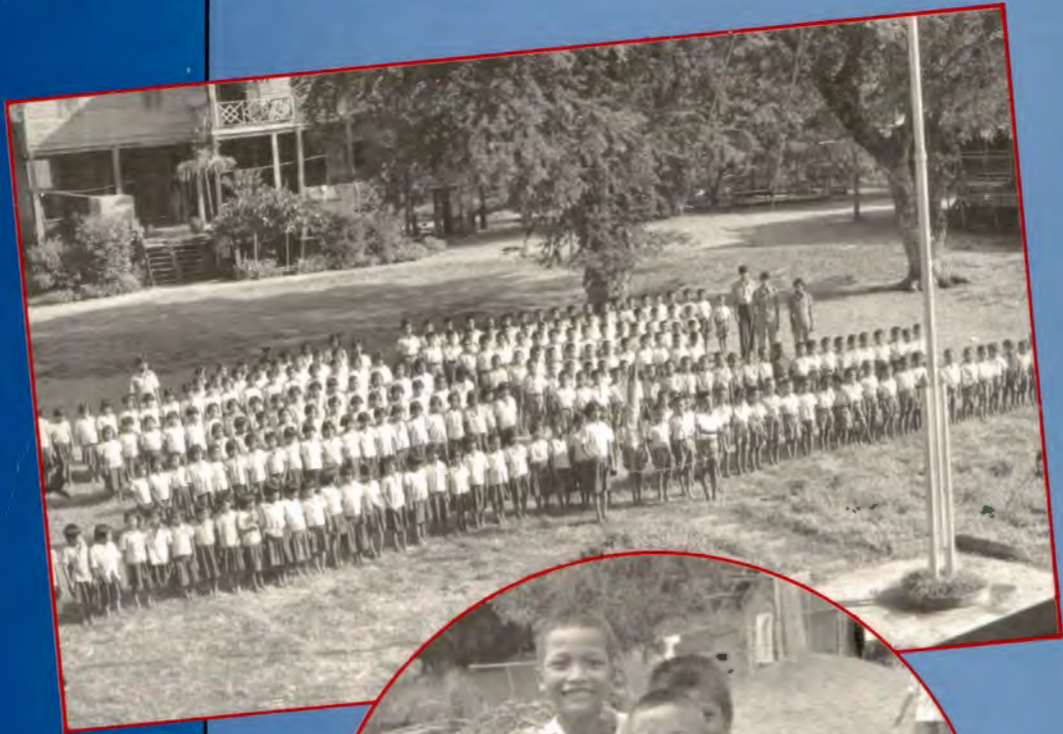


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Report on

THE QUALITY OF RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOLING IN THAILAND:

A Case Study of Four Primary Schools in Central and Northeastern Thailand



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THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF THE DEVELOPMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION

ARCHIV
373.3(503-22)
S.8
1987

1000-100

FOREWORD

This report on *the Quality of Rural Primary Schooling in Thailand : A Case Study of the Four Schools in Central and Northeastern Thailand* is a part of the research project on the Factors Effecting the Quality of Rural Primary Schooling, a joint project between the Office of the National Education Commission and the National Institute of the Development and Administration. The project was commissioned by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada. The purpose of the research was to study the quality and the relevance of primary education to the Thai rural environment and needs. The anthropological research method of fieldwork was used in this study which is expected to contribute and throw useful insights in this area.

The Office of the National Education Commission would like to thank the consultants- Dr. Pote Sapianchai and Dr. Gerald Fry-, the working committee, the drafting committee, the researchers, the informants and everyone else who have made valuable contributions through their comments.

Panom Pongpaibool

(Dr. Panom Pongpaibool)
Secretary-General
National Education Commission
January, 1987



PREFACE

The findings from the research *The Quality of Rural Primary Schooling : A Case Study of the Four Schools in Central and Northeastern Thailand* are directly related to the Office of the National Education Commission's research project on the one hand ; and on the other hand, they reflect the chain of events and reality one finds in the dynamic process of primary education in rural Thailand.

The fieldwork was completed as early as December 1981 but the final draft was not ready until 1983. On its release to relevant government departments, the National Primary Education Commission was interested and asked to be allowed to make the report available to its various departments responsible for the implementation of the primary curriculum.

However, the version published by the National Primary Education Commission was only the final draft which had yet to go through the research working committee. Certain information had yet to be added as well as the final recommendation. The working committee made several revisions to the draft, added more relevant information, verifying old information and made alterations when necessary. Some chapters were in fact rewritten and recommendations were added. The final report was made in December 1987 and was submitted to the draft committee and the final revision was made after the committee's recommendations before the Thai version was printed and translated into English.

However, readers are cautioned here that finding in this research were made from the four rural primary schools under study so are not representative of the rural primary schools in Thailand. The conclusions drawn from this study should serve as hypotheses which need to be verified with the situation in other rural primary schools. The verification should be possible as other schools have the same school components which are factors in this research namely the curriculum, supervision, budgeting, school cluster administration and the assessment system all of which is reported in Appendix I.

The recommendations in this report was not made until after the revision and a follow-up study of the changes among the four rural schools through the years 1982-1987. So it is expected that the research findings are relevant still to today's situation and hence to primary education policy makers, educational planners and implementers of primary education.

The hospitality and cooperation from the school staff, students and parents in the four communities under study had made this research possible and the researchers would like to express their sincerest thanks to these people who have been given hypothetical names for their protection. Also many thanks to the fieldwork research assistants and the research team whose devotion, endurance, perseverance as well as grasp of the research conceptual framework were crucial to this long term research fieldwork. It is needless to emphasize that the success of a qualitative research is conditional to a close co-operation and trust between the informants and the researchers.

Supang Chantavanich
and the Research Team
January, 1987

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Research Background and the Significance of the Research Question

Primary education in Thailand is aimed at enabling the people to lead a good life as well as laying foundation for higher study. Since the State demands that education is compulsory, it has an obligation to give this service gratuitously, efficiently and equally to all citizens in primary school age group.

Primary education has been through changes and developments. In 1978, the duration for compulsory primary education was curtailed from 7 to 6 years. In 1980, the responsibility for the rural schools, previously under the Changwat Administrative Organization, was given to the Ministry of Education's Office of the National Primary Education Commission. These two movements have caused many changes in the administrative system of primary education. Thus the study of the changes through this period is crucial as one would normally expect the changes to bring about a better quality in rural school education.

There have been several researches on the efficiency in primary education management such as *A Case Study of Students Drop-out in Elementary Education* (General Education Department, MOE 1974), *Efficiency in Primary Schools* (The Office of the National Education Commission, 1977), *Qualitative Performance of Schools at all Levels in Bangkok Region* (Educational Technique Department, 1978) and *Research Report No.13: Behaviour and Time in the Working Practice of Elementary School Teachers* (General Education Department, 1979). These studies were often surveys at macro level of the static aspects of primary school at a certain time due to the research time constraint. The conclusions drawn were often evaluative and explanatory in terms of static variable indicators like achievement scores. Hence, they often failed to reveal the dynamic process behind the educational phenomena which gives us details of the actual teaching-learning process in the classroom. Thus most conclusions drawn on the quality of Thai primary education so far have been primarily based on students' achievement.

It was then felt that maybe another method could be used to complement the quantitative researches on this topic. One available method was the use of fieldwork where observations could be made and recorded, over a certain period of time, of what were going on inside and outside the classrooms. In this way, the dynamic and complex phenomena can be recorded and analysed with each phenomenon seen as a functioning part of the whole complex system of primary education. One can then study the primary school education in depth and from the actual observations of what were taking place in the schools and the classrooms. One can also get a more complete picture, a better and deeper understanding of the natural and dynamic causal factors of quality in education in the schools, both in

terms of efficiency and effectiveness in the Thai educational management. One can also see how each causal factor interacts with one another as well as the causal relationships between the factors. It was felt that this qualitative method might give a more definite guidelines to the solutions of the problems one is facing with in our primary schools and any improvement through controllable factors like those concerning learning-teaching process.

For reason already stated, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), in Canada has commissioned an anthropological research on factors affecting the quality of education in the Thai rural schools and the task was given under a joint project between the Office of the National Education Commission and the National Institute of Development Administration.

Expected Outcome of the Research

It was expected that the research would give deeper and greater insights in the working of the various factors involved in the creation of quality. In fact, it is expected that this research

1. will suggest or even confirm new hypotheses for our future study of primary education
2. will propose a guideline of future education management and administration especially at the micro level (the school).
3. will present a thorough description of the actual process of curriculum implementation in a classroom on which further developments in primary education can be made.

The Objectives of the Research

- a) General aim : to examine the quality and relevance of the Thai primary education in the rural setting and condition.
- b) Specific objectives :
 1. to study the implementation process of primary education in the rural areas which effects the quality of its output
 2. to compare the actual quality of rural primary education with that expected.

Research Methodology

There are 4 phases in this research :

1. The selection of the schools as cases of study : two small sized schools in two provinces were selected. One province was in the Central part of Thailand while the other province was in the Northeast. The choice of the four schools was made in accordance with the following criteria :

- a) they were small sized and –previous to this research– were under the responsibility of the *Changwat Administrative Organization*. Their number of students ranged from 150–200. Small schools were chosen as previous researches had indicated that they were usually low in their efficiency.
- b) in each province, the schools were selected in pairs with one being poorer in

quality than its counterpart as indicated by the MOE's Classification of School Standard (1976). This classification was used because it is the one which made a study of the school standard on the national scale. The selection was also made on ground that the paired schools must be located in similar environment, with equal amount of education input in order to minimize interference from exogeneous variables so as to ensure the research internal validity.

c) using Herriot's method of cross-site study (1977), it was decided that the second paired school should be situated in different geographical region. This is to serve as a replication. Their inclusion can also increase the explanatory power of any future generalization made from this study as it will add greater validity of the study findings.

d) the school choice was also made on ground of accessibility by the research in terms of transportation; communication, available housing facility and safety precaution as the researchers had to live in the schools for one years during the data collection phase.

2. Data collection and research instruments : data were collected over a period of 12 months from April 1980 to March 1981. The field researchers spent that time living with the villagers, teachers and students in the schools. Observation and their subsequent detailed note-takings were made daily in and outside the schools. This duration was deliberately chosen to coincide with the agricultural calendar of the villages. In this way, one could record the interaction between the education phenomena and the social and cultural setting outside the schools. In the original research design, only one year had been allocated to data collection; however, the researchers found it was necessary to go back to the schools three more times to get certain information confirmed as well as to gather more information. Thus the data collection was not completed until December 1981.

Participant observations were used for data collection. The researchers were staying in the schools, as teacher assistants, while interviewing informally the people who were the target groups like headmasters, teachers, students, the parents and the community leaders. Thus apart from the documentary research instruments, one may also say that the researchers were themselves the most valuable instruments in this research. Other sources used were school documents, earlier school statistic records, the district accumulated records and other research findings on the same topic. Cognitive and non-cognitive achievement tests were also used to collect the school grade 3 students' achievement scores so that comparison could be made between schools. An inventory was also used for survey of parents' economic background. An interview guide for parental education investment was used but these interviews were not made until the later part of the data collection when a good rapport had been built and the researchers had been accepted by the people in and outside the schools. Classroom observations did not take place until the researchers had been 7 months in the schools. The researchers spent all that time mixing and forming friendship with the form teachers and their students. They were helping as the teacher's assistants during group and pairwork activities. In this way, observations of the classrooms and of the teaching-learning patterns of behaviour could be naturally observed. In some subjects, the researchers may helped with the actual teaching or just stayed outside a classroom to observe if the teacher was teaching a subject the researcher could not participate in. The researcher's

participation in each school depended very much on her relationship with the form teacher.

3. Data analysis : in actual fact, analyses were made all the time while the researchers were on sites. Each piece of information collected were interpreted and classified and a series of their summary was made. Then 4 sessions were organized at the National Education Commission where the researchers from the four schools met to present the summary they made. The summary consisted of detailed observations of the fieldwork which were organized systematically according to the previously set out criteria. The interpretations of the data, their analysis and finally the conclusion were then used to set up tentative hypotheses. Each summary served as an interval report of the school under study. Then a summary report of all the schools was made and presented to the project sub-committee which consisted of experts from all the government offices concerned. The sub-committee met to discuss the summary, its problems and then suggested courses of action one might take as well as planning for the next phase of study. Altogether, four interval reports have been made :

The first report was made in July, 1980 during the first semestre after three months of fieldwork. This is a report of the general information on the schools and the villages.

The second report was made after 8 months of fieldwork in December 1980 (during the second school vacation). It was after this second report that the tentative hypotheses were formed.

The third report was written in March 1981 (during the third school vacation). This is an analysis of more data which had been collected and verification of the set hypotheses.

The final analysis was made after one year of fieldwork in October 1982. This is a complete analysis of each site when information was systematically classified, and interpreted. At this point, related phenomena were specified, described and discussed before conclusions were made on the phenomena. Our hypotheses were drawn on these conclusions. At this stage, the researchers found that it was necessary to go back to the sites to get missing information, to clarify statements as well as to verify the hypotheses. After this was completed, the draft version of the case report was made.

The field researchers then presented their reports to the project leader, who synthesized and made comparative analysis of the information from the four schools under study to determine the indicators of quality of education in the rural primary schools. This was done by cross checking with the Thai primary education curriculum and with finding from previous researches. In the final analysis, inductive method was used mainly and basic statistics were used for quantitative data.

4. Presentation : This report will be presented using the analytical description. All names used are hypothetical but the description are real. Essential figures and statistical information will be given in tables. The actual final report consists of 6 chapters which cover research background and the significance of the research question related literature on the quality of rural education, descriptions of schools and their communities, school monitoring system and the quality of the primary education output, relevancy of the Thai

primary education to the real needs in the rural communities in terms of its objectives and contents. The final chapter will draw conclusions on which discussions and recommendations will be based. It has been decided to add Appendix III which describes the researchers' experience in anthropological fieldwork as it was felt that the description could be useful to other researchers.

Scope of this research

This is a case study of 4 rural primary schools. Findings from this research may not apply to other rural primary schools in Thailand.



CHAPTER II

THE QUALITY OF RURAL EDUCATION

Educational concepts of quality in education.

Over the past two decades, quality of education has come into focus of attention in most developing countries. However, experts still disagree as to its definition and nature in spite of numerous researches on the topic. According to the Unesco's Thesaurus, "quality" means "standard" but standard is also a vague term. In fact, the quality and standard of education are relative terms which have to be taken in the social context. The standard of education in one country may be quite different from that in another country.

Another group of researchers have quantified the "quality of education" through the measurement of efficiency in the educational output, namely the graduates' standard of achievement. They studied the quality of education by evaluating it and the extent of which the graduates had attained the quality required by the curriculum. Their attempt was to identify the causal factors for each variable in the quality of education. The most widely used indicator of quality of education, especially the quality of primary education, was the students' cognitive learning scores in arithmetic and the native language. Both the educationists and educational economists used this indicator widely until 1975 when Alexander and Simmons proposed their "Educational Production Function (EPF)" as one way of predicting and explaining the students' cognitive achievement. This function was formulated after numerous researches on students learning achievement in over 10 developing countries. In this function, the major independent variable for students' cognitive achievement are family background (social and economical), students' pre-school education, school input, peer group and other external variables like school community and students' levels of intelligence.

From 1980, one noticed a change of trends in the interpretation of educational quality from the use of indicators and statistics to the study of qualitative variables like attitudes, educationists' views, etc. Educational phenomena other than student achievement were taken into account (see Hurst, 1981). This change in methodology may have been caused by the World Bank's realization—after the giving of huge financial aids to developing countries to increase the quality of primary education. Looking back through the last century, it seemed that improvement in the quality of education in most countries, means educational reform, followed by a new curriculum development and its implementation, the decrease in the teacher-student ratio and subsequent increase in the national educational budget. When this known recipe for quality in education had been fully reinforced, evaluations were made with disappointing result. The change in teacher-student ratio and the student's expenditure per head had not always brought about higher students' achievement scores.

One also realized that quality in education meant more than high achievement scores. There are other just as important research questions which would have to be answered as well maybe through the use of non-quantitative research methodology.

Anthropological concepts of quality in education.

Anthropological educationists have sought to find answers to the same questions in its early years some 60-70 years ago, anthropologists like Franz Boas and Margaret Mead studied the educational system of tribes in the South Sea. Their point was that education was a process of cultural transmission and socialization. Education had a great role to play in the character formation of an individual, and that its study had to be carried out through actual observations in the context. This "worm's eye view" approach came to a standstill during World War II but came back to life in the Western society in last two decades. We found Dreeben (1968) studying what American children were learning in schools. His conclusion was that social rules and standard were learned through school and classroom activities and that the students retained this learning which they later applied to life in the society. Thus one may look at this learning as the normative outcomes of education. Students had learned these rules and standard through the use of "hidden curriculum" which, Dreeben explained, were the social norm expected to be observed by all the students without being actually written in the curriculum. Dreeben identified 4 types of cultural transmission through this hidden curriculum namely independence, perseverance and achievement, universalism or the respect for people's human right and specificity which is the ability to recognize individual differences as well as the ability to select appropriate mode of behavioral interaction for each individual. The school does not only give the students these normative social behavioral patterns but it also proceeds to train students for future career and political involvement. These normative social patterns were the school's standard but they helped the students greatly in adjusting themselves to the outside world once they left the school.

In the same year we found Jackson (1968) studying classrooms in American primary schools. Jackson was of the opinion that classroom activities were complex, and there were constantly variables which gave a great deal of burden to the teacher who could not really set any definite or precise behavioral objectives for the activity. One teacher was teaching and responsible for 20-30 students while having to teach 5-6 subjects for well over 1,000 hours. Jackson stated that the figure of these teaching hours were meaningless as one could not really say that the time had been wasted or fruitfully employed to the students' benefit. His conclusion was that changes in evaluation method, in curriculum reform or the educational innovation could not help to improve the educational quality unless one can motivate the teachers and convince them first so that they were willing and happy to implement the curriculum with conviction that it was the best thing for their students.

Jackson thought that children learned through praises, rewards and the teachers' authority. In school, the teacher was the students' first boss and in order to receive praises and rewards, the students learned to create falsified behavior.

Interesting view on the teaching role of school was in Apple (Apple 1979). Apple believed that the curriculum could never be neutral. It was closely connected with ideology and in fact, modern schools maintained and supported the idealistic hegemony which the country elites and leaders had wanted and had implemented the curriculum with, so that members of the society will conform to the ideology. This is quite similar to Bowles' view that in capitalist society, schools tended to produce docile or obedient workers and employees for the capitalists (Bowles, 1972), Apple in fact gave an analysis of the curriculum to support this belief. He identified that the hidden curriculum was highly influential and made the students conform with the society's ideology as shown in the teaching contents in social science and in science subjects. Apple also pointed out that it was determined that the students would take for granted the basic assumptions in the theories and learning and this was one way of conforming them to the society's beliefs and ideals. Students were intellectually conditioned through all their educational process.

Dreeben and Jackson's view have been tried out through the studies of non-western societies as well as in many developing countries in Southeast Asia. Some researches on this line deserve our attention here.

Gurevich (1972) studied the change in rural school teachers' roles during the period of rural development by the Thai government. His conclusion was that previously to the introduction of the rural development program, the teachers' role was quite polymorphous but their role was gradually reduced until it had become monomorphous, i.e. teaching only. In his view, teachers should have only supporting role and not a leading one. In fact, taking a leading role in rural development had an adverse effect on the students' education. In another research (Gurevich, 1976) he gave a further analysis that in rural schools he had been studying, there were disparity and discrimination in ethnicity, language, and class among the students and this was in reverse with the trend in rural development which tried to rid the society of the discrimination.

In the meantime, Henry Holmes (1973) was conducting researches in rural schools in the North-East of Thailand. He studied the farmers' attitude towards higher education for their children, the correspondence and suitability of school education to the rural life, and the correspondence between the educational output i.e. the graduates, to the social needs. He discovered that the farmers who would like their children to go on to secondary school education did so because they had wanted them to get a better job than the hard working and insecure rice farming. They saw no use in the 7 years of compulsory primary education and did not see why their children should attend 7 years of it as opposed to the original 4 years. The existing primary education, to them, had no effect whatsoever, to their agricultural career. They believed that the existing educational system was to shape the students for a better way of life and better career and so no need for any improvement. So one may say, at this superficial level, that the primary education did correspond with the farmers' requirement but not to their social needs.

Outside Thailand, there were many more researches some of which will be mentioned here.

Manalang (1971) studied the Philippines rural schools and found that schools had an important role to play in cultural transmission. One part of the culture was the acceptance of the government bureaucracy under which the school was a unit. The other part of the culture came from the school community. The essential culture transmitted was literacy, arithmetic knowledge and skill, manners, and other social values like obedience, respect to grown ups and submission to authority. Thus it was impossible and useless to expect the schools to be leaders in rural development and to initiate desirable rural changes.

Foley also did a study of the Philippines rural school (Foley, 1976). He studied the role of school and the teachers in building the national stability. He discovered that most schools were of poor quality and most teachers had poor morale. The social values transmitted to the children were submission to paternalism and the maintenance of existing social structure. Politics had recently played an increasing role in schools and teachers took safety precaution by seeking the politicians' protection. Foley's conclusion was that the school's role in building nationalism was by becoming highly involved in politics.

Shaeffer (1979) carried out a study of primary schools in East Java and discovered that the culture transmitted to the students were literacy, arithmetic skill, and social values like obedience, respect and loyalty to the nation. Teaching methodology was not conducive to their training to be independent or original. The greater was given to the ritual ceremony than to the learning contents. He concluded that this form of education was useful to the making of loyal and disciplined citizens but not very useful to preparation of the students for the imminent changing economic world.

Among non-Asian developing countries, researches were carried out by Brook and Oxenham (1980) of the rural schools in Mexico where social and economic structure and condition were different from those in Asia. The education in Mexico was to meet the requirement of the non-agricultural economic system. That is, Mexican primary school leavers were expected to form a modern sector in the society who would become laborers or service gives. Their research was to find out that, with this kind of expectation, what should be quality in the Mexican education. Brook and Oxenham found that agricultural parents were not interested in what quality of education their children received from schools but parents of the modern sectors were. They also discovered that the failure in the new curriculum implementation was mainly caused by the negative attitude among teachers who were defective in their professional commitment and who were not interested in students from agricultural background.

Conclusion

Finding from researches during the past decade have many things in common. The quality of education in most developing countries was not up to the expected standard. Curriculum analyses have showed that there exists between what is being taught and what is socially needed and realistically practical in terms of subject contents and objectives. In teaching-learning process, the teachers have refused or have failed to perform all the duties specified. Productwise, education has done very little to help school leavers the majority of which are agricultural people. Moreover, schools have formed students' character and social

structure which are not conducive to the living in the rapidly changing economic world which is Foley's conclusion in 1977 of the anthropological studies of education in developing countries.

Back to our original question of the definition of quality of education, it would be impossible to give an operational definition of this term. Anthropological educationists' approach like those of Mead, Dreeben and Shaeffer, sees the quality of education embedded and fused in every single step of educational process which consists of educational phenomena. The process starts with the curriculum, the teaching-learning and evaluation process and end with the quality of the products, i.e. the school leaver. Looking from this view, the quality of rural education is describable and measurable in terms of

1. The degrees of relevancy of the curricular objectives and contents to the local context and its usefulness to the people and their way of living.
2. Its definite provision for implementation methodology, operational, monitoring and feedback processes whereby every objective can be evaluated.
3. Its ability to realize all dimension of the desired quality in the educational output.

Other definitions by Mead (1946), by Morris in Sheffield (1967), by Brook and Oxenham (1980) will be given in Appendix II. They are essentially the same definitions as the one given here.

The 3-dimensional definition of quality in education consists of three stages which are sequential. The curricular objectives and contents from the beginning,; the middle stage is the implementation of the objectives through teaching-learning process and if this middle stage is effective, it would be followed by the final stage-namely the yielding of the fine quality in the educational output. One can see that the relationships between the three stages are not only sequential; Stages One and Stage Two are causal factors to Stage Three. This is the conceptual framework used in the research and the causal relationship between the three dimensions will be described in details in Chapter Four.



CHAPTER III

Communities and Their Schools

“Miss, when can we have this afternoon lesson?”

In this chapter, we shall describe the four communities and their schools which we have chosen as cases for our study. Their names will remain anonymous but for our reference, we shall refer to them by their hypothetical names.

Site One : Central Thailand

- Community** 1.1 Nong Bua Village, Tambon Klong Yaaw, Amphur Bua Luang.
School .1.1 Wat Nong Bua School.
Community 1.2 Klong Yaaw Village, Tambon Klong Yaaw, Amphur Bua Luang.
School 1.2 Roong Pitaya School.

Site One

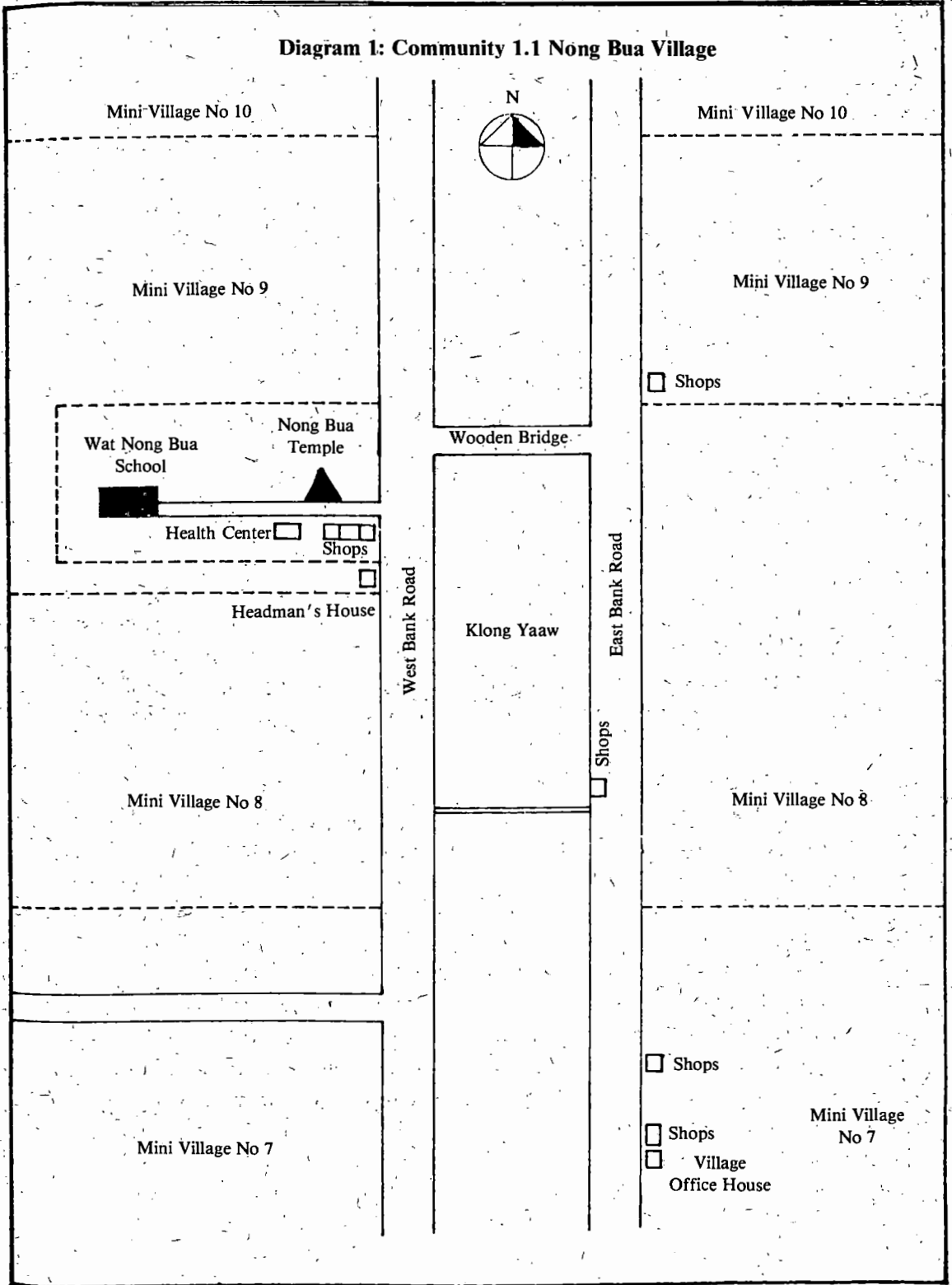
Tambon Klong Yaaw in central Thailand is in a province which is half agricultural and half industrialized. Then it consisted of 23 villages which scattered along the two banks of the irrigation Klong Yaaw Canal. The canal enabled the villagers to grow 2 ricecrops annually. In this district, there were 5 temples, one health center and 7 primary schools. Electricity was available but there was no water supply. The villagers relied on the rain for drinking water and used the canal or the artisan wells for other uses. The district office was 9 kms. from the inter-province highway and was reachable by a good asphalt road.

Community 1.1 Nong Bua Village

Nong Bua Village was 26 kms. from the inter-province highway or 17 kms. from its district office. The village consisted of clusters of houses namely Mini-Villages 7,8,9 and 10 on 4,000 rais of land (approximately 2.5 rais to one acre). There were 140 houses with a population of 970. 26.39% or 256 of this population were between 1-12 years. The villagers were mostly endogamous. The Nong Bua Village School was in Mini-Village No.9 which also situated the Health Center. The community lay-out is shown in Diagram 1.

