority languages are used as mediums of instruction in the primary levels. However, political unrest developed when the Central Government attempted to impose Hindi as the official language, since it is spoken by only one-third of the population. The imposition of Hindi was particularly resented by those who spoke the various South Indian languages which are Dravidian in origin. Furthermore, English serves as the best medium of communication among the well educated and as a link with the rest of the world.

A tolerable solution was worked out after more than a decade of controversy, with a compromise approved by most regional educators. If a university adopts a regional language, it should continue to provide instruction in English and Hindi. The new policy was reflected in a speech by Mrs. Ghandi in August 1967, in which she said: "in the present day world, we cannot afford to live in isolation. Therefore, there should be three languages, regional, national, and international." 9

Although Thailand has dialectic variations within the various regions, central Thai is spoken in the schools. Comparing the linguistic situations in India and Thailand, the latter is characterized by far greater homogeneity, with Thai the accepted national language.

Paraguay

The two languages of Paraguay, Spanish and Guarani, "have coexisted for the past three hundred years in relative equilibrium." 10

8 Hugh Tinker, India and Pakistan, A Political Analysis (New York: Frederick A. Prager, 1968), p. 43.
Fifty-two percent of the community is bilingual while almost the entire community (ninety-two percent) can speak the native language, Guarani. Paraguayans are unique in Latin America in the importance they give their aboriginal languages, Guarani. In all other...countries the Indian language is relegated to a secondary position--it is the language of the lower class or of the still extant aboriginal groups." Although Spanish is the official language, there is a high degree of loyalty to Guarani which is considered the national language. Guarani is the language of intimacy, love, poetry, and jokes. The stability of the two languages is due to the fact that they are used for different roles.

There are parallels which can be drawn between the languages spoken by the hill tribe people in Thailand and the Indian dialects in South America. Many of Thailand's ethnic subgroups cling to their languages out of a strong sense of traditional loyalty and isolationist pride.

**Philippines**

In the Philippines, with numerous islands and regional dialects, students often learn to speak three or four indigenous languages in addition to English and Spanish. In the late forties, the Iloilo experiment was one of the earliest research projects on the effects of beginning education in the child's mother tongue. It demonstrated the superiority of this form of instruction. Presently, research in the use of two languages in the primary grades is being conducted by the

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11 Ibid., p. 21.
12 Ibid., p. 23.
Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College.

In general, the child’s home language is used in the first two years of schooling, and the remainder of his elementary schooling is conducted in Tagalog (Filipino, Pilipino), the official language, with English studied as a subject. Whereas the government policy of countries such as the Philippines and Malaysia is to adopt the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) in the schools, the Thai policy has been to stress English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

Switzerland

Switzerland has four nationally recognized languages: German, spoken by seventy-four percent of the population; French, spoken by twenty percent; Italian, spoken by four percent; and Romansch, spoken by one percent. The national language policy is based on the "territorial principles:" that is, in a given area, the language of the majority is considered official and speakers of other languages are expected to learn and use it. However, at the federal level, a "personality principle" is used; that is, any individual may be attended to in his own language despite his place of residence. Instruction in the elementary schools takes place in the respective mother tongue. A secondary language is learned at the beginning of the secondary school. There is no instruction through the medium of more than one language in the Swiss elementary schools. Unlike many European schools which

encourage foreign language acquisition, the Thai educational system has tended to inhibit foreign language development.

Union of South Africa

According to Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, South Africa "has administratively applied bilingualism in schools in a more universal and thoroughgoing way than any other country I know of."

Every child in every school throughout the Union is taught both English and Afrikaans as languages. The second language is started in the first and second year of a child's schooling. The results of this policy indicate a steady increase in bilingualism amongst the white population.

Malherbe continues, "Afrikaans is a highly streamlined form of 17th century Dutch brought to South Africa by its first settlers. It has proved a very successful medium of instruction over the whole educational range from the kindergarten to the university."

All whites and blacks in South African schools are taught both official languages, English and Afrikaans, as subjects. In addition, all native African children are taught their mother language as well as at least one of the official European languages. The child is taught in the primary school through the medium of the home language, i.e., the language which the child understands best.


In South Africa there are various types of schools:

In Unilingual or Single-Medium Schools, children with Afrikaans and English home languages are segregated in separate schools, even though they may live in the same community. Only one medium of instruction is used, except when teaching the second language as a subject. This policy deprives children at school of the advantages of associating with children of the other language group while in the playground. The majority of schools in the larger towns and cities adopt this policy.

In Parallel Classes, Afrikaan and English home language children go to the same school, but are taught in separate classes.

The Dual Medium Approach can take two forms in practice: a) teaching some children through Afrikaans while others through English, and b) both languages are used alternatively.

Combination of the above types of schools (e.g., parallel classes and the dual medium system) are also possible.\(^\text{19}\)

The types of schools and strategies presented above can serve as models for Thai educators as they develop plans in Thailand.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.)

The U.S.S.R. is one of the most experienced nations in bilingual schooling. Due to some 200 distinct languages spoken by about forty-five percent of the population, the U.S.S.R. was, from the beginning, the scene of extensive language development in allowing minority groups considerable freedom in their educational planning. Writing systems were standardized. As a result, over sixty languages were in use in the primary schools.

In the 1930's, a new policy was implemented in which the Russian language was emphasized in the Soviet Communication Network. This limited the use of the minority tongues. However, the principal

\(^{19}\) Ibid.

minority language continued to be the medium of instruction in the primary 21 and, to a lesser extent, in the secondary schools.

Some 700 schools use foreign languages like English, French, 22 German, and Chinese as languages of instruction in various subjects. In addition, there are more than twenty Pedagogical Institutes for Foreign Language Teaching and at least eight Special Language Schools in which the modern history and economic geography of a foreign country 23 are taught in the foreign language. Many sophisticated studies and reports have been produced by Russian scholars providing excellent back-ground information for Thai program developers.

United Kingdom

There exists a long tradition of bilingualism of one form or another over large areas of Britain. For example, Latin was the living language for centuries and in the 13th century French was spoken practically everywhere. Welsh-English bilingualism is still active in parts of 24 Wales.

Irish (Gaelic) is the official language of Ireland while English is recognized as the second official language. Irish (Gaelic)-English bilingualism is seen as the only way of maintaining the Irish language 25 and culture. The detailed program analyses conducted by MacNamara and

21Ibid.
23Xronika, Inostrannye Jazyki V Skole, 1960-68, as reported in Bilingual Schooling in the United States, p. 40.
25Ibid.
others can be used to provide a theoretical rationale for the development of bilingual programs in Thailand.

**United States**

English is not indigenous to the United States, but was one of the languages brought by colonial settlers, together with French, Spanish, and Dutch.

During the nineteenth century, bilingual schools flourished in the Midwest and other areas. A form of bilingual schooling originated in Cincinatti in 1840, and in New Mexico, the Spanish language had equal constitutional status with English and was in actual use as an official state language.

Prior to World War I (1914-1918), German, French, Spanish, Czech, Italian, Polish, Dutch, and Scandinavian languages were occasionally taught in public and nonpublic elementary schools. A million children were estimated to have benefited from bilingual programs until their disappearance with the outbreak of World War I.

After World War I, restrictive legislation and other measures were imposed to enforce a policy of "English-only" in schools and institutions. During World War II (1939-1945), the United States Army recognized the need for an integrated knowledge of all pertinent aspects of the culture and introduced a program of combined foreign area and language studies. After the end of World War II, however, the monetary recognition given those who possessed non-English language resources subsided.

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28 Ibid.

Until the 1960's, bilingual education was still in the "dark ages" in the nation's public schools. More than 20 states—including some with the largest non-English-speaking populations—had laws requiring all instruction in public schools to be in English. In seven states, a teacher risked criminal penalties or revocation of his certification for not teaching in English.

The number of bilingual education programs in the nation's public schools has been increasing since 1963. That was the year a completely bilingual education program was successfully launched in the Coral Way School, Miami, Florida, with the aid of public and private foundation funds. The program was implemented by the Dade County, Florida, schools to meet the educational needs of the children of Cubans who were rapidly moving into Miami.

By 1964, two other noteworthy approaches to bilingual education were begun in Texas: one in the Nye School of the United Consolidated Independent School District in Webb County, outside of Laredo, and the other in the San Antonio Independent School District.

By 1967, 21 states had bilingual education programs concerned with Spanish, Portuguese, and French languages. Of the American Indian children, 80,000 speaking Navajo, Pomo, Cherokee, and other Indian languages were enrolled in bilingual federal, mission, and public schools.


A major effort in the growth of bilingual education and a commitment on the part of the federal government to the cause was the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 which became Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This act affirms the primary importance of the English language in the nation, but it also recognizes that the use of the children's native language in school can have a beneficial effect upon their education.

With the passage of the federal Bilingual Education Act came the recognition that Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Asian-Americans, American Indians, and other foreign-language children were being short-changed and neglected by the American educational process.

In December 1971, Massachusetts became the first state to have mandatory bilingual education programs for non-English-speaking pupils. A state law required every school system with 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability to provide a transitional bilingual education program. Massachusetts children are enrolled in classes in which all subjects are taught with an emphasis on concept development in their native language. As their proficiency in English increases, they are transferred to classes taught in their second language.

Five other states--Alaska, California, Illinois, Maine, and New Mexico--have what Rep. Herman Badillo, D-N.Y., calls "explicit and substantive" laws on the issue. Others, like Pennsylvania, provide for programs without legislation. That state's guidelines now require


33 Ibid.
districts to have a bilingual or English as a Second Language program for any student whose native language is not English.

In January, 1974, in a 9-0 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that non-English-speaking students have a legal right to special bilingual instruction to help them attain proficiency in English.

Writing the majority opinion, Justice William Douglas stated that:

Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Since the court has ruled that public schools have a duty to provide special language instruction to those who have an English language handicap, a greater expansion of bilingual programs throughout the United States during the 1970's is anticipated. Many Thai educators in positions of authority have received training in American colleges or universities. Thus many of the trends or concepts introduced in American institutions of higher learning or in America's professional journals or books have been adapted for use in Thailand. Since the area of bilingual education has come into focus during the 1960s and 1970s, interest within Thailand has simultaneously increased. Descriptions of working American models and English language literature describing bilingual education will serve as useful resource materials for Thai decision makers as they choose to develop bilingual programs within Thailand.

This section has provided an overview of bilingual education as it is conceived in various countries around the world. One observes that there are many possible models and strategies which can be adapted to

35 Supreme Court of the United States, No. 72-6520, Case of Lau et. al. vs. Nichols et. al., January 21, 1974.
there are many possible models and strategies which can be adapted to meet the specific needs of the Thai educational system. In addition to the school situation, a bilingual program must carefully consider the Thai cultural and linguistic contexts, as described in the next chapter.
CHAPTER V

CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

A language is something infinitely greater than grammar and philology. It is the poetic testament of the genius of a race and a culture and the living embodiment of the thoughts and fancies that have moulded them.

--Jawaharlal Nehru

Robert Lado points out that when the bilingual child goes to a traditional school, he faces a different set of social and cultural patterns as well as a different language, which may cause adjustment problems. Lado also stresses the importance of the recognition of cultural differences in bilingual persons:

Because human personality has evolved a variety of ways of life, ways which we call cultures, we are constantly misinterpreting each other across cultures.

Language, and the culture it carries, are at the core of a child's concept of himself. As Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer point out, "Language carries all the meanings and overtones of home, family, and love; it is the instrument of his (the child's) thinking and feeling, his gateway to the world."


In Thailand, with Thai the sole medium of instruction, the non-
Thai speaking child is asked to accommodate to the demands of the school
when he can barely understand or speak, let alone read or write, the
language.

Children often become retarded in their school work and many
eventually drop out of school. Believing the school system offers no
meaningful program, ethnic minority parents may fail to send their
children to school at all. Schools must adapt their programs to meet
the needs of the students they serve.

Michael Katz points out that a model for the study of education
that is applicable to one culture or period is not necessarily relevant
to another. Brian Holmes shows that a different cultural context may
radically influence the practical outcomes of applying the same ideas or
policy.

Kenneth L. Neff, a Specialist in Southeast Asian countries, writes:

The development of a curriculum which meets the specific
needs of a country's stage of development requires far more
than the pouring of old wine into new bottles. Many of the
less-developed countries are doing little more than perpetua-
ting the system of education inherited from the former colonial
times...In addition, custom, and attitudes supported by custom,
present similar obstacles to change.

The bulk of curriculum research being conducted in the
United States and many other Western countries does not ad-
dress itself to the pressing problems in most of the less-
developed nations.6

4 Michael Katz, as cited by Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of
American Society (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina For
the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg,

5 Brian Holmes, as cited by Bernard Bailyn, p. 19.

6 Kenneth L. Neff, Education and the Development of Technology (Washing-
In formulating a plan for bilingual education, therefore, one must be cognizant of the cultural context within which it will be implemented and develop the plan to meet the requirements of that society at a given point of time. This dissertation has been developed specifically for Thailand, considering its socio-cultural diversity. This section will provide a general theoretical orientation toward culture and language, a cultural and linguistic overview of Southeast Asia, and a description of the peoples of Thailand and their languages.

A Theoretical Orientation

Edward Sapir describes language as the guide to a scientific study of a given culture since it serves "as the network of the cultural system of a society." Language, by this definition, is not only the media by which humans interpret and explain socio-cultural conditions; it is a sub-system of culture which is, in turn, a sub-system of society. Man appears to be the one species that has developed the ability to describe, relate, foretell, and persuade through the use of language. Man's socialization and enculturation depend upon the spoken word. In Language and Society, Joseph Bram suggests various socializing effects which correlate to language:

The acquisition of speech mastery and the techniques of reading and writing are necessary to full participation in one's society; social beliefs and attitudes are transmitted via the language; language provides the feeling of belonging in the society; language enables man to transcend the immediate and real and thus go beyond his training in social reality; language provides for the transmission of technical inventions as well as social conventions.8

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From an anthropological point of view, language is a system of vocal symbols by which members of a group interact. The primary function of language is to transmit messages that are mutually comprehensible to two or more members of a group. Language codes are communication systems generally used by thousands of persons who share cultural practices and beliefs.

Society and culture are often used interchangeably. However, the two terms differ in their major points of emphasis. American Heritage Dictionary defines society as "the totality of social relationships among human beings; a group of human beings broadly distinguished from other groups by mutual interests, participation in characteristic relationships, shared institutions, and a common culture."

Society, then, refers to the organization of a group of interrelated human beings, and "a common culture" is one of the traits of a societal group. Animals can have societies, but only humans can have cultures. The medium by which culture is transmitted is language. Culture refers to the ways in which people of a distinct language group deal with the challenge of living as individuals and as members of the whole.

Just as in language, distinctions are made between the code -- "la langue" -- and the idiolect -- "la parole" -- each individual's personal use of the code -- so, in culture it is important to distinguish between the cultural norms, beliefs, or habits of the majority within the speech

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community and the individual or group deviations from some of these norms.

The following simple diagram demonstrates this point.

![Diagram showing the relationship between Language and Culture]

Culture embodies the human being's way of adjusting to his environment. Since many features of nature are "similar" in many parts of the world and since "homo loquens" is a member of the human race, it is not surprising to find that all human beings in the world share seventy-five traits in common.

The following chart shows the Interrelationships of Linguistic and Cultural Sub-Systems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrelationships of Linguistic and Cultural Sub-Systems:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge and Insight Needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LISTENING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vowels, consonants, intonations, stress, rhythm, pauses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEAKING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Morphology: inflection, derivation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Morphophonemics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax (word order)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>READING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vocabulary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function or structure words*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMULAS (fixed expressions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriateness of language to situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of gestures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values, mores, taboos, habits, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Utterances can be completely understood only when the sound patterns, the structural items, the vocabulary items, and the cultural meanings are shared by both speakers and hearers or, in their written manifestation, by writers and readers.

Two summaries of statements by scholars in the field are presented to clarify the nature of language. The American linguist, Robert Hall, has stated that the languages have the following properties: 1) duality (They contain units of sound and units of form); 2) productivity (It is possible to create new utterances); 3) arbitrariness (There is no inherent relationship between a symbol (a spoken word) and its referent); 4) interchangeability (Human beings can receive and send messages; they can take the role of hearer or speaker); 5) specialization (All languages have their own system); 6) displacement (People can talk about the present, the past, or the future. They can talk of concrete things as well as of abstract thoughts); 7) cultural transmission (Language is learned; it is not a physical inheritance).

Charles Hockett's list will also provide further insight into the nature of language. Briefly condensed, he states that language 1) gives freedom to coin new messages; 2) has the ability to refer to things remote in time and space; 3) is available to all members of the species; 4) provides complete feedback to the speaker; 5) displays an arbitrary relationship between sounds and referents; 6) exhibits duality in phonological and grammatical patterning; 7) is passed down by teaching and learning; 8) possesses interchangeability; speakers transmit and receive linguistic signals.


Southeast Asia: A Cultural and Linguistic Overview

Brooks differentiates between formal culture and deep culture as follows:

Formal culture refers to the products of artis-endeavor, achievements of intellectual and artistic genius, deeds of heroic valor, concepts of lofty spirit, and various modes of significant thought, genteel living, and racial vigor...

Deep culture refers to the thoughts, beliefs, actions, concerns and worries, personal values, mirror vanities and half-serious superstitions, the subtle gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in action and thought. 16

In this overview of Southeast Asia, the formal branch of culture will be included in a review of achievements and influences related to artistic or humanitarian endeavors, while the deep branch of culture will relate to the anthropological and ethnological aspects.

Southeast Asia is a term which became popular during the Far Eastern War (1941-1945) to describe those territories which lie South of the Tropic of Cancer and the nearby islands spreading eastwards from the Asiatic continent towards Irian (New Guinea). For the purposes of this section, the analysis of Southeast Asia will emphasize those countries bordering Thailand (Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Malaysia).

Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, and Thailand were all influenced by association with India (Sanskrit literature, Pali language, ceremonial practices) and China (commercial and cultural contact). The four Theravada Buddhist countries (Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand) also have a common religious orientation (monkhood, celebrations, spirit worship). Historically, while Siam avoided colonial status, Burma and

Malaysia were being incorporated as British territories and Laos and Cambodia were becoming French protectorates. More recently, the effects of communism have influenced the political orientations of Thailand's neighboring countries.

John F. Cady points out, however, that the countries are not "in any sense carbon copies of each other." He states:

The Thai and Lao peoples of the Mekong Valley come closest to being identical for they are ethnically akin; Lao culture can be characterized as a provincial variant of Siamese civilization. But mountainous areas of Laos contain a number of tribal peoples, the non-Buddhist Thai tribes, the half Chinese Meo and Mau and the primitive Kha. The latter groups are not to be found within the largely homogenized peoples of Siam, who have also been subjected to a degree of cultural sophistication not to be found in the trans-Mekong area. In the larger regional context, the long history of the Mons, Pyu, Burmans, and Shans of Burma proper and the Malays, Mons, Khmers, and Thai in the eastern area, has contributed not only significant linguistic and cultural variations but also the development of long-sustained political rivalries. Divergencies have been further extended in modern times by Siam's avoidance of colonial status while Burma was being incorporated into British India and Laos and Cambodia were becoming French protectorates. The most fruitful areas for direct comparison and contrast are modern Burma and Siam, but the relationship of all Indochinese people are conditioned by their historic experiences.