The majority of the villagers were rice farmers and the members of their families helped on the farm. Children from the age of 8 could serve as an economic asset. They could free the parents from housework or actually help on the farm themselves. With 2 annual ricecrops, one would expect the farmers to be fairly better off which was not the case. In 1981, a survey revealed that although the annual income per family was 60,100 baht (approximately 25 baht to one US. dollar), the annual expense was 62,500 baht. Many families were in debt for lack of reserved capital and lack of land ownership. This meant rents and

Diagram 1: Community 1.1 Nong Bua Village



high interest loan at the beginning of each farming season. The local mill owners supplied the loan and charged an illegally high interest. Payments back were made in kinds after the harvest. Most houses used modern farming machinery powered by fuel instead of the indigenous use of animal labor. A great amount of money obtained by loan was spent on machinery as well as on insecticides and chemical fertiliser. The greater loan of course brought with it greater production. The villagers would have done well had there been stability in the rice price and had the weather been kind. But a pest and a drought in 1980 completely destroyed the crops while the compound interest kept going up. Moreover, many villagers were keen gamblers and this added more debt to the families.

However, the weather had been more kind than not to the villagers and so far one has not yet heard of any case of starvation in Nong Bua Village. Most houses had radios. They also went to town often for both business, shopping and recreation. A village bus ran to a big market where one could buy anything but this bus service was not available in the rainy season when the village dirt road became bumpy and unusable. During this time, the only means of travelling anywhere was by walking.

It was interesting to note that while Nong Bua villagers welcomed a lot of modern technology through their contact with the urban society, they remained fairly conservative and were strict in keeping up the ritual ceremonies in rice farming. Although the village had a health center attached to it, when members in the family became ill, the villagers preferred to go to the village "witch" doctor or the monk at the temple for treatment through herbal medicine.

The villagers did not have any high opinion of their formal community leader – the village head. The religious leader – the abbot, fared no better after a scandalous affair with a woman. This unfortunately, had a negative effect on the school which was attached to the temple.

School 1.1 Wat Nong Bua

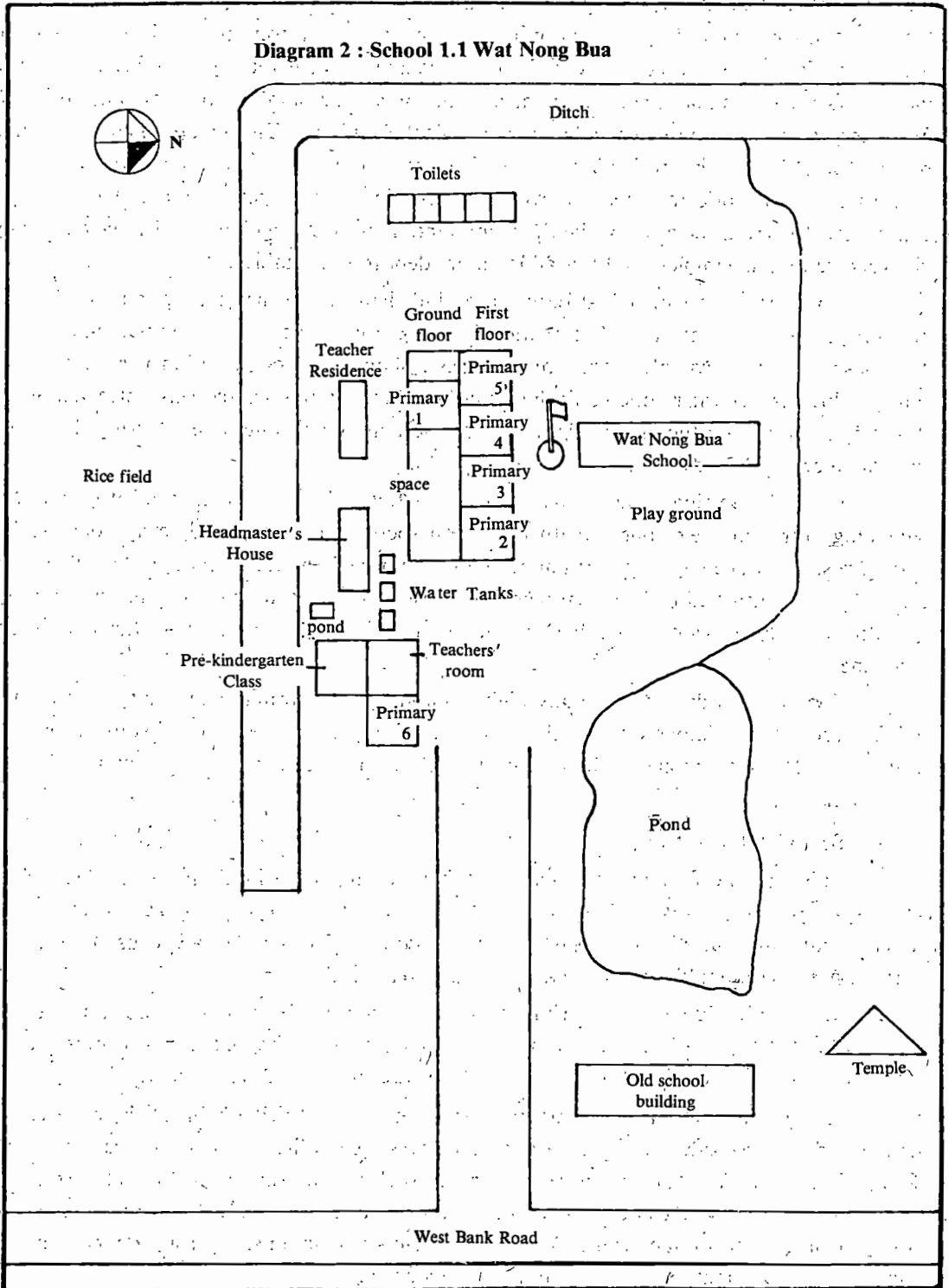
This was the first primary school to have been set up in Klong Yaaw District as early as 1934. Then the school was using a part of the temple for classrooms. It now had 2 concrete buildings but still there was not enough room. The school had to use one multi-purpose area as school library, sick bays as well as teachers' room.

Wat Nong Bua offered Primary One to Primary Six with one pre-kindergarten class. The school population in 1980 was 143. The pre-schooling class was a joint project between the Village Board of Education and the Board of Local Development.

Budget. In 1980, the government budget received was 334,308 baht. This was exclusive of the budget it received for building and land investment which came in separate category. 13,997 baht came from other sources of income such as subsidies from the village council, donations from the villagers and funds raised on school fairs. 10,297 baht out of the non-government budget in fact came from the villagers' donations. Most non-government budget was used for supply for educational expendables.

Education Media. The school was fairly well equipped with radio-cassette players, maps, globes and some science kit. But there seemed to have been an insufficient supply of

Diagram 2 : School 1.1 Wat Nong Bua



sport equipment, stationary, books and school uniforms which had been sent from Bangkok.

School Staff. Thirty-eight years old Somchart, the headmaster, had been in this post for the last 15 years. He had a higher certificate in secondary education and was studying for a degree with one of the open universities. He was not very articulate. Some years previously, the abbot was involved in a scandal and in order to protect the school's reputation and interest, Somchart tried to get the school committee to compromise with the abbot and was, as a result of this intervention, accused by the villagers of lack of principles. The school had 7 other staff members as listed below:

Name	Sex and Position	Age
1. Somchart	Male, Headmaster	40
2. Ladda	Female	50
3. Sak	Male	44
4. Chalasri	Female	29
5. Poon	Male	27
6. Kanda	Female	24
7. Pin	Female	22
8. Cha-oom	Female	19

Qualificationwise, one teacher had a B.Ed. degree, three had higher certificate in education, three had received lower certificate and only 2 teachers had more than 10 years of teaching experience.

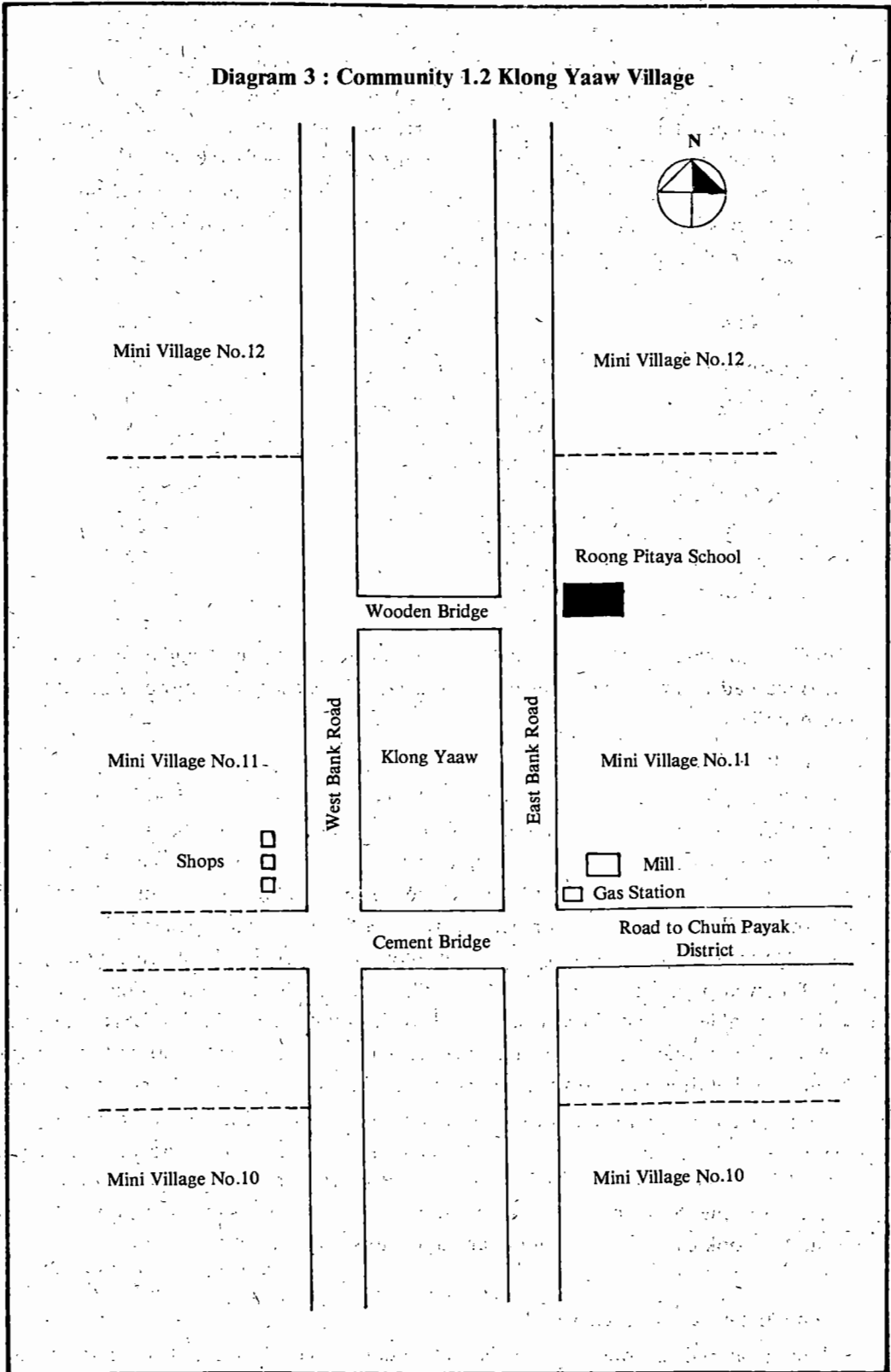
Daily School Timetable

At 8.30, pupils sang the national songs and said their prayers. This was followed by homeroom which lasted about 10-15 minutes after which the first lesson began. In Primary Three and Four, the teachers started with homework correction. For instance, if the homework was arithmetics, the teacher would write the correct version on the blackboard and then asked the pupils to self correct or peer correct. Sometimes the teacher only provided the correct answers without explaining how they have been arrived at. Then a new lesson was taught followed by more exercises. This usually took up the whole morning. The Thai subject daily timetable was not in any sense followed. In Primary Five and Six, the form teachers observed the timetables more strictly. Lunch break came at 11.30 and lasted for half an hour. In the afternoon, lower primary pupils finished the exercises they had started in the morning, made corrections and then proceeded to another subject which may be Thai, Life Experience or Work Experience. In the Thai lesson, the pupils read and did more exercises until 14.00. In Primary Five and Six, the teachers were more strict with the timetable and kept the pupils in the classroom until 15.00. After this time, the pupils usually played around or took care of their school vegetable plots.

Community 1.2 Klong Yaaw Village

Klong Yaaw village was next to the 10th mini-village of Nong Bua. It expanded

Diagram 3 : Community 1.2 Klong Yaaw Village



over 2,400 rais of land with 74 houses forming 2 mini-villages No. 11 and 12. The population was 714. Out of this number, 234 or 32.7% were between 0-12. A concensus in 1981 showed that the average annual income per family was 55,100 baht while the expenditure came to 51,700 baht. Most of this money was earned and then spent on farming.

Socio-economically, Klong Yaaw Village was not much different from its counterpart, Nong Bua Village. They were very much alike in terms of general standard of living, transport facilities, people's occupations as well as their social values and beliefs. Neither villages accepted their officially appointed heads. Klong Yaaw Village, however, was more fortunate in one respect insofar as it had Kamnan Mee, an ex-village officer, as the unofficial community leader and as his daughter-in-law, Khruu Rachanee, was acting headmistress of Roong Pitaya School which was under our study, the school did benefit a great deal from his unofficial patronage.

An irrigation canal also ran through Klong Yaaw Village but the villagers did not live in clusters but spreaded along the two banks of the canal. Mini Village No.11 was the most centrally located and Roong Pitaya School was in this village (see Diagram 3). Mini Village No.12 had some Mon people among its inhabitants and one could see a trace of their racial difference in the children's traditional hair style. Otherwise, it was difficult to distinguish them from the other ethnic groups as they all kept the same Thai traditions and also spoke the Thai language.

Economically, mini-village No.12 was not as well off as most family members in this village had no capital even to rent the land for farming so they had to work as farm laborers for other village fellows (who also rented the land from the owners). Payments usually could be made either in cash or in kinds.

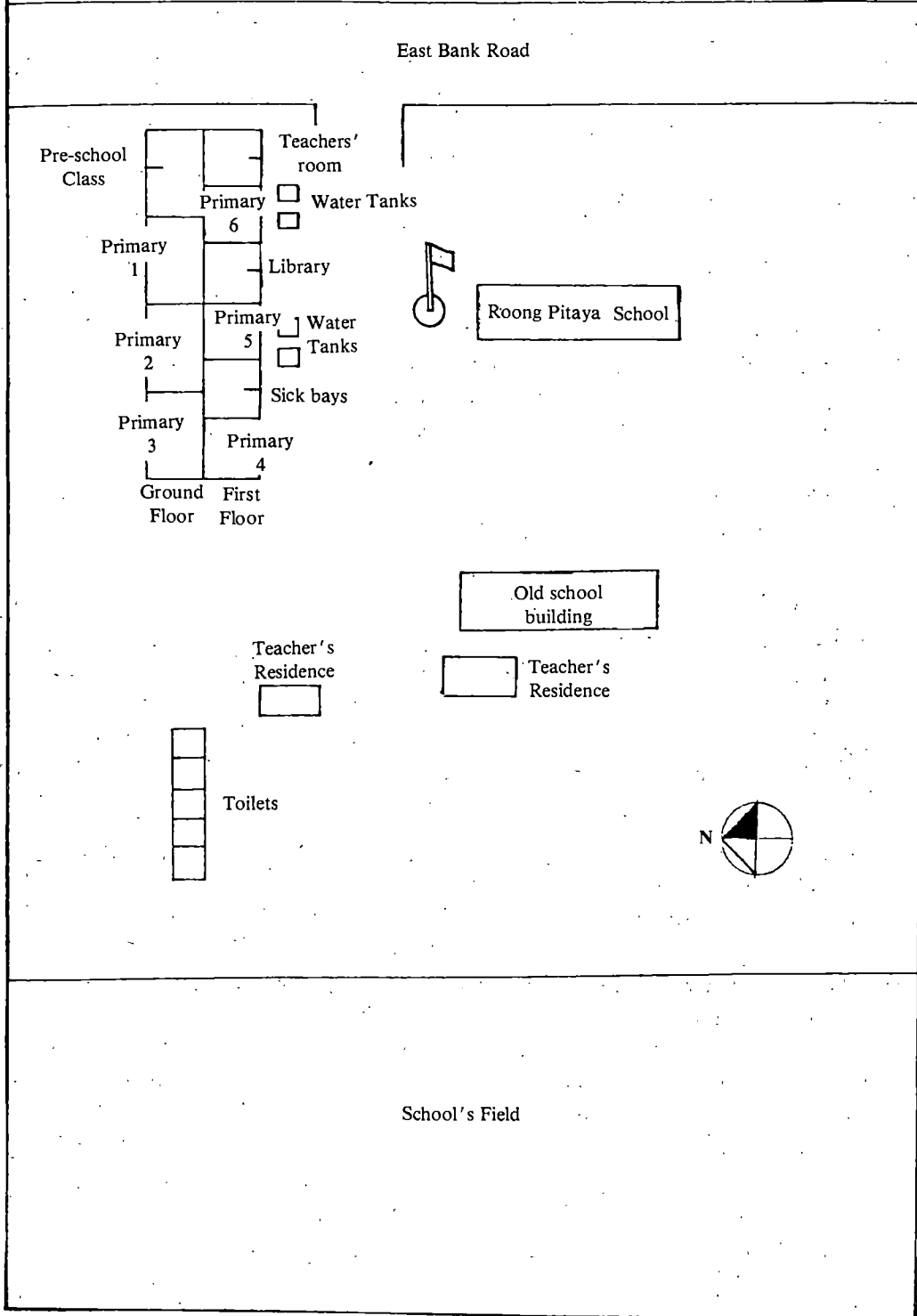
As a whole, Klong Yaaw Village seemed to have greater group cohesion and unity as there had been no serious conflict between the community leader and the people as they recognized and accepted their leader. One could not really say that they admired him and in fact, some villagers even suspected that Kamnan Mee had taken advantage of them. But on the whole, they admitted that he had done a great deal for the village.

School 1.2 Roong Pitaya

This school was established in 1942 on its present site of 6 rais of land in Mini Village no.11. The land was donated by one of the landowners in the village. There was only one school building which was first built in 1974 with only 3 classrooms. However, the villagers later had donated money as well as free labor to turn the open ground floor of the building into 3 more classrooms. They were not proper classrooms by any standard with insufficient lighting and ventillation. The second floor of the building was used as teachers' room as well as sick bays and library. It was worth while to note that the library was quite well used ; one could see children going in and out of it before the school started in the morning and during breaks (see Diagram 4).

The school received 202,440 baht budget in 1980. Another 16,154 baht came from donations, out of which 10,121 baht was the villagers' contributions. Most of this non-

Diagram 4 : School 1.2 Roong Pitaya School



government budget was spent on school expendables and teaching materials as well as other contingencies like minor repair work. Roong Pitaya received the same amount of subsidies in terms of teaching materials from the ministry in Bangkok as its counterpart-Nong Bua- as they belonged to the same school cluster.

The school offered one class each from Primary One to Primary Six. However, the villagers had asked the school to take on their pre-school children. The school complied to this request and took on 32 children in this age group. They were put in Primary One class for lack of extra teacher to cater for the additional class.

There were six teachers including the acting headmistress, Khruu Rachanee who took care of one class and working also as acting headmistress. The teachers names, sex and age are listed below:

Name	Sex	Age
Rachanee	Female, headmistress	29
Kaysorn	Female	30
Wichit	Male	24
Kalaya	Female	23
Malee	Female	23
Ramphaa	Female	22

Qualificationwise, one teacher had higher certificate in education while the other five had only the lower certificates. In fact, two teachers were studying for a B.Ed. degree. Four teachers lived outside the village which meant daily long journeys as well as travelling expense. Roong Pitaya School had had a highly competent headmaster-Decha-until 1980 when he had served his term and was transferred to manage another primary school. Unfortunately, the man who replaced him bore a grudge against the district officer and considered his transfer to Roong Pitaya School a spiteful punishment. Thus he had got himself requested to help temporarily in a school in another district. This had left Roong Pitaya without a headmaster and the district officer had, for temporary measure, appointed Rachanee (Kamnan Mee's daughter-in-law) acting headmistress. So Rachanee was working on two jobs, She was 29 with 10 year experience in teaching. She was studying for a degree also. She was very socialable and with all these qualifications plus her contact with the local community leader, most people would have liked to see her appointed. However, it could be clearly seen that with a class to take care of plus her part time study, Rachanee would not or could not find any time for her administrative works.

Daily School Timetable

8.30 was the time school began but the pupils started to arrive as early as 7.30. The teachers on duty arrived only 10 minutes just before 8.30 to ring the bell. He/she would see to the pupils in singing the national song, saying their prayers and going to their classrooms. Next the pupils started to clean the classrooms while the teachers waited in the teachers' room, reading newspapers or talking. About this time, the teachers who lived

outside Nong Bua Village would have arrived and would be recovering from the long journey. Some of them would be eating the breakfast they had bought at the market on their way to school. The first lesson started at around 9.00 a.m. with very little time spent on lesson planning. Teaching methodology was the traditional lecture type which was highly teacher centered. The teacher followed the textbooks closely. Then assignments were given and while the pupils worked on the assignments, the teachers would correct homework. Some teachers would come outside and chatted to each other. The pupils too began to talk and play so the volume of noise would go up. This signaled to the teachers that it was time to go back to the class to give more assignments, or—to begin a new lesson. Some pupils had not finished the previous assignment so they would continue with it while the teacher taught the new lesson. The morning session came to an end at 11.30 a.m. After one hour lunch-break began the afternoon session. However, the teacher did not appear until about one o'clock. Often a pupil would come to the teachers' room to ask if the teacher would like them to go on to the next exercise. The cheeky one would ask: "Miss, when do we start the afternoon lesson?"

In Primary One, Two and Three, the teachers let the pupils out as early as 14.30. In Primary Three, in fact, there was no teaching by 14.00. The pupils were told to work quietly on the assignments. This was to give the form teacher enough time to get ready for her departure for her evening class where she was taking her B.Ed. degree. In Primary Four, Five and Six, the pupils should have had another period of activity-typed lesson but rarely was this lesson conducted. The pupils were asked to work on homework or take care of the school agriculture plots. School was officially over by 15.30 when the pupil stood attention before they were released.

Site Two : Northeastern Thailand

Khaw Sai District was one of the bigger province in the northeast of Thailand. The province was in fact very expansive. On one part were mountains and valleys while the other part consisted of swampy land along the banks of several rivers which meet here. Some areas were badly flooded in the rainy season as there was no good drainage system. Khaw Sai was in the mountain with sandy soil and some open forests. This tambon consisted of nine villages. Most people were farmers or farm laborers. They lived in clusters along the inter-district road. The district had one health center, 14 primary schools. There was no water supply nor electricity. In fact, the lack of water supply was a real problem to the villagers as the village had no rivers nor streamlets flowing past it.

Many villagers had to rely on the ponds which contained very little water, which was often very muddy. They drank and washed with this water. In April and May, there was just no water at all in the village. People had to walk miles before they could fetch any water back home.

The two communities under study in Site Two were :

Community 2.1 Huaj Haeng Village in Tambon Khaw Sai.

School 2.1 Wat Huaj Haeng School.

Community 2.2 Sra Kaew Village in Tambon Sra Kaew.

School 2.2 Sra Kaew School.

Both communities were in Khaw Sai District which on a good asphalt road was 84kms from the inter-province highways. A dirt road connected the district office to Huaj Haeng Village which was 4kms further out while 8kms further on the same dirt road lay Sra Kaew Village.



Community 2.1 Huaj Haeng Village

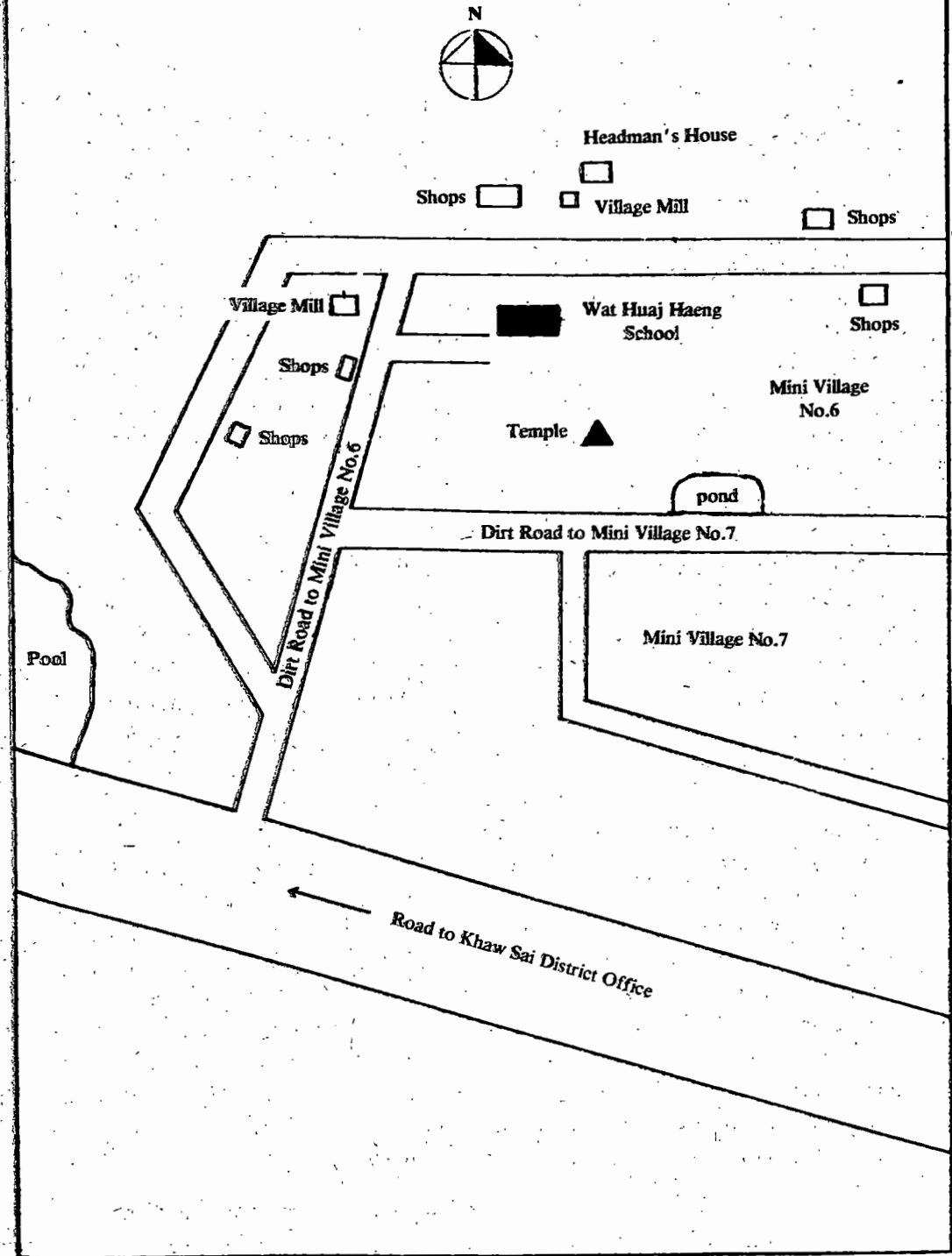
This village was on 314 rais of land. The villagers used the surrounding areas about 10 kms. from the village center for agricultural purposes while inhabit the inner center of the village. There were altogether 180 households in the center and 14 more further away on the so called 'Hill Village'. The population was 832 with 420 men and 412 women. 57.69% or 480 of this number were between 0-14 years. Most people owned two-storey wooden houses with the living quarter on the first floor. The ground floor was used for storage or husbandry. The first floor was two split level with open space with no partition. The lower part was used for cooking, eating and recreation. The upper level was for sleeping. There was no electricity nor water supply and lamps were used for lighting. The villagers had dug three ponds but only one was usable, the other two had become shallow and polluted. The water in the only one pond left was always muddy but it was the only source of water supply. When this pond became dry, the villagers had to walk some 7-8 kms to fetch water from another village.

Dirt Road to Mini Village No.7

Major occupation was farming but this could only be done in the rainy season; so the villagers had to rely on working as farm laborers in other villages which had no problem in water shortage. Hence one saw many of them migrating to central Thailand where, due to good weather, people were employed all year round. In fact one may say the people in this village had at least 2 major jobs. The major income came from selling of crops and wages. The sale crops gave the villagers a lump sum but it was spent on paying back the loan which they had to take at the beginning of the farming season. Those who were better-off would have to save the money for the next season which left very little for daily spending. For the latter purpose, the villagers had to rely on wage. Village records in 1981 showed an average annual income of 22,630 baht per family. 70% of this income came from crop sale. Most money in fact was spent on food, clothing and on farming purposes like buying seeds. Hiring labor came to 53.85% of the total expenditure. The next highest or 25.00% was spent on farming purpose. The lowest expenditure was on education; this ranked lowest with only 5.05% of the total expenditure. As a whole, the people were not actually starving but they were definitely struggling. They could not afford to take a day off as this would deprived the family of the money that was needed for daily spending. They had to be very economical. However it was worthwhile to note that the people spent a great deal on alcoholic drinks. They did not think that this was a waste of money. Bottled and local brewed whisky was drunk daily.

From the nutrition point of view, the villagers seemed to consume food which was of little value in their staple diet. They ate a lot of starch and nothing else just to keep

Diagram 5 : Community 2.1 Huaj Haeng Village



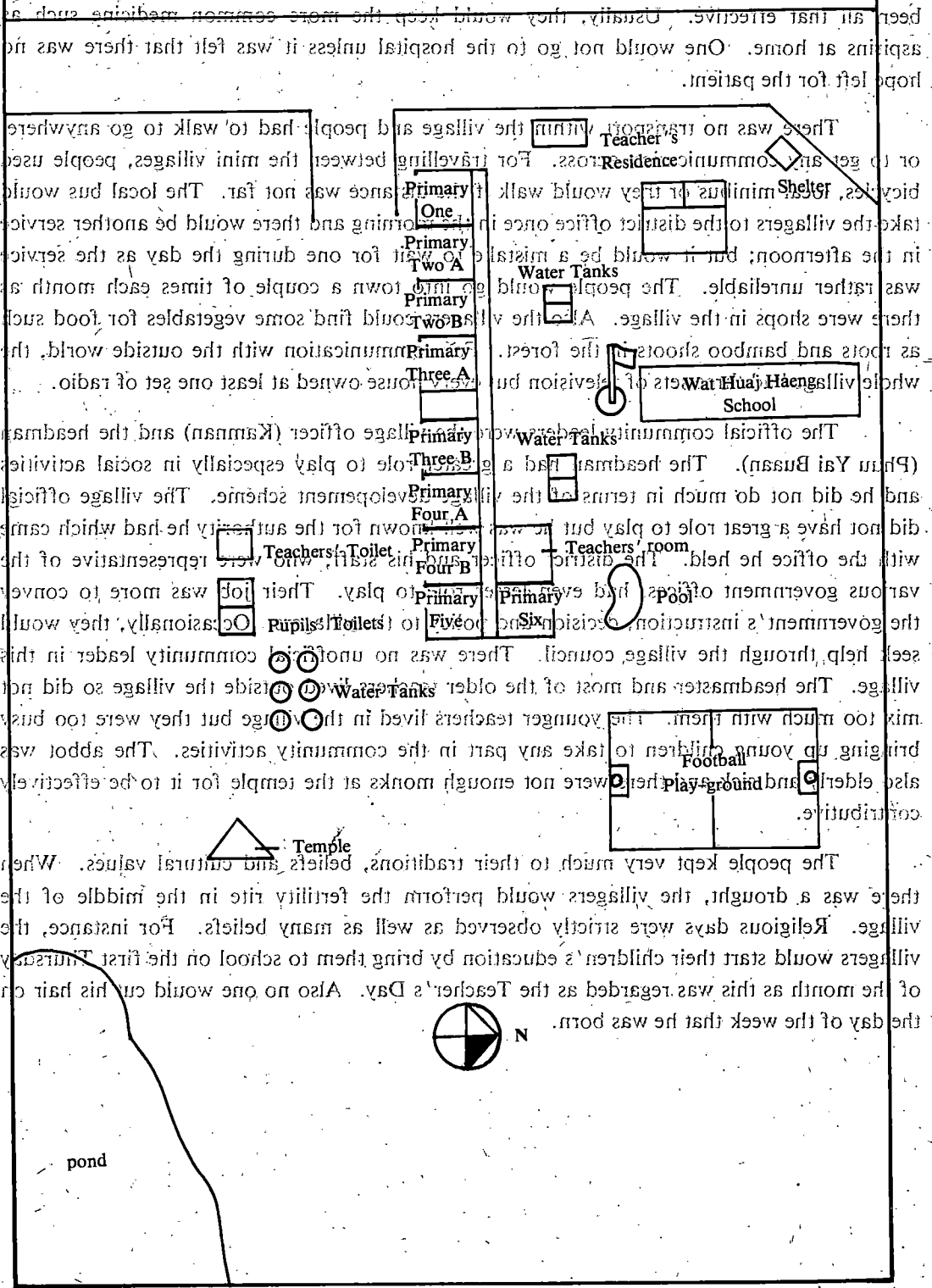
themselves from hunger. For minor illness, they would let nature take care of themselves but for the more serious ones, they would use faith healing which may or may not have been all that effective. Usually, they would keep the more common medicine such as aspirins at home. One would not go to the hospital unless it was felt that there was no hope left for the patient.

There was no transport within the village and people had to walk to go anywhere, or to get any communication across. For travelling between the mini villages, people used bicycles, local minibus or they would walk if the distance was not far. The local bus would take the villagers to the district office once in the morning and there would be another service in the afternoon; but it would be a mistake to wait for one during the day as the service was rather unreliable. The people would go into town a couple of times each month as there were shops in the village. Also the villagers could find some vegetables for food such as roots and bamboo shoots in the forest. For communication with the outside world, the whole village had three sets of television but every house owned at least one set of radio.

The official community leaders were the village officer (Kamnan) and the headman (Phuu Yai Buaan). The headman had a greater role to play especially in social activities and he did not do much in terms of the village development scheme. The village official did not have a great role to play but he was well known for the authority he had which came with the office he held. The district officer and his staff, who were representative of the various government offices, had even lesser role to play. Their job was more to convey the government's instruction, decision and policy to the villagers. Occasionally, they would seek help through the village council. There was no unofficial community leader in this village. The headmaster and most of the older teachers lived outside the village so did not mix too much with them. The younger teachers lived in the village but they were too busy bringing up young children to take any part in the community activities. The abbot was also elderly and sick and there were not enough monks at the temple for it to be effectively contributive.

The people kept very much to their traditions, beliefs and cultural values. When there was a drought, the villagers would perform the fertility rite in the middle of the village. Religious days were strictly observed as well as many beliefs. For instance, the villagers would start their children's education by bring them to school on the first Thursday of the month as this was regarded as the Teacher's Day. Also no one would cut his hair on the day of the week that he was born.

Diagram 6: School 2:1 Wat Huay Haeng School



School 2.1 Wat Huaj Haeng

Originally, Wat huaj Haeng was a private school attached to a temple. In 1947, it was transferred under the Ministry of Education. The abbot and the Education District Officer then started a foundation and through the donations collected there was enough money for a building with nothing else in it. In 1950, the school received budget from the government and was functioning properly by 1952. At first, it offered only Primary One to Primary Four, and when the years of compulsory education was increased from 4 to 7 and then later on 6 years, it then asked for more budget for expansion. The school was right in the middle of the village. It consisted of three connected buildings with one teacher's house, and three out-of-door toilets. There was no library and a part of the teachers' room was partitioned off to make room for sick bays (see Diagram 6).

In 1980, The school received a budget of 265,175 baht exclusive of construction and land investment fund. It also received another 3,337 baht from other sources of income such as from the village council, donations, rent money, etc. This money helped the school to cope with unexpected expenditure like minor repairs and gave it freedom to spend it on school activities.

There was not enough supply of the teaching-learning materials sent from Bangkok. In fact, there was a lack of co-ordination in the organization. The students' textbooks were sent without accompanying teacher's manuals and it was sometime before the student's workbook arrived. No records were kept of the students' book loan so many were lost each term and those that were returned were usually damaged. Other teaching materials such as the science kit, globes, maps, scales, etc. were not used in the classroom. There was not enough sports equipment to meet the great demand and the musical instruments donated by the UNICEF were kept unused in the lockers as the school could not find any one in the village who knew how to play them. The school would have liked to receive the Thai local instruments as it would be easy to get a teacher among the villagers and it would have been more practical in the rural areas. The teachers rarely produced any teaching aids.

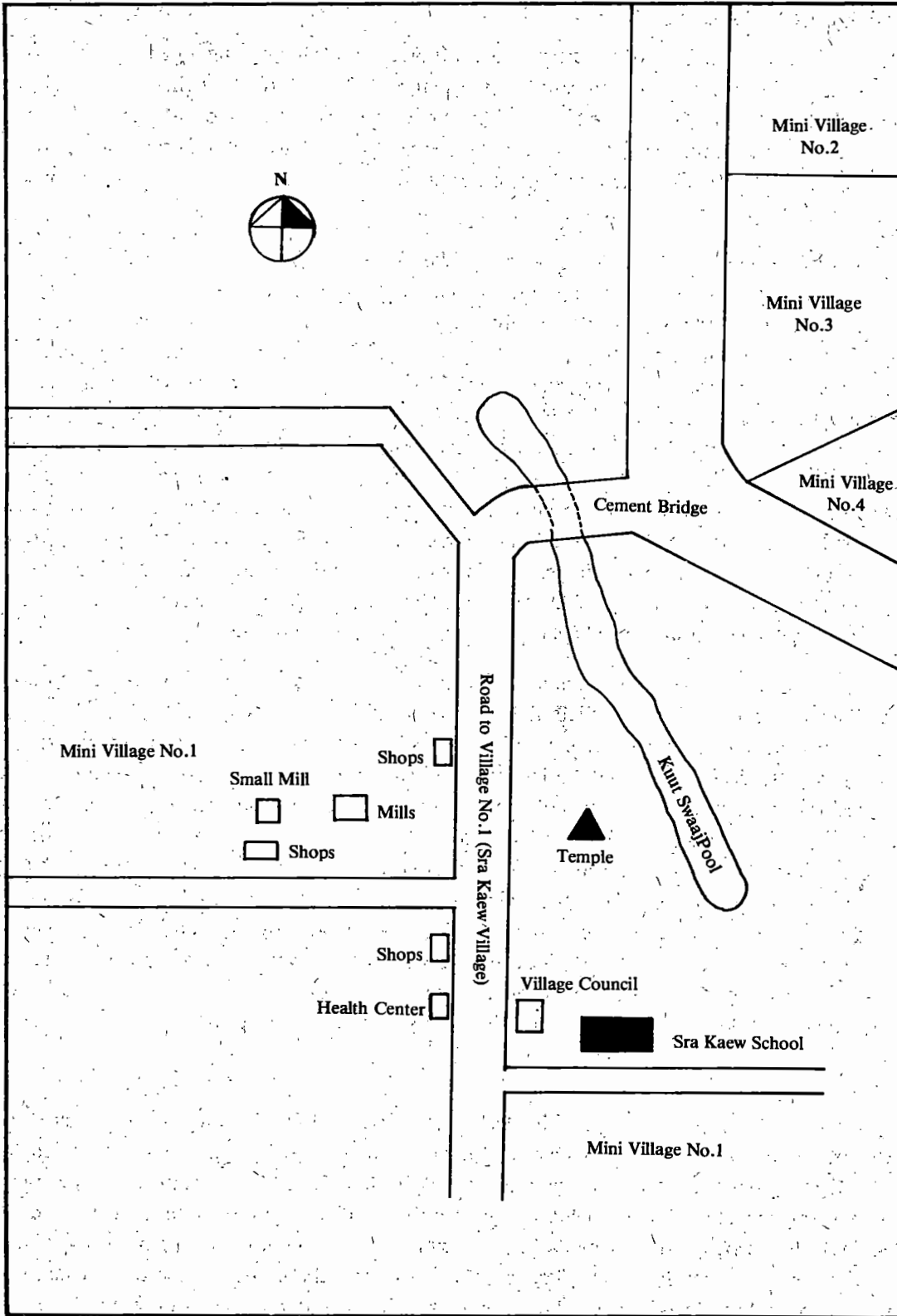
In 1980, Wat Hauj Haeng offered Primary One to Primary Six. Its school population was 276 with 9 teachers to take care of them. Fifty-two years-old Praneet was the headmaster. He was born in this village and had been in the office for 6 years. He received lower certificate of education. He was also secretary to the village council which he seemed to take to be his primary job. He was often seen at the district office functions and thus left the school administration unattended to. Most of the other 8 teachers belonged to this village or those nearby. They obtained lower certificate in education after their lower secondary education. The teaching experience ranged from being a novice to 39 years. Their salaries were between 2,465 - 4,815 baht. Out of the nine teachers, only four lived in the village. Their names, sexes and ages are listed below.

Names	Sex	Age
Praneet	Male, headmaster	30
Nantha	Female	33
Somkid	Female	32
Surachai	Male	58
Bupha	Female	32
Chomchai	Female	34
Supha	Female	26
Prakhong	Female	25
Kowit	Male	26

Daily School Timetable

During May–August 1980, there was not enough teachers for each class. The teacher on duty rang the bell at 8.30 then the children sang the national song. If the headmaster was in, he would give 10–15 minute homeroom through the loudspeaker. Otherwise, the teacher on duty would have to do it in the headmaster's absence. Inside the classroom, the pupils began by first cleaning the room and first lesson started at 9.30 a.m. and lasted until 11.30 a.m. The pupils played in the classroom until lunchtime at 12.00 a.m. The afternoon session began at 13.30 and ended at 14.30. The pupils then played until 15.30 when they were sent home. Altogether, the pupils studied 3 hours daily. Between September 1980 and February 1981, more teachers were recruited, so the school started at 9.30 a.m.. The morning session lasted until 12.00 and the afternoon classes were between 13.00–15.00. So in fact there were 5 hour schooling daily. However, whether there were enough teachers or not, the learning–teaching pattern remained the same. The upper primary classes followed the school timetables and mathematics, science, geography, history, social–ethical lessons, hygiene, Thai language and English. There were no teaching of physical education, boyscouts, but their periods were used for teaching of the compulsory subjects already mentioned. Referring to the “homework” was used often as an introduction to the first lesson. The usual catch phrase was ‘....yesterday we studied... and today, we’ll study...’. In the lower primary classes, the lesson began with reading Thai, followed by arithmetics. The teacher would ask the pupils to read the problems. He then demonstrated how to do it on the blackboard; then he would ask the pupils to complete the exercise. If the teacher remained in the classroom, the noise volume was under control but should he leave the class, it would go up. Some teachers brought some sideline work to do while waiting for the pupils to finish the exercise. Some would go home to feed the young babies. However, most pupils were well disciplined although a few would fool around. The teacher returned at about 11.00 a.m., gave the correct version and asked the pupils to self or peer correct. Now and then the teacher would ask to see the pupils' workbook.

Diagram 7 : Community 2.2 Sra Kaew Village



Community 2.2 Sra Kaew Village

Sra Kaew Village was rather mountainous with surrounding open forests. Few big trees could be seen as it had sandy soil structure. There were altogether 8 mini-villages in this village. The people lived in clusters and worked as farm laborers. Sra Kaew had one health center and two primary schools. Some mini-villages had electricity supply as early as 1981. However, there was no water supply so water shortage was always one of the villagers' major problems.



Sra Kaew was situated on 350 rais of land with 110 households clustering near one another. The total population was 615, 43.35% of whom were between 0 - 14. The recent census revealed that the average family size was seven, four out of whom were in working age with two in schooling age. The village was arid with most of its land unsuitable for agricultural purposes. However, there were some rice farms around the village and about 5 kms away there were some hill farming going on. Electricity supply came in 1981 but there was no water supply and the only water resource was the Kuut Sawaaj Pool in the northern side of the village (see Diagram 7). In the dry season, the water in the pond became muddy and salty but the villagers had no choice but to use it for drinking and washing. Some of the mini villages dug their own pond and pumped in some water from Kuut Sawaaj Pool during the rainy season for reserved supply. A census in 1981 revealed an average income per family of 28,070 baht with an annual expenditure of 21,140 baht. Huaj Haeng Village also showed a similar records of average income-expenditure.

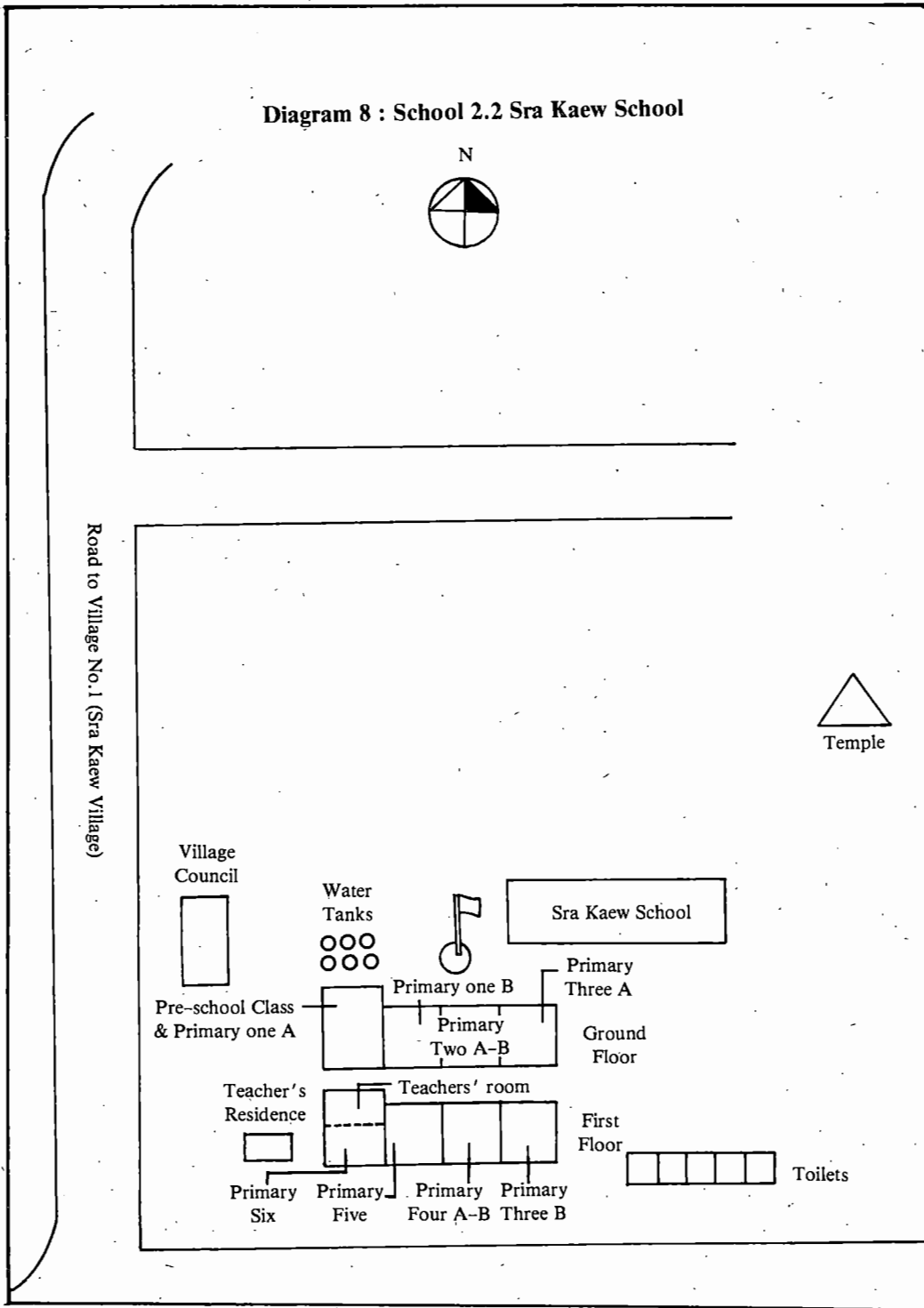
The two villages were similar in terms of occupations, general well being, transport facilities and the traditional beliefs their people shared. Leaderwise, the village-head was not respected due to his selfishness and inertia. The headman was more liked due to his outspokenness, decisiveness and initiatives. In fact he was responsible for many village project works such as the repairs of the village school, roads and bridges. However, the real leader was Maha Yai. (Maha is an informal title given to someone who had been a monk for many years). He was a distant relative to the headman. The villagers showed much respect and trust in Maha Yai. He succeeded in organizing the villagers to donate in cash and in kinds as well as free labor to build the principle building in Sra Kaew Temple of which the villagers were very proud of. They hoped it would be the biggest temple in the area. The building was not completed yet due to lack of funds. The total cost had been estimated as 3,900,000 baht but so far only 700,000 had been collected.

School 2.2 Sra Kaew

The school was established in 1945 when it used a part of the temple for classrooms. By 1965 it was offering Primary One to Primary Four. In 1955, a budget was allocated for a two storey building with eight classrooms. Then in 1977, the local council allotted more money for the alteration of the open ground floor to add more rooms to the building. So in 1978, it could offer Primary One to Primary Six. As shown in the map, the school lay further to the south of the village so it also took on children from the other villages in the south of Sra Kaew. The school complex consisted of one two storey building, one

teachers' quarter and two separate out-of-door toilets. The school had no library and Primary Six classroom was partitioned off to make room for the sick bays and the teachers' room (see Diagram 8).

Diagram 8 : School 2.2 Sra Kaew School



In 1980, budget received was 290,464 baht. This was exclusive of any construction and land investment fund. The school also received other subsidies through donations, school rents and some other contributions. This came up to 4,830 baht. The money was spend on stationary supply and some minor repairs as it was not subjected to the government strict financial regulations. Textbooks, supplements and audio-visual aids were sent with a lot of delay from the Bangkok office.

In 1980, the school offered Primary One to Primary Six. There were two classes each for Primary One to Primary Four but only one class each for Primary Five and Six. The pupil population was 271. The villagers also had asked the school to take care of 10 pre-school children and they were put in Primary One class.

In 1980, Sra Kaew School had two headmasters. Khruu Prasop had been its headmaster for 5 years before his retirement at the beginning of the second semester. He belonged to the village. After his retirement, his assistant, the 27 year old Somchai succeeded him. Khruu Somchai was also studying for a B.Ed degree. He came from a different village. Since he had taken office, Khruu Somchai would stay in the village during weekdays and returned home to his own village at weekends. Somchai was in fact very well off owning over 200 rais and having his own tractor. There were eight other teachers all under 30. Most of the teachers had received the higher certificate of education and the maximal teaching experience was 3 years. Their salaries ranged from 2,465 baht to 4,815 baht. Five teachers lived in the village and five had residence outside. Five out of the ten teachers were studying for higher qualification in the evening. Their names, sexes and ages are listed below.

Names	Sex	Age
Prasop	Male, headmaster	60
Somchai	Male	27
Boonsom	Male	27
Swang	Female	28
Theramet	Male	22
Som	Male	24
Somyot	Male	25
Pisit	Male	22
Nom	Male	24

Daily School Timetable

Students arrived the school at 7.15 and by 7.30 most of them were in school. They ran around playing; some did the cleaning of the classrooms; others watered the plants or did some weeding. The teacher on duty was the first to arrive as he had to supervise the cleaning. Then he rang the bell at 8.45; he then did the homeroom through the loudspeaker. The children then went into their classes. The on-duty-teacher then went around each class taking school rolls. When Prasop was head, the other teachers would arrive early but when

Somchai took over, they only arrived just before the first lesson began at 9.00. The more novice teachers would spend 10-15 minutes planning the lessons by studying the teacher's manual but those who had more than 5 years of teaching experience felt that they needed no lesson planning as they were well versed in the contents. In lower primary classes, the timetable was very flexible and was regulated by the pupil's pace. After the lesson presentation, the teacher would ask the pupil to do some assignment. Next he would correct it and after the correction, they would move to a new subject. For the upper primary classes, there were morning and afternoon sessions. Usually upper primary children studied two subjects, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. However, it was not infrequent to see a teacherless classroom especially when the headmaster was away or when there was a shortage of teachers. The pupils then monitored the class themselves and peer taught. In the meanwhile, other teachers would stay in the teachers' room, reading newspapers, correcting assignments or even sleeping. The teacher on duty then rang the bell at 12.00. The afternoon session started at 13.00. The school was over by 15.00 although the official time was 15.30.

Conclusion

This chapter contains the general description of the four communities on which our case study schools were sited. The first two communities namely the Nong Bua and the Klong Yaaw villages were in the central part of Thailand. They were both agricultural and were not far from the more industrialized communities. The other two communities namely Baan Huaj Haeng and Baan Sra Kaew Villages were in the northeast. They too were agricultural but the arid weather as well as the drought had created a lot of problems for the villagers. The general descriptions of the four schools under study have also been given and the next chapter will look at the various aspects of the relative quality.



CHAPTER IV

Monitoring Process Affecting the Quality in Primary School Leavers

*'.....that they can read and write and can do sums is all
that I want from my pupils.'*

In this chapter, one would like to refer back to the conceptual framework used in defining the quality in primary education. In Chapter One, we have defined it as starting with the curriculum, followed by the teaching-learning process and ending with the quality of the products which are primary school leavers. However, in the methodology used in this study, the researchers did not walk into the village with this conceptual framework as this might have a pre-deterministic effect on the findings. By actually living in the villages, we were in close contact with the people in their natural habitat, taking down recordings of things that went on before presenting them in a more organized way in our report. It was interesting to find that when asked to define 'quality of education' those concerned such as the villagers, teachers, pupils etc. were thinking in terms of learning achievement and when one asked what factors would produce the high quality in education, the answer received was the teaching-learning process and the people who implemented it. So we could see that when one compares their interpretation of what makes quality in education with our conceptual framework, the correspondence was only partial. This partiality reveals that there was a gap between the educationist's concept of education and that held by people at the giving-receiving end. In Chapter Three, we have chosen to present and explain first the concept held by those involved in education in the school-community setting as they were our on site findings. In this chapter, we will first present the learning-teaching process which are the second dimension of quality according to our conceptual framework. Then we shall try to explain the third dimension of quality in education namely the evaluation process which can be used as an indicator for the quality of our school leavers. And since we believe that the second dimension bears a causal relationship to the third, one will look at this relationship in greater details.

On the first look, this research on the quality of primary education is no different from other quantitative study of the same topic with an emphasis of the pupils' achievement. In a sense, this is true in so far as the model used in this study has similar structure to other researches. Here one is also defining the relationship between a number of independent variables and the students' achievement which is the dependent variable. However, the basic difference will lie in the explanatory analysis of the achievement. By living in the

community, not only had we seen the mechanism of the implementation process, but we also saw how one factors effected or worked against another. Thus, in this study, one is not so much interested in defining the degrees of effectiveness of each variable, but rather in revealing the mechanism that had been going on that had produced that effectiveness, or in some cases the lack of it.

In actual fact, the teaching-learning in the four rural primary schools under study, gave a great emphasis to the skill block. So in this sense, one may take the pupils' achievement scores in the skill subjects as representative of their quality. All factors under study were conducive to this achievement. However, in this research, we have paid attention to other aspects of quality such as the achievement in character formation as well as the pupils' ability to apply the knowledge they have gained through education to their ways of life and occupations. However, due to the limitation in time, these other two aspects have been insufficiently covered and one had to be content with using the finding and conclusion drawn from our study of the teaching of moral and ethics which will be presented in Chapter 5.

In the implementation process, there are six major factors which seemed to have effects on the student's achievement namely,

1. educational management
2. headmasters
3. teachers
4. teaching-learning and evaluation system
5. pupils and their parents
6. school communities

We shall be presenting these six factors by first analysing the data one has obtained from the four schools under study and presenting them in Tables 1-6. As shall be seen later on, this method of presentation will put the four schools in a comparative study and one could see that certain factors stand out rather clearly while others show insignificant differences. This, in a sense, has helped us to explain the difference in the students' achievements between each pair of schools. Cross comparison also helped to explain the difference geographically. Some factors will be presented, although they don't reveal much difference but they seemed to have effects on other factors which are themselves effective. This analysis aims at presenting the mechanism how one factor effects directly or indirectly another factor and thereby causes effectiveness or ineffectiveness in the implementation of primary education.

Educational Management Factors

Under educational management, one will look at the 4 aspects of educational management namely 1) supervision and follow-up of the implementation, 2) non-government budget and expenditure 3) teaching-learning materials and finally 4) the administrative system at the district as well as at the school cluster levels. The comparative study of the four schools gives us Table 1. below.

Table 1 : Factors effecting the educational management in the four schools under study in 1980

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Wat Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. no. of supervisory visits	2	3	1	-
2. non government budget (baht)	13,154	13,297	4,630	3,338
3. non government budget per pupil capita	86.5	93.0	15.0	12.1
4. arrival of the teaching-learning materials*	July	July	October	July

* the first term starts in May.

1. Efficiency in supervision and monitoring

Findings obtained from the study of the four schools revealed that supervision was not in accordance with the aims and objectives set by the new curriculum nor were the visits regular to be effective. Huaj Haeng School's twenty years back records showed that there was no visit made. Sra Kaew School received one in 1980. This could mean either that the schools had neglected to enter any visits made in the records or there had been none other than those recorded. However, it seemed that the schools in the central provinces of the country with better communication and transport facilities received more frequent visits i.e. thrice or twice a year. We had also studied the effectiveness of these visits. We recorded that the visit was made followed by the checking that the school records were in order. No professional advisory meeting was arranged. At Nong Bua School, a supervisor made negative comments on the teachers' methodology during one visit, but made no suggestion as to how to do it better. The school had mentioned that they had made several requests for training in teaching methods as well as the guidelines for evaluation procedures and instruments such as classroom observation sheets and directives for evaluation by the objectives but had received no answers from the supervisory unit. The latter in turn pointed out that they had not been able to make their supervision more effective for lack of funds. Another point that seemed to deserve urgent reconsideration was the potentiality of the district supervisory units to function as a body which could give professional assistance to the teachers especially in terms of the implementation of the relatively progressive curriculum. Another interesting finding was the fact that the schools were usually given advance notice of a visit in order to give it time to get the records in order for the investigation. How effective were the school internal professional supervision, which had great bearing on this problem, will be discussed when one analyses the headmaster's role in educational management.

2. Sources of non government income and expenditure

In the past, the government budget was paid to the school in kinds and not in cash. However, recently, some cash had been given to the school to buy some teaching expendible materials. However, the school did need some money to spend and the normal practice was to find other sources of income to be used for daily expenses and for any activities which the headmaster had given his approval. The sources of this non government income were donations from the public (from the temple or the school committee, teachers themselves and from the local community). The school also collected some money from rents, and from some profit made through the sale of school lunch. There was some money raised on school fairs, and the school also received donation from the people who used the school premise for social functions. This income varied in amounts depending on the socio-economic background and condition of the local community. For instance, Huaj Haeng and Sra Kaew Schools on the barren land in the northeast could raise only 3,000 baht to 5,000 a year while Nong Bua and Roong Pitaya schools managed to raise over 13,000 baht. It was interesting to study how this money was spent. Out records showed that the schools often used this money for 6 categories of expenses namely 1) teaching materials 2) office expense 3) sport equipment, 4) games and musical instruments, 5) maintenance and minor repairs and 6) miscellaneous expenses. These were expenses which could not be planned not estimated in advance. They were also urgently needed. Listed under office expenses were stencils, staplers, blackboard erasers, thinner, paper and poster colors, seeds etc. Sport equipments, games and musical instruments were never sufficiently provided by the government budget. Those the schools had were heavily used and became outworn. They should have been regulary replaced. The school, however, just could not afford to keep replacing them with their small non-government budget. It was deplorable to see the children make shift with whatever they could find to entertain themselves with. The common sports played by children were skipping over a long string of elastic bands and throwing their rubber shoes instead of the rubber rings that the school could not provide. Building maintenance, a crucial item which often demanded big budget, tended to be turned down by the government budget screening board. Thus one often sees in most rural schools, an old deserted building which are unsafe for lack of repairs and a new building being under construction. This is because it is often easier for the headmaster to request a budget for a new building. Thus when any small repairs were needed, the headmaster often used this non government income to buy the materials and obtained free labor of the janitor, other teachers or did it himself. Often, this money was spent on building more toilets, water tanks, pavements, and land levelling. Under miscellaneous expenses were small items which often added up such as travelling expenses, entertainment fund, refreshments for school visitors, newspaper subscription etc. How they added up was shown in Table 1. The highest non government budget at Nong Bua school was 93 baht per pupil capita, next highest was 86 baht at Roong Pitaya School.