One of the most important things regarding the history of Southeast Asia is that many different nations and many different cultures came to this area. The Chinese, Indians, Moslems, French, British, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and Americans have all left their mark upon the people. However, in spite of the influence of these nations and their cultures, the strongest force on the life of the people has been the culture and religions of India.

India sent Southeast Asia her two relations, Hinduism and Buddhism.

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Accompanying these two religions is the idea that religion not only influences how people think and live, but also influences their art, music, dance and architecture. For example:

A symbol of royalty was the many-headed Naga snake, traditional Indian god of the soil. It was believed that the Naga spirit combined the fertility of the soil with the royal principle of ruling over the land. The symbol of Naga's head has been used since by royalty in these countries: Thailand, Cambodia, and Burma.19

China's significance to Southeast Asia is described by G. William Skinner:

With the demise of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia, the over-seas Chinese have assumed greater importance for the future of that region. China's new emergence as a major Communist power, too, has added a new dimension to their potential influence. Centuries before these developments, however, overseas Chinese were already playing an important role in the economic development and social evolution of the major Southeast Asian countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the central current of Thai history in recent centuries cannot be properly understood or analyzed apart from the changing position of the overseas Chinese.20

James Michener examines the conflicting feelings of many nonresident Chinese toward their ancient homeland's new position as a world power:

More significant than mere numbers is the dominant role played by the Chinese in Asia's economic life. They control nine out of ten in Indo-China and the Philippines. They serve as bankers, wholesale merchants and shippers. They constitute Asia's most powerful entrepreneur class.

Why then should they fool around with communism? Many of them don't. In fact, some observers predict that Southeast Asia's Chinese will be just like Hawaii's or New York's, loyal to their adopted countries. Certainly they have every economic, social and political reason to avoid communism.


But two powerful factors lure the alien Chinese toward support of homeland communism. Agents from Peking have moved into every Asiatic city, assuring the coolie who earns $3 'when communism takes over, you have nothing to fear. It's the big shot making $30 we're after.'...and finally they convinced the man making $3 million that only the very rich need to worry. Incredible as this seems, it works.

The second factor is a natural but perverse pride in all Chinese over the sudden emergence of their homeland as a leading world power. As a Bangkok merchant told me, "For 100 years everybody makes fun of China. Kick her around. Now China big and rough. People stop making fun of us." And he cheered on the very force that might ultimately destroy him.21

A problem of considerable proportions in many of the Asian nations stems from the variety of linguistic groups which may exist within national boundaries. The choice of a national language has been a divisive issue, for example, in Ceylon, India, and the Philippines. Where the language of the home is different from that of the school, or where regional language options are reflected in school instruction, educational output in terms of academic achievement may be adversely affected. Thus, the heritage of colonialism (which typically promoted instruction in a European language for at least the higher levels of education), the postcolonial demands for a national language, and the pressures from linguistic minorities for local language options have influenced the character of national education.22

The earliest people to enter Southeast Asia were Australoids, Negritos, Melanesoids, and Indonesians. The peoples of present-day Southeast Asia are descendants of the more recent Malays, Mons, Khmers, Vietnamese, Pyu, Burmans and Shans (or Thai). The influence of these early groups can be seen in the cultural and historical traditions which remain to this day.

22 Dobby, Southeast Asia, p. 46.
The Mons entered Southeast Asia by way of the Mekong River. Unlike past East Asians, they had never made contact with any major Chinese civilizations; thus, they did not bring Chinese culture into the areas they entered. The Mon civilization was formed by their early, continuous contact with India. Not strong militarily, the Mons were often conquered by their more powerful neighbors. However, they influenced the Khmers, the Burmans, and the Thai in art, writing, and forms of government.

The Khmers followed the Mons down the Mekong route, but they turned to the east. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., they took control of what is now Cambodia. They were skilled in government, use of agriculture and gifted in architecture, art, and literature.

The Vietnamese are believed to have originated in what is now southern China. They were an Indonesian people with language and cultural ties to the Mons, the Thais, and the Khmers. They settled in the Tonking area, bordering China, around the Red River delta. Chinese rule left its mark on the government, art, and architecture of Vietnam. Though the Southeast Asians had their own language, Chinese word forms were and are still used in philosophy, business, and in the schools.

The Pyus migrated toward the south about the third century A.D. They came from eastern Tibet, probably traveling down the Salween and Mekong river gorges, and then turning eastward into the Irrawaddy basin. The Pyus built up large commercial and cultural relations with India. Their final defeat by the Thais in A.D. 832-835 put an end to the Pyu civilization.
The Burmans entered the area from Tibet shortly after the collapse of the Pyus. The Thais taught the Burmans the science of war, and the arts of horsemanship, rice cultivation, and slope terracing. The Burmans first settled in central Burma then moved south and west where there were irrigated areas.

The Shans or Thais originally occupied an area bounded by the Red River on the east, the upper Mekong Valley on the west and the Yangtse River on the north. This area formed the country of Nan Chao or "the Country of the Southern Lord." Pressure from an expanding China forced the Thais to flee south down the river valleys.

During the eighth century A.D., the Thais conquered the Pyus and entered northern Thailand. The destruction of the state of Nan Chao in 1253 gave the final push to the southern drive of the Thais.

The advancing Thais also forced the Khmers to withdraw into Cambodia. By A.D. 1350, the Thais had become the most powerful in Southeast Asia. Thus, the once-powerful Khmer Empire lost territories to both the Thai and the Vietnamese. Present-day Cambodia is all that remains of a splendid civilization that once covered the peninsula.

In Southeast Asia, the hundreds of different languages can be grouped into eight basic categories, as follows:

Miao-Yao is spoken in southern China, the northern parts of Vietnam, the Laotian hills and in northern Thailand.

Tibeto-Burmesese is believed to be similar to Chinese. Tibeto-Burmesese has many subdivisions found throughout Southeast Asia: in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. Outside Southeast Asia, it is spoken in Tibet, northern India and Nepal.

Graff and Hammond, Southeast Asia: History, Culture, People, pp.20-22.
Thai has been considered related to the Chinese, and, therefore, to the Tibeto-Burmese, but many language experts do not think this is true. They believe this is due to the fact that the Thais have borrowed heavily from the Chinese. Thai is spoken in Thailand, Siam, Laos, and North Vietnam.

Vietnamese-Muong is spoken in the highlands southwest of the Red River delta of North Vietnam.

Mon-Khmer was the language of the early kingdoms in southern Burma and is also the language of the Cambodians. It is spoken in parts of Vietnam, Thailand, and Burma.

Malayo-Polynesian is the language of the Malayan Peninsula. Malayo-Polynesian languages stretch from Madagascar to Hawaii and include many languages spoken in the Philippines and Indonesia.

Kadai is related to the Thai and to the Malayo-Polynesian. Some small areas in northern Vietnam speak Kadai.

Andamese, until recently, was believed to be confined to the island of Adaman. It is now thought that it may be related to the languages of Australia and western New Guinea.

Some linguists classify the Thai language as part of the Kadai family while others consider it a branch of the Sino-Tibetan. The following map includes Thai (Siamese), Laotien (Lao), and the Shan languages of Burma as part of the Kadai family, assuming that the resemblances to the Sino-Tibetan grouping are largely due to borrowing from Chinese.

24 Ibid., pp. 69-70

Ibid., p. 469.
The Peoples of Thailand and Their Languages

The peoples of Thailand are called Thai(s). Prior to 1939, they were known as the Siamese and the country as Siam. According to the 1970 census, the population of Thailand was 34,152,000. At present, it is estimated at about 37.8 million, with an annual growth rate of between three and four percent.

The Thai belong to the same ethnic group and share the same linguistic classification (Thai) as the Lao to the Northeast and the Shan of Upper Burma. Certain minor tribes have been scattered throughout Southern China, in Tongking of North Vietnam, and in Assam, the easternmost province of India. In various forms, Thai has more speakers than any other language of mainland Southeast Asia.

Although there are regional cultural and linguistic differences, Thai society is remarkably well integrated; throughout history, mobility has been possible, even encouraged, for "foreigners."

About 85 percent of Thailand's total population is of Thai ethnic origin, and another 12 percent are of Chinese descent. The remaining 3 percent consist of Malays, concentrated in the south near the Malaysian border, Khmers (Cambodians), a variety of hill people along the borders of Burma and Laos, and a sizable group of Vietnamese refugees in the northeast along the Mekong River.

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Numeric estimates for minority groups include about 4.5 million Chinese speakers, 1 million Malay speakers, 75,000 Karen, 60,000 Miao-Yao, and 40-45,000 Vietnamese. The exact number of the Khmer or Cambodians is unknown, but estimates range from 160,000 to 400,000. In 1970, more than 90 percent of the population spoke either Thai or the Lao dialect of Thai. Both have many subdialects; some are similar, but others vary enough so that persons from different sections of the country find it difficult at first to understand one another. Thai and Lao are closely related, and mutual understanding between native speakers of the two tongues is possible. Central Thai, the variant spoken by the inhabitants of Bangkok and the Central Region, is the official national language.

Thai or Lao speakers include not only the ethnic Thai but also large numbers of ethnic Chinese, most of the Vietnamese, and a few representatives of other ethnolinguistic minorities. The large Chinese-speaking community is concentrated in the Central Lowland Region and in the peninsula. Malay is the next most important language. Other minority languages are encountered among the hill peoples along the borders with Burma and Laos, the scattered Mon communities of the central region, the Khmer communities of the northeast, and the several small linguistic groups in the peninsula. Many of these languages are themselves divided into dialects spoken by groups of various sizes.

32 Blanchard, Thailand, p. 62.
33 Henderson, Area Handbook, p. 133.
English predominates among the Western languages spoken by transient alien residents, and it has long been taught in the government school system as a required or optional subject. The languages of neighboring Southeast Asian countries and of the Indian subcontinent are spoken by immigrant communities, many of whose members are in trade and service occupations. The Vietnamese concentrated in the northeast continue to use their native language.

The government is actively promoting the spread of Thai in all sections of the country through the compulsory education law that makes Central Thai the language of instruction in all schools, public or private. Central Thai is also employed by government officials in dealing with each other and, when possible, with ordinary citizens. Earlier efforts to end instruction in the language of the ethnic minorities met with considerable resistance from the Malays and Chinese; compromise has permitted instruction in their languages for a certain number of hours a week in the schools of these two minority groups.

Thus, although the various minorities may continue to use their own languages among themselves, the government is ensuring that present and future generations of schoolchildren will be at least nominally bilingual.

According to Thai law, all children born in Thailand are Thai citizens unless a claim for foreign citizenship is established by consular registration. China, however, clings to the "jus sanguinis" by which all children of a Chinese parent are Chinese wherever they are born. Also, China and Thailand do not have treaty relations. Consequently, there is no Chinese embassy, legation, or consulate with which

\[ \text{Ibid., p. 134.} \]
Chinese parents may register their children. Many second generation Chinese, therefore, are Chinese in appearance, dress, language, customs, education, and loyalty, but having been born in Thailand, they are counted as Thai citizens.

Considering also the marital integration of the various ethnic elements; the attempts, when providing data to appear consistent with the government's policy of assimilating minority groups; and the geographic inaccessibility of many of the tribal groups, we recognize the difficulty of obtaining accurate census figures for alien groups. The numerical figures presented in this chapter, therefore, should be interpreted only as educated estimates.

On the next page is a map indicating the major ethnic groups of Thailand and a table indicating languages spoken in Thailand. They are followed by a brief description of the most important ethnic-linguistic elements, broken down, first by national boundary and then by area.

Thailand, on the mainland of Southeast Asia, is situated approximately in the middle of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. In size, it is comparable to France or to three-fourths of Texas. To the southeast lie the Gulf of Siam and Malaysia, to the west and north lies Burma, to the northeast and east lie Laos and Cambodia.

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35 Purcell, Chinese in Southeast Asia, p. 205.
## Languages Spoken in Thailand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Family</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sino-Tibetan</td>
<td>Thai*</td>
<td>Thai or Siamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lao or Thai of the NE*</td>
<td>Thai Khoral; Northern Thai or Thai Yuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>Kao</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shan or Ngio (Thai Yai)</td>
<td>Wiang</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>Phuan</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Phuthai</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Ya</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malayo-Polynesian</td>
<td>Chinese*</td>
<td>Hakka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sam Sam (?)</td>
<td>Cantonese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musso or Labu</td>
<td>Teochiu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko or Akha</td>
<td>Hokkien</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lisu</td>
<td>Hakka, Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Hakka, Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miao (?)</td>
<td>Hakka, Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-European</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>English (religioius language)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pali (religious language)</td>
<td>Other Indic languages</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chong or Samras</td>
<td>Chong or Samras</td>
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<td></td>
<td>So</td>
<td>So</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sack</td>
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<td>Soai or Ku</td>
<td>Soai or Ku</td>
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<td>Kaalong</td>
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<td>Kha Brao</td>
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<td>Khmer</td>
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<td>Mon</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kha Tui</td>
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<td>Mon-Khmer</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anam-Muong</td>
<td>Telegu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravidian</td>
<td>Semang or Gogas</td>
<td>Semang or Gogas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negrito</td>
<td>Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri</td>
<td>Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Languages of greatest importance.

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Wendell Blanchard, Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture
New Haven, Conn.: HRAF Press, 1957.
Malaysia

The first boundary treaty between Thailand and Malaysia was signed in 1869. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Siam relinquished its claim to Trengganu, Kedah, Kelantan, and Perils to British protection within the Malay states. The present-day boundary stems from this treaty of 1909. During World War II, Thailand temporarily regained control over the four states, but they reverted to British administration with the end of hostilities. In 1957, they became states of the independent Federation of Malaya, which was renamed Malaysia in 1963.

In the decades since the end of World War II, the frontier region between Malaysia and Thailand has been plagued by communist inspired insurgency. In 1959 and again in 1965, agreements were signed by Thailand and Malaysia to mutually assist in the control of the frontier areas. These treaties did not affect the location of the boundary.

In the thickly populated Malay area of Thailand, almost the only Thais are those in government positions. Area specialists estimate that as of late 1965 no more than 25 percent of the Malay population as a whole spoke Thai, and in the same group, no more than 40 percent of those in the ten to nineteen-year-old bracket.

Burma and Laos

In the highlands, cultural and ethnic homogenity give way to a multitude of peoples by-passed by the mainstream of civilization. Along the Burma-Thailand boundary, the ethnic distribution is very complex and


Tibeto-Burman people inhabit the areas near the Mekong River. The Shan peoples continue to dominate the Burma side where Burma, Laos, and Thailand meet, although Kaw (Akha) and Kwi villages are found in the uplands. In Laos, the Tibeto-Burmans are replaced by ethnic Tai peoples.

Cambodia

From the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, the Khmer empire, centered on the city of Angkor Wat, reached its zenith of power. In the thirteenth century, the Kingdom of Sukhothai claimed control of central and southeast Siam, clashing frequently with the Khmer. As the capitals of Siam moved southward to Ayuthaya and Bangkok, the Siamese displaced and, to a degree, assimilated the Mon people, driving out the representatives of the Khmer. The Siamese pushed eastward and the Vietnamese pressured on the north and east, so that by the mid nineteenth century, the Siamese and Vietnamese exercised joint protection over Cambodia.

Europeans exerted their influence from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century. Due to the Anglo-French treaty of 1896 and to King Chulalongkorn's skillful diplomacy and modernization of Siam, Thailand remained the only nation in South and Southeast Asia to maintain its independence.

The population density along the Cambodia-Thailand frontier is less than ten inhabitants per square kilometer, populated by small and scattered elements of Mon-Khmer people known as the Kui. Like the Pear,


the Kui are becoming acculturated into Thai or Khmer patterns. Essentially mountail or tribal Khmer, they speak a language closely associated with modern Cambodian.


Lower Siam

Lower Siam, or Central Thailand, consists of one vast lowland plain called the Menam basin, watered by the Chao Prya River and other river systems. In this area the central Thai dialect is spoken by the majority of people living in Phranakhon-Thonburi (Metropolitan Bangkok). There are, in this area, small communities of Mon who have largely accepted the Thai language and culture and a large number of Chinese, most of whom still identify as Chinese rather than Thai.

In Thailand, the dominant group of Chinese is the Chao Chou or Teo Chiu, the language of trade and the lingua franca of the Chinese minority; the second largest group is the Cantonese or Kwang Fu (Kwangtung). Both groups are concentrated in Lower Siam, especially in and around Phranakhon (Bangkok) and Thonburi.

Other groups include the Hainanese or Hai Lam on Kaw Samuey in South Siam and in Lampang in North Siam; the Foochow or Hok Chiu in South Siam; and the Fukien or Hok Kien on or near Phuket in South Siam. The Mei Hsien or Hakka, the Kwangsi or Kwang Sai, and the Fuchia or Hok Chia are scattered among many communities through the country.

According to Skinner, there are five dominant linguistic groups within the Chinese community, as follows: Teochiu, accounting for approximately 56 percent of the total Chinese population residing in Thailand; Hakka, 16 percent; Hainanese, 12 percent; Cantonese, 7 percent; Hokkien, 7 percent; and other, 2 percent.

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The following map shows the places of origin of each of the linguistic groups.

Although many of the Chinese, especially those born and raised in Thailand, know Thai well and use it outside their own ethnic community, Thai businessmen find it expedient to have even a limited knowledge of Teo-Chiu in dealings with Chinese businessmen. Thais also find Teo-Chiu useful in dealings with Chinese businessmen for bargaining purposes, and many common Teo-Chiu expressions have been incorporated into Thai as slang.

The regional languages retain their importance as the primary means of communication within the Chinese community and as a major basis for social and occupational alignments, and Mandarin, as the official

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national language of China and the language taught in Chinese schools, is increasingly used for communication among educated Chinese of different dialect groups.

South Siam

The four southernmost provinces which border on Malaysia (Narathiwat, Pattani, Satun, and Yala) have predominantly Thai-Islam populations, with the people speaking Malay. Other linguistic groups include the Chao-Nam (island water people), the Orang-Luut (sea gypsies), the Sam-Sam, and the Semang.

The provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani, Yala, and Satun are populated by an overwhelming majority of Muslim peoples who are culturally Malay rather than Thai and who, in the former three provinces, generally cannot communicate in the Thai language. Satun province, although culturally Malay and religiously Islamic, is in many respects different from the three Malay-speaking provinces on the east. A far greater proportion of the population has learned to use the Thai language and, because the area is isolated from the other provinces by jungle, most of the outside contacts are with centers of Thai population in Songkla, Phattalung, and Haadyai. Pattani has attempted at various times to become an independent state and resistance has been greatest to Thai government attempts toward unification.


About seven-eighths of the Malay in Thailand reside in an area directly adjacent to Malaysia, comprising about 70 to 80 percent of the population in the four southernmost provinces of Thailand. They differ from the Thais not only in religion and language, but in overall culture, diet, and behavior. The Thai Malay represent a homogeneous alien minority which is highly resistant to assimilation into the national culture. They resist both passively and actively the efforts of the Thai government to enforce the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act. The Thai Malay are generally unwilling to entrust their children to a school system which teaches in a language other than their own and which does not provide religious instruction in their own faith.