3. Teaching Materials

The teachers at Sra Kaew School classified the teaching materials into three categories namely a) those officially provided by the school (through the government budget) b) those which the teachers provided or had prepared themselves and c) those which the school required that the students should provide themselves. Here under the educational management, one would confine oneself to the discussion of the official provision of teaching materials only.

3.1 Delay in the delivery of the teaching material

When this research was carried out—in the third year of the implementation of the new curriculum, the schools still did not receive the materials in time for its need in May. The teachers had not received the essential teaching aids such as teacher's manuals, lesson plans, coursebooks and recommended supplementary readings. These things were needed before the beginning of the term to allow the teachers to prepare themselves. But always, the department in charge had failed to deliver them in good time. This was one of the reasons why the teachers were forced to use the previous curriculum. However, it should be noted here that after 1980, there was no more delay in the delivery although complaints about the delay of coursebooks given on loan to needy pupils have been received. So one could say that some efforts are being made from the official sector. At Huaj Haeng School where the first batch of materials arrived on July 7th, while the second batch came on November 12th, the needy students had to buy their own books while many who could not afford went through the lessons without them and obviously understood little of what was being taught. What was delayed were not only the teaching materials but also the supply of pencils, exercise books, and school uniforms for needy pupils. Nong Bua School received the annual supply of school uniforms for needy students two months after the beginning of the first term and did not receive the supply for stationary and notebooks until the middle of the second term. In a situation like this, the burden was forced back on the parents who could ill afford it. Already, to them, education for their children are expensive. Not only that they had been deprived of extra income that the children could have earned or the free labour the parents would have at home, now they had to pay for it too. Obviously, many children went through the whole term with no stationary nor books. At Huaj Haeng School, the headmaster forgot to bring teaching materials and stationary supply from his house which was quite a distance from the school. In fact, those materials never got delivered to the school.

3.2 Incongruities among the teaching materials

a) the incongruity between the prescribed and the on-the-market teaching media and materials. In support of the new curriculum, the Department of Curriculum and Educational Technique had prepared lesson plans, teachers' manual, coursebooks and supplementary readings which corresponded closely in subject contents, teaching methodology and evaluation procedure to that recommended by the curriculum. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education also encouraged private publishers to submit for approval coursebooks

for any subjects in the new syllabus. Once the approval was given, the schools if they wished to, could use these books as an alternative to the official one. This in itself was a good policy as it encouraged competition and allowed teachers to have a wider selection to choose from. However, in practice, it was not the teachers who made the decision as they were told to use the coursebook that the province education board had selected. In a sense, it should not matter much as to who would make the decision provided that the people who did it were well versed in the curriculum and syllabi. But this was not the case. Thus when the policy of freedom of choice was introduced at the early stage, the result was confusion if not chaos in one of the following ways:

1) Private publishers more often than not failed to provide detailed lesson plans and teacher's manuals which should have accompanied the coursebooks as these two items were usually commercially unprofitable to produce. In provinces where the Education Committees had chosen private publisher's coursebooks, the teachers were at a loss as to how to make use of the books as the manuals and lesson plans supplied by the Ministry of Education were of no use to them as the two coursebooks were completely unrelatable. The more serious problem was the lack of recommended instruments for evaluation which was compulsory at the end of each lesson in the new curriculum. Thus the teachers in this provinces chose the easiest way out—they went back to using the previous curriculum which they knew so well that they could adapt, integrate or modify to their real needs. Another point often ignored by the province education authority was the fact that the private publisher's coursebooks were usually more expensive than those provided by the ministry.

2) Often, there was a delay on the province educational authority's part to inform the schools about the choices they had made. Most schools would decide on the coursebooks for next year by the end of the third term as it was not possible to contact the students during the long vacation and it would be too late to leave the decision until the beginning of the new term as the books may have been out of print. In many cases, the province authority did not inform the schools until the beginning of the new term. In the meantime, the headmaster was forced to decide on the books for reason already stated. This was the case with the four schools under study. All the headmasters, not able to wait any longer, decided to use the ministerial coursebooks on the grounds that they corresponded closely with the syllabi only to be informed three months later that the province authority had decided on another coursebook prepared by one of the private publishers. Thus the headmasters were landed with a situation where they could not retrieve their order as the ministerial books had been distributed among the pupils. The problem was increased by the fact that the private publishers did not provide any free books for needy students so the teachers found that they were landed with different sets of coursebooks, teacher manuals, etc. all in one classroom. This is a classic example of a good policy being mishandled and thus created a ludicrous situation. It should be noted that the price of private publishers coursebooks sometimes cost 50–100% more than that provided by the ministry.

b) **Teaching material supplied to the schools were often irrelevant to their needs.** In 1978, parts of the teaching materials were supplied by the UNICEF but some of these materials were not very useful to the schools. For instance, they were sent tamburines, drums and animal rubber seals. The schools could make use of the drums but no one in the schools knew how to play the tamburines nor what to do with the rubber seals. The two items were last seen safely kept in a locker. At Huaj Haeng School, the headmaster would like the pupils to learn to play the xylophones but had neither the instruments nor the teacher. So he ingeniously devised a plan whereby he got the janitor from the district secondary school to bring his personal xylophone and taught at Huaj Haeng School while the headmaster in return offered to go and give lessons in photography and fireworks making at the school the janitor belonged to.

3.3 Inadequate supply of learning materials and school uniforms. One may well question why there were never enough learning materials for needy children when the condition was that they were on loan to the pupils only during the school year. We have got the answer while staying at the schools. Roong Pitaya gave away the books to the first batch of children and thus found itself with no books left at the arrival of the next bunch of students in the following year. It was possible how the teachers could have this misconception about the loan because of the inconsistency one found in the coursebooks' format. The coursebook's for the Thai subject, for instance, required that the students wrote on the pages and blank spaces provided by the coursebooks thus making them useless for the subsequent loaners. At Hauj Haeng School, the teachers failed to read the instruction on how to use the coursebooks in arithmetic and allowed the students to use them to do the exercises in- instead of using the workbooks which had also been provided. At the end of the term, coursebooks were returned but they were in such deplorable conditions- as no training on how to conserve the public property had been given to the pupils. Many pages were torn or scribbled on. We also found that not all the pupils classified as 'needy' by the teachers received the materials. As for the provided school uniforms, it was found that they often did not fit the children. True, this is a point of no great significance but it revealed some wastage that could have been avoided. Also one must emphasize that the misfit uniform did have an adverse effect on some needy pupils who felt that the misfit uniform put a label on their economic status in the school. Many such cases had been found at Nong Bua School.

3.4 Inequal distribution of educational material supply. Although it was the government policy that the subsidy in the form of educational material should have been distributed according to the need in each area and province, in practice, favoritism prevailed and some schools whose headmasters had good contact with the province educational committee were able to get more than their fair share. This was the case found at Sra Kaew School as well as at Huaj Haeng School. The headmasters there used the contact they had to secure a surplus of teaching material and construction budget (which was very difficult to come by) for the schools.

4. District and inter-school cluster administration

4.1 Abuses in the exercise of authority by district educational officers were widespread and causing a great deal of adverse effect among the schools in the district. One of the most common practice was a request for teachers to help the district on jobs which had no connection with the person's professional ability. This was often done without any consideration given to the inconvenience it was causing the school. This was the case with Somsak at Roong Pitaya School. The account given by him must be read with some scrutiny. However, it reflected the inconvenience caused by the misuse of authority. Somsak was transferred to Roong Pitaya School to replace the retiring Decha. Somsak believed that he was being punished by this transfer as a result of the dispute he had with the district educational officers. Roong Pitaya was a small school in remote area with little transport facility. Khruu Somsak did not like the punishment nor the inconvenience of working in the school so he managed to seek permission for a temporary transfer to another school. Thus he was still listed as head of Roong Pitaya School without having to work there. The School could not do without a headmaster so it nominated Khruu Rachanee acting headmaster. So Khruu Rachanee was the headmistress as well as the form teacher for Primary One. Administrative duty required Khruu Rachanee to be away attending numerous district educational meetings so she changed her class with Khruu Ramphaa in Primary Five. The latter, with no training for post kindergarten class, had to teach in Primary One. And all these problems had been caused by a dispute between Khruu Somsak and the district officer.

4.2 Failure to use teacher's promotion as monitoring instrument. Often, the teacher's annual promotion was based not on the teacher's ability in teaching which was what he had been paid to do, but more on his social adaptability and his human relationship. Thus a headmaster would prefer to do the work -away from his school- at the district office where he would be in closer contact with his superior. In the meanwhile his school was left adrift. This had often caused bad morale among teachers at school who needed a leader to give them assistance administratively as well as professionally. At the school level, this criteria of promotion also prevailed and the headmaster often promoted teachers who had participated most in the school activities and who had good relationship with other teachers. Thus those teachers who had devoted themselves to teaching felt rather discouraged and saw less and less need for improving the school teaching quality, since this would mean nothing to the headmaster.

Conclusion

Factors in educational management which effected the quality of education were school supervision and monitoring, sources of non-government income and their expenditure, teaching-learning materials and the administration both at the district and the school cluster levels.

The fact was that the supervisors' visits to the schools were infrequent and irregular. The visits were used to monitor the administration rather than the professional skills as

can be seen in the checking of school records during the visits. This had created a great deal of inertia among the teachers and was dangerous at the time when there had just been a change in the national curriculum. At this time, one just could not expect the teachers to have been well trained to use the new curriculum and it could be expected that the teachers would look to the supervisors for any professional training. There was also the transitional period when the National Primary Education Commission was being set up. It seemed both the General Education supervisors and the Ministry of Interior Affairs supervisors were expecting that the other would take care of the primary teachers training and supervisions as well as its monitoring. Thus the primary teachers were left having no government official bodies to monitor the implementation of the new curriculum. Inefficient supervisory and monitoring systems in return caused inefficiency in the teaching which effected the quality of primary education.

The schools benefited a great deal from the non-government income as it gave them freedom of spending and this had helped the school to cope with contingency plans as well as to purchase what were really relevant to the schools' needs. The income was used for teaching expendible materials, sport equipments, minor repairs and building repairs. The greater non-government income a school had, its headmaster had greater opportunity to organize learning activities. Thus this source of income works like lubrication oil to the school operation. We could see how Roong Pitaya and Nong Bua Schools which were in communities with better economic setting received greater non-government income and could organize more activities for the pupils. True, one could not say that these two schools have produced greater quality in education ; but at least one could see that they had greater potentiality to do so than their counterparts in the northeast.

Teaching-learning materials did have a direct effect on the students' achievement. Delay in delivery or in selecting the coursebooks each year, the irrelevancy of the materials to the school needs, the inadequate amount of educational supply did produce an adverse effect on the teaching-learning process. In most rural schools, there are two categories of learners, the needy students and the normal type. The delay in delivery and in making selection meant that the needy ones would not receive the assistance from the government as well as a tremendous loss of government fund that was wasted on the irrelevant subsidies. The delay in the selection effected both types of students. If the coursebooks selected by the school were different from the ones selected by the province authority, the parents would have to buy a new set of coursebooks if the school agreed to the province's selection. But if the school decided to use the coursebooks it had selected, it could be accused by the province for not complying with the regulation. The different selections would also create problems in the coordination in terms of supervision, evaluation both at the district and the school cluster levels. Also found in the schools were teaching equipments which were not relevant to the local needs while the schools had to use the non government income to get what they actually needed. However, in schools that had no extra income, this would not be possible and the schools would just have to do without the equipments. This inequality in the distributions of school crucial equipment would obviously reduce any efficiency in educational management.

The last factor in educational management is the administration both at the district and the school cluster levels. Our finding revealed that abuses of authority did have a great negative effect on school management when it was being used for inappropriate permanent or temporary transfer as it interfered with the guarantee for an adequate number of teaching staff. Favoritism and non-professional criteria used in determining teachers' promotion decreased the teachers' morale and in turn, effected their teaching quality. However, it was a relief to find some trace of improvement through the working of the school clusters which had given the schools more power and authority. But this newly created organization still needed badly the provision of the infra-structure and budget to operate upon and this question should be addressed to immediately.

Headmaster factors

The most important mechanism which sets off the working in a school is its headmaster. However, there are factors which originate from the headmaster and directly or indirectly affect the quality of the school's education. They are listed below in Table 2

Table 2 : Headmasters' Factors

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. Age	29	38	27	52
2. Teaching load	yes	yes	no	no
3. School attendance (% of school working days)	83	80	45	42
4. Previous professional training	yes,	yes	yes	no
5. Qualification	LCE*	HCE*	B.Ed	HCE
6. Concurrent duty on village council	no	yes	yes	yes
7. Relationship with staff	good	poor	good	poor
8. Relationship with villagers	poor	good	good	poor
9. No. of years in office	1	15	1/2	6
10. No. of headmasters in past 5 years	4	1	2	1

*LCE = lower certificate of education

*HCE = higher certificate of education.

1. The headmaster's administration

This heading is a generic term covering many aspects of the headmaster's job such as the amount of the time he spent on his duty, his operational procedure and the quality of his administration.

1.1 Inadequate time devoted to the school. In his capacity as the school principle administrator, the headmaster already has many duties attached to his office such as attending the district educational meetings, procuring the budget allocated for the school teachers' salary, attending the school cluster meetings, etc. However, there are also many other jobs which are his duties by position such as acting as secretary to the village council for development projects, member of the committee for the by-election and also member of the administrative committee for the school cluster. In our study of the four schools, the headmasters there seemed to vary in the amount of time consumed by these other jobs at the expense of the time that should have been devoted to the school administration and organization. Khruu Praneet, the headmaster of Huaj Haeng School spent most time outside the school. Out of the school's 106 working days, he spent only 86 days there if one was to believe the school records. But in actual fact, the number of the attendance was much fewer than those recorded. Rural job-opportunity development did and still does take up a great deal of the headmaster's time from his proper duty and more details on this disregard of job specification could be found in Chantavanich 1981. Needless to say, the lack of the headmaster's close and regular supervision and monitoring was one factor which affected the school educational quality.

1.2 Unqualified headmasters

a) Inadequate administrative and professional training. Most headmasters had come to this post through their seniority in the government service. The only administrative training for the headmastership was the experience they had had while working under the former headmasters. No professional criteria have ever been prescribed for the promotion to this post. Thus most had obtained the chair without any official orientation to meet the job's specifications, responsibilities and techniques in the execution of the job. Some of them, namely Khruu Somchai at Sra Kaew had been acting headmasters before taking up the position. What was most deplorably lacking was the professional training, a great obstacle which had hindered them from increasing the school academic standard since the headmaster could give no professional advice to the teachers. It could also prevent him from effectively assigning the teaching responsibility to those who were more qualified. The lack of professional training was also a hindering factor to any measure in teaching-learning assessment and evaluation which one found was almost non-existent in all the four schools under study. The headmaster's job consisted of three responsibilities mainly executive responsibility, professional responsibility and administrative responsibility. Judging from the four schools, the headmasters were at their weakest in professional responsibility and tended to give more care and attention to the administrative responsibility such as keeping records of the teachers' and students' school attendance, of school equipment inventories as these jobs provided written -hence concrete- evidence of his work and were also often inspected by the supervisors on their school visits. On the other hand, professional achievement was something more abstract with no tangible results and so was often neglected by the supervisors on school inspections. This, together with the lack of professional qualification among the headmasters, had made the headmasters underestimate his professional responsibility

to the point that they often forgot that this was one of their duties. In fact, it was their first and foremost responsibility for producing a good educational standard in their schools. It had been found that headmasters who also taught were more academically qualified and those who regularly attended the inservice-teacher's trainings were in a better position to give the other teachers professional advices as in the case of Khruu Rachanee and Khruu Somchart while Khruu Praneet, Khruu Somchai and Khruu Prasop in the other two schools were in no position to do so.

b) Lack of long term planning and systematic supervision. Long term planning was almost non-existent in most schools. The best one found was a one year plan which was usually applicable to building construction only. However, one might sympathize with the headmasters for this lack of plans, as all decisions for funding and all other sources of income were made at the district level and this had made the headmasters feel that any long term planning would be futile as they lacked the power and means to realize any plan made in advance. Close inspection revealed on the other hand that the headmasters were not really qualified to make any long term plan judging from those that they had had the power and fund to realize. The headmasters seemed to prefer to engage himself in small unrelated plans.

1.3 Lack of close monitoring system of the school teaching programs. A great deal of the headmasters' time was spent outside the schools and most headmasters made little use of the time they did actually make themselves available at the schools. Monitoring was carried out just to make sure that nothing was out of regulations-like seeing to the teachers making lesson plans and filling in forms for records of evaluations. These records were however usually faked and bore very little truth to what actually happened in the school. But the records were accepted for their face value by the headmasters. One of our observations gives the record of a teacher at Huaj Haeng School asking the headmaster to certify this workload and assessment of his teaching achievement in order to obtain his promotion, the headmaster complied to the teacher's request while grumbling,

"I know that all he had written here are lies but have to turn blind eyes to them all, otherwise they won't get their promotion."

Another side of the coin could be seen at Sra Kaew School where the teachers accused their headmaster of negligence on grounds of his many absences from school and used this as an excuse for working inefficiently. We recorded the situation at Sra Kaew School during the interim period when the former headmaster had retired and the newly appointed Khruu Somchai, his replacement, still had not taken up the position as he had been requested to help with the work at the district education office. This was on our records:

"...On the last day of his term in office, the school organized a farewell party for the retired headmaster, Khruu Prasop. After this day the school ran havoc for lack of administrative leader. No classes took place in the afternoon sessions. Higher primary school teachers sent their students off to do some gardening and weeding unattended while they sat reading newspapers or cartoons while those in the lower primary classes just sat talking in groups. When

asked for reason for not teaching, one answer was "how can one teach with just 2 teachers left in the whole school?" Another answer came from Khruu Tin "...I don't want to appear to be better than my neighbours." All these reflected the teachers' lack of self discipline and sense of responsibility. The whole school ceased to function at the departure of its leader. We found children giggling and laughing in front of the staff room so went to enquire. There we found three teachers snoozing away. We were informed that the teachers had spent the night before celebrating the Rural Education Day and were too sleepy and tired with a hangover to teach.'

Even with close supervision from the headmasters, one can see how difficult it was for him to cope with these irresponsibilities and lack of self discipline. Under these conditions, one wondered how primary schools did operate at all or whether it was possible to increase the quality of education in Thai primary schools. Our study of the headmasters revealed that many headmasters had neglected completely to monitor the teachers' work and concentrated on fund raising or obtaining more teaching materials, school buildings and school equipment. Somehow, they seemed to manage to convince themselves that these would compensate for their failing in academic responsibility. They seemed to have overlooked one fact that all these teaching materials would be useless unless the teacher did their job i.e. teach. Khruu Prasop, Khruu Pranet and Khruu Somchai seemed to belong to this group of headmasters.

1.4 Headmaster's responsibility

a) **Headmaster's preference for non-professional jobs as they were more interesting and money making.** In most rural schools, headmastership was tenable until retirement. A headmaster who was not interested in professional responsibility could still carry on his job by concentrating on other responsibilities—some of which had nothing to do with the schools but came with the headmaster's position. Among his other duties were administrative routine jobs like attending the school clusters, test preparation meetings, procuring the teachers' salary, attending district meetings, obtaining school subsidized materials. Headmasters with a sense of responsibility usually regard the school jobs as having priority and would assign the non-professional duties to other teachers or try to avoid them when he was allowed to do so. This was the case with Khruu Somchai who resigned from the post of secretary to the village council and sent Khruu Poon to attending the meeting on his behalf. But many other headmasters seemed to enjoy this non-professional work as they found these other jobs more interesting, more rewarding while yielding instant results. Some of the rewards came in form of personal or financial benefits such as the remuneration paid at each meeting. Also it was at these meetings that one came into contact with those in power who could authorize their promotion or bestow on them certain privilege. It was noticeable that the headmasters of this type rarely participated as chairmen of the school cluster – a job that tended to make heavy demand on their time— when this group activities did directly benefit the schools in terms of teaching, testing, evaluation and teaching methodology. To them, this group activity offered no tangible and profitable returns.

b) Emphasis on short term goal of education. Education is a long term process which yields intangible and often imperceptible results. However, one could not help but be alarmed that the majority of the headmasters under study were not interested in the long term result but only concentrated in the immediate annual success rate among their children. Success to them meant all students passing the test at what ever cost. In Primary Six, all pupils are required to sit for school cluster examination papers and it is so essential for the school to have their pupils all passing the examination that some headmasters – like Khruu Prasop – had instructed the teacher who administered the test to give the answers to any students who could not do the tests. Prior to his headmastership, Khruu Prasop had been teaching in Primary One which was the class which deserved the best teacher to lay down good foundations and positive learning attitudes among the pupils. It was discovered that the students he had taught in primary One, when they were in Primary Four and Five, were illiterate. This meant that they did not obtain the basic reading skills in Primary One and that the teachers in subsequent years did no remedial teaching. khruu Prasop realized the situation but did nothing about it. This may explain why Khruu Prasop gave the instruction to the teacher to help the pupils cheat. We also found that a headmaster was entitled to a double promotion if none of his students fail the school cluster examination. Unfortunately, this promotion incentive tends to encourage more dishonesty and corruption among many headmasters.

2. Headmaster's lack of human relationship

2.1 Headmaster's lack of good relationship with teachers, students and people in school community. Having the sole authority in a school often makes the headmaster – like Khruu Somchai, Khruu Prasop and Khruu Praneet – dogmatic or even tyrannical. Khruu Praneet often held back information about the teacher's opportunity for further study. Khruu Prasop, inspite of the teachers' protest, ordered the Waai Khruu Ceremony (when the students pay formal respect to the teachers) on the spot with no advanced notice as he – on seeing his nephew leaving their house that day with the flowers, candle and jossticks– remembered that the school had not had one yet. Khruu Somchai insisted on putting the rubbish burner in front of the school building and failed to inform the other teachers of his reason for doing so (which was to remind both the teachers and students to keep the school clean.) Through lack of communication, he had made them resent his order. One of the headmasters' problems was that they were not in close contact with the students so did not get to know them nor their problems well enough to prevent problems or to seek remedy. He did not know that the children he had taught could not read nor write until it was too late and to order the teacher to tell the children answers to examination papers would not make the children literate overnight. One instrument used in our research was an assignment in which we asked the children to write about their headmasters. The children's writing showed signs of intimidation and detachment with an exception of one school: they wrote very warmly about Khruu Rachanee who was acting headmistress at Roong Pitaya School:

'...we like Khruu Rachanee because she is a very good teacher. She makes things easy to understand. She dresses well. She is kind and not very strict. She speaks also politely and can also sing.'

There was also a breakdown in communication between the headmaster and the local community due to a lack of good publicity. However, we shall later on elaborate more on this topic.

2.2 Favoritism in the teachers' annual promotion

Promotions had not always gone to the most deserved as the headmaster had tended to use personal criteria in selecting who should get the double annual promotion. Reports came from all four schools about the subjective discrimination in the promotion. Khruu Praneet at Huaj Haeng School and Khruu Prasop at Sra Kaew School were strongly attacked on this ground. According to the teachers, Khruu Somchai received a double promotion last year for being a lackey to Khruu Prasop although his performance in teaching was rather poor. Khruu Praneet penalized Khruu Chomchai by refraining from asking for her promotion on the grounds that she had taken more days than allowed by the regulation while in the same year, Khruu Surachai had also taken more leave than normally allowed but still received his annual promotion. The teachers at the school postulated that it was because Khruu Chomchai, had openly and strongly opposed the headmaster (Khruu Chomchai herself was rather inefficient in her work). Khruu Surachai escaped the same penalty because he was a close friend to the headmaster. This accusedly subjective and unjust promotion inevitably created distrust and bad morale on the teachers and discouraged them from devoting themselves to the job as the school administrative leader had shown no recognition for this kind of achievement. One also found that devotion to teaching could sometimes cause negative results such as envy from colleagues as well as resentment from the headmaster as experienced by Khruu Tin in Sra Kaew School (see more details under teachers.)

3. Headmasters' age, experience and qualifications

'A rural school teacher reaches the pinnacle of his life when he becomes a headmaster.'

This saying by Khruu Sak is widely accepted by all other teachers in the school. It reflects the fact that seniority is one important criterion for headmastership. However, our research found the headmasters under study ranging widely in age. There were younger ones like Khruu Rachanee, Khruu Somchai and Khruu Decha. On the other hand, one also met the elderly ones verging on retirement like Khruu Prasop and Khruu Praneet. We also found that age was an important factor for determining the headmaster's efficiency. Younger headmasters were active and alert with greater sense of responsibility and greater enthusiasm for improving the school quality. They were also more open to the teachers' recommendations and held better human relationship, while older headmasters were more inert, unconscientious, detached to both teachers and pupils. They also had a greater tendency to be more dictatorial -in other words- the so-called 'burned out teachers'...waiting to receive pension on retiring.

However, age is one of the most important determining factor for the youths are more adaptable to changes and one found Khruu Prasop opposing strongly to the implementation of the new curriculum without any attempt to understand its principles, philosophy or structural design. This new form of change offered threats to those already lacking academic confidence. At one school cluster meeting at Sra Kaew School, its headmaster suggested after a discussion on the use of the teacher's manuals:

'...who needs the teacher's manuals? We're better off without them. burn them.'

At the end of the first term when the researchers had moved into this school for data collection, Khruu Prasop gave teachers instruction to prepare the end of term-final examination and took no heed of the teachers' information that - according to the new curriculum, there was no need for end-of-term examinations as sub tests had been regularly administered and students' weaknesses diagnosed for remedial work all through the term. So the teachers had to prepare and use the end-of term examination papers. Here is a case where we find that past teaching experience did not help to make Khruu Prasop a competent academic adviser although it may have helped him to enter the school records in the formats that would be acceptable to the district supervisors. Also his past experience had taught him that the rate of students' failure must be decreased at whatever cost if he was to have a double promotion. But all these practices were causing poor educational standard in his school. In a way, it was rather unfair to criticize Khruu Prasop without considering what facilities were available for him to adapt himself to all the changes that the new curriculum had brought about. In our finding, the only two trainings he had had and was highly proud of was the Woodbadge Boyscout Training, the certificate for which he had framed and hung up in his sitting room.

In a way, a degree qualification alone, did not always make the headmaster more academically equipped in his administration although it certainly helped to broaden his scope and enabled him to keep in touch with educational progress. True, one could say that there was no need for a degree teacher in the primary school. In fact, if one compares a headmaster with a B.Ed. to another teacher who has graduated with a certificate in teaching, one may say that the teacher with the certificate would know more about the technique and the use of innovation than the headmaster did. But higher qualification did give the headmaster's extra confidence and put him in a better position to give academic and non academic advices to his staff. Thus a good qualification can contribute a great deal in the headmaster's leading role in the school. Khruu Decha - an ex-headmaster at Roong Pitaya School with a degree, was, in the eyes of the teachers, the local people and the researchers a good headmaster. However, no one would say that his work had excelled that achieved by Khruu Nong, an ex-headmaster at Nong Bua School (who had moved to Krong Yaaw School) who only had a higher certificate in education. Khruu Nong was widely accepted and esteemed by the teachers, students and local people so much so that he had become legendary for being the teacher's model of excellence whenever there was a discussion on the quality of a good headmaster.

4. Duration of the headmaster's term in office

A study of the five years back records of the four schools showed that two had always had the same headmasters namely Nong Bua and Huaj Haeng Schools while Sra Kaew School had had two. The ex-headmaster, Khruu Prasop had retired while this research was in progress so the appointment of the present one was made. At Roong Pitaya School, there were in fact three headmasters (see Table 3) and in one of the teachers' own words:

“This is my third year here and it's the third headmaster the school now has.”

A change in administration is good for a school but not a frequent change, Roong Pitaya School was on its way to development and expansion under the first headmaster, Khruu Decha, who had laid down a strong foundation and would have turned it into a good school had he stayed to build up what he had started. On the other hand, Huaj Haeng School had had Khruu Prasop as headmaster for 30 years and his office had been replaced by Khruu Praneet who had been in office for 7 years when this research was carried out. The long term office tended to cause not only inertia, but also lack of improvement and innovation. Moreover, it tends to encourage the headmaster to become dictatorial as we found with Khruu Prasop who – on the verge of reaching retirement – was confronted with a protest march by the school teachers which caused him a great bitterness and resentment.

Conclusion

The headmaster factors affecting quality of education in a school were : his administration, his human relationship, his age, experience and academic qualification and the duration of his term.

The research findings show that the headmasters did not spend enough time working in their schools due to other duties outside the schools. Some of these duties are theirs but many are theirs by appointment or are attached to the office of headmaster. When the headmasters were not often seen around the schools, the teachers tended to have problems with self discipline. They also needed a leader to take action when a decision or a solution to a problem is needed. Moreover, it has been found that the headmasters did not have enough professional skills nor the executive skills for long term planning. So they could not be useful to the staff professionally. The headmasters tended to devote themselves to the more routine document works. The lack of these two skills effects the efficiency running of the school and the standard of education. There was not enough supervision nor monitoring neither inside nor from outside the schools. So the teaching-learning process was solely under each teacher's responsibility. The headmaster's sense of responsibility was not as good as one would have liked. They tended to choose to do only work which they were interested in or got some remuneration in return eventhough when the job was not directly related to the office. We shall see that different headmasters used different principles in their job. Some were concerned about the children education while other only wanted

to see the children passing the final achievement examination even though they did not really have the ability to. These second type certainly would have a negative effect on the quality of the school. When the headmaster is not on good team with his teachers, his pupils and the people in the school community, there could be a negative effect on the children's learning achievement. The distance between the headmaster and the teachers could create poor morale, and lack of sense of direction. The teachers would then just carry on doing the work in a routine way. Worse, one finds that some headmasters abused his authority and use personal relationship as criterion for teacher's promotion. This really created a negative atmosphere to the teaching learning process. The distance between him and the people in the community would result in a lack of cooperation which would also prevent the school having the coordinating role for the community. Moreover, a lack of parents cooperation could result in lack of communication which would help the students in the learnings. The distance between him and the students meant that he would not be informed of a problems until it was too late to remedy.

The headmaster's age, experience and qualification all effect the learning achievement. Age and experience tended to have a positive correlation. That is to say that an older headmaster would have greater experience. However, our findings show that age and experience may have a negative effect on the efficiency of education as the older and more experienced they were, the less enthusiastic and the more dictatorial they tended to become. The experience gained was used more to facilitate working condition than for improving of the working condition and situation. For instance, a headmaster may use his experience to help a teacher taking longer leave than normally allowed for if he was to be entitled to an annual promotion when he should have used the same skill to try to obtain an adequate number of staff members so that there would be one teacher in each class. Moreover, for a headmaster over 50, the experience he had tend to work against the implementation of the new curriculum with its different educational precepts. In terms of qualification, a degree did not help a headmaster much in his administrative or professional skills but it helps adding confidence and enhance his leadership in a school. Hence a degree bore no correlation to any increase in the quality of education. But this is not true of all other teacher's qualification.

Duration in the office had a great effect on the school administration. Short term office over 1 or 2 years did not help increasing the efficiency in a school but the longer a headmaster stayed the better it was, provided that the stay was not too long. Those who stayed in one school over ten years tended to get inert and used to being dictatorial. Too short or too long a term of headmastership effects the working of the teachers, the school and consequently the standard achievement of the students.

Teacher Factors

The teacher factor effecting the quality of rural primary education consists of the followings

Table 3 : Teacher factors in the four schools in 1980

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. Total no. of teachers (inclusive of the headmaster)	7	8	10	9
2. Ratio of teachers' qualification (LCE:HCE1:HCE2:B.Ed)	0:1:5:0	3:1:3:1	4:4:2:0	2:2:5:0
3. Ratio of teachers' age over 30	0	1:3	1:10	12
4. Ratio of teachers with 10 years experience	0	1:3	1:10	1:3
5. Ratio of male : female teachers	1:5	1:2	9:1	1:2
6. Ratio of single : married teachers	1:5	1:1	1:1	1:8
7. Ratio of teachers with preference for the teaching career	0	1:2	1:10	1:9
8. Degrees of teacher's sense of responsibility	high	high	fair	poor
9. One teacher per classroom over the year	yes	no(1)	no	yes
10. Ratio of teachers with second career	1:6	1:8	1:10	1:3
11. % of working days out of 200	90	94	86	91
12. No of teachers leaving in past 5 years (1975-1980)	5	4	6	1
13. Teachers' morale	quite-high	quite-high	poor	poor
14. Ratio of teachers residing in village	1:2	1:2	1:2	1:2
15. Ratio of teachers furthering higher education	1:3	1:3	1:2	0
16. Teacher's economic status	not enough income	in debt	in debt	not enough income

(1) the headmistress was also a form teacher.

1. The quality of the teachers

1.1 Teaching qualification and experience. Thias and Carnoy (1974) found that teaching degrees among teachers do not correlate with high learning achievement among their students but, in fact contrary to what was previously believed, did have an adverse effect on the students' achievement. What usually happened was : once a teacher in a small and remote primary school has obtained a degree, what he does next is to seek a transfer to a better school or to a secondary school which offers better facility and opportunity. The teachers in the four remote schools under study who had obtained the B.Ed. degree through studying for the evening classes from the Teachers Training Colleges while working in the schools had nearly all left or having their request for transfer undergoing consideration. These four schools were small, and situated in the remote areas of the provinces. However, according to Khruu Decha, headmaster at Roong Pitaya School who himself had a teaching degree, the extra mural degree obtained was not very useful to

primary schools as this degree had no teaching practicum as one of its compulsory requirement. In his opinion,

“...at this primary level, teachers (without a degree) can do their job well if they use all their potentiality. In actual fact, one is using less than half of what one had been professionally trained at the Teachers Training College in his execution of the job.”

He agreed with the researchers that the teaching practice (practicum) was more essential than the academic training in subject content and this was sadly lacking in the extra mural degree which gave more emphasis on cognitive skill. In fact, in most teachers' opinion, one could always better oneself academically and independently in one's own free time if facilities had been provided in terms of information and resources. Both Khruu Decha and the researchers also agreed that what makes a good teacher was his perseverance, his sense of responsibility and his potentiality which matter more than a degree qualification.

1.2 Teacher's age and sex. The teacher's age bore no direct correlation to the students' achievement although there was a tendency for older teachers to be more inert. Khruu Sak and Khruu Ladda, both over 40, were very active while Khruu Surachai who was 58 was completely burnt out. On the other hand, one found Khruu Chomchai who was only 34 regarded teaching as a routine work. However, it had been found that a school with little age gap between staff members tended to show a higher working co-ordination and better inter-personal relationship. Sra Kaew School was the case in particular. Its staff members consisted mainly of young male teachers with an age range of 22-28. They called themselves 'the young male teachers soaked in debt'. The school had certainly benefited a great deal from their active working team which had made Sra Kaew School a better qualified school than Huaj Haeng School with 5 teachers (out of 9) over 30 (see Table 3). Again one found Roong Pitaya School better than Nong Bua and the age range among the teachers there was also much lower than that in Nong Bua School, although qualificationwise, Nong Bua had teachers with higher qualification. Thus one might conclude that teachers with less than 10 years teaching experience were more enthusiastic in their job than the older ones. However, one must not forget that this research was being conducted during a transitional period when the new curriculum was being implemented. At such a time, older teachers could no longer use profitably the teaching experience they had had in coping with the changing and this might have been the real reason for their inertia rather than their age differences. Sexwise, married woman teachers with children under 5 were most inefficient due to their maternal duties. This group of teachers tended to miss classes or was forced to bring their infants into the classrooms since they could not afford to employ a wet-nurse. This normal practice inevitably effected and interfered with the students' learning.

1.3 Teachers' motivation for choosing a teaching career and their working attitude. These 2 factors are highly relevant to the teachers' behaviour and quality. A study of the teachers' personal records showed that the majority of them had had no vocational call in

becoming teachers and worse, they also has a rather negative attitude to the job they had landed themselves with. At Roong Pitaya School, one found only one teacher- Khruu Kalaya- who became a teacher because she liked children and thought that this job might have suited her temperament -as it certainly did- as she was patient, polite and good with children. The parents agreed with the researcher's conclusion that she was the best teacher in the school. But when one compares Khruu Kalaya with the less efficient teachers in the same school, one found no significant differences in terms of family, socio-economic background nor in their teaching experience or academic qualification. The only difference seemed to be in the devotion, ethics, and personal character. At Nong Bua, one found the 40 year olds Khruu Sak also a good and responsible teacher and he was also the only teacher who had chosen the career because of his preference for teaching to his previous job at the district irrigation office. His reason for trying to do his job well was, in his own words,

'It is better to live with the people's respect than with their curses.'

Table 3 showed that at Nong Bua School no one had become a teacher out of his preference for the teaching career but some had become attached to it later on in their career as found in the case of the headmaster, Khruu Sak, Khruu Ladda and Khruu Poon.

1.4 The teachers' sense of responsibility. Whatever their age, academic qualification or attitude to the teaching career, there is one element which could determine the teachers' efficiency and this is his sense of responsibility. The study of Table 3 revealed that the teachers in the central part of Thailand which was more developed and was under closer surveillance from the central administration had greater sense of duty and responsibility than the teachers in Huaj Haeng and Sra Kaew Schools in the northeast. (Their higher morale may have reinforced their sense of responsibility and this will be the topic of discussion for us later on. The teachers at Nong Bua had no vocational call for their job but they still felt that they have a responsibility for their classroom. Thus on a late arrival to school one day, we heard Khruu Cha-oom telling her colleagues:

'...My legs shook and I felt like fainting but I had to teach as I was already an hour late and the students had already missed one lesson. Never mind, I could rest when they do their exercises.'

At Roong Pitaya and Nong Bua Schools, one found no recording of the sight of teachers falling asleep in the staff room -which we recorded at Sra Kaew school nor was there any records of incidence of teachers getting drunk or moonlighting with another job as found at Huaj Haeng School.

2. The teachers' duties. In a study of the part played by the teachers, it is not enough to look at their personal quality only but one need to look at the system they operate in and interact with. A teacher is a civil servant who has to meet the specifications required

of them as a teacher. Whether the teachers can meet this requirement and how efficiently they could do their job is the topic of this section.

2.1 The teachers' job specifications. As a rule, a teacher in a rural school is responsible for one class as the form teacher who takes care of all subjects. So one rarely finds any teacher with a specific training for a particular subject in the lower primary education. A teacher at this level is required to teach all subjects whether he has had any training for them or not. (However, it was noticeable that, due to the government's decision to decrease the number of lower certificate of education teacher graduates, most of the newly appointed teachers had had training in the higher certificate of education and had been trained to major in one subject specification. Thus these teachers who had been specifically trained had to reluctantly teach all the 4 experience blocks in the lower primary classes without any training for it. On top of the responsibility he has for their class, the teachers also do other jobs assigned by the headmaster such as supervising sick rooms and library, accompanying the students on school outings, guarding duty, paperworks, keeping school records, roll call, students' health cards and reports, preparing testing and assessment, co-ordinating and participating in school cluster group work, as well as in the school extra curriculum activities on special occasions such as religious or national occasions, lesson planning, material preparation, remedial teaching, and probationing the absent students. There were also other occasional works assigned by the district office such as monitoring the parliamentary election or entertaining important officials from Bangkok.

To see the picture more clearly, this was a description of one day work done by a teacher as recorded by our field workers:

'In the morning, if he is on duty, he has to arrive earlier than all the other teachers to supervise the students until the time for the lining up when he rings the bell and sees to the students' paying respect to the national flag while they sing the national song. This is followed by homeroom; he will accompany the students to their classroom which he is also responsible for and sees that the students clean the classroom properly. There may be an occasional inspections of the students' nails, teeth and hair before any teaching starts. The lesson plan has been prepared by the teacher during the previous evening when he was at home. The actual teaching starts with a general concept outline, followed by examples or illustrations and the learning assessment through questioning or giving an assignment. After the assignment, the teacher will summarize the concept before the actual testing of the students' ability and understanding of each objective in the lesson. If the lesson in that morning is the integrated subject, then the teacher has to spend twice as much time preparing the lesson and evaluation. By this time the teacher would be able to identify the slow and weak students and subsequently prepare remedial work for them. During lunch break, he supervises the students' lunch and sees that everything is in order after lunch. This is followed by the afternoon lessons. If the lesson is the

working experience block when the students learn how to prepare vegetable beds, the teacher then has to provide the seeds, and the fertiliser (often out of his own pocket). The afternoon session ends at 15.30 when he sees that things are in order before starting remedial work with the weaker students. Often there are the routine paper work to fill in, such as roll call, filling forms for evaluation by the objectives, before he can actually depart for home. But if this is the third day of absence from school for any students, he would have to go to see the parent. After attending to his own personal needs in the evening, there is homework to mark, lesson plans and teaching materials to prepare for tomorrow. Some weekends, there are extra curriculum activities, such as boyscout camping, school cluster meeting etc. which he may have to take part. Moreover, there are also other duties which fall into 2 categories : one is his official duty as a civil servant such as supervising the parliamentary election, participation in helping the district or the province in the official and religious activities, attending lectures; the second is his non teaching school duties such as filling in forms for his annual promotion, taking the students out for health inspection and vaccination, attending school staff meeting, coaching the students in their sport trainings.'

Altogether this is a rather heavy load – a demand that will inevitably take a good deal of the teacher's time and thought away from his teaching. This cannot but directly effect the educational quality of his teaching.

2.2 The teaching skills. The fact that the teachers do not have enough time to devote themselves to teaching preparation poses one enough problem but it was worrying to find that a lot of them lacked teaching skills and techniques. This happened even when the old curriculum was in use. This was due to the teachers' lack of enthusiasm for improving their teaching techniques whereby they could have made the lessons more interesting to the students. Thus no techniques other than lecturing with the use of the black board were implemented. With the introduction of the new curriculum, the situation was worse as the teachers had not grasped the concepts therein well enough to start applying them in the teaching. As already mentioned, there had been insufficient orientation of teachers to this new curriculum. The teachers had had no firm foundation in its concepts and methodology to implement it with. Out of despair, different teachers found different ways out. The older ones rejected the new curriculum off hand and went on teaching according to the old methods and contents they were used to lecturing. Thus with this lots of teachers, students often get instruction on Thai language and arithmetics with little else. Some younger teachers did a self study of the new curriculum through reading the teacher's manuals and lesson plans and those who had done a serious reading admitted that these supplementaries were really useful and helped the teachers a great deal. Khruu Kalaya spoke of the new curriculum:

“if proper implementation is carried out, the new curriculum will be really successful as, from what I have studies, all the material have been prepared for the teachers, if only they could first understand the concept behind it. For instance, in the Thai language subject, there are

words cards, and many activities which the students have found to be great fun. And so did I.”

However, most teachers were mystified by the modern teaching methods and became antagonistic. As a result, they often found faults with the new syllabus and rejected all the manuals. Instead, they used their past experience and teaching methods. Also the orientation given usually did not cover all the subjects to be taught at this level. In Khruu Somchai's words.

‘Syllabi as those for Thai language and arithmetics are very good but I don't understand the other subjects. When we went for the orientation, we were forced to attend only one block of experience and I chose to attend the work habit block. It looked easy to teach with less demand on a teacher, just paper folding and modeling...’

Some teachers understood only the learning behaviour without the real understanding of the concepts behind it so failed to convey them to other teachers or to put them into practice in his class. We shall elaborate more on this when we discuss the factors on teaching-learning process.

2.3 The teachers' allocation of time on tasks. Normally, teachers were assigned various jobs. Yet, some teachers managed to evade some of the responsibilities as reflected in the evidence of their spending time on other jobs when they should have been at school. In principle, the teacher should spend 200 days at school for each academic year but Table 3 revealed that the teachers at Huaj Haeng School spent only 70.00% of their time in the school; those at Nong Bua devoted as much as 93.50%; Roong Pitaya spent 90.10% and Sra Kaew teachers spent 86.40%. This posed a question in one's mind as to what the teachers did with the rest of their time. In an interview, we found that more than half of the teachers at Nong Bua as well as those at Roong Pitaya and Sra Kaew Schools were taking extra mural courses for a degree in the evenings and over the weekends. This might have accounted for the time they were missing from school. Taking an evening course which normally started at 17.00 meant that the teachers had to allow some travelling time to the Teachers Training Colleges which also meant terminating the classroom teaching before the normal school hours. So the teachers assigned work to the students to do unsupervised and left for their evening courses. For their own study, the teachers also had to do their assignment such as report writing, doing the homework or preparing for the examination. School time was also used for these purposes. Moonlighting was another reason for what had taken up time the teachers should have spent teaching or preparing for it. Inside the schools, the teachers were also occupied with chatting to each other, reading newspapers, dozing, getting drunk, baby caring –all these at the expense of the teaching hours. Our researchers recorded:

‘These phenomena were not infrequent and at least one incidence was recorded each day with the duration being quite long. However, such behaviour was not acceptable and resentment was often recorded. One teacher told the researcher on the first day of observation:

“Here, when the headmaster is away, most teachers leave their classes and just sit chatting.”

At Sra Kaew School, a parent's comment was recorded:

"We should get rid of the classroom walls and have an open classroom like we did at the temple in the old days. Without the walls, anyone passing the school can see and this might have given them the teachers some qualm for not being in the classrooms with their students."

Even Roong Pitaya School, where the teachers spent most of their time at school compared with the other three schools, did not have all that good reputation with the villagers. It was once called "the Massage School" because the former headmaster was notorious for getting students to give him massage during classroom hours. This practice which abused the use of the student's time was directly due to the headmaster's lack of responsibility on the one hand and on the other hand the lack of close supervision in the system.

2.4 The inadequate number of teachers per classroom. The national statistics has predicted a decrease in the population growth. This means that soon there would be enough primary school teachers with the decreasing student-teacher ratio. However, this did not seem to apply to the rural schools in remote areas which failed to attract teachers. In fact, one found that in rural schools, attempts were usually made by the teachers for transfers, and in case the transfer was not possible, they usually got themselves on a temporary loan so that they were requested to go to help the district, the province office or to help teaching in bigger schools in town. However, the 'temp' teachers often retained their positions and drew on their salary from the rural schools thus prevented the schools from employing new teachers to do the job they had abandoned. Sometimes the teachers in question managed to obtain an official transfer which made their position vacant for recruitment of new teachers but still there was a time lapse between the vacancy and the actual recruitment by the department in Bangkok. This also left the school without the teachers that they were entitled to. In most schools, we have records of teachers being on leave: becoming monks for the male teachers, pregnancy leave for the women or some of them may be away attending some in-service training or some meetings. In schools where the headmasters also taught, their non teaching job at the district also took them away from their classes. Thus a classroom without a teacher is a common sight during our research. What was rather disquieting was the fact that the people concerned seemed to accept the situation and saw no need to seek remedy. In the four schools under study, only 2 had adequate number of teachers per class. In the third school, the headmaster also taught so often left her class unattended when she was on other duties while in the 4th school, where there were as many as 10 teachers, some classes were left unattended for reasons already mentioned. One of our research workers recorded:

"Now 2 weeks after the beginning of a new term, still, there was no regular classes, four teachers (out of 10) have not come back from the summer in-service trainings and when these 4 come back, the other 4 will leave to further their study. In the absence of the 4 teachers, the rest of the teachers would help with their administrative school paper work but not with their teaching load."

2.5 Teachers in a bureaucratic system. A teacher works in an official bureaucratic system which often places an obstacle to his fulfilling this role. How this interferes with school work may not be very obvious but definitely in our school the red tapes in the government bureaucracy had had a negative impact on the teachers.

a) The teachers were government officials and the schools were government organizations. This means that both the teachers and the schools have to comply with a fairly rigid sets of regulations and practice. This sometimes prevents the integration between the school and its local community. An anthropological study of schools in the Philippines and in Thailand directed by Singleton reported that the schools were often criticized for

...being overly authoritarian and bureaucratic and undemocratic in organization, authority, structure and pedagogy.'

The findings from our reports vary little from Singleton's reports. The teachers and the school's resistance to any form of integration with the local community is an aspect which deserves careful consideration and the on-going attempts to allocate the rural development responsibility to the school should also be reconsidered from this aspect. Not only that it may not work on this grounds but also because the increased responsibility will certainly take more of the teachers' time away from their classrooms. The fact that the teachers are government officials means that they would have no option but to take up the non-teaching responsibility when assigned and thereby neglect their teaching duty which is the job they have been recruited and paid for.

b) Bureaucracy had orientated and indoctrinated the teachers to consider their role, as government officials, as the receivers of policy and the implementator of orders set at a higher levels with no raised voice for criticism nor use of discrimination. Interviews with headmasters revealed that none had felt that they should opposed the higher authority nor did they feel that the system used by the authority in any way inconvenience their work. In the event of being given more freedom of choice and decision making, the headmasters felt that this would only mean that they would have to come under more authorities. When the interview was pushed further on the topic of the teachers' freedom in the developing the curriculum to make it more applicable to their school community, the headmasters did not consider this as parts of their job, nor the job of the teachers who were actually using and teaching the new curriculum. The idea had never occurred to them that they were the essential parts of the curriculum development and thus no academic initiations had been taken by the teachers. A similar situation was recorded by Manalang in the Philippines:

'After numerous interviews and observations, I inferred that teachers were not really interested in curricular autonomy. Having been directed by the Ministry for years, they thought curricular reform was the business of the bureaucracy. Their role was to execute and obey only.'

(Manalang : Private correspondence, 1981)

The teachers did not offered any initiations; they also underestimated their teaching role and considered this as a part of the routinous duty in the same way that Jackson has described (Jackson 1968). It was immaterial for them whether the students had gained anything out of the educational process or not. Fighting with the population ignorance and illiteracy was done as automatically as the dealing out drug prescriptions by doctors who are used to attending illnesses among their patients.

c) Bureaucratic impact on the teachers was notably non-academic and confined to their execution and administration only in their activities of from filling, usually made-up report writing, wearing school uniform, making donations, entertaining higher government officials on local visits. Sadly the bureaucratic system has failed to penetrate into the academic side due to failure in school monitoring system, which could not check on the teachers' methodology in teaching and evaluation. Thus the bureaucracy did impose a control which bore no positive impact in the increase of the school educational quality.

3. Teachers' morale. There seemed to be 2 groups of variables which effected the teachers' morale and the performance of their job. One group of the variables received direct influence from the teachers' quality and factors effecting their job performance. the other group of variables were their economic stability, the fringe benefits offered by the job and the relationship between teachers and their colleagues, their headmasters and the parents.

3.1 Teachers' economic stability. The teachers received the same salary as other government officials thus superficially there seemed to be no grounds for complaint of low income. However, one cannot judge the economic stability from job income alone but has to see the income received in the actual social and economic context of the teachers' position. Normally rural school teachers come from families of poor economic background. The choice of job reflects this as teachers' training in Thailand is heavily subsidized by the government with very low expense included as burden on the trainees. Being economically unstable, the teachers often found their income insufficient and extra income had to be gained. In urban districts, teachers can earn extra income by giving private lessons but this is not the case with rural school teachers whose students are either too poor to pay for any private lessons nor see any needs for them. Remedial teaching for the teachers is part of the job and is unpaid. Often out of necessity, our rural school teachers had to take another job to increase their income (see Table 3). Obviously, this meant moonlighting for the teachers in question, and the teachers could not but feel the conflict of interests which thus must have had some effect on their morale. On the other hand, it was found that teachers were among the social groups who had to pay a higher social taxes in comparison with the income they earned. Every month, teachers were forced to make donations to educational, official and social organizations of which they were members. All year round, there were numerous official occasions to make donations for. Furthermore, as teachers were the most respectable people in the community, donations were expected of them for the social functions like weddings, becoming monk ceremonies, funerals etc. and the teachers felt that a respectable

amount they should donate ranges between 50-100 baht. This was quite high compared with the salary they received. As a result, their income did not meet their expenses and cases of teachers being in debt were not uncommon. This financial insecurity could not help but creating poor morale among the teachers. However, on close scrutiny, the research worker found that there were factors other than financial insecurity which effected the teachers' morale. In one case, Khruu Chomchai who came from a well-to-do family failed in her job at Huaj Haeng School while Khruu Sak -who was in debt and had a large family to take care of as well as Khruu Poon who also came from a poor family at Nong Bua School -did their job extremely well. Khruu Chomchai differed from Khruu Sak and Khruu Poon in one respect, -her lack of sense of responsibility. Thus one may say that while economic instability effects the teachers' morale to a certain extent, the teachers' sense of responsibility can counteract and may have a greater effect which surpasses their sense of insecurity in their job performance.

3.2 Teachers' social and fringe benefits. There are 3 professions which receive social benefits from the government as the people in the professions have to give services to the majority of the population namely doctors, policemen and teachers. However, the benefits received by the teachers are the lowest and the usual argument was that this was due to the fact that teachers were responsible for one section (i.e. the children) of the population while the doctors and the policemen's services extend to all sections. What was often forgotten is that the doctors and the policemen's services are given only when there was a crisis while the teachers' service is continuous. Also the nature of the services given demands different skills. The service from a doctor or a policeman demands more the psycho-motor skills and affection, that given by a teacher demands cognitive skill of reasoning and understanding of the abstract as well as the psycho-motor and the affection. Also the teachers in rural areas are not entitled to the benefits offered to the other two professions such remunerations for working in the remote areas, house rent, accommodation facilities and travelling expenses.

a) Housing facility. Usually most rural schools have housing facility but in most cases, the number of houses available is not in the same proportion with the demand for them. One also found that many houses were not inhabited. When the teachers' houses were grouped together and were occupied by many teachers, a new teacher would also take up residence there, if one is available. But when the house available was situated in a solitary place with no neighbourhood, it was considered unsafe for single woman teachers (who always outnumber the male teacher regardless of the school location) for personal and property safety reasons. The research worker recorded Khruu Ramphaa as one case :

"On her first arrival to school with Khruu Kesorn, the two single woman teachers were staying in the only teachers' house available. They asked one of the girl students to stay and keep their company in the house. This was frowned upon by the people in the village who accused the 2 teachers of making discrimination for leaving the students to sleep on the verandah, asking her to do their laundry and of using the rain water from the tank for baths instead of bathing in the canal in front of the school. The two teachers

were criticized for not conforming to the villager's ways of living. Then, a man in the village with some criminal records of using violence started to pay court to one of them. The two teachers were told by one of the villagers that the normal practice there, when a man was attracted by a woman was to abduct her. So both felt unsafe and decided to go to take residence in town and spent roughly 3 to 2 hours and a half each journey travelling to school."

Thus one cannot always accuse the teachers for refusing to stay on school as there are reasons for safety for their decision. For a teacher to take up residence far from the community did have effects on their relation with the school community and their job performance which will be discussed later on. Thus safe housing facility should have been provided for teachers in rural schools. This would help saving the expense and time and energy spent on travelling to school. Moreover, this would enable the teachers to have time to socialize and build up relationship with the children's parents. It had also been found that teachers who had to travel a long distance to school often seek employments in schools nearer to their accommodation.

b) Teachers' opportunity to study for higher qualification. Most teachers want to obtain a higher qualification but it seems a pity that this desire has been stirred up by their need for personal advancement rather than by their desire to help improving the school's and the students' quality. What usually happens when a teacher becomes better qualified is his or her attempt to get a transfer to school with better facilities nearer to the major districts or a transfer to a secondary school. Table 3 shows that in all the schools under study, three out of four had one teacher on study leave. However, at present, there is a current policy to motivate teachers to receive more training which comes in the form of a series of evening classes the credits from which could be accumulated to form a degree conferring programme. These evening courses are offered by Teachers' Training Colleges. Also facility for study leave taking is made available; thus any teacher who has been teaching for 2 years is entitled to a full time study leave, regardless of their age or sex. This opportunity to better themselves had raised the teachers' morale and one found that in a school where this opportunity was not available to them like at Huaj Haeng School, the teachers tended to be depressed and bore grudges against the school. Although it may be said that in-service training with an opportunity for increasing the teachers' qualifications has done a good deal to raise their morale, but one has to be cautious regarding the effect of this training on the teaching-learning process in the school. We have found no concrete evidence that the teachers who has received the training have made any use of it in their classroom. Moreover, it was observed that the teachers under training tended to take advantage of the students. Instead of teaching, more assignments had been given to the students to allow the teachers time to work on their own study assignments. Another point which should be mentioned here is that our study of the existing curriculum reveals that most of the courses offered give greater emphasis to the theoretical grounding of the teaching profession and not enough on methodology and practical teaching. So the training is rather futile, unplanned for and irrelevant as most of the rural school teachers had obtained their teaching certificates

also through attending the evening classes where no practical teaching was listed either as a partial requirement. Thus what they needed most under the new curriculum was teaching experience and orientation to classroom teaching. So we may say that the in-service training offered may have fulfilled the teachers' personal need for advancement but did nothing to meet the real need by the school and the requirement in the new curriculum.

3.3 Teachers' human relationship. This includes their relationship with the headmaster, the relationship among themselves and their relationship with the students' parents. Usually bad relationship could be found when the headmaster was reserved, or lacked a definite guideline of administration and decision making. This tended to cause the other teachers to feel uncertain as to the best course of action to take in any situation. Moreover, it was found that some headmasters could not separate the personal relationship from the working one and tended to show prejudice towards teachers he had a grudge with on personal grounds. One headmaster, Khruu Praneet told the researcher about Khruu Chomchai:

"Now that she has become rich, she keeps threatening me with her resignation."

On the other hand, good relationship resulted whenever the headmaster could make other teachers feel that they could rely on him for advices academically, professionally and financially.

Good relationship with colleagues was found among teachers of the same age group as in the team of 'young teachers soaking in debt' at Sra Kaew School or among the team of young women teachers at Roong Pitaya School. The teams worked in unison for the schools - like staying late to coach the students on sports, decorating the schools and helping each other out in their routine jobs when the unexpected happened. One found the worst relationship to be among the teachers at Hauj Haeng School where the teachers ranged widely in age. Here one also found that the teachers were highly individualistic in their ways. The regular absence of the headmaster from school helped to make the gap between the teachers even wider to the students' disadvantage. The researcher recorded about Khruu Somchai as follows:

"The eldest teacher at this school who at the age of 58 is now depressed, discouraged and detest having to teach. But 30 years ago he was a keen teacher, enthusiastic and was highly looked upon by the villager. Now he is completely burnt out and cannot get on with his colleagues. The reasons for this could be the difference in the age group and attitudes and values. This has caused him to isolate himself from other teachers and in turn felt that they were antagonistic. He has lost all interest to devote himself to his work and has offered his resignations on many occasions all of which have been turned down by the headmaster."