The remaining one-eighth of the Thai Islam population live in scattered clusters in at least 24 provinces throughout the kingdom. Predominantly descendants of former slaves and resettled prisoners of war, this group now consider themselves Thai, although most have retained their religion. The Chao-Nam are primitive mongols with a language of their own. They are mostly found along the West Coast where, like the Orang-Luut, they live by pearl-diving and fishing. Those Thais who accepted Mohammedanism (Islam) are known to the Malays as Sam Sam. The Semang of the peninsula are an elusive dwarf tribe of nomads who are skillful fishermen and hunters.


Southeast Siam

The Annamite or Vietnamese called Yuan, centered in the area around Chanthaburi, are descendants of Christians who fled persecution in Annam around 1850. They have remained a homogenous, unassimilated foreign enclave, set off from the Thais by their customs, language, and religion. Some Vietnamese live in Bangkok and many others who filtered into Thailand between 1945-50 still live in the Northeast.

The Khmer and Cambodians practice customs and religion similar to the Thais, but their language is different. They speak Khmer as a first language and Thai as a second language.

The Soai or Kui differ from the Thais in social structure, especially in reference to religious practices. There are three subgroups: The Soai, near the Cambodian border; the Lao-Soai, in the process of adopting the Thai or Lao language; and the Khmer-Soai, speaking the Khmer language.

Northeast Siam

The Phathai, in the eastern section of the Northeast, include numerous "clans" with different dialects. Nominally Buddhist, they have many non-Buddhist beliefs.

Southwest Siam

The Mon, in Ratchaburi and Kanjanaburi provinces, speak Thai and the Mon-Khmer language.

Southwest and Middle Siam

The Karen, living on the western border of Thailand, speak a Sino-Tibeto language whose position among the language families of the world

is still uncertain. Some linguists say that it is closely related to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, whereas others assert that it constitutes a separate major division (Karenic) within the Sino-Tibetan group. All of the three branches retain their own customs and beliefs. The Sgau and Pwo are referred to as "white Karen;" the Bghai are called "Red Karen."

North Siam

The Shan, northwest of Chiangmai, are also known as the Thai Yai or Great Thai. They refer to the Thai and Lao peoples as the Tai Noi or Little Thai.

In addition, there are 20 or more minor groups in Thailand that may be divided into three categories. The first are those peoples such as the Lu, Kalong, So, Khamak (or Phuthung), Saek, and Kha Brao of the North and Northeast who entered the country through forced migration and are rapidly being assimilated.

The second category consists of mountain and hill tribes of the North, such as the Miao, Musso, Akha, Yao, Lissu, Lawa, and Lolo who are filtering down from Yunnan, Burma, or Laos. They attempt to retain their characteristic practices and shun outside influences. The mountain people differ among themselves as to language, customs and dress; they have no general organization.

Even subgroups are distinguished by widely linguistic differences, an example being the White Miao (Miao Khao), Black Miao (Miao Dan), striped Miao (Miao Lai), and Flower Miao (Miao Dawk) whose dialects differ.

The third category represents scattered jungle peoples, including
the Chaobon (now largely assimilated), Chawng or Porr, Lawa, and Phi Tong Luang (Spirits of the Yellow Leaves), whose real name and language are unknown.

Large numbers of Ceylonese, Indians, and Pakistanis reside in the commercial centers, and many Westerners concerned with diplomatic, business, financial, religious, and military activities reside in and around Bangkok. English is the Western language most widely studied; it is usually chosen to fulfill the compulsory schools or technical schools include French, German, and Japanese.

Pali, related to Vedic Sanskrit, is not a spoken language, but it is important to Thailand as the written for medium of Teravada Buddhism, which all ordained monks must study. Borrowed words in common speech dealing with religion generally derive from Pali, whereas those referring to the secular realm are apt to be of Sanskrit origin.

Since language and culture are inseparable, this chapter has presented a theoretical and a descriptive analysis of the topic as it relates to Southeast Asia and Thailand. The diversity of languages and ethnic backgrounds has been outlined and within Thailand, a listing of minority groups has been provided. It should be emphasized that although there are cultural and linguistic groups within Thailand, Thai society is well integrated and more than 85 percent of the total population speak Thai and are of Thai ethnic origin. The next chapter will suggest ways in which the majority Thai population as well as the ethnic and linguistic minority groups can benefit from a bilingual program.

54 Henderson, Area Handbook, p. 143.
55 Ibid., p. 144.
Under the heading Bilingualism in Thailand, the next chapter will look at historical, linguistic, and socio-political factors in Thailand as they relate to bilingual education.
CHAPTER VI

BILINGUALISM IN THAILAND

The need today is for philosophers and scholars--whether in Asia or Europe or Africa or the Americas--who will address themselves to the human situation. The need now is to talk not about geographic destiny but about human destiny.

--Norman Cousins

At the present time, the area of bilingualism is increasing in interest and concern in the world's societies. Hunt emphasizes that, in addition to language as an answer to a student's immediate and long-range needs, his social, economic, psychological, and pedagogical problems are all inextricably interwoven. Roeming, in another study, stated: "The specific problem to be rectified now under the banner of bilingualism is a social and economic one."

Several approaches, however, have received little attention: historical, linguistic, and socio-political considerations. This chapter will focus on these areas as they relate to Thailand, attempting to broaden the readers' frames of reference concerning the contexts within which bilingual education programs must be conceived.

An Historical Analysis

This section will present, within an historical framework, a description of bilingual and/or bicultural aspects of educational programs during Thailand's rich past.


For the purposes of this historical analysis, bilingual education in Thailand is divided into four periods:

- Lanna Thai and Sukhothai Period (Prior to 1350)
- Aythaya Period (1350-1767)
- Dhonburi-Ratanakosin (Early Bangkok) Period (1767-1887)
- Bangkok Period (1887-Present)

The three former categories parallel Thai historical periods, with 1887 marking the establishment of the Department of Education. A brief description of bilingual-bicultural education in each period follows.

The earliest historic mention of the Thai language occurs in the Chinese annals of more than 2,000 years ago which preserve a few words, mainly names and titles of kings, that are still recognizably Thai. During the second millennium B.C., eight words of the language of the Pang people were recorded, of which five are recognizably Thai. In A.D. 1172, one Chinese scholar listed nine, three of which are recognizable as Shan, three as Annamito, and three as Thai; another scholar listed nineteen words, of which seven are Annamito and twelve, Thai. Little else is known about the Lanna Thai and Sukhothai kingdom of present-day Thailand.

Lanna Thai and Sukhothai Periods

During the Lanna Thai Period, learning was organized in the temples and taught by monks. Students learned to read and write three types of Thai Scripts: Thai Yuan (Northern Thai dialect), Sukhothai, and Khorm Thai (modified Cambodian). The objective of language study was to enable

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the students to read and comprehend the Tripitaka (Buddhist Scriptures).

In the Sukhothai Kingdom, education was of two types: ecclesiastic, or direct study of Buddhism; and celestial, which was organized in the temples for common people's children and in individual scholars' houses for the children of royalty and nobility. During this period, the Thai became cultural and linguistic assimilators, borrowing elements which went into making their own society. In 1283, King Ramkhamhaeng adopted from the Cambodians the alphabet which was first used to write the Thai alphabet. The background of the origin of the Sukhothai script was described by Burnay and Coedes, as follows:

The secular interest of the state in absorbing peoples of other languages and its tolerant attitude toward remnants of the Hindu religion necessitated the development of a Thai script which could make tonal Thai sensible to speakers of non-tonal Mon-Khmer tongues and allow for the expression of Sanskrit and Pali concepts.

Ayuthaya Period

Education in the Ayuthaya Kingdom was mainly centered in the temples. During the reign of King Narai, emphasis in subject matter was placed on languages including Thai, Pali, Sanskrit, French, Cambodian, Burmese, Paguan, and Chinese. Rama Tibode I pushed his conquests as far south as Malacca, becoming the first Thai King to rule over a Malay State, and Rama Tibod II received the first European envoys and concluded the first treaty with a European power. The first school with western


bilingual influences was established by the French Catholics during this period.

Multiculturalism, through increased foreign contact, became prevalent but, as Wyatt points out, a characteristic Thai culture was retained: "The Kingdom has assimilated successfully the diverse traditions within which it found itself and had creatively fused them together into a living culture which was its own."

Dhonburi - Ratanakosin - (Early Bangkok) Period

Phya Tak, or Taksin, of mixed Thai-Chinese parentage, became the leader of the new capital of Dhonburi and he was followed by an unbroken succession of ruling kings from Rama I to the present Rama IX.

Throughout this period, education followed the same general pattern as Ayuthaya, except that the steps of learning became more systematic.

Dr. Ekavidya Nathalang summarized educational life at that time, as follows:

Siam during the early decades of Bangkok period was far less unified than what we have taken for granted today. The language and culture of the North were more akin to the Thais in the Shan State of Burma; the North-East was by blood closer to the Laos and a part of the South were outspokenly Malay and Islamic. On the other hand, territorial disputes with France and Britain at times caused Siam a very large proportion of her territory if not her independence. As such, language and cultural differences if shrewdly instigated could easily constitute the whole course of annexing further territories to the already seceded Laos, Cambodia and the Malay States. Hence the administration of education as part of the whole reform, could proudly claim its share in successfully creating national unity thus preserving much of national territory.


The first documented reference to education of Chinese children in Siam was by Ruschenberger, a world traveler, describing Bangkok during the 1830s."

Two or three schools have been begun here for Chinese children, and are now in operation, but there is much difficulty in organizing and sustaining them, for the reason that Chinamen here have Siamese, Burman, Laos, and even other country women for mothers, whose prejudices are even stronger than that of the Chinese themselves.

The Chaktri Dynasty produced a number of outstanding rulers, most notably Rama IV (1851-68) and Rama V (1868-1910). King Mongkut, Rama IV, hired Mrs. Anna F. Leonowens to teach English to the princes in the Grand Palace in 1862, and 1871, King Chulalongkorn, Rama V, established a school in the Grand Palace.

Suan Anand School and Suankulap School taught English in the early 1880s, catering primarily to the upper classes. At Suankulap, the English department remained separate from the Thai department, and at least four of Chulalongkorn's sons began their education in the English section, being transferred to the Thai section only for one year before leaving for England. This program was neither integrated nor bilingual; it provided an alternative to the general Thai instruction of the school and was designed primarily for those intending to pursue studies abroad. Throughout the 1880s, plans were made to extend better formal educational facilities to the general public and by August 1885, "12 or 16 vernacular

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12 W.S.W. Ruschenberger, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, during the Years 1835, 1836, and 1837, including a narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam (London, 1838), p. 280.

13 Swat Chongkol, pp. 64-65.

15 schools had been established in Bangkok. King Chulalongkorn wished that all children would have access to education and he made the development of education one of his top priorities.

Bangkok Period

When the Department of Education was established in 1887, two of its chief responsibilities were to organize and promote education and to demonstrate an efficient educational system and effective methods of teaching. Five years later, the Ministry of Education was founded. Numerous government-supported schools were established in monasteries, but the desire for modern education was not felt by the masses. David K. Wyatt writes:

The demand for modern education seems to have been strongest among those most bureaucratically oriented, among the families of government officials, and among the large, economically oriented Chinese minority. As they were more aware of the expanding opportunities offered by government and commerce, such groups more readily could see the advantages of civil service training and the study of English, and then could perceive these in terms of their old, traditional values.17

Some of the Thai schools were at Chinese-supported monasteries (e.g., WatSam Chintai; now Wat Traimit), and some pupils even studied Chinese in government schools. It was taught, for example, in 1889 at the Ban Chin Yaem School in Bangkok and ten students enrolled for the courses. In the 1890s, special independent schools, including those

15 Ibid., p. 114.
16 A Collection of Documents Concerning Educational Organization During the Reign of King Chulalongkorn, Organizing Committee for Celebrating the Centenary Accession to the Throne of King Chulakongkorn (Bangkok: 1968), pp. 19-20.
17 Wyatt, p. 119.
18 NA 55, 17/8 11, C, Quarterly Report, Education Department, June 1889; and 18/8, D, Annual Report, Education Department, 1889/90.
teaching Pali, Mon, English, Chinese, and Hindi were required to register and to submit to regular inspections.

In 1902, the Chinese minority in Phrae province rebelled against Bangkok's tightening control of education, precipitating the "Shan Rebellion of Phrae" (Khabot giao Muang Phrae).

Early in 1906, the government reviewed its policy toward non-Siamese-speaking areas, particularly Chiangmai and the former dependencies in the North, and in February of 1906, reached an agreement. Wyatt describes the action:

As the King explained it, they wished to 'prepare (Lao) for government service in their own land and be able to work in mutual understanding with the Thai' and to inform them 'of the benefits of close association with the Thai.' They agreed to send an educational director to monthon Phayap (Chiangmai), the king requiring that the monk sent not be arrogant or disdainful toward the Lao.

A conference in September of 1906 advocated that in areas where two languages were in use, as in the North and Northeast, the "local language may be taught, but only education in (Central) Thai may be supported by the government." Similarly, Thai government officials decided that mosques and Christian churches might also be eligible for government assistance, provided they offered Thai instruction.

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19 Wyatt, p. 155.
20 Ibid., p. 328.
21 Ibid., pp. 328-9.
22 Ibid., p. 333.
23 Ibid., pp. 337-8.
In April, 1908, Pra Phaisan Sinlapasat (Sanan Thephatsadin), director of the Inspection Department, submitted a report calling attention to the need for assimilating the Chinese of Phuket province, viewing as potentially dangerous the Chinese schools of Phuket which taught only in Chinese and the growing tendency of local Chinese families to send their sons to Penang or Singapore for their education. He recommended that a government secondary school, teaching Thai, English, Chinese, and Malay, be established in Phuket so as to compete with the educational opportunities in Malaya and that the government generally aid Chinese education on the condition that such schools offer Thai instruction. Pra Phaisan served as Minister of Education from 1915-1926, during which time he continued to study the problems of Chinese education and social assimilation.

Chinese community schools became increasingly popular after World War I. The number in Thailand rose from 48 in 1925 to 188 in 1928 to 271 in 1933.

The first Thai legislation to directly affect Chinese and missionary schools was the Private Schools Act promulgated in January 1919. The act and its subsequent ministerial regulations stipulated that all schools established by aliens must register with the Ministry of Education, that principals of such schools must be educated by the standards set by the Ministry for the second year of secondary school, that all alien teachers must study Thai and pass examinations in the language six months and one year after they began teaching, and that the Thai language must be taught.

at least three hours each week.

The Compulsory Education Act of 1921 required all children aged 7 to 14 to attend government or private schools which followed the Thai course of study and to use books approved by the Ministry of Education for at least four years.

Supervision and enforcement of the laws were relatively lax until after the 1932 revolution when the new government became determined that all children should receive a Thai education to prepare them as useful citizens of the country. The Education Policy of March 1933 emphasized national values, applied the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act to Bangkok, and began strict and unyielding inspection of Chinese schools. Chun-po Cha reports that between March 1933 and August 1935, seventy-nine Chinese schools were closed for infractions of the law.

Responding to the resulting cries of injustice by the Chinese community, Luang Pradit published a statement in July 1936 which said in part:

Any misunderstandings between China and Siam are built mainly on ignorance of the facts and on prejudice. The Primary Education Law in Siam was enacted years ago, but efficiency in its enforcement is more recent. What the Ministry of Education insists on enforcing is that a certain number of hours per week be devoted to the teaching of the Siamese language in Chinese and in other foreign-managed schools. When Chinese immigrants choose to settle down in Siam, it is but natural that their children should be afforded the educational background which will qualify them for their social and political status and responsibilities as sons of the soil.

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25 Ibid., p. 228.
27 Ibid.
Throughout the 1930s mission schools gained in popularity because of the opportunity to learn Western languages, the high quality of instruction, and the strict discipline. At this time, Thai authorities were determined that Siam must be unified. Their plan provided free and compulsory education so that all of the people, whatever their origin, might be equally prepared to meet the standards of a civilized world.

In the South, however, progress was limited. For example, in 1937, Pattani had 83 schools, 177 teachers, and 8,326 pupils. Of this number, 5,958 were of the compulsory attendance age. Other children, not in school of the same age limits who, according to the law should have been in school, numbered 21,841.

Kenneth P. Landon described the situation as follows:

In thirteen years of compulsory education in the Pattani area slight progress has been made. The children who went to school came out with a parrot-like knowledge of Siamese. Scarcely two percent of the pupils used what they had learned. The average school on an average day could muster not more than forty percent of the children enrolled. Pupils studied three or four years and then, within a year, forgot what they had learned. Many could read Siamese printing fluently, but without any understanding of the text. Few Malays in Siam could read or write any language, even their own. Malays involved in legal cases usually have to use finger prints instead of signatures for documents.

Khun Canya Withan, an inspector of schools, summarized his findings:

1. Malay adults object to purely Siamese education for their children because Siamese is not their language.

2. They object because their children have no opportunity to study Mohammedanism if Siamese is their language. They fear their children will be won over to Buddhism.

3. They object to having their children study for three years and still not know either Siamese or Malay well.

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29 Nai Pracha, "Kha Fak Panha Tu'n Tan Nu'ng Kha," (Pattanisan, 1937), pp. 117-120.
He consequently suggested alternatives for bilingual education:

1. If the government intends to enforce the educational laws, those laws should be strictly enforced in order to guarantee the Malay people a basic Siamese education. Malay education should be allowed after the pupils have a Siamese foundation.

2. If an attitude of tolerance is to be shown, then it would be better to encourage a Malay education, using Siamese script for the Malay words.

3. After becoming familiar with Siamese script, the Malays could easily learn Siamese.31

Following World War II, the Treaty of Amity (January 1946) provided that "the nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have...the education of their children...in accordance with the laws and regulations of the country" (Article VI). No restrictions were imposed on teaching foreign languages in secondary schools and in May 1946, the government reversed the ban of 1938 and announced that the Chinese language could be taught in government schools as an optional subject.

In 1948, the new Minister of Education, General Mangkon Phromyothe, compelled all Chinese schools to adhere to every version of the private-school regulations and planned to reduce the number of Chinese schools in the country to 152. Through the 1950s, the police conducted anti-communist raids, confiscating certain books and printed materials, and arresting many Chinese principals and teachers. The Ministry of Education concurrently imposed restrictions regarding the hiring of staff, inspection procedures, screening of all staff to "prevent Communist subversion activities," the uniformity of materials, and the appointment of Thai administrators.