With an exception of one headmaster, one could not really say that the relations held good between the teachers and the parents in all the 4 schools under study. Teacher-parent meetings were non-existent and one could only partially blame the schools for it. As mentioned earlier, the schools worked under the bureaucratic government system which

was completely divorced from the community ways of life. Unless occasion arose, the people would choose not to have to come into contact with the government officials. However, the headmaster and the teachers, not realizing that it was this intimidation of the bureaucracy which had prevented any close relationship to take place, often blamed the parents for lack of co-operation. The headmaster and the teachers, in the bureaucratic tradition, expected the parents to approach the school and not vice versa. Where the teachers lived outside the school community, other forms of socialization - which might have helped - could not be established. The parents had highly negative attitudes towards the teachers and believed them to be arrogant, class conscious, unreasonable or irresponsible. When the parents came to see the teacher, they had to sit on the floor while talking to the teacher - who sat on a chair. Some punishments given to the students were considered excessive and the parents saw many incidences of teachers being drunk while on duty or being irresponsible in the teaching. One also noticed that at any official or social functions where both the parents and the teachers were present, they tended to split into separate groups.

One could not say that this negative attitude helped to induce the teachers to be too overly enthusiastic about their job.

Conclusion

Factors on teachers which did effect the quality of education are the teachers' quality, their duty specifications and their morale.

The teacher's quality consisted of their qualifications, teaching experience, age and marital status, their aptitude for the teaching career and their sense of responsibility. The relation to the quality of education in the school is as follows: a teacher with a degree often requested transfer to work for a bigger school in the district so helped little to improve the quality of the small rural schools. Also the teachers who obtained the certificates and degrees through the evening courses lacked the relevant training in the techniques and the know-how as these courses had no practical training as the compulsory component in the program. Young teachers of the same sex and age group showed greater group dynamics while young single teachers showed greater devotion for their job more than the married one. A person who became a teacher out of preference did the work better than those who had no vocational callings. Also teachers with greater sense of responsibility induced greater achievement in the learning and teaching.

The teachers' duty specification factor included the working load, the teaching skills, specification of tasks, the adequate number of teachers and the bureaucratic tradition the teachers had to work in. The teachers were overloaded with work - as a civil servant as well as a teacher. In their capacity of a teachers, they are expected to do the clerical, administerial as well as the professional workload. The professional workload includes both the teaching and non-teaching job such as organizing the extra curriculum activities. So not enough time had been devoted to the teaching and its preparation. On the other hand, the teachers seemed to have lacked the professional skills in terms of techniques and the

understanding and ability to execute the implementation of the new curriculum. There was not enough time on teaching task even when the teachers were in the classroom. Nor were there enough teachers per classrooms as many of them were on loan or on study leave. Lastly the bureaucratic tradition has an adverse effect on the teaching-learning. The teachers were separate from the local people by this tradition on the one hand and on the other hand, the tradition often prevents the teachers' use of taking initiatives or applying their creativeness due to the rigid regulations and hierachical system.

The teacher's moral consisted of his economic ability, the social and fringe benefit that came with the job and their relationship with other people. The majority of the teachers were not well off but had to pay high social taxes. This had forced most of them to take on a second job often at the expense of the students they were teaching. The conflict from having to cope with two jobs, with insufficient income often depressed the teachers and this could only have an adverse effect on the teaching-learning. It is important to ensure the social welfare for the teachers in terms of safe housing facility which involves little traveling time, expense and energy. Most teachers expected to have opportunity for obtaining higher qualification as part of their inservice training but how much this opportunity contributed towards greater quality of education in their school remained doubtful unless one could improve on their social welfare to prevent them from leaving the school once they had obtained a degree. However, lack of the opportunity seemed to have created a bad morale among the teachers. The lack of an opportunity for obtaining higher qualification, and bad relationships with the headmaster, colleagues and parents depressed the teachers and only contributed negatively to the improvement in teaching-learning of a school.

Teaching-Learning and Assessment Factors

These two factors have the most direct effect on the students' learning achievement when all the other factors we have mentioned only have an indirect effect through these two variables. Table 4 shows the quantifiable components of the variables while the qualitative components will be described later on.

Table 4 : Factors on Teaching-Learning and Assessment

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. % of actual teaching time vs. official school time (from observation)	83.8	90.2	74.0	71.6
2. End of school day (officially 15.30)	14.30	14.00	15.00	14.30
3. Parents' complaint of corporal punishment	none	yes	none	yes
4. % of student failure in 1980	0.7	7.9	16.0	10.0

1. Teachers' ability and grasp of concepts underlying the new curriculum approach.

1.1 The teachers' orientation. From the researcher's observation, most teachers were ill equipped to teach and were not ready for the new curriculum in many aspects. There had been insufficient orientation. Syllabi, teachers' manuals, lesson plans and coursebooks were not arranged to be sent out to the teachers before the beginning of the term. So they had had no time to study them in advance how to prepare the lessons. So most teachers walked into the classrooms unprepared and feeling unsure of themselves. However, the delay in delivering manuals, lesson plans and coursebooks can be rectified easily but not the problem with the orientation. Even though one can ensure that all primary school teachers are to have undergone orientation (which is not the case with the present implementation of the present curriculum one still cannot say that they would all be equipped to teach and make the best use of the technology and innovations recommended in the new syllabi. This was the case with Khruu Somchai who had had training and orientation in the work habit orientation block yet whose teaching was no different from those who had had no orientation at all. How the teachers were orientated into the new curriculum was recorded by our researcher as follows:

'Usually the orientation lasted 2-3 days and one representative from a school cluster attended. Then this person will relay the orientation he has received to the headmasters in the same school cluster. The headmasters will in turn relay this to the teachers for each subject in his own school. In this long process of successive verbal transmission, the vital concepts in the new curriculum were lost. So the person who was teaching was not likely to have had any training in using the syllabus at all.'

The teachers' lack of readiness for the use of the new curriculum was not caused by insufficient orientation alone but also by the teachers' inability to allocate sufficient time for lesson planning which might have been the result of their heavy workload. Observation records showed that most teachers spent only about 5 minutes on lesson plans and it was usually just before he would enter the classroom. Also it was found that many teachers made no plans at all but relied on their memory and experience from past teaching. The teachers did not seem to have any problems in conveying the lesson contents to the children although no preparation nor planning had been made. This is because in a Thai classroom, it is rare to find an inquisitive students who may question or challenge the teacher on what he is teaching. However, the classroom under observation lacked liveliness and animation. What was worse was the fact that the teaching-learning was not in steps with the objectives outlined in the syllabi, since the teachers used their own understanding of the curriculum and their own objectives.

1.2 The teachers' understanding of the concepts underlying the curriculum. As already mentioned, in-service teacher training so far was not only inextensive but also badly organized. Teachers went on teaching although they had not yet grasped the underlying concepts, its targets, its teaching methodology nor the outcome in the form of the expected

achievement among the students. At Roong Pitaya school– the best of the 4 school under study– one teacher remarked:

'I feel sorry for this lot of students who have to serve as guinea pigs for this educational experimentation.'

Her comment reflected the attitude and ignorance shared by many teachers. Being ignorant and lacking understanding of the curriculum, the teachers set up their own objectives, methodology and evaluation criteria, usually based on their old habits and practice in the old curriculum. Thus with them, evaluation in itself was useless as all they wanted was 'a pass' for all the students.

However, our findings revealed that once a teacher understood the essential and basic concepts behind the new curriculum, he was quite willing to devote himself to the improvement in his teaching by making a serious study of the syllabi, manuals and lesson plans. Moreover, he became aware that the guidelines contained therein could help and save him a great deal of work as all he needed to do was to follow the instructions given. Most importantly, he soon became aware that under the new curriculum, the output aimed that was more than giving students literacy and some knowledge of arithmetic computations which were the objectives of the previous curriculum. Affective learning achievement was an essential part in the objectives. This was the cases with young and older teachers like Khruu Ladda, Khruu Sak, Khruu Poon, Khruu Kalaya and Khruu Somyos, who after studying the teaching media for over a year, agreed that the learning under the new curriculum would be more beneficial to the students. They seemed to have a favorable attitude for the new curriculum. According to Khruu Ladda who had been teaching for 25 years 'There's a lot to be said for the new curriculum'. This change of attitude in Khruu Ladda was similar to that of teachers in South Lane School who –according to Wolcott's anthropological study in **Teacher vs Technocrats** –accepted that the POBS (Planning–Organizing–Budgeting System) and the school planning, evaluation and communication system were useful to the school administration when they were first introduced into the American schools (Wolcott 1977).

The most crucial point for our concern was the teacher's lack of conceptual understanding behind the learning contents in the curriculum and hence their inability to adapt when implementing the curriculum. Many incidences recorded reflect this lack of understanding:

a) *The teacher's comment that the learning contents are not appropriate to the local environment.* According to the field researcher's report

'Khruu Tin identified inapplicability to local condition as one of the problems he had found in curriculum implementation. For instance, children here could not afford toothbrushes nor do they have any toilets at home. He also feels that there was no need to teach all this to the children who when they have grown up will naturally learn to adapt themselves. His remark, we have found, reflects his lack of understanding or his overlook of the objective which is to

teach the concept, value and practice of cleanliness and if the children have no toothbrushes, the teacher can use other illustrations he deems fit instead of the toothbrushes that the children do not possess.

b) The teachers tended to omit teaching the part that they do not approve of. For instance, Khruu Somyos did not teach the concept of discipline because he disapproved that the syllabus uses the pedestrian crossing and traffic lights. His reason was there were no such things in the village. As a result, for his class there was no learning of discipline.

c) The teaching of curriculum contents without the understanding of the concepts. For instance, on co-operation, the curriculum uses the concrete form of the co-operation as an illustration. We found The teachers teaching the various forms of co-operatives without any presentation on the concept of the strength of co-operation. The children ended up knowing the various forms of co-operatives but not the concept of co-operation.

d) The teachers' requests for the district or provincial lesson plans on ground that those provided by the ministry of education were not appropriate to the local condition so the teachers needed to make the adaptation. If the district or provincial ones were available, the teachers could then use the lesson plans straight away with no or little adaptation needed. This requests reflects the teachers' inability to adapt the lesson plans. They were aware of the problems in the lesson plans but preferred to have them adapted by someone else instead of doing the adaptation themselves. This finding confirms Priscila Manalang's and the researcher's postulate that teachers prefer to be the consumers of ready made lesson plans and materials than to being the designer or inventors in their implementation.

It is these insignificant details that have prevented the realization of the curriculum yet very few education policy makers knew about them as they happened at the lowest rung of the ladder in the classroom. Some headmasters did not even realize that it was happening in their own schools. It is crucial to train the teachers in the underlying concepts in the curriculum and check that their understanding was thorough enough to enable them to substitute the given illustration with another that is nearer to their students' experience. This is an essential guideline for the local curricular development. The teachers' conceptual understanding is most crucial in the implementation of the curriculum.

1.3 Teaching targets. Lacking of understanding and readiness for the new curriculum, most teachers set up their own target of teaching. Their target was often a contingency plan with little consideration for long term objectives. Thus a teacher at Roong Pitaya School was contented with enabling her students to read and write and have some knowledge of simple arithmetic. In other cases we found that the teachers had set up target in terms of the students' achievement in connection with the school or the teacher's interest. For instance, Khruu Prasop, the headmaster, asked the staff to adjust the students' marks to a pass score by giving students a bonus for their accumulated scores over the year. To Khruu Prasop, the target aimed at was not the students' knowledge; it was his school target to have some concrete, no matter how unreal- evidence of having succeeded in teaching,

an evidence that teaching had been done and evaluation assessed. What the output was among the students achievement was of no significance. Education in school is a long and lengthy process often in an unsupervised system. Thus it is easy for irresponsible teachers to set up their own unacademic but contingent objectives and followed them without any one outside the school knowing about them. Once the students graduated from school and it was found out that they had not attained the goal set by the curriculum, one just could not pin-point as to whose fault it was, as the teaching had been a joint effort by several teachers. The headmaster is the only person capable of superimposing this supervision to see that the objectives in the curriculum are fulfilled as most parents are not equipped to do so while the students are at the recipient end with no say in the matter at all.

2. Teaching methodology

2.1 The use of teaching equipment. Most teachers rarely used any teaching equipment and claimed that they had no time nor materials to prepare the media to be used with it. But our findings revealed that the teachers were not interested in using even the materials which were readily available in the school like the globes, science kit, picture cards etc. On the other hand, the new curriculum does expect the teachers to use a great deal of teaching equipment and the ministerial departments concerned have been making an effort to provide budget for the equipment since 1982. Information on school expenditure revealed that a large amount of the school non-government budget was spent on procuring teaching equipment as the 4 blocks of experience do require different varieties of equipment. Thus the problem seemed to be : how can one induce the teachers to make use of the available teaching equipment. One finding which seemed relevant to this point was that the teachers who prepared the lesson, even mentally doing so, did make use of the equipment. But preparations mean more work than for the teachers in term of planning, and teaching and this makes the teachers hesitant to prepare their lessons. The provision of teaching instruments without any attempt to change the teachers' habit and behaviour in lesson planning would make the provision of the instruments futile. In many cases, one also found that there had been a long delay in delivering the equipment to the schools during this first phase of implementation.

2.2 Teaching methodology. Nearly all teachers in the schools under study use the traditional lecturing method with the aid of blackboards. The methodology was very much teacher centred. This was the method of teaching they were good at and which was easy, convenient with little preparation to be done. We also found that the teachers were uncomfortable with any other forms of methodology. But this lecturing method was very unstimulant. When questions were asked, there was no prompting nor encouragement for the students to attempt answers. Questions were phrased in such a way that the answers were in the questions themselves. If the students were unable to answer, the teachers ended up giving the answers themselves. Usually questions asked were of yes-no type and those asking the 'how' and 'why' were indeed few in numbers. Some teachers tried to use the provided lesson plans and teachers manuals but found that they could not remember the details. So they ended up

standing at the teachers' table reading the lesson plan and thus failed to rouse the students' interest and make the classroom more animated. Observations showed that teachers' movements did help to create a more lively atmosphere. The moderate verbal speed with which the teacher used in his explanation, his clear pronunciation, his eye movement which focused on the students individually while explaining and his walking to and fro between the front and the back of the classroom all helped to retain the students' attention and interest. Students often complained of the teachers who stayed put at his table, spoke far too fast, stammered or focused his attention only on clever or attentive students.

What was more important than the pedagogical techniques used in teaching procedure was the teacher's ability to render the abstract concept which was the teaching point, and to give it a more concrete and tangible form within the students' grasp of understanding. This could be done in two ways. first by listing several concrete examples of the concept and then asking the students to draw a conclusion from the examples and second, by mentioning the concept and then supplying examples to illustrate before asking the students to supply more examples to check their understanding. In the life experience, work experience and habit formation blocks, these 2 techniques were highly essential yet many teachers were unable to use them. However, one heard a teacher at Roong Pitaya School asked herself, "What can I say on self-discipline?" It seemed that not enough attention had been paid for making sure that the teachers understood the various concepts they were expected to teach during the orientation. One found teachers mistaking the concrete examples to be the teaching focus instead of the concept and if this was the case, it was rather impossible to expect that the necessary concepts have been learned by the students.

One minor point should be mentioned here concerning the teaching methodology in Primary One. Having had no pre-school education, most children came to Primary One without the readiness program in hand movements. Often the teachers had to hold their hand and fingers while practicing them to draw curved and straight lines so that they could write the alphabet. Some teachers had to stay regularly close to the children that they got lice from them. At Huaj Haeng School, when Khruu Bopha was tired of curing herself of lice which she got while helping the students writing the alphabet, she asked to be moved to a higher class. The teacher who replaced her avoided contacting the same disease stayed away from close contact with the students and confined herself to the use of blackboard. The result was -that year- several students could not write at the end of Primary One.

2.3 The teachers' exercise of authority control. Often one found the teachers to be highly emotional and temperamental when they exercise the authority they had in punishing the students. We recorded the teachers, consciously and unconsciously being rather temperamental while conducting a class. The word 'stupid' was used not infrequently. We recorded Khruu Chomchai at Huaj Haeng School talking to one of the students'

'your parents must have been very stupid otherwise they would not have begotten you.'

After frequent repetitions she soon managed to make the students believe that they were really stupid and thus afraid of expressing any opinion or venturing any answers to her questions. Some teachers saw nothing wrong with getting temperamental with the students. Khruu Ramphaa at Roong Pitaya told the researchers.

'Today, I'll try not to lose my temper with the students. What I'll do is to put my questions only to the clever students so I can feel that the students understand what I teach. If I ask the stupid ones and they can't answer, I'll only get bad tempered.'

Another problem one found with the abuse of the teacher's authority was in the use of corporal punishment. In two schools, the parents made complaints about excessive corporal punishment. The teachers were accused of knocking the student's head and trashing the student who subsequently became ill. This abuse of authority created a lot of bad feeling between the teachers and the parents. Also no one has yet found any evidence that corporal punishment could bring about an improvement in a student's achievement. What we found as a sign of the children's rejection of the school and the teacher when the children in question started to play truant. The authoritative use of power also effected the teaching and learning process in so far as the teachers who used the lecture method, tended to believe that they were the only source of correct information and teaching is the imparting of the knowledge they had. This attitude was not conducive to the investigation method which aims at getting the students to look for the answers themselves before coming to their own conclusion. This attitude will reject other sources of information and this dangerously denies the existence of local resources of learning which could have been highly relevant and contributive a great deal to the children's education.

After the formal complaints, there were investigations. Some complaints were proved to be groundless but in more than one cases, they resulted in the transfer of the teachers involved. What then happened was that the rest of the teachers became rather reluctant to give any corporal punishment. At Nong Bua, the headmaster was so scared that he gave out order that no students were to be punished. This had created a great deal of problem among the teachers in Primary Five and Six where the students were in their early teens and often showed disobedience and mockery towards the helpless woman teacher who could not control the class. This phenomenon reflects in fact the students' reaction to the teachers' abuse of authority and unless this reaction is defused, it could well develop to take a violent form like it did in Japan when the students in some class started the beating on the teachers. At present, it is an indicator of the conflict between parents and teachers and this will be the topic of our later discussion.

3. The teachers' time on task. Long term classroom observation revealed that the teachers did not make use of all the time allocated for teaching. Table 4 already shows that the actual teaching time ranged between 90.9% to 71.6 % of all the teaching hours. The teachers often left the classes unattended. We also found that even when a teacher was in the classroom, she might be present but there was no teaching as she was occupied with writing her own report (for her evening class), reading magazines, baby sitting or worse,

dozing. The actual end of school day is another indicator of how the teachers abused their teaching time. The official time was 15.30 for the lower primary classes. All the 4 schools let the children out before this time to play around inside the school and allowed them to go home at 15.30.

In the higher primary classes where there were definite timetables in the afternoon, we saw Nong Bua School letting the children out at 14.00, Roong Pitaya School at 14.30 and the two schools in the northeast let their students out at 14.30 and 15.00 (see Table 4).

One also recorded the teachers asking the students to do odd jobs for them during teaching hours like baby sitting, going to get the teachers' lunch, putting water in the tanks at the teachers' houses etc. and all these took place without the teachers having any sense of guilt that they are causing the students to miss their lessons.

4. Teaching-learning assessment

4.1 Correction of homework or exercises. Most teachers tried to save time and labour by giving the answers of assignments on the blackboard and asked the students to correct one another's homework. Thus the emphasis was more on giving the right answers than on finding out why the students had come to make the mistake they did. Correction consisted of rubbing out the wrong answers and writing down the correct ones. At Roong Pitaya School, some teachers never corrected any homework and only made sure that the correct number of assignments had been turned in. An examination of some students' notebooks showed numerous mistakes and no signs of the teacher having seen them. Without checking the students' homework assignment and exercise books, it was impossible for the teachers to assess the students' learning achievement. We also noticed that most of the assignments seemed to have focused on the cognitive skills and little on the psycho-motor skills. In Worarajmuni's word, 'no assignments on rice farming have ever been given as homework among Thai children.' (Worarajmuni 1987).

4.2 Examinations. During the time this research was conducted, (1980) the new curriculum required that there are formal examination in Primary Two, Four and Six. But in Primary Four, Five and Six that year, it was required that the children took mid term and final examinations. So one could see that examinations still had a major part to play. Examination is a process consisting of test design and construction, the actual administration, the scoring, the interpretation of test result and the subsequent remedial work for those who need it. In the schools, we found that the teachers never allowed themselves enough time for test construction even with the joint examination constructed by the school cluster. Officially, the papers were due on the first day of the term to allow teachers to prepare them during the vacation. But one found the teachers still writing the tests on the very day they were due. Often we found during the administration of a test that the students did not understand the questions or instruction. For instance at Huaj Haeng School, the Thai language paper for Primary Five, one open-ended question read

'A sentence consists of two major parts namely'

1)2)

and one student wrote :

'1) the northeast

2) the southeast'

We also found that in marking, 4 steps were taken to ensure that the students would all pass: 1) adding more accumulated scores 2) giving extra marks while marking the final papers 3) telling the students what answers to give during the examination sessions and 4) raising the students' final examination scores at the school cluster board of examination. Khruu Prasop, headmaster at Sra Kaew School, leaked the examination papers to the students and told the teachers to give the students the correct answers at the test administration. Teachers in all the four schools used steps one and two and took this to be the common practice. All these practices were used because - to have all the children passing the examination was in the interest of the school and the headmaster. Most parents did not know about this and those who did considered it to be the teachers' business. No objection nor complaint was made until after the school-leaving when the underachievement became apparent. It was noticeable that the parents paid little attentions to the children's learning achievement. Teachers sent no reports to the parents and excused themselves for producing none on ground of lack of time.

Conclusion

Factors on teaching-learning and assessment have the most direct effect on the student's achievement. This group of factors consists of the teacher's grasp of the conceptual framework used in the new curriculum and their readiness though orientation to implement it as well as their methodology, their time on task and their method of evaluation.

It was found that the teachers seemed to have lacked the grasp of concepts and readiness. They spent little or no time at all in lesson - planning which result in the passive atmosphere. Many teachers criticized the new curriculum for containing irrelevant contents and omit the teaching of any contents they disapproved of without realizing the concepts behind the contents. Most teachers did not know how to or were unwilling to adapt the learning content to make them more relevant to the local situation. Many teachers had no target in the teaching or were using the old target of the previous curriculum which only aimed at literacy and numeracy. All this have prevented the actualization of the curriculum.

What come under teaching methodology were use of teaching equipment, teaching techniques and the exercise of the teachers' authority. Teachers rarely used any equipment even when one was available on the excuse of having no time for lesson preparation. The traditional method of lectures, with the use of blackboard were seen everywhere. The teaching was highly teacher-centred and classroom atmosphere was unenthusiastic. The teachers used temper in dealing out punishment to the students and this only increased the latter's antagonism.

The study of the teachers' time on task revealed that there had been abuse on this.

Not enough of the prescribed time had been used for the purpose. Classrooms were found unattended and even in those with teachers, it was found that they were using the class hours for their own, not the students' interest. Students were let out of the classrooms long before the official hours. All this pointed to the lack of any serious consideration for the students learning achievement among the teachers.

Our study of assessment procedure which consisted of homework correction and examination showed that it was impossible for the teachers to evaluate by the objectives for lack of time as well as for their lack of responsibility. Peer corrections were used mainly without the teachers examination of the students exercise books. So the teachers had no ideal how well each student performed nor could they do nothing to remedy. Moreover, student's promotion to a higher class seemed automatic as there was no real intention of checking on the students' ability and achievement. The formal end-of-year examination was carried out inefficiently for the sake of having one with all attempts being made to ensure that all the students would pass. Thus the examination, designed to be the controlling component of quality, was abused.

Lack of understanding and conviction in the new curriculum is at the root of all the problems. Without this, it is unrealistic to expect proper implementation and evaluation of the educational output of the new curriculum.

Parents and Students Factors

Factors concerning parents and students consisted of the following (see Table 5)

Table 5 : Factors on Parents and Students

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. % of students' educational expenditure in ratio with the total family spending	3.4	5.3	3.2	5.1
2. Average students' educational expenditure per head (in baht)	600	630	243	197
3. Percentage of students absent from school (annual average)	10.2	8.3	no record	10.1

N.B. The educational expenditure shouldered by the parents were spending on coursebooks, stationary, clothes, and pocket money. At Roong Pitaya, Sra Kaew and Huaj Haeng, the expenditure did not include money for lunch which the children brought from home but at Nong Bua, a number of students bought their own lunch and this had brought up the average expenditure at Nong Bua School. If one takes this lunch money out, the average expenditure at Nong Bua would come down to 600 baht.

1. Educational expenditure

Our survey of the parents' expenditure on the children schooling per child in contrast with the total family expenditure is shown in Table 5. The parent at Nong Bua spent as much as 5.3% while Sra Kaew parent spent least i.e. 3.2%. In real money term, this ranged between 200-600 Baht. It seemed that parents in better off communities like Nong Bua and Klóng Yaaw (where Roong Pitaya School is) spent more on their children schooling than the parents in the poorer communities like at Sra Kaew and Huaj Haeng. Moreover, the spending seemed to correlate positively with the student's achievement. However, at Huaj Haeng School where the parents spent least money on their children schooling, the sum spent was 5.1% of their total family expenditure. This showed that the ratio of money the parents in this area invested on their children education is the highest—a useful information for the education policy makers to know as it reflected the burden each parent had to bear for their children education on top of what had been provided by the government in this level of education which is compulsory in Thailand. Most of this money is spent on educational expendibles without which learning would be impeded. One parent at Huaj Haeng village bought a pencil and cut it in three pieces so that all her three children would have something to write with, the children were made to tie the pencils to their button. In contrast, one saw parents at Roong Pitaya bought several workbooks and supplementaries for their children so that they would perform well at examinations. This inequal opportunity in education is caused not only by the economic inequality but also by unequal parental commitment.

2. Parent's recreation pattern

In all the 4 communities, the most common favorite pastime for parents were gambling and drinking. On the field researcher's first day at Nong Bua School, she found a package of playing cards in the school driveway. The villagers used the expression "Let's go to the adult education class" as euphemism for going to the illegal gambling house. They, unintentionally, set up examples for the children who then considered gambling as a part of their norm of life. We also found cases of children missing school because they had to accompany their parents to the gambling sessions 'to help around' as well as cases of children cutting classes to gamble among themselves.

3. Parent's attitude to corporal punishment and their controlling system of children's behaviour

Many over-protective parents resented any form of punishment from school even when their children deserved it. They would either protect their children or blame other people for any mishaps caused by their children. At Sra Kaew School, when one student had stolen some school property, the parent told the teacher that 'It was only children's pranks'. Many parents got into a rage when their children were punished. One parent at Nong Bua came to school, demanding 'What right have you got to whip my child?' At the same school, another parent had made a formal complaint of a teacher to the district

educational office, causing an investigation and the school to change its punishment's policy. At Huaj Haeng School, Khruu Surachai was also accused of excessive punishment on the students. Parents' interference, which had lifted the teachers' authority in an undisciplined classroom did little to help increasing the students' achievement as it tended to make the teachers resentful and not too over enthusiastic in the teaching.

4. Students' absence from school

There were several reasons for students absence from school, some of which had already been mentioned. This factor was often caused by parents' need for labour, their underestimation of the importance of education as well as the students' lack of motivation or some time even hatred for the school. One found an interesting case in 'Timlord' a boy in Primary Three at Huaj Haeng who was absent from school. When the field researcher went to get him back, she found him watching a transistor repairer working in his shop in the village. The reason he gave for missing school was 'This is much more fun than the lessons at school.' His answer makes us reflect that the parent's need of free labour may not be the only cause for student absence; but the boring school atmosphere can equally turn the students off education as well. The reason given by Timlord has set up another worthwhile topic for enquiry how much have the children's intellectual needs and curiosity been fulfilled by the school. This aspect of the school quality could be reflected by the rate of its students' absence as well. It was noticed that Nong Bua had the lowest rate of absence (8.3%) but no record was available at Sra Kaew School (see Table 5).

Conclusion

Factors on parents and students have a direct effect on the students' achievement. This group of variables consisted of amount of parent's educational expenditure on each child, their pattern of recreation, their views on corporal punishment and control of the children behaviour as well as the rate of children's absence from school.

On educational expenditure, it was found that well off parents with positive attitude to education were willing to invest on their children education and would supply the children with extra workbook and supplementaries. The money spent ranged from 200-600 baht. The parents' recreational patterns also bore some effect on the children achievement. Parents who gambled were willing to or made the children miss the school or even indirectly encouraged them to gamble among themselves. On the parents view on corporal punishment and its use to control the children's behaviour, the parents were against it and their complaints have caused the school to be hesitant in administering any to the children. This have reduced the teacher's authority which was needed in some classrooms. And when the teacher lost control of his class, it was difficult to produce any effective teaching-learning activities. The cause for the students' absence from school was created both by the parents' need for extra labour as well as the school failure to provide learning activities which were challenging enough to the students' intellectual curiosity. There could have been other causal factors such as the students' health which could have effected the learning achievement

but no detailed investigation has been carried out. Among these, at least 2 factors need to be confirmed by further study namely the students' lack of lunch and their short sightedness which often, the children are not aware of.

School Community Factors

This factor seemed to have more indirect effect on education quality than direct one, as it effected the teacher factors, the student factors and the school factors in the following ways (see Table 6) :

Table 6 : Factors on School Community

Factors	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
1. Distance from school village to the district (kms.)	19	17	8	4
2. Electricity supply*	yes	yes	no*	no
3. Bus service to the village	yes	yes	no	no
4. Use of modern farming technology	yes	yes	none	none
5. School location	central	central	not central	central
6. Participation from school educational committee	yes	little	none	yes
7. Donation to school in 1980 (baht)	10,121	13,297	—	750

**The supply had just started in 1981*

1. Urbanization

The two schools in the central part were more urbanized than those in the northeast and this seemed to have different effects on the schools in question:

1.1 Public facilities. Table 6 showed that electricity supply was available in the villages of Nong Bua and Roong Pitaya Schools for some time while it had only been made available to the village where Sra Kaew School was. Electricity supply did have an impact on the students' learning. While it opened up the outside world for them through television, it also caused the students to neglect their homework as they preferred watching television. Another facility available was public transports. In the 2 schools in the central part of Thailand, there was a bus service which ran nearly throughout the year except during some part of the rainy season when the roads were in poor conditions. This was not the case with the villages where the other two schools were in the northeast. There both teachers and students alike often had to walk to school or used the rather expensive private pick-up car service. Any teachers who had some official business with the district offices had to provide

their own private transport. The distance between the schools and the district offices in the northeast was usually lesser than that between the schools and the district in the central Thailand but it took the teachers in the two school in central Thailand less time to travel to the district offices. On the other hand, it was found that during the heavy rain peroids, more students in the central schools were absent from lessons.

1.2 Industrial areas. Nong Bua and Roong Pitaya Schools were closer to the industrial areas so the location gave the school leavers a good opportunity to work as skilled labourers. This had added incentive for obtaining education as the factories only took on people who had completed the primary or secondary education. So the parents were induced to allow their children to stay on instead of making them leave the school after the first 4 years. Thus the vicinity of the industrial areas has helped to change the parents' attitude about giving their children longer period of education.

1.3 The use of modern technology in the community. It has been found that in villages where there was a widespread use of labour saving machinery for ploughing and harvesting, child labour was less demanded. This was beneficial to the children schooling as found in the case of the villages of Nong Bua and Roong Pitaya schools. Here the students tended to attend the schools more regularly. We also found that the parents there sent their children to attend school even before the time they were due to enrol.

2. School location in the village

It seemed that a school which was situated right in the middle of a community had better relationship with the community. We saw several joint co-operation and joint activities between the school and the people at Huaj Haeng School which was situated nearer to the village headman's house. The school covered extensive ground and the people used it as a bypass to get water from the temple lake. This gave the school a focal point where gatherings were made whenever there was an occasion. Unfortunately, this was not the case with Sra Kaew School which was at the edge of the village. Students in this school also came from 3 other villages nearby. The people in those villages had wanted the school to be in their actual villages as the children had to walk some 3 kms. to come to the school. Thus there was little co-operation from the parents and the school rate of students' absence was also very high.

3. The role of community leaders and the education committee

3.1 Community leaders. The Thai name for rural schools is 'prachabaan school' which means 'under the people's patronage'. For the school to deserve its name does depend a great deal on the school community leaders. If the leaders are active, co-operative and can give moral and material support to the school, it could bring prosperity as well as the positive attitude from the local people. Thus at the village of Huaj Haeng School, one wealthy village leader, who was related to the village headman, was also a close friend of the headmaster-Khruu Praneet-. So their friendship had brought good relationship and

good co-operation. However, it is too premature to say that good relationship with the school community will also bring about higher achievement among the student as the students' achievement score at Huaj Haeng School was the lowest of the 4 schools under study. In contrast, one found Sra Kaew School nearby with not so close a relationship between the school and its local leader, only a few teachers having some connection with the people in the village, but the students' achievement score there was higher than that at Huaj Haeng School.

3.2 School educational committee. Its establishment was a result of the ministry of education regulation in 1975 which set up the committee's responsibilities for giving advices in the school management and operation. Site observation showed that the committee's role had become increasing more and more prominent and if allowed to function systematically, its full potentiality can benefit the school a great deal. Members of the committee were usually the community leaders or those who actively participated in school activities. Thus the committee had a similar and important role to play in the same way the community leader did as mentioned in 3.1. In fact, the committee was a better balanced organization as it also consisted of non-community leaders and thus could better create the feeling that the school did belong to everyone in the community. Roong Pitaya School educational committee, for instance, had 18 members and a president who was the former village headman. At meetings, one usually got 2 opinions on the topic discussed: one was that of Kamnan Mee, the president and his followers and the other was that of those who were not in Kamnan Mee's clique. With this balanced view always present, decisions were made in the school's interest and this helped to prevent any interest group taking advantage of the school. Roong Pitaya School students obtained the highest achievement score and its efficient educational committee did see to the effective running of the school and this could have an indirect effect on the school educational quality. It should be mentioned here that the committee's role was purely administrative and non-academic.

3.3 Conflicts of interest in the school community. While conflicts of group interest mentioned in 3.2 helped creating efficient school management, there were other kinds of conflict which had an adverse effect on the school. This was the long term internal conflicts between groups in the same community. For instance the abbot at Nong Bua Temple was in conflict with the village community leaders who were also members of the school education committee. The school thus suffered from a lack of support from the local community. Its development became stunted. The school could not benefit from its committee's advice while the headmaster had to order his staff to refrain from giving any corporal punishment on students for fear of offending the people even more. The conflict was never ending and had a long term effect on the school.

4. School-community co-operation

4.1 Donations or free labour from the people in the community. One indicator of the existing school-community co-operation was the donations made to the school. In areas where the parents were poor, the donations could come in the form of free labour or service

given to the school if it did not take them too much time away from their regular job. In a more prosperous areas, the people preferred giving donations instead. Table 6 showed clearly that schools in the central Thailand received greater donation, in terms of fund or free labour, than those in the northeast.

4.2 Participation in school social activities. Occasionally, the school arranged activities and invited the local people to join in. These activities were held not only for the purpose of raising funds for school but also to draw a closer tie between the school and the local people like Children Fair on Children's Day or some religious celebrations held on the school site, or at the temple where the school was located. Participation from the local people ranged widely, depending on the relationship between the local people, the school and the local community leaders. For instance, it was very difficult to arrange activities of this sort at Nong Bua School while it was easier to organize similar activities at Huaj Haeng School as the school was centrally located and received good co-operation from the community leaders.

4.3 Sense of ownership and involvement with the school. This factor was the most difficult to detect, compared with other forms of co-operation like making donations. When one asked,

‘What would you do if you see someone pulling down the school fence?’

although the people's reaction was not complete indifference, but it did not amount to caring nor involvement of ownership. But to the question:

“What would you say to the official removal of the school site to the next village?”

the people were unanimous in their protest. Thus one has to assume that this sense of ownership of the school was rather artificial. The people felt that the school belong to them only in the sense that it was a symbol of their village importance. To lose the school meant a loss of face and a bruise of their pride as it showed that the importance of their village has been reduced. However, the people did not care enough for the school to be more actively involved. This sense of ownership and involvement is also essential to any school development.

Conclusion

The factors on school community only had indirect effect on the quality of education in the Thai rural schools, in so far as they effected the teachers, the students and the teaching-learning process.

Urbanization consisted of the public facilities, the vicinity of industrial zones and the use of modern labour saving technology. Public facilities namely electricity and public transport rendered greater convenience to the teachers which made them stay in the village and were under less pressure from traveling time and expense. It also helped the students'

traveling to school as well as enabled them to work on their homework at night. The industrial zone offered greater job opportunity for the skilled labourers who must have got the basic primary education or even better the secondary education. So it helped reducing the drop-out rate. The use of labour saving technology meant that children labour was not crucial so helped to reduce the rate of absence from school.

School location has many indirect effects. If the school is in the middle of the village the teachers can be sure of their personal safety. It also means little traveling distance for both the children and the teachers. Communication line to the local people is easily kept open on what is going in the school which makes it possible to create some form of co-operation and relationship

Community leaders and the education committee have a great role play in cementing the school to its local community. If these people are willing and co-operative, the school would benefit immensely from this relationship. The co-operation from the community could come in the form of donations in cash, kinds or free labour all of which would help to facilitate the students' learning. It also means greater relationship between the parents and the teachers. However, our finding showed that the community did not really have any sense of ownership in the school nor feel that it was a common property and organization which for their own interest should be preserved, protected and developed.

Students' Learning Achievement

All the six factors mentioned heitherto had effects on the students' achievement which can be used as an indicator of the rural school educational quality in this research. In this section, one would make a comparative study of the learning achievement scores of students in the four schools. For this purpose, 3 tests had been used namely 1) the end-of-year assessment by the schools, 2) the researchers' own assessment and 3) the students' application of the curriculum contents to their daily life.

1. Students achievement through school assessment:

The schools' result of 1981 examinations was used for this purpose. In terms of the students' failure rate, the lowest was at Roong Pitaya School with only one student (or 0.7%) failing the end of year examination. At Nong Bua school, the rate of failure was 7.9% while it was 10.0% and 12.1% at Huaj Haeng and Sra Kaew Schools respectively. However, rate of student failure might be an unreliable yardstick as the school tests were not standardized and as mentioned before, there tended to be abuses in their administration. Moreover, the fact that the schools were concious that some research was being conducted on their schools could well make the teachers more conscientious in the teaching and assessment. There was some discrepancies in comparison of the result in 1981 with that in the previous year. In Primary Four and Primary Six, in particular, there was a higher rate of failure. It was possible that in the past, the schools had been anxious that all the students in these 2 classes should pass but under the researcher's observation, the tests had

been more rigorously constructed and administered and less assistance was given to the students than normal. However, when one compared the ratio of students' failure in the four schools, this stayed proportionally the same as the year before with slight difference at Huaj Haeng School and Sra Kaew School. This may be a better indicator of the comparison of school education quality than the actual students' rate of failure.

2. The researcher's assessment of the students' learning achievement,

As one could not depend only on the school's assessment for their reliability, a more objective assessment was required. Thus two other instruments of measurement were used namely a) observation assessment and b) an assessment by a standardized tests.

a) Observation assessment. Assessment were made of the students through observation and study of the students' exercise books. It was found that, in arithmetic the students usually got the correct answers though the calculation process was wrong. On checking, the students did not know how one arrived at the answers. At Roong Pitaya School, one student in Primary 3 borrowed an old exercise book from an ex-student of Primary 3 to copy all the assignments for the teacher, without any understanding of what he was copying down. Often students could do arithmetic problems without writing down the descriptive part of the problems—which may reflect their inability to read (or write). In the Thai subject, many students at Huaj Haeng School could not write. Their essays showed no introductory part, were full of misspelling and their sentences did not make sense. This inability was found in all classes with the exception of Primary Six. A similar situation was found at Sra Kaew School—some of its Primary 6 students could not read nor write. However, Roong Pitaya School Primary 6 students were much better; Their essays read quite coherently with few misspellings. Students at Wat Nong Bua were of the same standard as those in Roong Pitaya School.

At Wat Huay Haeng School, some students in Primary 4, 5 and 6 used the same exercise books for taking notes of all the subjects and this had made their revision difficult due to the confusion therein. Some students in Primary 1, 2 and 3 did not keep their exercise books and thus had none for the revisions before the examination.

Long term achievement can be measured in the relevancy of an educational program which can be seen in the students' application of the school learning to his daily life. The researchers found no significant difference among the four schools under study but certain findings are worth reporting here. The most relevant subject seemed to have been the study of Thai language as the students could make great use of it in reading newspapers, cartoons, children stories, if one could be found available. They also used the knowledge to take down the popular song heard on the radio especially the folksongs that were very popular among primary children. They also wrote to their friends who had moved to another province. They also used some computation when sent by the parents to do some shopping but they often let the sellers do the sums and the researcher once heard the street hawker scolding a student for not working out how much what he was buying should cost him.

It seemed that the parents did not expect them to help calculating in their selling on farm products and it was not until the children became grown ups that they found the arithmetic knowledge useful in their career.

Students did find other subjects fairly useful such as the knowledge they gained in the work experience block—gardening, watering, use of fertiliser, personal cleanliness (use of tooth-brush and how to preserve food. Other knowledge was purely academic like the knowledge of a visit to a clinic or hospital when ill as there was no clinic nor hospital around nor could they afford it unless it was a question of life and death.

What the students showed was a positive attitude to rice farming and a preference to live in the province. We could not say if this was learned from the school or from their experience of the outside world. One thing was obvious, the children left the school with a positive attitude for the middle class social norms in etiquette, values and manners. They believed in dressing well, behaving and speaking politely and having a habit of using the toilet. A socialable person had the middle class specification in his personality and the anti social ones were those who had failed to obtain these social attributes.

In conclusion, the children gained a lot in language and socialization development through schooling while other knowledge was not either all that relevant to their rural life, or may be too premature for their present children status.

In terms of the children preference for any particular subject, the clever students preferred arithmetic—giving reasons that this subject made them think. At Nong Bua, most students preferred arts (drawing and painting) and sculpturing.

As a whole, one can say that the students' achievement in the 4 schools varied from class to class. Most classes had few clever students and a large number of slightly lower than average students. This finding will be subsequently confirmed by the report of their achievement in the standardized test in the next section.

b) Students' achievement as shown by the result of the use of a standardized test.

A standardized test was administered on Primary Three students in the 4 schools. This test consisted of 2 subtests namely the cognitive achievement test on arithmetic and the Thai language. The details of the results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Primary Three's cognitive average achievement scores and the coefficient of variation of the 4 schools under study in 1980

School	Average score (Total = 120)	Coefficient of Variation	Rank order
Roong Pitaya	87.2	27.6	1
Nong Bua	78.0	33.6	2
Sra Kaew	70.3	27.9	3
Hauj Haeng	65.5	32.6	4

The students from Roong Pitaya school received the highest score (87.2). The next highest were the students at Nong Bua School (78.0). Sra Kaew School ranked third (70.3) and the lowest were those at Huaj Haeng School (65.5). In term of distribution, the best coefficient of variation was that at Roong Pitaya School (27.8). The next best was at Sra Kaew School (27.9) then next came Huaj Haeng (32.6) and finally Nong Bua (33.6). Take them in pairs, the range of students' ability at Roong Pitaya School was narrower than that at Nong Bua and Sra Kaew Schools which meant that the students at Roong Pitaya and Sra Kaew Schools were more homogenous than their counterparts.

Students' Learning Achievement Factors

In this chapter, the four schools' education quality realized in the students' learning achievement had been explained in terms of six factors namely school management, headmasters, teachers, teaching-learning and evaluation processes, school communities and parent-students. Here we shall briefly describe the effects the six factors and a look at Diagrams 9 and 10 would make the description more meaningful.

1. Education management. This consisted of school supervision and monitoring i.e. specifications of the supervisory duties, and a definite division of the duties among the offices which are supposed to be in charge, the use of non-government budget, teaching equipment (delivery, relevancy, correspondence between textbooks by private publishers and the teacher manuals and lesson plans written and provided free of charge by the ministry of education, adequacy of teaching media on loan to needy students, and equity in the distribution of the subsidized materials to schools, educational administration at the district and school cluster levels (district educational officers' role and also criterion used for teachers' promotion).

2. Headmasters. This factor consisted of the headmasters' administration (days of school attendance, efficiency in professional skill and planning skill, supervision and monitoring of school staff, sense of responsibility in job assignment and working principles) their inter-personal relationship (the nature of the relation, criteria for teacher promotion) age, experience and qualification and finally the duration of their headmaster's term.

3. Teacher factor. This factor consisted of the teachers' characteristic (qualifications, teaching experience, age, sex, vocational call and their sense of responsibility,) the teachers responsibilities (the nature of the work they were involved in, time on tasks, responsibilities, teaching skills, adequate number of teachers per classroom, the teacher's role as a civil servant in a bureaucratic system) the teachers' morale (economic security, fringe benefits in terms of free housing, distance of traveling to and from school, and opportunity for studying for a higher qualification) and finally their ability to establish social relationship with other people in the school environment.

4. Community factor. Consisted of urbanization (public facilities such as electricity supply, bus services, nearness of an industrialized area and the use of modern technology in farming), school location, the role of community leaders and the school's council of education (community leaders, the council of education and the community internal conflicts) local cooperation with the school (donation and free labour, participation in school activities, sense of ownership and involvement with the school).

5. Parent-student factors which consisted of the parent variables such as their educational expenditure, their attitude towards education as a future investment for their children, types of occupations, recreational pattern and their views on the use of corporal punishment as a school measure for social and educational control.

The student factor consisted of their knowledge background, their handing in of homework and the rate of the school absenteeism.

6. Teaching-learning and evaluation factor consisted of the teachers' readiness and understanding (their readiness, their understanding of the concepts in the curriculum, their teaching goal) teaching methodology (use of teaching materials, teaching techniques, use of teaching psychology, homework assignments) teaching contents, the actual time spent on teaching, evaluation (method of evaluation, test administration practice, teachers' responsibilities in scoring, homework correction, a reliable evaluation of the learning objectives.)

These 6 factors had a causal relationship to the students' learning achievement as shown in Diagram 9.

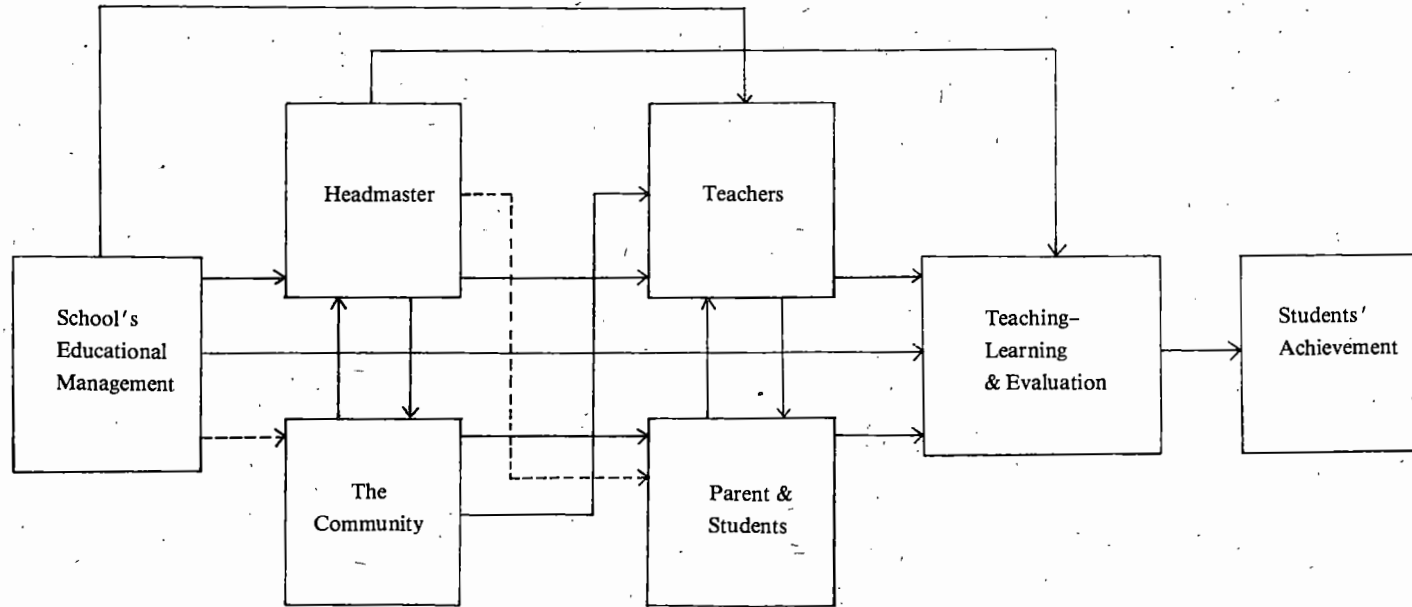


Diagram 9 Factors and their causal relations to students' learning achievement

As shown by the diagram, the school educational management effects both the headmaster factors, the teacher factors and the teaching-learning and evaluation factors and simultaneously it had an indirect effect on the local community factors.

The headmaster factors had direct effects on the teachers factors, the teaching-learning factors, the local community factors with an indirect effect on the parent-student factors.

The teachers factors had a direct effect on the teaching-learning and evaluation as well as on the parent-students factors.

The community factors had a direct effect on the parent-student factors the headmaster factors as well as the teacher factors.

The parent-student factors have a direct effect on the teaching-learning and evaluation and the teacher factors.

The teaching-learning and evaluation factors were effected directly by the school management factors, the headmaster factors, the parent-student factors. These effected directly the students' learning achievement. The teaching-learning and evaluation were the crucial factors that effected the students' learning achievement most while other factors were effective only when they operated on the teaching-learning and evaluation factors.

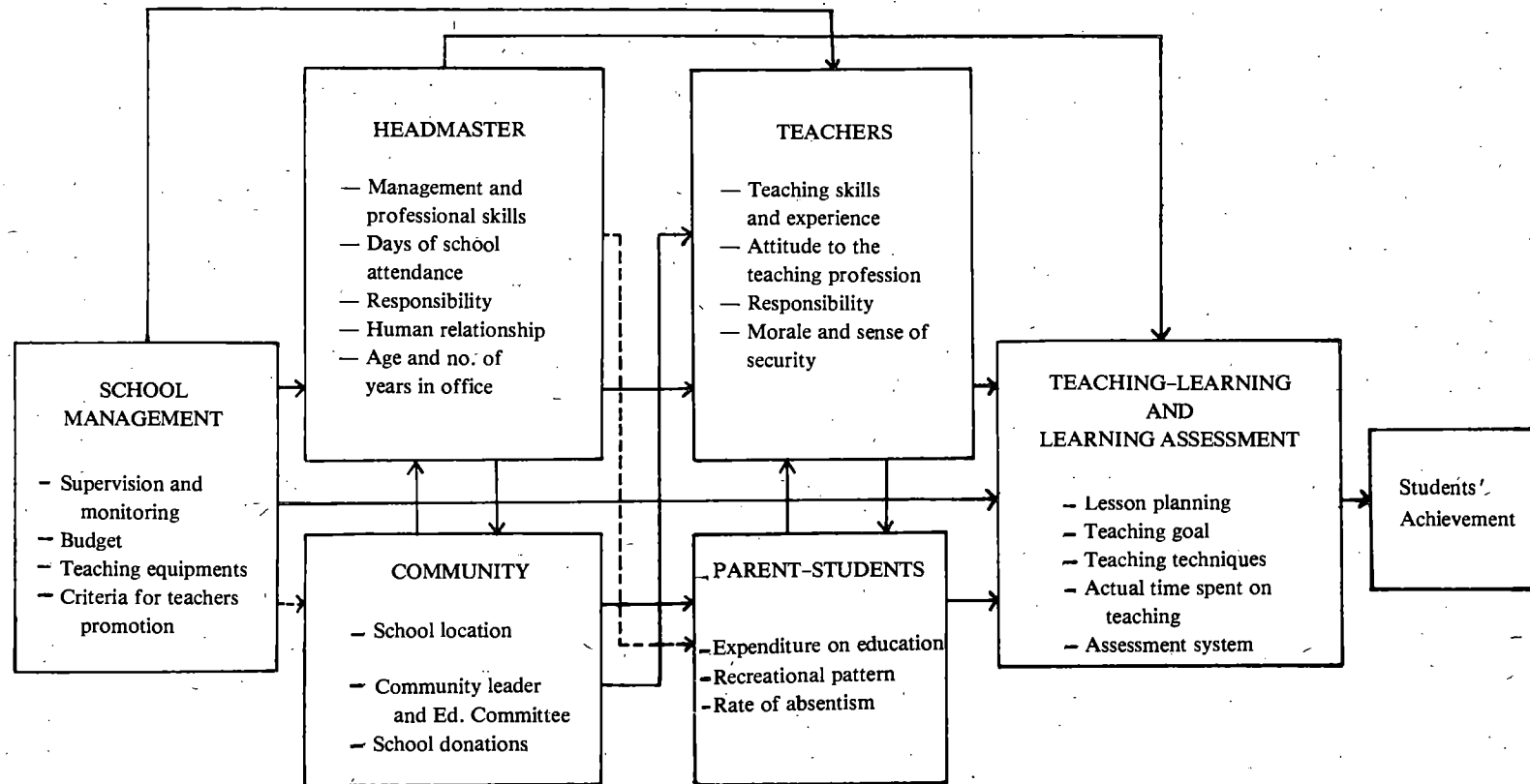


Diagram 10 Factors affecting students' learning achievement

Conclusion on the comparative study of the four schools

So far a large number of factors with their full details have been presented in order that the students' learning achievement could be considered from various aspects to ensure that one could set up as many postulates as possible about its causal factors. Now that we have a full description of the educational context, we will make an abstract of our major findings as follows (see also Table 8).

On **School Management**, the most crucial factors seemed to have been the use of supervision and monitoring system, the availability of school budget for its administration, the equality and equity in the provision of teaching equipments to the schools, and the use of the merit system of teachers promotion.

On the **Headmasters**, what was very crucial was their administrative and professional skills, their sense of responsibility, their good relationship with the teachers, their age and number of years in the office as well as the duration of their actual stay in the schools.

On the **Teachers** what produced a good quality among them were their teaching skills and experience, their positive attitude to the teaching profession, their sense of responsibility and their morale and sense of personal and economical security.

On **teaching-learning and assessment**, what were important were the time the teachers spent on lesson planning; their relevant teaching goal, their teaching techniques, the time they fruitfully spent with their students in the classrooms and their reliable methods of learning assessment.

On the **parents and the students**, the significant factors were the amount of money they were prepared to spend on the children's education, the parents's pattern of recreation and the students' rate of absentism.

On **community**, the factors which were important were the school location in relation to the village, the co-operation from the community leaders as well as the village educational committee and the donations given to the school. A comparative study of each factors among the four schools seems to have revealed that the students learning achievement is conditional to different factors.

The quality of the first paired schools in Central Thailand. Roong Pitaya School and Nong Bua School (see Table 8)

Roong Pitaya School which had the highest achievement score according the result of the standardized test (87.2%) seemed to have the following attributes:

The headmaster was young with competent professional skills. Although she had to shoulder both the administrative work of a headmaster as well as take care of the teaching in the Primary Five class, her good relationship with the other teachers had helped her to manage through their willing assistance. She also had a strong sense of duty in her res-

possibility due to her connection with and loyalty for the local community leader who was her father in law as this tie and informal patronage from the local community leader had lent support to the school as well as added a sense of importance to the headmistress. Although she had just come to the office and had very little teaching and administrative experience, her youth and energy seemed to have made up for it.

The teachers were mostly women in the same age group and this factor had helped them to form a good relationship which was contributive to their helpfulness and co-operation in carrying out all the tasks they had been assigned. The teachers may not have had a good morale or sense of security as the school was quite a distance from the village, and the teachers' housing facility which was provided was unsafe. Some teachers had to stay away in the village and spent a lot of time and money on travelling to school. The school also had suffered from the frequent change of headmasters but the fact that now it had a local person as the headmaster had ensured that she could be closely monitoring the running of the school.

Table 8 Factors effecting the students' learning achievement : A comparative study of the paired schools

Factors	1st pair		2nd pair	
	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj Haeng
School Management				
Supervision and monitoring		✓	✓	
Budget		✓	✓	
Teaching equipment (equality & equity)				✓
Merit system for promotion				✓
Headmasters				
Admin. & professional skills	✓		✓	
Sense of responsibility	✓		✓	
Human relationship	✓		✓	
Age and no. of years in office	✓		✓	
Days of school attendance		✓	✓	
Teachers				
Teaching experience and skills	✓		✓	
Positive attitude to teaching	✓		✓	
Sense of responsibility			✓	
Good morale and sense of security		✓	✓	

Factors	1st pair		2nd pair	
	Roong Pitaya	Nong Bua	Sra Kaew	Huaj
Teaching-learning and assessment				
Lesson planning	✓		✓	
Teaching goal		✓		✓
Teaching techniques		✓	✓	
Time on teaching task	✓		✓	
Methods of assessment		✓		✓
Parent-students				
Educational expenditure	✓		✓	
Recreational pattern	✓			
Rate of absentism		✓		
Community				
School location		✓		✓
Local leader and the village educational committee	✓			✓
Donations to school	✓			
Students' learning achievement (total score = 120)	87.2	78.0	70.3	65.5

On teaching-learning and methods of assessment it seemed that the teachers at Roong Pitaya School were slightly inferior to those in Nong Bua School due to their youth and lack of experience. However, their youth had also given them the energy and enthusiasm and their more recent training had given them greater understanding of the curricular goal and objectives. The teachers also spent longer time on lesson preparation. A number of teachers at Roong Pitaya only expected the students to have acquired the skills in the language and the basic arithmetic but this unambitious teaching goal had at least helped to increase the students' learning achievement scores which was higher than that of its counterpart in Nong Bua School.

On parent-students, Roong Pitaya's parents spent more on their children education than did the parents at Nong Bua school. They also spent less time in the gambling houses. The students were not exposed to the gambling ways so had more time to spend on schooling and as this was reinforced by the teaching-learning supplementaries bought by the parents, their learning achievement was higher than that of the students at Nong Bua School.

The distance from Roong Pitaya School to the community center was greater than the distance from Nong Bua School to its community which meant greater inconvenience in term of travelling. However, Roong Pitaya School was fortunate to have the patronage from Kamnan Mee, the local leader, who had helped to establish the school from the beginning

and still took great interest in the school activities. His daughter in law was also its headmistress while he also chaired the village educational council. This connection did make up for the greater distance from the community. Roong Pitaya was also fortunate for its teaching staff, the headmaster, the teaching learning and assessment system as all these helped to increase the students' learning achievement.

Nong Bua School in many respects seemed to be superior to Roong Pitaya School: its location was nearer to the community which resulted in its being visited more frequently than its counterpart was. Also the community had donated greater donation to the school which should have given the school greater freedom for decision making.

Nong Bua headmaster was equally competent in management and professional skills. However, our detailed study revealed that he had less time to spend in the school which meant less amount of supervision and school monitoring. His relationship with his teachers was not as good as that between the Roong Pitaya's headmistress and her teachers. Also the fact that he was not very communicative and did not attempt to explain his decision or reason in his mediation over the conflict between the abbot and the local people had reduced his popularity with the local people. The fact that he had been in the office for the past 15 years may have reduced a great deal of his energy and initiative. He also had less responsibility in the school than the headmaster at Roong Pitaya who also had to take care of the teaching in one class but he had no fewer responsibilities as he was secretary to the village council -a job which took a lot of his time from the school.

The teachers at Nong Bua School were fairly different in terms of age groups, marital status and teaching experience. There seemed to be less unity between them compared with the teachers at Roong Pitaya School. The older teachers were no less responsible than the younger ones but they had difficulty understanding the concepts in the new curriculum. Also a whole, the teachers did not hold too good an attitude towards the teaching profession which was reflected in their lack of enthusiasm in conducting the classes. They were more fortunate to have the school near the community which reduced their travelling time to school. The school also had greater stability with no frequent change of headmaster.