33Ibid., pp. 370-2.
In 1952, a severe anti-subversive act outlawed the Communist Party. As tensions eased, the government offered assimilation as a way to escape discrimination. Through the skill of compromise, the Thais halved the registration fee, liberalized election laws, granted more privileges regarding land ownership and military service, and opened Thai labor unions for Chinese membership. The following quotation summarizes the changing order of Sino-Thai relations:

During the ten years since the close of the Second World War, Thai policy toward the Chinese has run the full gamut from tempered benevolence to harsh containment. The laissez-faire policy of 1945-47 was stiffened somewhat in late 1947 and early 1948, and replaced during the first years of Phibun's administration by a policy of firm control. After the coup d'état of November 1951, government policy hardened to one of full containment. The first signs of a relaxation in anti-Chinese fervor came in 1954, and during the second half of 1955 the government virtually repudiated anti-Sinicism as a political instrument.35

On the political scene, the "anti-Chinese" campaign has been intensified since 1957. Thailand has gone further than not recognizing Communist China; it is a member of the American-backed South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) an alliance primarily designed to thwart Chinese aggression, the headquarters of which are centered in Bangkok. At the present time, however, a benevolent policy designed to integrate the Chinese and other minority groups into the Thai educational scheme is apparent. Government assistance and special programs in the northeast, in the Hill tribe areas, and in the four southernmost provinces have produced positive results. Foreign Languages classes, Adult


Education programs, and Border Patrol programs have been instituted.

Today, if educational leaders recognize the importance of respecting bilingual ability and cultural diversity, second language programs can be expanded to become transitional bilingual programs. The objective of such programs is to introduce the Thai language and culture and other useful information to the ethnic minorities in order to encourage their assimilation.

Thomas Fraser sums up the outlook for the future which is applicable to all minority groups within Thailand:

In short, if the Royal Thai government pursues consistently the policies and programs it has established in the South, it will probably, within a generation, achieve the goal it has set for itself: creation in the South of full citizens of the Kingdom of Thailand, no longer Malays resident in Thailand, but Muslim Thais.

This section has presented an overview of the historical development of Thai educational programs related to the teaching of language and culture. The following section will analyze the area of linguistics, providing a theoretical and practical justification as part of the discussion of bilingualism in Thailand.

A Linguistic Perspective

Linguistics is the discipline which studies languages in terms of their internal structures. It differs from the other approaches in that it focuses its attention on different facets of human speech. The common general subject matter and its special competence to handle certain


types of problems bring it into important relationships with many other disciplines.

Philosophy deals with the culture and history of languages, the traditions behind languages, and the literary output of language. Linguistics concentrates on language itself, with only occasional reference to cultural or literary values. The problems of linguistics concern mainly the spoken language, though written language forms are also considered.

Descriptive linguistics, also called synchronic linguistics or structural linguistics, investigates the phenomena and manifestations of language. Historical linguistics, also referred to as diachronic linguistics, traces the development and evolution of language in the course of time. Geolinguistics covers the current status of the world's languages, comparing them with respect to objective present-day factors. Comparative linguistics provides a comparison of two or more languages for the purpose of their structures.

In this section, procedures will be suggested for determining how Thai and the second languages to be studied coincide and how they differ in phonemic patterns, in their grammatical structures, and in their word stocks. After presenting a theoretical base, aspects of the Thai language will be described for purposes of a comparative linguistic analysis, and then specific comparisons will be made and examples of comparisons given.


Andersson and Boyer point out that detailed comparative linguistic analyses for each of the languages involved in a bilingual program should be undertaken to provide critically needed information for curricular decisions about sequence and methods of presentation.\textsuperscript{41}

Lado suggests that one can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty, and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the native language and culture of the student.

The fundamental assumption guiding the linguistic basis for this dissertation is given by Fries:

\begin{quote}
The most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

Linguists who have studied the effect of close contact between languages in bilingual situations report that many linguistic distortions heard among bilinguals correspond to describable differences in the languages involved.

Gleason recognizes three major components of language as far as language lies within the scope of linguistics: the structure of expression, the structure of content, and vocabulary. The former two structures are intimately related and interacting; the latter comprises


\textsuperscript{44}Einar Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).
all the specific relations between expression and content—in familiar terminology, words, and their meanings.

Lado emphasizes three aspects of words: their form, their meaning, and their distribution. He suggests that in most languages the form of words consists of sound segments and stress, with tonal languages, such as Thai and Chinese, adding the dimension of pitch. In Thai, for example, the word "maa" can mean come, dog, or horse according to the tonal variations, and in Chinese, the same "maa" can mean mother, flax, curse, or horse, depending on the tone used.

Educators cannot ignore the first language of the student as a factor of primary importance in vocabulary development, just as it cannot be ignored in pronunciation and grammatical structure. Ogden uses approximately 1,000 words for his basic vocabulary list, and Michael West considers a vocabulary of 2,000 words "good enough for anything, and more than enough for most things." Gleason writes:

Similarity and differences to the native language in form, meaning, and distribution will result in ease or difficulty in acquiring the vocabulary of a foreign language.

45 Gleason, Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, p. 6.


48 Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Essays on Thai Folklore (Bangkok: Sivaphom, 1968), pp. 95-6.


Comparing the second language vocabulary with that of the first language we will find words that are 1) similar in form and similar in meaning, 2) similar in form but different in meaning, 3) similar in meaning but different in form, 4) different in form and in meaning, 5) different in their type of construction, 6) similar in primary meaning but different in connotation, and 7) similar in meaning but with restrictions in geographical distribution. Each group can be generally classified according to three levels of difficulty for the learner: 1) easy, 2) normal, and 3) difficult.

Lado states:

...Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture—both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives.

The clear understanding of phonemic differences is the contribution of modern structural linguistics. A comparison of the native and foreign sound systems provides a means of predicting the speakers of a given language learning another.

Following is a brief description of Thai compared to selected second languages represented in Thailand. Thai, the national language, is tonal, uninflected, and predominantly monosyllabic. Phya Anuman Rajadhon, one of the leading scholars and writers of Thailand, describes the Thai language as follows:

The Thai language (to be exact the Siamese) as spoken in Thailand, forms a sub-division of the linguistic group known as the languages of the Shans of Northern Burma with its subgroups in Assam and adjacent territories, the Lao of the groups in Tongking and Southern China. The Thai language,

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53 Mario Pei, How to Learn Languages and What Languages (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), Introduction.
in so far as it is known factually, has words in its original form of a monosyllabic type not unlike that of the Chinese. Each word is independent and complete by itself, and admits no modifications as to the inflectional languages. Such a feature is like that of the Chinese, but the arrangement of words in a sentence reveals a unity with that of most of the languages of South-East Asia. The Thai language as spoken in Central Thailand, has more words relatively than in other regions in its vocabulary of Cambodian, Pali and Sanskrit origins. This, of course, is due to the contact of cultures.54

In the modern Thai alphabet, there are 44 consonants. Of these, 16 are redundant, leaving 28 basic consonantal sounds. The redundant consonants, two of which are now obsolete, are used chiefly in transliteration of Sanskrit and Pali words. There are in all 45 long and 55 short vowels diphthongs and five basic tones.

Thai and Chinese are tonal and monosyllabic in their formation of words. Both languages include compound words and feature a close similarity in their constructions of sentence patterns. The two are, however, mutually unintelligible. The Chinese system of ideographs is also completely different from the alphabetic writing system of Thai.

In comparing Thai and Chinese, there are several hundred words that are similar in the two languages. For example, in the Cantonese and Swatow dialects, the word for tooth is identical to the Thai word for tusk ( nga ). The numbers three, four, seven, eight, nine, and ten are identical, and the Thai language has adopted many Chinese words related to food and commerce.

The Thai and Malay languages differ in nearly every respect. Unlike Thai, Malay is not tonal, it features different structures, and

55 Ibid., p. 96.
56 Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures, p. 115.
it uses an Arabic alphabet with flowing script. There are, however, a large number of mutually shared Malay, Javanese, and Indonesian words.

Through the intimate contact of the Thai with the Khmer in the past, a large number of Mon-Khmer words are found in the Thai language. For example, "truat" means inspect and "phak" means rest in both languages.

English is the only European language widely known in Thailand; it is usually chosen to fulfill the compulsory foreign language requirements. Thai is like English in that the typical sentence contains subject, verb, and object, in that order, but Thai attributive constructions differ from English in that the head must always precede the attribute. The Thai writing system bears no resemblance to the Latin alphabet, but it is also an alphabet system, that is, the symbols represent phonemes. Like English, Thai is written from left to right, but there are no spaces between words. Pronunciation problems must consider differences between the two languages in the areas of phonemes, derivation, and syntax. A list of references for comparative analysis is provided in the appendix.

The following chart, prepared by the author, summarizes pronunciation problems Thais will encounter as they learn English in a foreign language or bilingual program.

57 Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Essays on Thai Folklore, pp. 87-8.
58 Ibid., p. 86.
Lado says that:

The first phase of comparison, the comparison of phonemes as units, can be achieved quickly if we had a phonemic chart for each of the two languages, the native and the foreign. For convenience both charts should be based on the same criteria of classification...adopted from the usual practice in diagramming the vocal apparatus facing left.\textsuperscript{61}

The following charts, developed by the writer, correspond to Lado's recommendation.

A Comparison of Thai and English:

Pronunciation Problems for Thais

Initial sounds: (single consonants) - Total = 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No problem:</th>
<th>Tongue position different, but not a communication problem:</th>
<th>Communication problem:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b- kh- n-</td>
<td>^-</td>
<td>v-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph- k- l-</td>
<td>$-</td>
<td>%-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p- f- w-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>&amp;-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d- s- y-</td>
<td></td>
<td>z-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th- h t</td>
<td></td>
<td>ô-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
<td>r-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initial clusters:

Every initial consonant cluster is a problem, with the exception of kl; kw; kr; khl; khw; khr; tr; thr; pl; pr; phl; phr.

Final sounds (single sounds) - Total = 23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No problem: Problems by position only:</th>
<th>Problems by position and production:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>-*f (-p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-*s (-t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-*l (-n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-*g (-n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng (ŋ)</td>
<td>-*r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-*z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-*ô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - voiceless - 6 letters = the most important for reading comprehension
** - also very important as it is related to grammar structures

\textsuperscript{61} Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures, p. 19.
15 = Total final consonant problems

Comprised of: 5 consonants that are problems because of position
10 consonants that are problems both because of position and the way the sound itself is made.

Final problem sounds that effect reading and writing:

Problem by position only: Problem by position and production:

-s -s
-f -t
-1 -k

+++ +

Final clusters: Total = 151

Every final consonant cluster is a problem for Thais.

-ps -sp -sps -ps sick -k
-ts -st -sts -ts six -ks
-ks -sk -sks -cez sixth -kse-

-kse
-fs
-sez
-zez

The bare minimum is clusters of two consonants. The reasons for this involve English grammar. English has five important grammar suffixes:

1) 3rd person singular ending on verbs "-s, es"
2) possessive ending on nouns 's, -s'
3) plural endings on nouns "-s, -es" -s, -z, ez
4) past tense endings on verbs "-ed, -d, -t"
5) past participle ending on verbs "-ed, -d, -t" -ed, -d, -t

+++ +

Since all bilingual programs in Thailand would study Thai as one of the two languages, this section provided a brief comparative analysis of major differences between Thai and other languages. The charts represent an example of a way educational planners could depict linguistic differences in order to treat problem sounds in a programmed approach to language development and learning. The next section will consider political and societal perspectives of bilingualism in Thailand.
Initial Sounds

Thai only  English only  Thai only  English only

Thai only

### Final Sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cap</th>
<th>cab</th>
<th>cup</th>
<th>cuff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram of 'cap']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'cab']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'cup']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'cuff']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hat</th>
<th>had</th>
<th>pin</th>
<th>pill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram of 'hat']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'had']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'pin']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'pill']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mat</th>
<th>match</th>
<th>mat</th>
<th>mass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram of 'mat']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'match']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'mat']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'mass']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>back</th>
<th>bag</th>
<th>Loose</th>
<th>Lose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram of 'back']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'bag']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'Loose']</td>
<td>![Diagram of 'Lose']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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63 Ibid.
Political and Societal Implications

William A. Stewart describes two possible government policies:

1. The eventual elimination, by education and decree, of all but one language, which remains to serve both official and general purposes.

2. The recognition and preservation of important languages within the national scene, supplemented by universal use of one or more languages to serve for official purposes and for communication across language boundaries. 64

This dissertation advocates that the development of individual's bilingual abilities will create a new national resource for Thailand and that recognition of cultural differences will increase awareness of and respect for cultural diversity within Thailand. The writer, therefore, endorses Stewart's second policy for Thailand.

Most existing bilingual programs provide only psychological or linguistic rationales for their efforts. Insights into cultural-societal bilingualism advanced by sociolinguists have not been incorporated into their program designs. Many programs are, therefore, attempting language shift or language maintenance with little or no conscious awareness of the complexity of such an effort when viewed from a cultural-societal perspective. 65 This chapter will describe the political and societal implications of bilingualism in Thailand, attempting to add another dimension to this dissertation, aiming toward a more comprehensive view of the topic area.

Fishman and Lovas emphasize the need for realistic societal


information in determining educational goals as they describe the kinds of difficulties that may develop for bilingual education if school planners are not aware of the language situations in the communities to which these programs are directed:

1. The school may attempt a program aimed at language maintenance (e.g., developing high performance in all skill areas of mother tongue and second language, and promoting use of both languages in all major societal domains) in a community actually in the process of language shift. Thus, the school's efforts could be cancelled out because it did not take account of community values or preferences.

2. Conversely, the school may attempt a program aimed at language shift (e.g., developing competence in the second language only and extending its language in many (or all) social domains. Again, the school could fail (or achieve very limited success) because it ignored the sociolinguistic dimension of the problem.

3. Even if the school program and community objectives are fortuitously congruent, the school program may not take account of important characteristics of the speech community, e.g., (a) the existence of one or more nonstandard varieties (in one or more languages) whose school appropriateness as a medium or as a subject must be ascertained from the speech community itself; (b) differential use of these varieties by members of the speech community from one societal domain to another and from one speech network to another.66

Thailand's official and unofficial relations with other countries, involving diplomacy, trade, security, technical assistance, health, religion, the arts, and education, are steadily increasing. The success of international relations often depends on the bilingual skills and cultural sensitivity of Thai representatives within the country and abroad.

Although many Thai representatives would recognize the need for educated bilingualism in Thai and one of the major world languages or one of the languages or dialects spoken by ethnic minorities within

66 Ibid. 109
Thailand, others would be wary of what might be termed "a form of linguistic colonialism," destroying the sense of independence which the "Land of the Free" so cherishes.

Lambert showed that languages need not stigmatize or limit an individual in any way. He pointed out that the fully bilingual and bicultural individual is aware of the relationship between culture and allegiance, but is also able to adjust his language to social settings, thereby demonstrating that he belongs in more than one cultural or status category.

Charles W. Stanfield sums up the potential of effective bilingual programs:

A truly bilingual program will not forment revolution and annihilation of our political and economic system through language substitutions. Instead it will pave the way for the open and pluralistic society, which is characteristic of a mature democracy.

Andersson and Boyer write:

It is important that the pressures of politics be distinguished from local linguistic needs. And linguistic needs must not be confused with linguistic desires. Language minorities have often been the victims of emotional exploitation from within by the few who can use it as a lever to personal political power.

Andersson and Boyer also suggest that just as a bilingual program is expected to have an impact on the local community, so a national

expansion of bilingual schooling has certain implications for society as a whole, including the following generalizations:

A culture/society is enriched by cultural variety.

Social alienations will be lessened through a national acceptance of and respect for speakers of other languages and representatives of other cultures and subcultures.

Diplomats and educated specialists with bilingual ability will help provide communication opportunities with other nations, thus protecting the national interest.

Educational improvement helps raise the socioeconomic level of the population.

The national image at home and abroad will be improved, resulting in better cooperation with other nationals in various fields and the further development of international enterprise.  

King Chulalongkorn realized that educational modernization could be accomplished without damage to the Thai national identity and, on the contrary, that it could shape and brighten that ideal in a form acceptable to traditional sensitivities and to the west. Likewise, contemporary educators in Thailand who are both modern and Thai in their commitments stress the need for the Thai school system to meet the challenge by introducing the concept of cultural pluralism into the field of education.

Much of the literature on education and modernization would seem to assume implicitly that education has a homogeneity which allows easy generalization and analysis; however, education as an institution, process, or system has a number of features which inhibit analysis,

71 Ibid.
72 A Collection of Documents Concerning Educational Organization During the Reign of King Chulalongkorn (Bangkok: Organizing Committee for Celebrating the Centenary Accession to the Throne of King Chulalongkorn, 1968), pp. 19-20.
such as:

1. Formal education has evolved as a gradual consequence of economic, political-military, and religious needs. Thus, historically, education has been an institution operated for very limited and inherently conservative ends. By contrast, modern educational systems frequently constitute attempts to promote vast social and cultural changes beyond the purely educational innovations themselves.

2. Education is a composite of skill, techniques, and value systems, many of which have long-range rather than immediate consequences. Moreover, the likelihood of the school-learned activities being repeated in the environment depends on a number of factors, including the opportunity to engage in the new activities and the rewards for doing so.

3. Education develops a "culture" of its own which may interfere with the official educational and other objectives. This culture is the result of an emphasis on transmission of skills, community service, personality development, scholarship, the scholarly disciplines as ends in themselves, research, etc.

4. Education is marked by a complexity of levels and programs which obstruct analysis.

5. A long lag between the initiation and completion of any of the conventional stages of education.

6. Formal education systems (though not necessarily their sub-systems) are multifunctional; education plays some part in a number of aspects of socialization, occupational preparation, development of self-concept and so on.  

Harbison and Meyers describe education as the key that unlocks the door to modernization, a concept which is defined as a type of social change directed by a rational belief system, whereby new social roles and new interrelationships among roles emerge. The process of modernization of societies is characterized by the separation from the family


75 Adams, Education and Modernization, p. 3.
of the economic, political, and educational institutions and the creation of a distinct place for them in the social order.

When focusing upon areas of concern in developing nations, economists tend to stress the importance of technology; psychologists, personality change; political scientists, nation building; and sociologists, societal differentiation. The concept of social differentiation assists in describing levels of modernization and the concept of modernization is useful for analyzing social transformations. Modern society is oriented toward increased nationality, thus strengthening the norms of universalism, achievement, specificity, affective neutrality, and collectivity. Desired change is brought about through planning.

Eight factors in Southeast Asia effect change:

1. The annual rate of population growth is higher than most regions of the world.

2. Urbanization is growing rapidly, but most Asians still live in villages.

3. The predominance of the young puts economic strains on education.

4. The growth in per capita income is lagging.

5. Agriculture progress has been slow.

6. The gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" has widened.


8. Increased communication and interaction have resulted in more pressing demands.

\[76\] Ibid., pp. 7-16.

\[77\] Ibid., pp. 177-8.
Davis and Moore argue that stratification is universal, since all societies have unequal rewards attached to different positions, and Davis and Gans present four areas which can be used to describe the differing values of developing countries as compared to Western powers:

1. time orientation
2. person orientation
3. self-image
4. physical aggressiveness.

Development, according to Jacoby, is "a complex socio-politico-economic process whereby the people of a country progress from a static traditional mode of life toward a modern dynamic society." He goes on to define progress as acceptance of the dynamic of modern society and, for the area of international development, Jacoby proposes "a new approach" based on a partnership between developed and underdeveloped nations by which both may derive benefits.

Zintz contends that educational progress in bilingual areas means the acceptance by those who belong to culture A of the cultural values of culture B if they want to join the mainstream. Fortunately, this can be done without abandoning traditional values if, as we believe, the human being is versatile and flexible enough to master two sets of values as well as two languages.

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80 Ibid.
Forbes suggests that:

New nations—in Africa and Asia especially—are struggling with the conflicts between national autonomy and modern technology, between aspirations of national tongues and the dominance of the international languages. Since they are unwilling to sacrifice one and unable to do without the other, the only solution is a bilingualism which must have its roots in the schooling of the young.\textsuperscript{82}

Milton M. Gordon points out:

There is a distinct tendency to confine consideration of cultural pluralism to the issue of cultural differences in behavior and to slight or ignore pertinent issues of social structure and their relationship to communal group life. Even in the area of cultural behavior as such, questions relating to possible conflict in the value-assumptions of various ethnic groups tend to be overlooked or to be kept below the surface of articulation, and the question of possible limits in value formation for a functionally effective national culture is something raised but not consciously dealt with in depth.\textsuperscript{83}

In summary, what is advocated is recognition and support for the right of ethnic groups to maintain some degree of cultural difference and some degree of ethnic communality and to regard this cultural variation as essentially beneficial for Thai culture and Thai society as a whole, realizing that it will ultimately strengthen, rather than weaken, the political solidarity of the nation. It is well stated in "A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the Regents of the University of the State of New York:"


A fundamental tenet of bilingual education is that a person living in a society whose language and culture differ from his own must be equipped to participate meaningfully in the mainstream of that society. It should not be necessary for him to sacrifice his rich native language and culture to achieve such participation. Rather, we should utilize available language skills and thought processes to foster intellectual development while developing second language proficiency.84

This chapter has focused upon bilingualism in Thailand, adding historical, linguistic, and socio-political perspectives to the various disciplines covered in earlier chapters. The next chapter will move from theory to practice, suggesting necessary considerations for structuring a bilingual program in Thailand.

CHAPTER VII

STRUCTURE OF A BILINGUAL PROGRAM FOR THAILAND

There is only one man in the world and his name is All Men. There is only one woman in the world and her name is All Women. There is only one child in the world and the child's name is All Children.

--Carl Sandburg

Considering all the admitted difficulties in implementing bilingual education programs, it must be noted that realistic time lines must also be set for specific objectives within each of the components of a program. For example, the objectives of the instructional component of the bilingual education program may not be met until objectives for the instructional personnel component have been met. Longer periods of inservice training, or differentiated staffing, or greater use of trained bilingual and bicultural staff, may be viewed as options on the time line before any serious attempt can be made to reach the objectives of the instructional component. Similarly, a realistic appraisal must be made of the time line required for development of skills in one or both of the languages of a bilingual program before subject matter instruction may be given in a second language to a particular target group.

Such an appraisal must also include the age factor of the children in a bilingual program, since it is reasonable to assume that the older the child is, the longer will be the period of time required for skill development in a second language. Bilingual and bicultural programs geared to the acceleration of language learning in the younger child may be the best means to reduce the frustration and failure of minority
children and to bring to a multilingual nation a deeper appreciation of the richness of its ethnic heritage.

Such goals by their very nature can only be met with the involvement of the total community in the planning, development, and implementation of a new approach to education for children. Acceptance of such programs by the community—in fact, a leadership role for members of the community—must be viewed as a necessary ingredient for the success of bilingual education programs.

Overall Needs and Goals

Bilingual education is a realistic approach to the educational needs of thousands of boys and girls who must acquire positive self-concepts and communication skills in order to compete educationally, socially, and economically as first-class Thai citizens and full participants in society.

Bilingual education can also help maintain family loyalty. Programs that recognize a child's language and culture help to foster positive self-concepts in a youngster. Rather than becoming alienated from the cultural ties of his family, he will learn to enjoy and value diversity. The child who remains loyal to his family is more likely to develop allegiance to his school and country.

Children who speak Thai as a second language are not the only ones who stand to profit from bilingual education programs. Monolingual Thai children will also have the opportunity to learn another language and become sensitive to another culture.

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Bilingual education makes many contributions to the community. It promotes an awareness of people and their needs, it implements curriculum that relates to various groups, it creates schools that are relevant to community life, and it provides educational growth and fulfillment for pupils and their parents. Further, bilingual education advocates respect and understanding among ethnic groups, resulting in workable and trustworthy relationships.

The Kingdom as a whole will benefit from bilingual education as it will produce more varied educational opportunities and more university and career-oriented students, and, therefore, greater independence and services for all. But most important, a generation of young people will grow up learning and understanding that it takes the contributions of many people in a pluralistic society to enrich the quality of life in Thailand.

Needs:

A comprehensive bilingual education program which will provide services for an entire school population, from Pratom Suksa through Mayayom Suksa, encompassing the following categories:

Students: Bilingual students with various degrees of skills and competencies in each language; Monolingual students whose language is Thai; Monolingual-bicultural students whose language is Thai and who live in an area where they and the majority of the families have a similar cultural background; Monolingual-bicultural students whose language is Thai and who live in an area where they and the majority of the families have a similar cultural background; Monolingual-bicultural students whose

language is Thai and who live in an area where the majority of the families
have a cultural background different from their own; Monolingual
students whose language is one other than Thai; Monolingual students
whose language is one other than Thai and who live in a neighborhood
where the majority of the families are non-Thai-speaking but speak a
language that is different from their own.

**Students with Special Needs:** Potential dropouts or dropouts wishing to
continue supplementary course studies; University-bound students who re­
quire preparatory programs and other students who need career-development
programs; Exceptional children, including not only the mentally, physically,
and emotionally handicapped, but also the gifted.

**Staff:** Principals, teachers, and supervisory staff who understand and be­
lieve in the philosophy of bilingual education and are willing to work
together to implement bilingual education programs; Teachers skilled in
teaching two languages to students who may have extended and sophisticated
language skills in both languages; Teachers skilled in relating to stu­
dents, other staff members, parents, and community members of different
cultural and ethnic backgrounds; Teachers skilled in preparing and de­
veloping instructional materials and curricula for bilingual children.

**Parents:** Parents who understand the services and distinctive features of
their children's school, district, and province; Parents who are helping
their children make a satisfactory adjustment to school; Parents who
actively support school functions.

**Curriculum:** Curriculum which considers the special interests and needs
of bilingual students and is adaptable to a bilingual education program;
Curriculum which stresses language and cultural studies and conceptual
development; Parents who actively support school functions.
Management: Management that is constantly aware of the needs of bilingual communities; Management that works toward maintaining a bilingual and bicultural professional and nonprofessional staff in ministry, regional, provincial, and district offices; Management that initiates changes in existing educational structures, including bilingual education programs, as deemed necessary; Management that encourages teachers to become properly trained in bilingual education; Management that seeks evaluation instruments appropriate to the cultures and languages of the students.

Goals:

Primary Goal: The primary goal of bilingual education programs in Thailand would be to provide equal educational opportunity for non-Thai-speaking children through activities capitalizing on their proficiency in their native language and developing competence in Thai. The program affirms the importance of Thai and at the same time recognized that the native language and culture of a child can play a major role in his education. There is no experiential substitute for the successful learning experiences gained by non-Tha-speaking children who are permitted and encouraged to learn in their dominant language.

Complementary Goals: Two complementary goals are inherent: One: A vitally needed national resource, the bilingual adult, will be developed. Some of these bilingual Thai will have Thai as a first language; others, as a second language.

Two: The total learning community—pupils, lay persons, teachers, administrators—will profit from the contribution of bilingual education to promotion of better understanding among people. An effective bilingual-

3 Ibid., pp. 21-34.
bicultural program highlights and builds upon the rich heritage of local
ethnic cultures.

Overall goals follow: To increase student proficiency in listening,
speaking, reading, and writing in both the native and the target language;
To improve individual student achievement in basic subject areas, using
naive and target languages; To assist each student in developing a positive
self-image and to help him in planning, formulating, and achieving worthy
and realistic goals with increasing self-direction and self-confidence;
To provide students with knowledge and appreciation of ethnic history
and culture and thereby to encourage the exploration of cultural alter-
natives; To provide the schools with personnel who are able to maintain
an appropriate instructional program for bilingual-bicultural students;
To improve dialogue and cooperation between school and community; in-
dividuals within schools; and all other groups, especially various ethnic
groups; To update curriculum in order to maintain the interest of the
learner and to help him gain new skills and information; To provide
alternative courses of study in the curriculum so that students will have
options in selecting their careers and related studies at the high school
level; To cooperate with local teacher-training schools and colleges as
well as universities in the development of curriculum, teacher-training
procedures, and research and evaluation techniques.

Regents of the University of the State of New York, Bilingual Education:
A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action (Albany: The State Education
Department, 1972), p. 7.

A Comprehensive Design, pp. 21-34.
Mary Finocchiaro and Michael Bonomo adapted the following Goals of Modern Foreign Language Study from guidelines issued by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1965:

The overall goals of modern foreign language study are effective communication and cultural understanding. The specific goals are:

1. To understand a foreign language when spoken at normal speed on a subject within the range of the student's experience;
2. To speak well enough to communicate directly with a native speaker on a subject within the range of the student's experience;
3. To read with direct understanding, without recourse to native language translation, material on a general subject;
4. To write, using authentic patterns of the language;
5. To understand linguistic concepts, such as the nature of language and how it functions through its structural system;
6. To understand, through the foreign language, the contemporary values and behavior patterns of the people whose language is being studied;
7. To acquire knowledge of the significant features of the country or area where the language is spoken (geographic, economic, political, etc.);
8. To develop an understanding of the literary and cultural heritage of the people whose language is studied.

Action Goals for the Seventies: An Agenda for Illinois Education, published by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Illinois, contains nine substantive goals. A bilingual program can help advance attainment of three of the goals in particular: "The Educational System Must Provide An Environment Which Brings About Appreciation For And Positive Attitudes Toward Persons And Cultures Different From One's Own;" "The Educational System Must Provide An Environment Which Helps Students, Parents, And Other Community Members...

Demonstrate a Positive Attitude Toward Learning;" "The Educational System Must Foster a Feeling of Adequacy and Self-Worth on the Part of All Students."

Corresponding action objectives for Illinois' bilingual programs follow:

Action Objective Number One:

All schools should provide a positive learning environment and special programs for children of non-English-speaking backgrounds. These children should be encouraged to maintain and improve their language skills in both English and their home language. Cultural differences must be respected and discriminatory practices avoided.

Action Objective Number Two:

Teachers of students with non-English-speaking backgrounds should be trained in understanding the students' language and cultural background.

Action Objective Number Three:

All agencies and organizations in Illinois involved in the education (preschool through adult) of the non-English-speaking will have a well-established means of communication and coordination.

Action Objective Number Four:

The number of non-English-speaking graduates completing high school will increase substantially and vocational counseling and training will be provided to those who wish to discontinue formal schooling. Colleges and universities will substantially increase enrollment of non-English-speaking students.

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8 Ibid., pp. 52-56.
The major goals of bilingual education programs as presented by the State Standards and Guidelines for Bilingual-Bicultural Education (1974) are as follows:

- Students in the bilingual program will achieve fluency and literacy in two languages.
- Students in the bilingual program will achieve at a rate commensurate with their own age, ability, and grade level in all school subject areas.
- Students in the bilingual program will demonstrate growth in self-esteem.
- Students in the bilingual program will be provided with a coordinated and integrated learning environment through effective coordination with the regular school program.
- All teachers and staff members of participating schools will be involved in a comprehensive inservice training program.
- Parents and other community members will be involved in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the bilingual program.
- Each bilingual project will implement an evaluation design to assess its effectiveness.⁹

These goals parallel the four components outlined by federal guidelines: instructional component, staff development component, community involvement component, and management component.

This section has noted that the needs and goals of a bilingual program must involve, and reflect, the Thai community and its aspirations for future citizens. The goals of the United States Office of Education and of the State of Illinois provide a theoretical orientation from which specific goals for Thailand can be adapted. Such goals are intended to

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encourage cultural diversity and respect for the ways of others. The integrated areas of a bilingual program and the major goals listed above will be further delineated in the various subsections of this chapter.

Interrelated Components of a Bilingual Program

As bilingual education becomes an integral part of the curriculum and as attempts are made to isolate the components which are necessary for effective bilingual programs, bilingual education must be defined and explained. Sometimes it is better to define first what it is not, and then what it is. Bilingual education is not merely using the first language of a child, as a bridge to the second language, and then eliminating the first as proficiency in the second language is attained. It is the total development of the child bilingually so that he can function within his own capabilities in two languages. This means that in the beginning the basic concepts must be taught in the first language.

After the pupil learns the concept of reading, in his first language, for example, he can easily be taught to read in a second language. This could be Thai for a Malay child; or it could be English for a Thai-speaking child. A second language can be taught as naturally as the language of mathematics, science, or music, as long as the first language is the medium for teaching it.

As it is for the basic concepts, there must be a time when subject matter is taught almost exclusively in the first language while the student is learning a second language. Subject matter becomes a tool for learning a second language. This permits intellectual growth, the primary purpose of learning; and in reality, bilingualism becomes the

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by-product of learning. It can also be stated that bilingual education does not cut the educational program in half nor leave anything out of the curriculum. It is a complete program plus the added enrichment of two languages, rather than one.

Briefly, the whole of bilingual education must have as its components: (a) the learning of basic concepts in the first language; (b) language development in the first language; (c) language development in the second language; (d) subject matter in the first language; (e) subject matter in the second language; and (f) the development of a positive self-image in the total process.

According to Kruger, the interrelated components of a bilingual program are:

An Instructional Component carefully designed to meet the individual needs of the children and the community, utilizing curricular materials which reflect the cultural background of the students.

A continuous Staff Development Component geared to train bilingual-bicultural personnel, to provide an integrated school program, and to sensitize teachers and staff to the needs of non-Thai-speaking children.

A Community Involvement Component that encourages parent and community participation through bilingual advisory councils, special activities, and dissemination approaches.

A Management Component which is responsible for administering and implementing bilingual programs.  

12 Ibid.

1. **Instructional Component**

The instructional component provides a curriculum design and appropriate curriculum materials for each of the following major areas:

**Language Development**

first language  
second languages and dialects  
other languages  
comparative linguistics  

**Cultural Development** (Historical, geographical, economic, sociological, anthropological, political, religious, urban-rural considerations)

Thailand  
Asian studies  
Other areas  
Comparative cultural studies  

**Content Subjects**

mathematics  
science  
other subject areas  

**Instructional Activities**

peer group and cross-age tutoring  
games and special activities  
field experiences  
independent study and group projects  

**Materials Development**

library and learning laboratory facilities  
materials resource center  
supplementary materials and teaching aids  

Instruction and materials development utilize a comparative analysis which serves many useful purposes. The comparative approach can guide the teacher in gathering, preparing, and presenting materials and it can provide the teacher with a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties students encounter as they struggle to learn new language features and to recognize similarities and differences in cultural areas.
Schacter describes contrastive analysis, as follows:

By contrastive analysis is meant the analysis of the similarities and differences between two or more languages. The value to the teacher stems from the fact that students tend to transfer the features of their native language to the language they are learning. From this it follows that features of the foreign language that are similar to features of the native language will present little difficulty, while features of the foreign language that are different from those of the native language still require some amount of attention on the teacher's part. A contrastive analysis, by specifying just which features the two language have in common and which they do not, can thus alert the teacher to what in the foreign language really needs to be taught. 14

Finocchiaro and Bonomo present a general overview of the features and operations of a comparative analysis, listed under broad subsystems, as follows:

1. The Sound System of the Native Language

A. Vowels and Consonants

1. Which phonemes in the target language do not exist?
2. Which phonemes exist but in different positions?
3. Which phonemes bear some points of similarity in articulation?
4. Which consonants cluster? In which positions?
5. Which vowels cluster? In which positions?
6. Are vowels ever reduced to / /, for example?
7. Are there any diphthongs?
8. What morphophonemic changes take place?
9. Is there liaison between two words in juxtaposition?
10. What sounds are omitted or elided entirely? In what circumstances?

B. Intonation

1. What are the major intonation patterns in statements, questions, requests?
2. How does intonation change in emphatic or emotional speech?
3. Are intonation changes within words phonemic?

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C. Stress, Pause, Rhythm

1. Is word stress phonemic?
2. Which words, if any, are given more stress in an utterance?
3. Is pause phonemic?
4. Is rhythm stress-timed or syllable-timed?

II. The Grammar System of the Native Language

A. What are the meaningful signals: word order, inflection, function words, other?

B. Does the phenomenon of derivation exist? Does it bring with it a functional shift?

C. What are the word order arrangements for modifiers, complements, etc.?

D. Which word classes are inflected (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, articles)? In which functions and operations?

1. How many 'genders' are there?
2. Which classes of words must agree with which other classes?
3. Are verbs inflected for tense? Which tenses exist?

E. How are verb phrases formed?

F. Which are the major sentence patterns?

G. How are kernel sentences transformed (combination, deletion, addition, integration, embedding, other)?

III. The Vocabulary System

A. Is there a marked division between content words and function words?

1. Which classes of words are considered content words?
2. Which classes are considered function words?

B. Is derivation a phenomenon (prefixing, suffixing, infixing)?

C. Do words have a wide range of meaning depending on the context?

D. Are many words borrowed from other languages?

E. Which formulas are used? In what situations?
IV. The Writing System

A. What kind of writing system is used?
B. Is the fit between sound and spelling good?
C. How is a page read (left to right, right to left, etc.)?
D. How are numbers, dates, addresses, etc., written?
E. What contractions are generally permitted?
F. Which punctuation marks are used? What do they represent?

V. The Culture System (as reflected in language)

A. How many forms of address are there?
B. Do verb forms change depending on whether you are talking to people or about people? Does the sex or family relationship of the person talked about require a change?
C. What gestures are used? When? How?
D. What distances are maintained?
E. What other unarticulated sounds are used?
F. How are addresses, phone numbers, dates, etc., said?

On making cultural comparisons, Lado writes:

We cannot hope to compare two cultures unless we have more accurate understanding of each of the cultures being compared. We must be able to eliminate the things we claim to do but actually don't do. We must be able to describe the things we do without being conscious of doing them, and we must make sure we are able to describe practices accurately, not haphazardly or ideally. And we must be able to describe the situations in which we do what we do.16

15 Finocchiaro and Bonomo, Foreign Language Learner, pp. 260-1.

A structural analysis is based on Sapir's statement: "All cultural behavior is patterned." This stress on structured systems for purposes of comparative cultural analyses is also expressed by anthropologists:

Cultural anthropologists, during the last twenty-five years, have gradually moved from an atomistic definition of culture, describing it as a more or less haphazard collection of traits, to one which emphasizes pattern and configuration. Kluckholm and Kelly perhaps best express this modern concept of culture when they define it as 'all those historically created designs for living explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men.' Traits, elements, or better, patterns of culture in this definition are organized or structured into a system or set of systems, which, because it is historically created, it is therefore open and subject to constant change. 18

Benjamin Bloom suggests that the development of stimulating and responsive environments is central in preparing all materials and methods of instruction. He believes that new methods of teaching and superbly produced materials can profoundly affect the instructional process and markedly change the intellectual and emotional climate of teaching and learning and that all effective education is "programmed" in some degree, sometimes by the learner himself.

Vera John and Vivian Horner describe the practical problems associated with bilingual curriculum materials:

Very few materials suitable for bilingual education programs are available. Administrators and teachers in such programs have been forced to use much time, energy, and ingenuity in

developing appropriate materials for their students. While many hours have been spent in discussions of theoretical problems involved in bilingual education, almost no work has been done in the practical aspects of the day-to-day teaching in the bilingual classroom.  

Curriculum in the bilingual education setting is a systematic group of courses or sequences of subjects taught and studied in two languages, using textbooks, resource books, reference books, nontextual materials, teaching aids, audiovisual aids, mainpulatives, and other instruction tools that are written or produced in two languages through the entire educational setting. Instruction centers around the individual needs of students and, because of the wide range of abilities among children at all grade levels, the curriculum and approach are modified to meet varied needs.

Grouping for individualized bilingual instruction, like grouping for any other individualized instruction program, is not difficult if done methodically:

1. Identify variables, objectives, and standards of performance or interest.
2. Locate status of each individual on the variable.
3. Divide into homogenous groups.
4. Adjust instruction to fit the corresponding subgroup.

The comprehensive curriculum development program for a successful bilingual program is based upon the "Needs Theory." The "Needs Theory" was first conceptualized by Tyler, later redefined by Taba, and more

20 Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner, Early Childhood Bilingual Education (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1971), p. 120.

recently broadened and enhanced by Bernice Roberts of the United States International University. The graph below depicts this plan for curriculum development.

**The Needs Theory of Curriculum Development**

- **Mission**
  - Objective: Curriculum Development

- **Steps**
  1. Determining the characteristics of the learners, educators, and the community
  2. Determining the needs of the learners, educators, and the community
  3. Determining goals and objectives (cognitive, affective, psycho-motor)
  4. Obtaining commitment from learners, educators, and community
  5. Determining subject matter content from among the alternatives
  6. Determining desirable learning experiences to achieve objectives
  7. Select teaching strategies to be employed
  8. Select instructional media
  9. Complete prototype design of program (includes "pre" and "post" tests)
  10. Determine feasibility of prototype design through field testing
  11. Determine effective and efficient prototype design
  12. Replan and redesign or dissemiate

**Note:** Commitment obtained through screening based upon philosophy and psychology of education.

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Curriculum development is a cooperative "team" effort, Curriculum writers from the ministerial level, regional and provincial level educational supervisors, principals, classroom teachers, students, provincial, district, and municipal educational personnel, parents, and others all work together with one purpose in mind. That is, to provide the best possible bilingual education program for each youngster in Thailand.

In Thailand, where officials in the Ministry of Education and in the Ministry of Interior assume an important role in dictating curriculums for use throughout the country, the development of a bilingual curriculum by trained professionals could be implemented if approval was given by administrative leaders. Through workshops conducted by supervisors on the regional, provincial, and local levels, a bilingual curriculum could be readily established. If it would be decided to field test bilingual programs on an experimental basis, Ministry of Education, Municipality, or University demonstration schools could be used, with controls provided for effective program evaluation.

It would be necessary to coordinate efforts with the education faculties at the Universities and with teachers' training institutions to insure proper functioning of the staff development component, discussed in the next section.

2. **Staff Development Component**

Staff development activities which encourage professional growth include:

- Preservice and inservice sessions
- Workshops and seminars
- Demonstration of innovative approaches
Bilingual teachers and staff members must possess intimate knowledge and understanding of the language and culture of the students, parents, and community with whom they are seeking to establish desirable working relationships. This knowledge and understanding can be brought about only by teachers who possess personal qualities of understanding, enthusiasm, dedication, and the ability to identify with others, but who, in addition, have been prepared to transmit to others the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to create an enlightened citizenry capable of communication with speakers of other languages.

Preparation for this crucial role should include three major dimensions. First, teachers must be given a firm theoretical foundation so that they can make intelligent decisions throughout their professional careers—decisions based on a sound knowledge of the results of scientific research in many research fields. Second, they must be helped to develop intellectual curiosity and inquiring minds so that they will continue not only to study throughout their lives but also to question the results of hasty, unscientific experimentation. Third, they must be provided with a systematic, practical knowledge of the factors and processes involved in teaching so that they can develop confidence in themselves as they perform their day-to-day tasks. Only thus will their creative energies, based on experimental treatment, be released.

Finocchiaro and Bonomo, *Foreign Language Learning*, Introduction.
Finocchiaro and Bonomo describe the crucial role of the teacher, as follows:

The role of the foreign language (bilingual) teacher is central to the learning process. While teachers of other disciplines are called upon to inculcate habits, attitudes, knowledge, or skills in a medium already familiar to their students, the foreign language (bilingual) teacher must bring about changes or modifications in behavior, habits, attitudes, knowledge, or skills in an unfamiliar medium requiring additional or different physiological activity. The organs of speech must be taught to move in unprecedented ways; the sounds striking the listener's ears must be perceived without distortion from or confusion with the known sounds of the native language. The teacher has to be a combination of linguist, sociologist, anthropologist, and pedagogue.25

The following statement was prepared by the Steering Committee of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America, and was subsequently endorsed by the MLA Executive Council, by the Modern Language Committee of the Secondary Education Board, by the Committee on the Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, and by the executive boards of councils of fifteen other national or regional language organizations. It represents the minimal, good, and superior qualifications of a secondary school teacher of a foreign or second language.

The lowest level of preparation is stated only as a point of departure, which carries with it the responsibility for continued study and self-improvement, through graduate and inservice training, toward the levels of good and superior preparation. It is hoped that the teachers of foreign or second languages (1) will have the personal qualities which make an effective teacher, (2) have received a well-balanced education,

25 Ibid., p. 23.

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including a knowledge of his own culture, and (3) have received the appropriate training in professional education, psychology, and secondary-school methods. The following statement indicates teachers' minimal good, and superior qualifications in six major areas and suggests a testing instrument for each area.

1. **Aural Understanding**

  **Minimal:** The ability to get the sense of what an educated native says when he is enunciating carefully and speaking simply on a general subject.

  **Good:** The ability to understand conversation at average tempo, lectures, and news broadcasts.

  **Superior:** The ability to follow closely and with ease all types of standard speech, such as rapid or group conversation, plays, and movies.

  **Test:** These abilities can be tested by dictations, by a Listening Comprehension Test, or by similar tests with an extension in range and difficulty for the superior level.

2. **Speaking**

  **Minimal:** The ability to talk on prepared topics (e.g., for classroom situations) without obvious faltering, and to use the common expressions needed for getting around in the foreign country, speaking with a pronunciation readily understandable to a native.

  **Good:** The ability to talk with a native without making glaring mistakes, and with a command of vocabulary and syntax sufficient to express one's thoughts in sustained conversation. This implies speech at normal speed with good pronunciation and intonation.

  **Superior:** The ability to approximate native speech in vocabulary, intonation, and pronunciation (e.g., the ability to exchange ideas and to be at ease in social situations).

  **Test:** For the present, this ability has to be tested by interview, or by a recorded set of questions with a blank disc or tape for recording answers.

3. **Reading**

  **Minimal:** The ability to grasp directly (i.e., without translating) the meaning of simple, non-technical prose, except for an occasional word.
Good: The ability to read with immediate comprehension prose and verse of average difficulty and mature content.

Superior: The ability to read, almost as easily as in one's first language, material of considerable difficulty such as essays and literary criticism.

Test: These abilities can be tested by a graded series of timed reading passages, with comprehension questions and multiple-choice or free-response answers.

4. Writing

Minimal: The ability to write correctly sentences or paragraphs such as would be developed orally for classroom situations, and the ability to write a short, simple letter.

Good: The ability to write a simple "free composition" with clarity and correctness in vocabulary, idiom, and syntax.

Superior: The ability to write a variety of subjects with idiomatic naturalness, ease of expression, and some feeling for the style of the language.

Test: These abilities can be tested by multiple-choice syntax items, dictations, translation of sentences or paragraphs, and a controlled letter or free composition.

5. Language Analysis

Minimal: A working command of the sound-patterns and grammar-patterns of the foreign or second language, and a knowledge of its main differences from the first language.

Good: A basic knowledge of the historical development and present characteristics of the language, and an awareness of the difference between the language as spoken and as written.

Superior: Ability to apply knowledge of descriptive, comparative, and historical linguistics to the language-teaching situation.

Test: Such information and insight can be tested by multiple-choice literary and cultural acquaintance tests for levels 1 and 2; for level 3, written comments on passages of prose or poetry that discuss or reveal significant aspects of the foreign culture.

6. Professional Preparation

Minimal: Some knowledge of effective methods and techniques of language teaching.
Good: The ability to apply knowledge of methods and techniques to the teaching situation (e.g., audio-visual techniques) and to relate one's teaching of the language to other areas of the curriculum.

Superior: A mastery of recognized teaching methods, and the ability to experiment with and evaluate new methods and techniques.

Test: Such knowledge and ability can be tested by multiple-choice answers to questions on pedagogy and language-teaching methods, plus written commend on language-teaching situations.26

In regard to the curriculum, methodology, and the role of teachers in Thailand, Aree Sunhachawee points out that the quality of teacher is crucial:

The majority of teachers are not professionally well trained enough in teaching and understanding children, and they tend to emphasize the value of book learning. Many teachers do not actually teach, but prepare students for examinations. They do not understand the objectives of education in promoting the individual development and abilities of the children.

The preparation of elementary school teachers consists of general academic subjects. The majority of elementary school teachers will work in the rural areas and in community schools. There is a real dichotomy between the teacher education program and the work expected of teachers. There is an urgent need to restudy the curriculum for elementary school teachers...

There is an urgent need to improve methods of teaching; to provide materials such as workbooks, exercises, and programmed textbooks, and to give effective inservice education to the less qualified and inadequately trained teachers. The Government departments, university professors, classroom teachers and the community should try to provide more educational materials, free to the children, and new tools in teaching, such as programmed instruction, movie projectors, slide-filmstrip projectors, radio, closed-circuit TV, videotape recorder, and language laboratories.27


While serving as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Thailand, the writer worked closely with Thai teachers and would like to comment upon the strong inner commitment and motivation demonstrated by the majority of Thai teachers at every level. In Thailand, the position of teacher is held in high regard, and from observation, most were worthy of the respect shown them by their students. Because of the large number of staff members in the private and government schools, however, dissemination of information and teacher development programs in the area of bilingual education would constitute an enormous effort which would necessitate a well-planned communication program, aimed not only at teachers and administrators, but informing and activating the efforts of community as well.

3. Community Involvement Component

The main areas which are included in the community involvement component and which relate to the community needs for the Thai population are:

- Special adult classes
- Volunteer work projects
- Staff speaker service for community groups
- School-community relations programs
- Advisory Committee
- Newsletters and other communications or dissemination approaches.

Many of the terms used are foreign to the existing Thai educational structure, but the concepts implicit in the above list are approaches which, if funds are provided, would strengthen the role of the Thai community in relationship to the local schools. Many of the parents of Thai
students have little formal education, but the desire to participate in the educational welfare of their children is demonstrated by many as they encourage their sons and daughters to continue their schooling.

Conant asserts "...that the nature of the community largely determines what goes on in the school. Therefore, to attempt to divorce the school from the community is to engage in unrealistic thinking...The community and the school are inseparable."

In "A Statement of Policy and Proposed Action by the Regents of the University of the State of New York," it is suggested that the community should carefully conduct a survey to determine the type of bilingual education program design most suitable for its pupil population. The survey should seek to define precise and particular variations appropriate for the community. In the survey, the following areas should be given priority:

Languages spoken. Identify the languages spoken in the community. Determine the attitudes of the community toward each language group.

Goals desired. Determine the manner in which the community desires to implement the goals of bilingual education.

Describe the types of program that will best achieve those goals.

Ongoing programs. Evaluate the relative success or failure of ongoing language development programs in the community schools. Evaluate the noninstructional programs, such as pupil personnel services, and determine their effectiveness relative to non-English-speaking children.

School resources. Account for present and potential concentrations of school resources--money, personnel, space, equipment--to meet the needs of non-English-speaking pupils.

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School inventory. After the community has tentatively decided on the type of bilingual education best suited to its needs, the school should specify the human and material resources needed to produce that program.29

The following set of propositions may be used as bases for corrective action in bilingual programs:

1. Each school must be responsive to the needs and interests of the community which it serves.

2. All sectors of the community must have a voice in educational planning and policy-making.

3. The school must concentrate upon essential learning, ceasing inadvertent and irrelevant attacks upon the cultural values of minority groups.

4. Freedom, tolerance, and cosmopolitanism must be exhibited by all school personnel as an example for the youth and adults of the community.

5. The cultural assets of the community and the skills of minority group persons must be utilized as positive educational forces by the school.

6. The curricula of our schools should vary from region to region in order to reflect the rich diversity of American life.

7. Bilingualism must be regarded not merely as an asset but as a necessity in the twentieth century, and all pupils should be expected to master at least two languages in the elementary grades.

8. All teachers and administrators must be required to receive training of an anthropological-sociological nature and must be expected to possess or acquire the linguistic skills necessary for communication with local students and their parents.30


Adapting the above list to Thailand, although the system remains stratified in structure, the local school can provide flexibility through the example of a humanistic oriented staff, cognizant of the above factors, and responsive to the concerns voiced by the community.

In regard to the functions of community in a bilingual education program, Finocchiaro and Bonomo state five areas of involvement:

1. The resources - people and places - are continuously tapped (e.g., bilingual informants, speakers, printing facilities, staff).
2. Field trips into the community are encouraged when feasible and pertinent.
3. The reporting to parents and to interested community members of student achievement, program objectives, and evolving needs is systematic.
4. A committee of community members and teachers is formed and meets on a regular basis and as needed.
5. Wherever possible, the interests, needs, and concerns of the community are given serious consideration in program planning and implementation.31

In Thailand, the methodology for achieving the stated functions will be less sophisticated than that observed in Western nations, but communication is encouraged.

Sumption and Engstrom, in School-Community Relations, identify five characteristics of the modern community:

1. A community is changing.
2. A community is diverse.
3. A community is structured.
4. A community is organized.
5. A community makes decisions.32

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These five points are true for the Thai community, with the characteristics more defined in urban areas, in areas with greater numbers of educated parents and increasing with mobility.

With reference to the role of community in Thailand, although compulsory education is required, it has been difficult to enforce. When the Primary Education Act of 1921 was issued, Chao Phraya Phamasakdimontri, the Minister of Education at that time, aired his concern as follows:

The Primary Education Act requires that all children have elementary education. It will be difficult to enforce this compulsory education because the majority of Thai people are poor and the economy is subsistence. In all kinds of vocations, farming or gardening, household chores, and taking care of the cattle, if this Act is enforced, it will certainly put extra burdens on poor families in providing their children's school supplies, clothing, and transportation to schools. Farmers and gardeners to not see the need for book learning to help them in earning for the family. People who send their children to school are the ones who want their children to enter civil service. So this is our dichotomy. We need to have all children in schools to become literate and enlightened citizens.

In the 1970s, Thailand faces similar problems. The findings of the Ministry of Education's research on the children of Karnchanaburi who did not take the required final examination indicated that 44.7 percent of the children who had the right to take the examination opted not to take it. Of the chronic absentees, 55.3 percent failed to take the examination. The most frequently mentioned reasons for absenteeism were, parents were poor and could not afford school supplies and clothing, parents needed the children to help with household chores such as taking

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33 King Chulalongkorn and King Vajiravudh, Phraractchahatlekha Song Sang Ratchakas nai vatchakan thi 5 lac 6 kap ruang prakop (Royal letters of the fifth and sixth reigns on official matters, with supplementary documents), (Bangkok: Prachandra Press, 1964), pp. 146-7.
care of younger children or working in the field, and parents do not appreciate the values of schooling.

In planning bilingual programs for Thailand, therefore, the above problems need to be considered. The community must participate in the needs assessment and in establishing program priorities. An adult education component would seem appropriate, and effective communication and information procedures would have to be established. The educational program would include not only the education of children but of their parents. Provisions for informing and educating adults would be the responsibility of those charged with the management of the bilingual program.

4. Management Component

Managing, administering, and supervising a bilingual program in Thailand would require the cooperative efforts of Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Education officials, regional, provincial, and district, educational officials, members of supervisory units, school staffs, and community.

The bilingual program director should be a person who is genuinely interested in bilingual education and committed to its philosophy. In addition, this person should have considerable administrative experience, e.g., as a principal or assistant principal. It is preferable that the director be bilingual and bicultural in the language and culture of the student population or have an understanding of the students' culture and language. The director's responsibilities include: 1) recruitment and selection of the staff, 2) supervision and evaluation of the staff,

3) liaison with Ministerial officials and community through explanation and interpretation of the center's goals and operation, 4) representation of the community's desires and goals to the staff, 5) planning and implementation of inservice training, and 6) budgetary control.

Administrators should keep the community advised of the program goals and operations; and, in addition, to being involved in the program's planning, community should be consulted in its implementation and change.

The physical facilities of a bilingual program (adequate space, lighting, and spacious facilities) have a positive effect on the program. Consequently, program planners and administrators are urged to take the initiative in providing suitable facilities and space for a bilingual program within their schools. With many Thai schools overcrowded and with many facilities lacking even the basic educational prerequisites, few Thai schools could be termed "model schools." Most bilingual programs would, by necessity, be housed in wooden structures with few supplementary teaching aids available for instruction.

After students' needs have been identified and the program's goals and objectives have been defined, the next step is to create a program design. Five questions need to be answered:

What type of program will be most suitable?

How must time will students spend in the program?

How will the program be staffed?
How will the two languages be taught and used?

How will the students' progress and the program's effectiveness be evaluated?

In choosing among the various options, the planning committee needs to make certain that the elements selected constitute a coherent design appropriate to the identified needs, goals, and objectives, and consistent with the requirements and practices of the school, district, and with government policies.

There are several criteria used for student selection. One is to allow the entry into the given grades of all interested students, up to the enrollment capacities. This is a purely voluntary selection. A second option is to select students by greatest need according to the tests in both languages or teacher recommendations. Another is to select students by greatest need according to the tests in both languages or teacher recommendations. Another is to select on a quota basis to achieve a desired proportion of student types, or randomly from a list of surnames. Other alternatives place constraints on student entry, such as social or emotional maladjustment, mental handicap, or excessive absenteeism, predicated on the view that the learning of two languages is more difficult than one, and consequently, not all students are capable of becoming bilingual (and biliterate). Also, it is felt that some students are better served by other programs or classes that are adapted to their special needs. Choice among these alternatives or others depends much upon the number of interested applicants. The more there are, the more selective the bilingual program can be.
When writing a budget, the following items should be included and priced: 1) administrator and staff salaries - professionals and para-professionals; 2) books and instructional materials; 3) audiovisual equipment and materials (films, filmstrips, transparencies); 4) classroom and office supplies; 5) preservice and inservice training (speakers, stipends, materials, travel expenses to conferences, etc.); 6) repair and maintenance of equipment; 7) testing materials; commercially prepared curricular materials - multimedia kit models, science supplies; 8) furniture and its replacement; 9) field trips; and, 10) facility renovation and improvement.

Audiovisual equipment costs vary but the following are advisable: 1) 16mm movie projector; 2) 8mm movie projector; 3) overhead projector; 4) tape recorders; 5) radios; 6) a television; 7) language masters; 8) sound filmstrips projectors; and 9) filmstrip viewers.

The above list would serve as an ideal for those schools which are affiliated with universities or which are recognized as demonstration schools by the Ministry of Education. Since the United States Overseas Missions (USOM) and the United States Information Service (USIS) donated expensive A.V. equipment to selected schools, for some schools the above list may be useful, but for the vast majority, funds would better be used for textual materials, workbooks, Roneo worksheets, and basic manipulatives and teaching aids to increase learning motivation and interest.

Models of Program Designs

Within the framework of bilingual education, there are many
possibilities for a multitude of programs and approaches that relate to the needs of second-language minority groups as well as to bilingual programs for native speakers. Valencia writes:

It is conceivable that no one particular bilingual model is applicable for every geographical area... Yet, if there is a commonality, i.e., language, a bilingual model, with cultural relevant materials for urban and rural children, can be a valid proposition...

The type of bilingual program, the instructional strategies in the instructional scheme, and the types of materials to use must be relevant to the level of first or second language comprehension and usage. It is conceivable that thinking, reasoning, recalling, and other cognitive processes can be developed through the media of one or both languages.37

There are many types of bilingual education and many types of language situations with different linguistic cultural aims and objectives. Bilingual education for Thai Islam in Yala, for example, would not be the same as bilingual education in Thai and English in Bangkok. What this section will present, therefore, are descriptions of different types of bilingual program alternatives to be adapted to the appropriate situation, within the social, historical, and educational context of the school. Related literature will be reviewed in order to provide a theoretical framework.

Four general categories of bilingual education for pupils whose first language is not Thai differ in the degree of emphasis placed on linguistic and cultural development and maintenance and provide a broad framework within which to develop bilingual programs. The four headings used to describe bilingual models adopted by the State of New York are:

One: Transitional - Fluency and literacy in both languages are not equally emphasized. Initial instruction, however, is in the native language. The ultimate objective is for the pupil to attain fluency in the second language.

Two: Monoliterate - Listening and speaking skills are developed equally in both languages, but reading and writing skills are stressed in the pupil's second language only. The objective is to get the pupil to think directly in the second language.

Three: Partial bilingualism - Subject matter to be learned in the native language is limited specifically to the cultural heritage of the ethnic group. Other subject areas - scientific, economic, technical - are considered to be within the domain of the first language. Competence in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in both languages is sought.

Four: Full bilingualism - The equal development of competencies in speaking, reading, and writing both languages, and an understanding of both cultures are the ultimate learning objectives. In all areas except language instruction, both languages are used.38

William F. Mackey's typology provides a classification to account for all possible types of bilingual education, a phenomenon in four dimensions:

1) the language behavior of the bilingual at home; there are five types of learners:
   a) Unilingual home: language is school language
   b) Unilingual home: language is not school language
   c) Bilingual home: languages include one school language
   d) Bilingual home: languages exclude school languages
   e) Bilingual home: languages include both school languages.

2) the curriculum in the school; the curriculum patterns of bilingual schools vary as to:
   a) Medium instruction (single - or Dual - Medium)
   b) Development (Maintenance or Transfer)
   c) Distribution (Different or Equal)
   d) Direction (Acculturation of Irredentism)
   e) Change (Complete or Gradual)

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3) the community of the immediate area within the nation; the following are the possibilities of area and national contextual settings:

a) The school may be located in a place where the language of neither the area nor the national language is that of the home.

b) It may be in a country where the language of the home but not that of the area is the national tongue.

c) The language of the area and not that of the nation may be that of the home.

d) Both area and national language may be that of the home.

e) The national language may be that of the home but the area may be bilingual, with both the home and national languages being used.

f) The country may be bilingual and the area unilingual.

g) Both the area and the country may be bilingual.

h) The area may be bilingual and the national language may be that of the home.

i) The country may be bilingual and the area language that of the home.

4) the status of the languages themselves; in order to determine the international status of a modern language as one factor in planning the curriculum languages in a bilingual school may be rated according to the following indices:

a) Degree of standardization.

b) Demographic index: population figures.

c) Economic index: population/gross national product.

d) Distributional index: number and spread of areas in which the language is spoken.

e) Cultural index: annual production of printed matter/cumulative production.39

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According to Mackey's typology, bilingual programs need to consider the various combinations of language usage in the home, in the school, in the community, and in the nation. For example, a bilingual program in Yala province of Thailand might include students whose home language is only Malay, only Thai, Malay and Thai, Malay and Chinese, another language along with Malay or Thai. The school curriculum might offer two languages (Malay and Thai), but the stress on each and the methods of instruction may vary from class to class and from school to school. The community of the immediate area may be all Malay, all Thai, Malay and Thai, or Malay, Chinese, and Thai. In Thailand, Thai is the official national language, but, from the above example, one can note that the number of possible linguistic combinations with home, school, and community as variables, is large indeed.

Gaardner developed the following time distribution pattern, suggesting that the second language be used increasingly as a medium of instruction, so that, in the long run, the student may develop bilingual fluency.

Ibid.
A TYPOLOGY of BILINGUAL SCHOOLING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAT 1</th>
<th>SAT 2</th>
<th>SAT 3</th>
<th>SAT 4</th>
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<th>SAT 6</th>
<th>SAT 7</th>
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Language X
Language Y
Language Z

School
Home
Nation
Emphasizing the need for concept development in the child's first language and following the previous example for Yala, a monolingual Malay-speaking student entering Pratom one would receive the majority of his instruction in Malay, but, by the time he had reached Pratom six, he would reach bilingual fluency with instruction mixed in a totally bilingual classroom environment. The following chart, developed by the writer, demonstrates the progression from Pratom one through Matayom Suksa five.

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### INSTRUCTIONAL TIME SEQUENCE UTILIZATION FOR SUBJECT MASTERY

#### Bilingual Child

#### Grade Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matayom</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
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<tr>
<td>Suksa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pratom</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>3</td>
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#### Bilingual Achievement Level for Subject Mastery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning Stage</th>
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<th>Advanced Stage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>First Language;</td>
<td>First Language;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Language;</td>
<td>Second Language;</td>
<td>Second Language;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word Recognition</td>
<td>Science; Social</td>
<td>Science; History;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Studies; Arithmetic</td>
<td>New Math</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
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</table>

#### Time Sequences

- M.S. 1-3: P. 1-4
- M.S. 4-5: P. 5-7
The following chart, developed by the writer, shows how a bilingual program and its effects would be followed through in order to demonstrate the positive effects in the long run.

**INSTRUCTIONAL TIME SEQUENCE UTILIZATION FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING**

*monolingual child*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE LEVEL</th>
<th>BILINGUAL ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL</th>
<th>Beginning Stage</th>
<th>Intermediate Stage</th>
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<td>Matayom 5</td>
<td>Mastery of Listening* and Speaking* Skills</td>
<td>M.S. 1-3</td>
<td>P. 5-7</td>
<td>Mastery of Adaptation and Variation of Controlled Structures</td>
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<td>Suksa 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pratom 7</td>
<td>Mastery of Listening* and Speaking* Skills</td>
<td>P. 1-4</td>
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*Learning the four skills is a continuing, sequential development process.*
Some bilingual programs, called one-way schools, are designed largely for speakers of a second language tongue and have no enrollment or only token enrollment of native speakers. Other programs, called two-way schools, are designed to keep a balance between those learning a second language and those monolingual first language speakers who are learning to speak the home language which serves as a bridge to the new language. In such programs, initial instruction is predominantly in the home language, but the language of the school is introduced in increasing amounts until all or most of the instruction is carried on in the national language. In the maintenance type of bilingual program, both languages continue to play a major role in teaching the content of the subject matter throughout the program. A. Bruce Gaardner emphasized that only the maintenance type is truly bilingual education:

A bilingual school is a school which uses, concurrently, two languages as a medium of instruction in any portion of the curriculum, except the languages themselves. The teaching of a vernacular solely as a bridge to another, the official language, is not bilingual education, nor is ordinary foreign language teaching.\(^{43}\)

When speaking of types of bilingual centers, there are two kinds of models to be distinguished. Those described above are Instructional Models; in addition there are Program Models. In terms of total class time, program models are of three types: 1) full-day integrated programs, 2) half-day programs, and 3) tutorial programs. In the full-day programs, students are taught the whole day and get the complete curriculum taught to them. Half-day programs have bilingual teachers either


team teaching or taking students out to other rooms. They offer the advantage of reaching double the number of students. Tutorial bilingual programs have bilingual teachers and aides teaching students in small numbers either in their regular rooms or other classrooms. The Program Model chosen depends on the needs and goals identified by the planning committee or group. A tutorial program has the least impact on the target population. These program models may be further analyzed in terms of the treatment and use of the languages and cultures. Thai educators would select the program model which best meets the needs of the target population.

Program Planning

A school or educational district that has a group of students who speak a language other than Thai should consider establishing a bilingual education program. However, before proceeding to develop a program in bilingual education, it must be determined if such a program will meet the needs and desires of the students and the community. Several factors must be considered:

Does the existing educational program completely meet the students' needs?

Do the students need an enrichment program to meet their cultural and linguistic needs?

Are the supervisors, administrators, and teachers sensitive to students' needs?

Are the staff and community committed to the philosophy of bilingual-bicultural education and willing to work to make the program successful?

In discussing the desirability of a bilingual education program,

it is recommended that parents of potential students and community members be involved.

The first step in developing a bilingual education program is to draw up a list of the tasks or steps involved. Although several steps will occur concurrently, the checklist should be approximately chronological in order, with space for indicating which individual or group will be primarily responsible for performing each task, the proposed beginning, and estimated completion dates.

The following sample checklist of tasks can be used, with modifications, for most bilingual education programs, including Thailand.

1. Inform community of meaning and benefits of bilingual education
2. Establish a bilingual program planning committee
3. Conduct a needs assessment of the community and student population
4. Identify the target population and establish program priorities
5. Develop and disseminate general program goals and performance objectives
6. Define the kind of program which is most appropriate within the local content
7. Establish criteria for selecting and grouping students
8. Choose the type of curriculum to meet program goals and objectives
9. Specify staff selection requirements
10. Develop an Evaluation Design
11. Plan a staff development program


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12. Choose appropriate facilities and adapt as necessary
13. Set budget standards for the program
14. Recruit and hire program staff
15. Coordinate class programming procedures
16. Conduct staff preservice training to inform total staff of program
17. Select and order, or obtain, materials, supplies, and equipment
18. Plan specific program methodologies and behavioral objectives
19. Pretest, group, and schedule students
20. Begin instruction
21. Conduct inservice training of staff as an ongoing basis
22. Produce curricular materials to meet the individual needs of students
23. Continue community involvement, set up advisory council and provide special activities
24. Disseminate information on program
25. Evaluate periodically student progress, program effectiveness, and community response; modify as needed.

The tasks mentioned are not exclusive of all others, but are presented to provide an idea of the kinds of activities and especially, the recommended order in which to do them. What is notable is their chronological relationship. Some overlap, while others must necessarily follow each other. For example, tasks 5 and 6 must follow task 4, since determination of the target (student) population (4) influences both the identification of program goals (5) and program type (6). Similarly, a decision on staff selection criteria (9) must follow decisions on curricular type (8).

Finally, a word may be said about the nature of the tasks and the agents. Tasks 1 through 4 involve deciding about the need and worth of a bilingual program in a given community. Tasks 5 through 19 are matters of planning. Tasks 20 through 25 are steps toward implementing a bilingual program. Whereas a number of educators and administrators may do several tasks during the same time period, the planning committee should consider and decide on one thing at a time in order to progress as a group from meeting to meeting. Several of the tasks to be implemented are ongoing and open-ended. They will require time lines of their own for the length of the program's operation.

In order to determine exactly what the educational needs and problems are, bilingual program planning is necessary to decide what kind of bilingual program will best serve the needs of the students, the desires of the parents and the community, and the personnel, financial, and physical resources of the school.

A planning committee is vital to the success of a bilingual program since, if properly established, it will represent all people directly affected by the program. Members should include school administrators, teachers, parents of potential students, representatives of the community, and - in the case of an upper level school program, students. The establishment of this committee will provide three major advantages:

1. The people whom the program is to serve will be able to express their attitudes, needs, and desires.
2. Crucial decisions will be made - and supported - by all involved groups.
3. Responsibility for the success of the program will be shared by all; hence, accountability will not be a threat to anyone.
If the planning committee performs its tasks – identifying needs and problems, designing a program to meet them, and helping marshal the resources for implementation – the chances for the program succeeding are high.

The planning committee should have specified responsibilities. These may include: participating in a needs assessment of the students; surveying the needs and problems of the community; studying the educational and other services already offered in the community; determining the advisability of a bilingual program within the local community; and participating in planning and organizing the bilingual program.

It would be necessary to adapt the checklist of tasks for implementation in Thailand, specifically in the area of persons responsible for the accomplishment of the tasks. Although participation by community and local educational staff would be desirable, under the existing hierarchical structure, most of the decisions would filter down as directives.

This chapter has considered various aspects of a bilingual program, emphasizing considerations which would have to be resolved before starting a bilingual program. In conclusion, the writer will briefly discuss how to set up a bilingual program.

In order to determine which students need bilingual education, available statistical data, test scores, questionnaires, and interviews should be used. The planning committee should determine the total number of Prathom Suksa and Matayom Suksa level students in the project area; the number of students by grade and school whose first language is not

Thai and those whose first language is Thai; and, in communities where several languages are spoken, the number of students in each minority language group.

Next, standards of performance for the specific content areas and skills should be established for particular ages and grades.

At this point decisions can be made as to the language dominance of students and whether the numbers warrant a program, the extent to which their needs are already being met by existing programs, such as special schools for Chinese or Malays, and the opportunities for enrichment activities provided by community groups.

The following chapter clarifies procedures for assessing need.

If, after serious consideration and discussion of the identified needs, it is decided to develop a bilingual education program, the next step to be undertaken is that of planning a program that will best meet these needs. In doing this, several questions will have to be answered.

Who will participate in this program (staff and students)?

What are the specific goals?

What behavioral objectives will achieve the goals?

What activities will help to accomplish the objectives?

What staff development will be needed?

What education will the community be given in the rationale for bilingual-bicultural education so that they can provide support and assistance?

What type of program is planned?

Once it has identified the needs and problems of the students and proposed a solution, the planning committee is prepared to undertake the next series of tasks: establishing criteria for selecting and grouping students, developing a curriculum of study, determining staff...
selection criteria, planning a staff development program, choosing facilities and materials and, finally, planning a budget. Procedures for these activities were described in this chapter.

When the program is ready to be implemented, in addition to beginning instruction, five activities need to be carried out: testing students for placement in the program and diagnosis of individual needs, conducting inservice training for teachers in methods of instruction; involving the parents and community in operating the program; disseminating information about the program; and evaluating the students' achievements and the program's accomplishments. The next chapter discusses these topics under the heading Accountability in Bilingual Program.
CHAPTER VIII

ACCOUNTABILITY IN BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

With all beings and all things we are relatives.
--Sioux Indian saying

In an educational message to Congress, Richard M. Nixon stated, "From these considerations we derive another new concept: Accountability. School administrators and school teachers alike are responsible for their performance, and it is in their interest as well as in the interest of their pupils that they be held accountable." Accountability implies ramifications for educators, teachers, and administrators, as well as for those most directly affected by the teaching-learning process: the students. Lessinger states:

In the first place, successful implementation of an accountability policy will shift the principal focus in the school system from input to output, from teaching to learning. This suggests that the present and traditional methods of requesting resources as well as the principal bases for judging the quality of schools will undergo drastic change. In place of equating quality in terms of resources allocated in the form of inputs (e.g., teachers, space, equipment, etc.), the important criterion will be results--student learning.2

W. Stanley Kruger, of the U.S. Office of Education, describes accountability in bilingual programs, as follows:

The concept of accountability in bilingual programs is focused upon the assurance of performance quality in the educational enterprise, through deliberate attention to specific factors in program design and management. Although a central concern is the relationship of input to output,

resources to results, the concept transcends mechanistic consideration of efficiency. The program administrator is expected to place emphasis on planning for results as well as on assessment of results. The goals involved include the maximization of the educational experience of every member of our society and the realization of the ultimate responsibility of the educational enterprise for the resources entrusted to it by that society.

In an effort to promote the implementation of accountability in bilingual programs to a greater extent than has been accomplished heretofore, twelve factors have been identified as being critical to the process:

1. Community Involvement: the utilization of members of concerned community groups in appropriate phases of program activity to facilitate: program access to community resources; community understanding of program objectives, procedures, and accomplishments; and discharge of program responsibilities to relevant community client, service, and support groups.

2. Technical Assistance: the means for providing adequate resources in program planning, implementation, operation, and evaluation by drawing upon community, business, industrial, labor, educational, scientific, artistic, social/welfare, and governmental agencies for expertise and services necessary to effective operations.


4. Change Strategies: the development of effective strategies for systematic change in the educational enterprise and the incorporation of the strategies in program operations.

5. Management Systems: the adaptation of the systems approach, through such techniques as Management by Objectives, to educational program management at the local, state, and federal levels.

6. Performance Objectives: the specification of program objectives in a comprehensive, precise manner which indicates measures and means for assessing the degree of attainment of predetermined standards.

7. Performance Budgeting: the allocation of fiscal resources in accordance with program objectives to be realized, rather than by objects or functions to be supported.
8. **Performance Contracting:** the arrangement for technical assistance in program operations through contracts which condition compensation upon the accomplishment of specified performance objectives.

9. **Staff Development:** the determination of the nature and extent of staff development needed for the successful implementation of the accountability concept at the local, state, and federal level, and the design and conduct of indicated development activities.

10. **Comprehensive Evaluation:** the establishment of a system of performance control based on the continuous assessment of program operational and management processes and resultant products.

11. **Cost Effectiveness:** the analysis of unit results obtained in relation to unit resources consumed under alternative approaches to program operation, as a determinant in continued program planning.

12. **Program Auditing:** a performance control system based upon external reviews conducted by qualified outside technical assistance, designed to verify the results of the evaluation of an educational program and to assess the appropriateness of evaluation procedures for determining the effectiveness of program operation and management.3

When decision-makers in Thailand would choose to implement bilingual programs, they would need to incorporate techniques related to the above-cited factors.

The terms **accountability, measurement, research, and evaluation** represent interrelated concepts which play a definite role in establishing the merits of the specific educational program and in identifying instructional strategies which are most conducive to attaining the program objectives.

Although evaluation is a separate concept with its own unique contributions, the tools and methodology of evaluation depend heavily on the specifics of the program. Ford.4

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on research tools. Hemphill contrasts research and evaluation as follows:

An "ideal" research study is one in which:

1. Problem selection and definition is the responsibility of the individual doing the research.

2. Tentative answers (hypotheses) to the problem may be derived by deduction from theories or by induction from an organized body of knowledge.

3. Value judgments by the research are limited to those implicit in the selection of the problem.

4. Given the statement of the problem and the hypothesis, the research can be replicated.

5. The data to be collected are determined largely by the problem and the hypothesis.

6. Relevant variables can be controlled and manipulated, and systematic effects of other variables can be eliminated by randomization.

Evaluation is contrasted as follows:

1. The problem is almost completely determined by the situation in which the study is conducted. Many people may be involved in its definition and, because of its complexity, the problem initially is difficult to define.

2. Precise hypotheses usually cannot be generated; rather, the task becomes one of testing generalizations from a variety of research studies, some of which are basically contradictory. There are many gaps which, in the absence of verified knowledge, must be filled by reliance on judgment and experience.

3. Value judgments are made explicit in the selection and definitions of the problem as well as in the development and implementation of the procedures of the study.

4. The study is unique to a situation and seldom can be replicated, even approximately.

5. The data to be collected are heavily influenced if not determined by feasibility. Choices, when possible, reflect value judgments of decision-makers or of those who set policy. There are often large differences between data for which the collection is feasible and data which are of most value to the decision-makers.
6. Only superficial control of a multitude of variables important to interpretation of results is possible. Randomization to eliminate the systematic effects of these variables is extremely difficult or impractical to accomplish.

As accountability is mandated for most programs in the United States, so, too, is it desirable for Thailand. Evaluation of programs introduced into Thailand on an experimental basis will allow for justification for expansion and will add credibility to expected outcomes.

Needs Assessment

In order to provide a data base for educational decision-making, it is necessary for the educational community to develop a model for assessment of critical educational needs. A needs assessment operation is comprised of an educator's attempt to identify the goals toward which an educational system or program ought to be directed. A needs assessment is the first operation of educational evaluation. The goal is to transform knowledge-gained into practical solutions to problems. The collection, organization, and analysis of the data gathered in a needs assessment can be used for the following:

A. To determine the identity and magnitude of gaps between the current and the desired status of education.

B. From the identification of the gap between current and desired status, determine which of the gaps, i.e., needs are deemed critical.

C. To develop statements of critical educational needs.

D. To determine priorities for attacking critical needs.

E. To determine a feasible plan for implementing a program which attacks a high priority need.

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F. To determine the current and desired status of programs.

G. To inform the concerned publics of education of the current status of their educational programs.

H. To provide a means of determining which unfilled educational areas are still preventing sub-populations from making acceptable progress.\(^5\)

Needs assessment is a systematic method for identifying and documenting needs, deciding which are of highest priority and determining how well the existing educational program is meeting these objectives. This latter information is then used by the decision maker to identify the major needs so that he can decide which ones should be attacked.

There are three types of needs assessment: independent, institutional, and input. Independent needs assessment is the most traditional; the administrator determines the needs since he is charged with leadership duties and presumably knows more of the varied needs than any other one individual. Institutional methods utilize a broader base of professionals through staff meetings, committees, and various grouping of interest or expertise. Input needs assessment allows student and/or community input, under controlled conditions. For bilingual programs, this latter type is preferred. The Regents of the University of the State of New York indicate:

The school and community also should design jointly an evaluative instrument for continuing assessment of the bilingual education programs. The evaluation process should include the following areas of concern: 1) assessment of performance in reaching objectives, behavioral or otherwise; 2) personnel proficiency and upgrading; 3) adequacy of facilities; 4) economic justification in terms of educational significance; and 5) participation in all program aspects by


\(^6\) Ibid. 171
members of the non-English-speaking community. In every case, establishment of the following is essential: stated objectives; measurement instruments to be used; data collection procedures; data analysis techniques; and data reporting format.7

Andersson and Boyer also recommend a needs assessment study committee composed of educators, parents, interested community members, and 8 students who represent and answer to their respective groups.

Deciding on Defensible Goals via Educational Needs Assessment states:

A systematic effort to decide on educational goals through the use of educational needs assessment strategy utilizes four steps:

Step One: Identify educational preferences
Step Two: Establish mastery proportions
Step Three: Identify current learner status
Step Four: Select goals by contrasting desired status with current learner status.9

The following flow chart indicated the procedures necessary in determining need.

This section has described procedures to be followed when conducting a needs assessment. Before introducing a bilingual program into a specific area of Thailand, a needs assessment would substantiate the observed need and would provide feedback from the community to the decision makers so that the program would best serve the students.

The needs assessment would help answer what and why; the evaluation, described in the next section, will detail how.


NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Determine the context!
factors influencing the
methodology, scope, and
focus of the needs assess-
ment

Determine procedures for
stating goals and or
objectives

State potential goals
and or objectives

Determine relative
importance of goals,
i.e., construct the
value system

Select goals of
major importance

Determine methods for
measuring performance
on the goals

Set performance standards
on selected goals

Assess performance
on selected goals

Determine the discrep-
cies between desired and actual
levels of performance

Specify procedures for
determining relative priori-
ties for eliminating the
observed discrepancies

Compute the relative
priorities for eliminat-
ing the discrepancies

10


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Evaluation

School officials, like other people, do not like to be criticized. It is not surprising, therefore, that educators rarely invite objective evaluation of their work. But welcome or not, evaluation is becoming increasingly important in education in order to prove the merit of programs with objective evidence.

The idea of evaluation is not really new to the schools; it has always been conducted there in one form or another. In its simplest form, it is the test that a teacher gives to determine whether students are passing in his class. Standardized achievement tests represent a step toward more sophisticated measurement methods.

The educator who is attempting to provide an effective school program and is consciously seeking ways to improve this program must base his actions upon sound decision-making. That process of sound educational decision-making depends upon 1) clear identification of goals to be met, 2) selection of reasonable means to attain those goals, 3) continuous surveillance of the operation of one's program, and 4) periodic determination of the degree of success of the program.

The need for evaluation information stems from demands for quality education; the belief that educators should respond to these demands is the motivation behind the establishment of systematic evaluation activities.


Evaluation is the process of ascertaining the decision areas of concern, selecting information appropriate to those decision areas, and collecting and analyzing that information in order to provide summary data useful to decision makers in selecting among alternatives. With this emphasis upon evaluation as the process of providing information for decision making, it is useful to consider the broad kinds of decisions for which evaluation information is required. Thus, the kinds of decisions and the evaluation stages which relate to each can be classified into five evaluation stages related to five kinds of decisions, the evaluation stages and associated educational decision categories are depicted in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision Areas and Evaluation Requirements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Evaluation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs Assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Program Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Implementation Evaluation (Intervention)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Progress Evaluation (Intervention)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome Evaluation (Non-Intervention)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Needs assessment is a statement of the status of the educational program or system as it presently exists in comparison to desired outputs or stated needs. That is, a needs assessment assesses the gap between the goal and the present state of affairs. Program planning is concerned with providing information which will enable the decision maker to make program decisions--to select among alternative processes in order to make a judgment as to which of them is most likely to fulfill the critical needs previously discovered.

Formative evaluation is composed of Implementation Evaluation and Progress Evaluation. The task in Implementation Evaluation is to determine the degree to which the program selected for implementation has indeed been introduced in the manner in which it was described and for the group for which it was intended. The function of Progress Evaluation is the provision of information about the relative success of the program during the course of its introduction, in terms of both the intended objectives of the program and observed unintended consequences.

The final evaluation stage in terms of the conceptual framework is Outcome Evaluation where the function is to provide the decisions about the program as a whole and its potential generalizability to other situations or locations.

The following chart, developed by the writer, is used to indicate persons involved in the evaluation process.

14 Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Program Students</th>
<th>Program Teachers</th>
<th>Other Teachers and Staff</th>
<th>Head Master Local Supervision</th>
<th>Ministry Liaison Provincial/Regional Supervision</th>
<th>Local Community</th>
<th>Professional Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student Cognitive Growth</td>
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<td>Student Affective Growth</td>
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<td>Teacher-Pupil Interaction</td>
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<td>Teacher Attitudes</td>
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<td>Teacher Behaviors</td>
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<td>Use of Classroom Time</td>
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<td>Use of Instructional Materials</td>
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<td>Staff Development</td>
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<td>Integration with School Program</td>
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<td>Parent Involvement</td>
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<td>Community Acceptance</td>
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<td>Program Management</td>
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<td>Program Costs</td>
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<td>Use of Facilities</td>
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<td>Overall Program Implementation</td>
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The following evaluation design is a five-phase model. It begins with an assessment of needs and concludes with the production of a final report. A brief description of each step is shown below.

NEEDS ASSESSMENT
Identifying discrepancies between perceived needs and status of the existing program.

PROGRAM PLANNING
Selecting the most appropriate alternative for meeting identified needs.

IMPLEMENTATION EVALUATION
Assessing the degree to which a program is operational with feedback on project status.

PROGRESS EVALUATION
Providing interim data needed to modify projects.

OUTCOME EVALUATION
Providing summary data for program improvement.

The evaluation process can provide information that program decision-makers can use in effecting improvements. Provision of such information gives focus to the evaluation effort.

Campbell has urged that bilingual programs utilize the classical experimental design model, with randomly assigned treatment and control groups. In Thailand, however, modification from the ideal may be necessary.


Evans suggests:

My view is that there be many instances where the preferable design is not feasible, and that rather than throw up our hands and withdraw from the arena because we cannot have random assignment, we must carry out whatever kind of evaluation is feasible and useful within the time constraints of the policy process and make the best use of it we can. It is my experience that even fairly primitive designs are likely to provide better data for decision-making than the subjective impressions and partisan arguments normally used.¹⁷

The flow chart that follows provides a logical step-by-step procedure for building a comprehensive evaluation design. Each step or activity in the flow chart results in a product which becomes the foundation for subsequent evaluation activities. The final product of these activities is a blueprint or plan for conducting the evaluation. This plan is generally presented in the form of a design document or section of a proposal, and the product of each activity in the flow chart becomes a chapter in the final plan.

¹⁷ John W. Evans, "Evaluating Education Programs -- Are We Getting Anywhere?" (Chicago: Invitations! address before the American Educational Research Association; April 18, 1974).
FLOW CHART FOR DEVELOPING AN EVALUATION DESIGN

1. Review Program Design, Objectives, and Rationale
2. Specify Information Requirements and Management Needs
3. Identify Conceptual Framework for Evaluation
4. Specify Evaluation Questions of Interest

5. Specify Database Structure and Contents
6. Select and/or Design Instrumentation
7. Specify Population Selection Procedures
8. Specify Data Analysis Techniques

9. Specify Data Collection and Reduction Procedures
10. Specify Reporting Requirements and Procedures
11. Identify Major Assumptions and Constraints
12. Define Support Requirements

13. Develop Schedule of Evaluation Activities
14. List Budget Requirements
15. Develop Management Plan
17. Operationalize Plan

In all educational programs, testing has two purposes: individual pupil assessment and overall program evaluation. Of necessity these two objectives coincide. In order to determine whether specific educational practices (independent variables) have effected changes (dependent variables) in group performance, it is necessary to ascertain what modifications in individual performance have occurred. Assessment models used in evaluating educational programs include experimental and control groups, students' pre- and post-intervention performance, and comparison of records in an entire school or district during an innovative approach with similar student records of previous years. An effective evaluation program entails a selection of the target population, an analysis of both general and specific goals and innovations, and a choice of techniques that will be used to measure the goals of the program.

Student selection, therefore, should be based on the findings of the needs assessment together with interviews and testing to determine the students' abilities and performance levels.

In organizing for a prospective bilingual program in Thailand, the administrator should determine: 1) the total number of elementary and secondary students in the project area; 2) the number of students by grade and school, classified by first and second language; 3) the numerically largest group of students whose native language is not Thai. Of these --

1) How many are orally functional in Thai?
2) How many are not?
3) How many are literate in Thai or in their first language?
4) How many are not?
5) How many have had most of their education in Thai or in their first language?

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6) How many identify with Thai society or with their country of origin or heritage?20

Carroll lists ten separate aspects of language competence:

1. Knowledge of structure (morphology and syntax)
2. Knowledge of lexicon (vocabulary and idiom)
3. Auditory discrimination (of phonemes, allophones, and suprasegmentals)
4. Oral production (of phonemes, allophones, and suprasegmentals)
5. Reading (in the sense of converting printed symbols to sound, i.e., mastery of word pronunciation and stress patterns)
6. Writing (in the sense of converting sounds to printed symbols, i.e., spelling)
7. Rate and accuracy of listening comprehension
8. Rate and quality of speaking, as in an interview situation
9. Rate and quality of reading comprehension
10. Rate and accuracy of written composition.

A summary of his views follows:

An ideal language proficiency test should make it possible to differentiate, to the greatest possible extent, levels of performance in those dimensions of performance which are relevant to the kinds of situations in which the examinees will find themselves after being selected on the basis on the test.22

Chomsky states that language is an infinite set of sentences and that linguistic competence is the ability to produce and understand this infinite set, which includes three components: syntactic, phonological, and semantic.23

22Ibid.
Cooper specifies the content of a language test in terms of a three-dimensional framework, as illustrated in the following diagram:

![Framework for Specifying Language Test Content](image)

For the purpose of this dissertation, Variety A and B refer to the students' diagonal axis. The four basic language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) appear on the vertical axis, and four aspects of knowledge (phonology, syntax, semantics, plus a combination of all three aspects or "total") are on the horizontal axis. The 32 cubes formed by the three-dimensional framework represent logical possibilities only; the decision of which cubes should be assessed would depend upon the planned use of the test scores.

Once the content of the test has been specified in terms of particular cubes of the framework, and once the type of operations to be elicited and the kinds of linguistic and contextual content to be covered have been decided, the items for the test may be written. Test construction includes the following steps: 1) planning, 2) writing, (as contrasted to construction) of a test can be made in terms of a) the degree to which the test user's objectives appear to be met by the test's items, b) evidence on reliability and validity, and c) certain practical considerations.

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25 Ibid.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND PROJECTION

Make no little plans...they have not magic to stir men's blood...make big plans, aim high in hope and work remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing asserting itself with growing intensity...

Let your watchword be order, and your beacon beauty...

--Daniel Hudson Burnham

Throughout this dissertation, the contributions which a systematic comparison of language and culture can make to education have been analyzed. Since education has been defined as encompassing all of the behavioral and social sciences, the various disciplines have been studied in order to provide a broad framework within which a bilingual education program can be implemented. In addition, the roles of the community, the home, the family, and the school have been discussed, and it has been demonstrated that bilingual education programs benefit society and the nation.

Emphasizing a child-centered approach in instruction, bilingual schooling is suggested as an educational alternative which will better serve the needs of Thailand's total students population. It has also been shown that bilingual schooling is linguistically sound, compatible with achievement in other areas; and instrumental in improving self-concept.

As the title of the dissertation implies, no priorities for bilingual education in Thailand are provided; instead, various alternatives are presented so that educational officials in Thailand, in conjunction
with community, may select those approaches which best meet locally-established needs. Background information regarding bilingual education around the world, and cultural, linguistic, historical, and socio-political considerations throughout Southeast Asia and within Thailand are presented to provide a theoretical base for making practical decisions.

It is hoped that Thai officials will recognize that bilingualism and biculturalism can be invaluable intellectual and social assets and that bilingual programs will strengthen linguistic and ethnic policies and are compatible with developing a sense of Thai nationalism. Copies of the completed dissertation will be presented to appropriate Thai educational officials; the author plans to revisit Thailand within the next year and he would like to conduct parallel studies of other countries around the world in commonalities and differences in the areas of language and culture.

In 1965, Asian educational officials met in Bangkok to appraise progress toward the implementation of the Karachi Plan, and they recommended the following "needs:"

1. The need for balanced development of education at all levels, with the expansion of secondary and higher levels being determined by the ability of pupils, availability of financial resources and manpower requirements of the country.

2. The importance of qualitative considerations for development. The need for achieving higher standards at the second and third levels is imperative. Even at the primary level the maintenance of proper standards in order to prevent wastage and to provide a satisfactory basis for the higher level is essential.

3. The need for diversification of education by enlarging and strengthening vocational and technical education at the second and third levels in line with the developing capacity of the economy to utilize trained skills.

4. Expansion and improvement of science education at all skills.
5. Promotion of programs of adult and youth and family education as an integral part of overall educational development.

6. Development of education should reflect the principle of equality of educational opportunity and the promotion of international peace and amity.¹

This last statement supports the need for introducing bilingual-bicultural programs into the Thai educational structure.

Looking toward the future of our "shrinking world," Joshua Fishman writes:

Are we not all becoming more alike? Do we not realize more fully with each passing decade the danger and folly of ethnocentrism? Does not both capitalist pragmatism and communist ideology require and lead to one language for us all? Perhaps, but not by the year 2000, and, if ever, not as a mother tongue and, therefore, not as the vehicle of our deepest feelings, our most sensitive creativity, our most human humanity. The unity of mankind is a unity of fate and not a unity of face; it is a unity of ultimate interdependence, not of ultimate identity. It is true that modern technology and modern ideology lead everywhere in similar directions with respect to behavior and life styles. However, modernity is just one strip in the cloak of many colors that every society wears. Other stripes are of treasured traditional, regional, local, and even class-derived vintage and, as a result, societal multilingualism will not merely linger on in backward corners of the globe, but it will defend and advance itself via modern methods and media (rather than merely giving in to such), and will do so within the very heartland of modernity per se.

The new ethnicity movements in the U.S.A., and similar movements already in existence (and others yet to come) in Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, will help to clarify the need of modern man for unique societal intimacy and intimate societal uniqueness: in his food and dress, in his music and poetry, in his art and artifacts, in his celebrating and mourning, in his dying and giving birth. Thus, by the year 2000, with the continued cooling off of conflicted, exclusivistic, and ideologized ethnicity (nationalism) in most parts of the globe, it may become clearer even to intellectuals (who are always the last to understand).

to understand reality since they are so convinced that it is merely their task to create it) that the fraternity of mankind requires a recognition and acceptance of mankind's diversity and of the creative use thereof. Thus, it is the dialectic between uniformation and diversification which must be seen not only as the true foundation for sharply increased foreign language (bilingual) teaching by the year 2000 but additionally as the true foundation for much of what is most challenging and creative in modern society (local, regional, and international) the world over.  

2 Joshua Fishman, "Will Foreign Languages Still be Taught in the Year 2000?", MAP/Materiales en Marcha (December 1973), pp. 15 and 21.
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APPENDIX

At this juncture in world affairs it has become essential to our national welfare, perhaps even to our survival, that we understand the culture, the psychology, the aspirations of other peoples. Such understanding begins with a knowledge of foreign language, and the competence of our citizens in the languages of other lands has become a national resource of great importance. It is essential that we develop this resource.

--Luther H. Evans
(Former Director-General of UNESCO)
Selected Resources Bibliography


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Selected Resources on Comparative Linguistics: Thai


Selected Resources on Comparative Linguistics:
Other Southeast Asian Languages

Burmese


Chinese


Malay

Journals

Journals carrying up-to-date articles and reviews on comparative linguistics or applied linguistics are:


Studies in Linguistics.

The dissertation submitted by Charles K. Frederickson, has been read and approved by members of the Department of Foundations of Education.

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 with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

January 6, 1974  
Signature of Advisor