In terms of teaching-learning, Nong Bua seemed to be slightly superior to Roong Pitaya as the teachers here had better teaching techniques due to their long experience in the job. Their teaching goal was more than just literacy and arithmetic skills. They spent greater time on correcting homework and had a more reliable assessment methods. However, they still used the old methods of evaluation and paid little or no attention to the evaluation by objectives as they had no training for them. The teachers here did not believe in nor did they spend any time on lesson planning and tended to be over confident in their teaching skills and methods. Also not all the time available had been spent profitably for the students. On the contrary, the teachers used the students time for reading magazines, or attending to personal matters. The children were let out long before the time they should have been. So one could only say that the teaching-learning in this school was only slightly better than that at Roong Pitaya School.

The fact that the people in Nong Bua community were mostly addicted to gambling did a great deal of direct and indirect damages to the students. Some parents paid less attention to their children's schooling than to gambling, they took the children from school to help them in the gambling sessions. We also found that the Nong Bua parents spent less on their children education than did the parents in Roong Pitaya School. Only one parent in the whole village spent money on buying supplementary workbook for his child. However, the rate of absentism was lower than at Roong Pitaya School and the shorter distance between the school and the village could have contributed to it.

Nong Bua was better off in terms of its location which was in the village temple in the center of the community. This advantage was counterbalanced by the internal conflict between the abbot on the one hand and the local leaders and the members of the village education committee on the other. This conflict had a negative effect on the cooperation the school should have had received from the villagers. The school -being in the temple compound- had to pacify the abbot who was rejected by the people. And because the school seemed to have sided with the temple, the people in turn rejected the school or refused to have much to do with its activities. This conflict had negative effects on the headmaster, the teachers, the teaching-learning, the parent-students and could have contributed to the lower score in the achievement test. Roong Pitaya's average score was 87.2 out of 120 while Nong Bua's was 78.

The quality of education in the second paired schools : Sra Kaew and Huaj Haeng Schools

At Sra Kaew School which had a higher achievement score than that at Huaj Haeng School, our study of the school also reveals that it also had more factors which were contributive to the better quality (see Table 8). However, there had been many dynamic events which took place at Sra Kaew School when this research was being carried out and the conclusion the school description was drawn towards the end of the study, this may have given Sra Kaew a better picture than what it would have been had we used our earlier records of the description of the school when we first started our research as these would not have shown such great difference between the two schools.

Prasop, the former headmaster who retired when this research was just started at Sra Kaew School was an interesting case for a study on the possible exertion of the headmaster's authority for or against the control of quality in education in his school. He was archetypal of many headmasters of the older generation who were similar in age and professional experience. Understanding Prasop, his pattern of administrative decision and action, his values and his reaction towards the changes may lead us to understand also the management in other schools which are run by similar type of headmasters. There had been a stir of change when Somchai, his successor, took over after his retirement. The teachers felt that the earlier repression they had to put up with during Prasop's term of office was lifted and felt free to make decision and take action in carrying out their responsibility in teaching and evaluation instead of having to carry out the headmaster's orders only.

Thus, under Somchai as well as the over all picture shows Sra. Kaew to have been a better school in terms of teachers, teaching-learning and assessment system than Huaj Haeng school – its counterpart.

Somchai was by far a more efficient headmaster than Praneet at Huaj Haeng School. He showed higher skills in both administration and academic ability as he belonged to the later generation of training with greater focus on the training of professional skills. He also had an attitude for the job, spent greater time on it and had a better relationship with the other teachers. Having experienced the dictatorial headmastership under Prasop, Somchai showed greater consideration for his subordinates. Also he had just taken over the office while this research was conducted so the duration of the research co-incided mainly with the honeymoon period of his term of office.

From the school management point of view, there was very little difference between the two schools. Sra Kaew was slightly superior in the more frequent supervisory visits, the monitoring system and the greater budget and the reason for these could be the shorter distance between the Sra Kaew School and the province although one should note that Huaj Haeng is nearer to the district office than is Sra Kaew. The greater facility available at Sra Kaew could be seen as a result of the fact that this village had electrical supply and this had opened the village and school to modern facilities as well as modern techniques of teaching. This has led us to postulate that the center of school administration should stay where the center of modernization and development is – i.e. at the province – rather than at the district which is nearer to the school. Budgetwise, Sra Kaew only received 1,500 baht more than Huaj Haeng in terms of the non-government budget but this amount was highly significant to the schools in the rural areas.

One more advantage Sra Kaew School seemed to have over its counterpart was the parents' actual investment on their children's education. Our findings showed no difference between the two schools in terms of the students and in terms of the relationship with the community. Sra Kaew School was in fact inferior to its counterpart.

As mentioned before, Huaj Haeng School suffered in many respects in comparison with its counterpart – Sra Kaew school. However, its strength seemed to have been its more efficient school management, the teaching-learning and evaluation and its relationship with the community. Through – the headmaster's networking, the school received more teaching equipment as well as greater opportunity for the teachers' promotion. The teachers at Huaj Haeng had more farsighted teaching goals and were concerned about what the children got out of their schooling. Praneet's laissez faire attitude could have caused this concern among his more matured teachers in his school while the more rigid administration and short term objectives of Prasop at Sra Kaew could have prevented the other teachers to venture any different opinions. Thus at Huaj Haeng School, assessment did not rely on passing the examination alone as it did at Sra Kaew but also meant the regular monitoring and remedial work through the marking of students' homework as well as the examination.

Another vantage point for Huaj Haeng School was its close tie with the village which led to the enthusiasm among the village education committee. The tie could also be explained by the school location which was right in the village center. One could see that it would not be impossible to increase the educational quality of Huaj Haeng School to the same level as at Sra Kaew as the difference of 5 scores in the average achievement scores between the two schools seemed insignificant to be used for judging their comparative education quality.

Conclusion

In order to determine the significant school internal factors which may be attributive to its educational quality, this research design has selected 2 paired schools as cases of study. These schools were comparable to its counterparts in terms of its size (no. of students), equal amount of resource input from the government (budgeting, human resources, educational equipment) and social context. According to the ministry of education's assessment of the school's standard in 1973, contrary to our finding, Huaj Haeng was in 1973 a better school than Roong Pitaya School and Huaj Haeng was a better school than Sra Kaew. Eight years later, this research was conducted and yielded the reverse findings and this could have been caused by

1. The ministry of education used 'type of buildings' as one of its four criteria to establish the school quality and at the time of its assessment, Nong Bua and Huaj Haeng which were older schools than their counterparts had better school buildings.

2. In 1973, Huaj Haeng and Nong Bua had been long established and were enjoying their height of development while Roong Pitaya and Sra Kaew were still developing and suffering from shortage of man power, money and material resources.

3. When this research was conducted in 1980, Nong Bua was 46 years old, Huaj Haeng 43 while Roong Pitaya was 37 and Sra Kaew 25. It looked as if Nong Bua and Huaj Haeng had then reached and passed their zenith of development when Roong Pitaya and Sra Kaew had just come to that point.

If this explanation held true, maybe one should look at the school pattern of growth and their dynamicism even though it is not certain yet if this has any controllable causal relation to the quality of education in a school. But this long term study of the school development seems to indicate that a school is like a living organism which develops, grows, reaches its peak and then deteriorates. Spenger(1948) also has noted this as characteristic of all social phenomena. The school dynamicism no doubt effects it quality and it would be useful for the administration educationists to find the answer to the question of prevention of decline among the developed schools as well as how to increase the quality of education in the schools which are still 'underdeveloped'.

In the two paired schools under study, the six factors one has studied namely the school management, headmasters, teachers, teaching-learning and assessment system,

parent-students and community were factors which are characteristic of each school. There were also other inputs which were not variables. Ideally all the schools should have received the equal amount of these inputs in terms of curricular training, supervision and school monitoring, delivery of teaching materials, the bureaucratic system and the general administrative system of the implementation of primary education. These components are effecting all the schools under study so were not individual school variables but they are contributive to the quality the school. We have recorded these components in the appendix. In conclusion, the six school factors under study had varying degrees of effect on the efficiency in both schools in the rural agricultural region in central Thailand as well as in the poor rural area of the northeast region.

It is hoped that one has by now answered the question what one should direct one's attention to, should one wants to increase the quality of education in a primary school- if by quality of education one means the high achievement scores. However, in this research, we have come across other information of other qualitative elements of education in a primary school and these elements will be presented and discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER V

The Relevance of Primary Education: its Objectives, Curricular Contents, the Country Needs and the Reality of Life

In Chapter Four, we have looked at the quality of education from the dimension of its teaching-learning process and that of the quality of its products namely the school leavers through the assessment of their learning achievement scores obtained from the administration of a standardized test. However, in our conceptual framework, there is another dimension namely the correspondence between the curricular objectives and contents and the country needs as well as the reality of life in Thailand. Thus this chapter will attempt to answer this last question. However, the researchers have also included other dimensions of the quality other than the correspondence in the analysis. Unlike the other chapters, the unit of analysis is not each school but the four schools are combined together into one unit on which the analysis is made so that one could compare the findings with the macro data namely the curricular objectives and the contents as defined by the primary education curriculum as well as compare the finding with data obtained from the villagers who are taken to be representatives of the community and the judge of the real need of the Thai rural society.

The Community Expectation of the Quality of Primary Education

Most people in the four villages wanted their children to go to school. This was partly because the school, as an institution, had long been in existence that the people had accepted it as an essential part in the rites of passage. Another reason for their satisfaction was because they could pass the custodial care of their children onto the school responsibility. The people had no objection to their children attending the school so long as the school made no financial demand or kept the children too many years in it.

The people found that the existing 6 years compulsory primary education was far too long. They expected the education to last only 4 years as by the time the children were 10 years old, they could serve as extra hands in the farm. This dissatisfaction had caused a national high rate of drop out at the end of Primary Four. On the other hand the people wished that the school could take in the children before the age of six. The pre-school service would be useful to them as it would relieve them of infant care, allowing the mothers to devote themselves more fully to earning their living. The children of this age group were at any rate, too young to be of any help to the parents in their work.

On curriculum contents, most rural parents knew very little. In fact, only a few community leaders who had more than 4 years of primary education could give any opinion in this subject. Most parents did not even know what was being taught. The change of the curriculum effected them only in so far as they now were unable to help their children with the homework and in the extra financial burden imposed on them as new sets of textbooks have to be bought because the younger children could not use their older brothers' or sisters'. The parents were unanimous in wanting the school to teach literacy, arithmetic, etiquette and manner as well as some basic working skills. They objected to the teaching of farming. The reason was :

“What do the teachers know about rice farming. They haven't done a stroke of work on the farm !”

The basic working skill they required were housework and some vocational skills. Their order of priority was first the reading and arithmetic skills, then etiquette, manners and moral teaching and lastly vocational skill. Their reason were (a) a Thai must know how to read and write Thai and (b) school and parents had got to help with the formation of good habits in the children but since the children listened more to the teachers, the latter should be in charge of instilling the moral and good social values in children. It is interesting to note that the parents took no notice of the subject contents in the life experience block. They seemed to have thought that some contents – such as the knowledge of plants and animals – were something the children could automatically pick up from their environment. Other contents-like the concepts of the nation, the knowledge about the neighbour countries or the value of energy conservation were beyond their scope of the world. So these concepts seemed irrelevant to them. Thus the parents expectation of the curriculum contents would be appropriate if the children were to remain in the same agricultural surrounding where there was to be no social nor economic changes which is not likely be the case any way with the coming generation.

The parents' expectation of the teaching-learning was in accordance with their expectation of the subject contents. The teacher was expected to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, moral principles and good habits as well as some work which could help to lessen the parents' burden like housework and some occupational skills. They expected the teachers to be devoted, having good relationship with the parents as well as having a good sense of responsibility and a high moral standard. They expected the school to impose least financial burden on them as already they could hardly afford the children's school uniforms, stationary and school lunch. Thus it was too much to expect them to supply the children with materials for dress making, or with the buying of ingredients for the cooking lessons. In their opinion, the school should not have imposed all these expenses on them. In terms of evaluation, the parents had little idea of their children's learning achievement. All they cared was whether their children had passed or failed. That the teachers had given illegitimate help to the children to pass the examination was not their concern and the teachers were not too open about this practice in any case. The parents never saw their children's school report and thought that this was the school sole concern.

They also felt that they had no right to interfere with the school, not being as well educated as the teachers. They only became interested in the achievement when it came to the application of the learned knowledge. They would like the children to be able to count the changes when sent on buying errands, to be able to read newspapers to them and to be able to read the instruction in the fertiliser containers.

The parents also expected their children, on leaving school, to be obedient and respectful; to be religious and to have good moral sense. On top of the other expectations already mentioned, they also expected the children to help with the housework. However, one may say that on the whole, the givers and the receivers of this service had common goal in the Thai primary education : literacy and numeracy.

Moral Teaching in School

Moral teaching under the new curriculum came under the habit formation block. The emphasis of the analysis in Chapter 3, was given to the skill block but since the parents considered the teaching of manners and morality to be most important next to the skill teaching, the teaching of the habit formation block deserves an analysis here so that one may judge how far the teaching did fulfil the parents' expectation.

Moral and religious teaching was conducted in 4 ways: first during homeroom in the morning, secondly during the classroom hours, thirdly through the giving of rewards or punishments and finally by laying down rules which everyone was expected to follow.

Homeroom in the morning was usually given by the headmaster or the teacher on duty. After the national flag was hoisted, the students prayed. This was followed by the pledge of loyalty, which reads :

"I swear to be good, to respect and uphold the nation, the religion and the king. I'll respect and obey my parents and teachers."

This pledge of loyalty was not dictated by any ministry of education's rule. It was first initiated by the provinces. The school had been pledging that it now has become part of the flag hoisting ritual and was itself a ritual to the students and teachers alike. The children could not tell the meaning of the pledge and some teachers did not remember the actual wordings of the pledge. After this ceremony, the headmaster would give homeroom for 3-5 minutes. The topic was at the teachers' discretion. Often it concerned manners, cleanliness, instruction for taking care of school properties or, if the time was near the examination, for revision. Children were usually inattentive. None of the four schools had a loudspeaker and the teachers' voice did not carry so his talk was inaudible to the students who talked or played with one another. These homerooms were not regular at the beginning of the school year but would become more frequent towards the end.

Under the old curriculum, moral and religious teaching stood out as a separate subject in their own right. Citizens' right and obligation, moral and religious teaching were previously taught in lectures and memory played a great part in the success at exami-

nations. In the new curriculum, this subject was in the habit formation block. There was no separate textbooks only the teachers' manuals as the subject was supposed to be integrated with 3 other subjects. This may have been a mistake as any teachers who refused to use the manual and lesson plans ran the risk of omitting this block of learning from their teaching so that they could give more attention to the skill block. It was suspected that there was less moral and religious teaching in the new curriculum than in the old one. In schools where this block was taught, observations revealed that the teacher would talk on the concepts with no concrete examples to illustrate. For instance, one teacher when teaching the concept of honesty, mentioned a case of a boy who had found some valuable objects and returned them to the owner, then another case of a student who received more change than he should have done and returned the extra money to the seller. She then told the students what was the definition of being honest. In the same school, the researcher asked Primary Three students what they would do if they had found valuable objects or if the seller had given them too much change one week after the lesson, they were unanimous in their answers: "Keep both the object and the extra change!"

In fact, moral teaching took place more often than what happened in the classroom. It took all the time the students were at school. But the teaching came in form of punishment rather than praise or rewards. Students got punished or scolded whenever they made a lot of noise, teased one another, stole or neglected to do their homework. Thus moral teaching was taught through the teachers' reactions to their students' behaviours and so depended a great deal on the teachers' various personal standard and criteria.

Observing rules was another way of learning moral which was not as obvious as the other three. This is what Dreeben called 'the hidden curriculum'. Certain rules were never uttered but were obeyed by generations of students such as- never spoke rudely to your teachers. In the schools under study, these unwritten and unspoken rules were hidden inside and outside the classrooms. New students soon learned what they were allowed to do and what were forbidden. This habit formation which was never taught but always emphasized and strictly observed were obedience, diligence, attentiveness to the study as well as good manners. This method of teaching was much more effective than the pledge of loyalty or the flag hoisting sessions. That ceremony was to teach nationalism and good citizenship but the method was superficial and naive. Reading the students' essays on good citizenship, one found that they had no idea what this meant. To them, to be a good citizen was to become a soldier or a policeman when they could fight with the enemy, the communists and the robbers. From their essays also, one had a glimpse of their social values in terms of job preference although these values are yet to be confirmed. The students seemed to prefer to be civil servants. It was their ideal career. They had learned that farming was hard working and difficult. There was no mention of other self employed work in their essays on their future career. It was suspected that the existing curriculum and educational system may have contained a great deal of this hidden values. On closer look, the hidden curriculum had more civic teaching than religious one. It also reflects the fact that their goal was more for the individual interest rather than for the interest of the group.

The Relevance of Primary Education and Parental Expectation

At this point, one may compare the quality of education expected by the state through the curriculum and that expected by the people in the villages under study in order to judge its relevance. We could see signs of discrepancy from some of the findings presented in chapter 3 on the quality of education as expected by the ministry of education and the quality of education as expected by the people as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Here one will look in details at each of the following dimensions of quality in education.

Quality in education means that

1. Curriculum content and objectives are in accordance with the country needs which in turn are based on the real social needs and that they are realistic for the subsequent implementation.
2. The curriculum has a definite and explicit design for implementing and monitoring.
3. The output of the education has obtained the desirable quality as specified by the objectives.

In this analysis, education quality according to various groups have been compared as shown in Table 9

Table 9 Discrepancies in the expected and the actual quality of education in the rural schools

dimension of quality	Expected quality (by MOE)	Actual quality	Parents' expectation
1. Curriculum-educational system	1. Duration of compulsory education (6 years)	1. Actual teaching: 5 teaching years	1. Four years only with one more year at pre-school level
	2. Emphasis on 4 blocks of experience: skill, life experience, habit formation and work orientation	2. Also 4 blocks but with different ratio of emphasis	2. Three blocks on skill, habit formation, work orientation
2. Teaching-learning and assessment	3. Ratio of contents: skill > habit – formation > life experience = work orientation	3. Ratio: skill > life > habit formation = work orientation	3. Ratio: skill (reading writing and arithmetic) > moral religious teaching(habit) > work orientation
	4. Teachers' quality: ability to comply with official and pedagogical regulations	4. Ability to comply with official regulations only	4. Teaching efficiency human relationship and good moral standard

dimension of quality	Expected quality (by MOE)	Actual quality	Parents' expectation
3. Quality in the education output	5. Students' learning through prescribed activities	5. lectures with few activities to reduce burden on teachers and parents	5. No extra financial burden on students activities
	6. Emphasis on student's cognitive and non-cognitive learning achievement	6. Emphasis on final achievement scores	6. Emphasis on the application of learned knowledge
	7. Desired qualities diligent, hard-working, honest, economical and self disciplined	7. Obedient, diligent attentive and good mannered	7. Obedient, diligent good mannered having good religious faith
	8. Good member of the community and the country	8. Good manner of the family and community	8. Good member of the family
	9. Having achieved all the curriculum objectives	9. No expectation of all objectives being achieved	9. Levels and nature of achievement are vague and various

The first dimension to be investigated is the curriculum and the educational system. This consists of years of compulsory education and syllabic contents Table 9 shows that there was a contrast of 6 years as required by the primary education as opposed to only 5 years of teaching hours (see Table 4 in chapter 4) and this again has to be seen in contrast with the 4 years that the parents in the villages wished would be the number of years required of their children by the primary education and also their wish that should the compulsory education had to take 5 years, it should start sooner with the pre-school class and ends with Primary Four only.

In terms of the syllabus contents, although the curriculum consists of 4 blocks of experience, namely the skill block, life experience block, habit formation block and finally the work orientation block, the actual teaching-learning in the 4 schools under study covered all areas but not extensively so due to the reasons already mentioned in chapter 3. The parents on the other hand, only wished for 3 blocks and did not see the necessity for the life experience block as they thought that it was something the children could pick up outside the school as they grow older.

The second dimension is teaching-learning and evaluation process. This consists of ratio of subject contents, teachers' quality, and the teaching-learning and assessment systems. The following discrepancies have been found.

The curriculum has been designed that the various blocks of experience are taught in the following ratio 35% for skill block, 25% for habit formation block, 20% for life experience block and the other 20% for work-orientation block. The school on the other hand, had given a new ratio to the subjects: 70-80% for the skill block, some for the life experience block and very little for the habit formation and work experience blocks. The parents also gave greater emphasis on the skill block, almost as great emphasis on the habit formation block while they saw very little needs for the work orientation block and none in fact for the life experience block.

The desirable quality in teachers as specified in the manual for Primary School Educational Administrators (1982) is the ability to comply with the official regulations and pedagogical instructions. Findings from our research have shown that both at the supervision unit level and the school level, the emphasis was more on the ability to conform to official regulations. This is the opposite of what has been expected of a teacher by the parents. To them, a teacher must first be good at his job and should be devoted to the children. He should also have good human relationship and have the teachers' ethics. They also wanted a teacher who was morally good and who could set a good examples to the students.

The curriculum demands that teaching-learning is carried out through the use of activities with little rote learning (see Primary Education curriculum, 1978). In the school under study, we have found both the schools which had tried to arrange activities and those which had ignored this part of the curriculum as they meant more work and preparation for the teachers. Parents were not very keen on activities either as they usually meant more expense for them so would like to see the school arrange as few activities as possible.

Discrepancies have also been found in evaluation. While the curriculum prescribes evaluation only on the contents which would have been useful to the students' ways of living, the teachers preferred to evaluate only the cognitive skills. Moreover, at the school level, the lack of readiness on the teachers' part and the poor teaching quality have made many desirable things impossible to evaluate so the school were only interested in passing all the students at the end of the year. Parents also were not concerned with evaluation either and were more interested in the students' ability to apply the knowledge on their life outside the school such as the ability to read, write and do sums as well as to help in the sales of their crops, to read instructions that came on the fertilizer containers etc. To the parents, learning achievement is measured in terms of the ability to apply the knowledge learned and not in terms of the achievement scores.

The third dimension of quality is the quality of those who graduate from primary schools. All parties concerned agreed unanimously that the primary school leavers should be able to read and write as well as to do simple arithmetic. But they disagreed on the affective domain of learning achievement and in the nature of the desirable quality in this domain.

The curriculum prescribes that the students should be hard working, honest, economical and self-disciplined (see Primary Education curriculum, 1978). But on site observations showed that the students were taught to be obedient, diligent, and attentive to their study as well as to have good manners. The parents' expectations were close to the schools' with slight difference: they too expected their children to be obedient, diligent and have good manners but they also expected their children to be firm believers of the religious faith. Hence one could see that diligence is the only common quality expected by the three parties concerned but closer investigation reveals that they were expected different aspects of diligence. The school expected diligence in learning only. Obedience and good manners were both expected by the school and the parents but this is not the objective which the primary curriculum has given much emphasis on. On the other hand, other qualities expected by the curriculum like hard working, honesty, thriftiness and self discipline received little focus of attention from the schools and the parents. It was noticeable that only the parents expected the students' faith in religion as the desirable output among primary school leavers.

Who should benefit from this desirable attributes of quality among the output of primary schooling is another point where the three parties disagreed. Obviously, it should at least benefit the students themselves. But to what purpose? The curriculum expects that these qualities should help making the student a good citizen and a good member of the society. The school only expected the students to be a good member of the family and his community while the parents only wanted him to be a good member of the family. They could not extend the benefit to the community nor to the nation as a whole.

Although all parties agreed on the proficiency in the cognitive skills, their criteria of proficiency were different. Primary Six syllabus expects its graduates to be able to

'read prose and poetry, write correspondence, participate in discussions and debates, giving talks, calculate areas on triangles, quadrangles and circles, calculate sums, involving fractions and decimal points as well as to be able to work out percentage of a sum.'

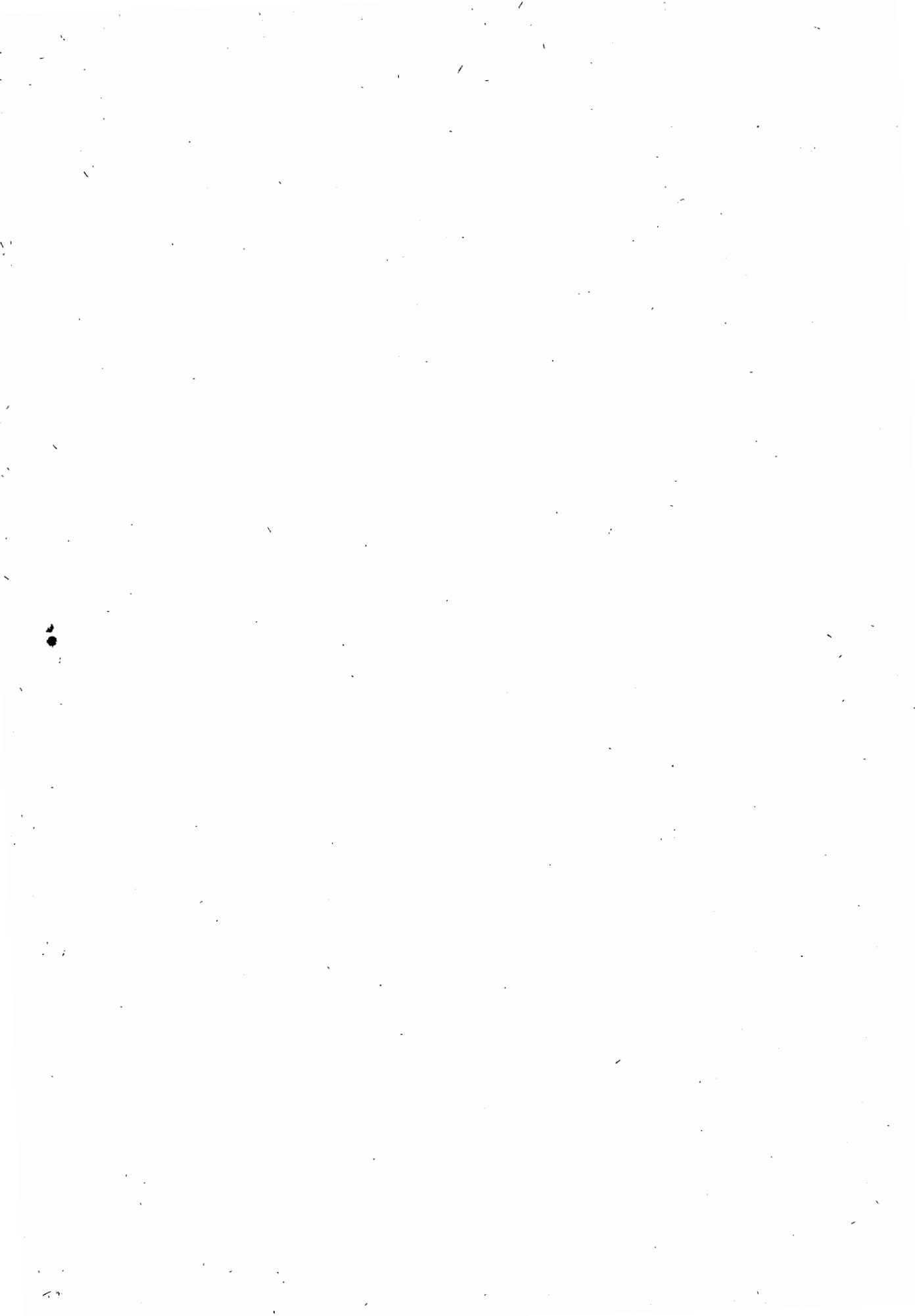
(see Primary Education Curriculum, 1978)

These criteria are definite and detailed. In reality, none of the schools under study expected their students to be able to do all these, as reflected in their evaluation. Interviews with the more educated parents (i.e. those with more than 4 years of education) have shown them to have vague and various criteria ranging from the ability to read newspapers to reciting or memorizing pieces from the Thai literature; or from working out simple arithmetic to ability to calculate compound interest on loan obtained from the Farmers and Co-operation Bank.

Conclusion

A comparison of the expected quality of rural primary education with the actual quality showed that there existed discrepancies in syllabus and subject contents, duration of compulsory education, teaching-learning and assessment system and the quality of the

education output namely the school leavers. It was found also that there was some correspondence in the expectation by the schools and that by the Ministry of Education. The schools had tried to implement the curriculum but they were not equipped to do so, due to lack of readiness, potentiality and the social pressure exerted on them by the local communities. Lack of regular and efficient supervisions had also weakened their good intention to reinforce the new curriculum. A wider gap was found to exist in the quality of education as expected by the local people and that expected by the Ministry of Education. The former had a much narrower view of education. The local people seemed to confine their expectation of education to its pragmatic usefulness. One way of increasing the quality of education is therefore by reducing the discrepancies between the expected and the actual quality.



CHAPTER VI

Discussion and Recommendation

This research has set out to present a detailed study of the schools in the rural areas of Thailand. The essence of the research is to give empirical description which may confirm or refute the previously vague speculations on the rural school quality of educational administrations. However, here is a short summary of our approach and findings.

1. In this study, quality of education had been studied in terms of its causal factors and its output. The quality of education was specified into various dimensions, i.e. curriculum, (objectives and contents), teaching-learning and assessment system and finally the quality of the rural primary school leavers.

2. Empirical data showed that quality of education had been solely judged by the students' cognitive ability. Six factors namely educational administrative system, headmasters, teachers, teaching-learning and assessment, parent-students and school local communities all contributed against the desired quality of education due to their lack of efficiency.

3. Since the empirical data could only cover certain dimensions in education, the researchers thus compared the expectation of all the parties concerned in the educational process to see if there were any discrepancies in their expectations. The study showed irrelevance between the quality of education expected by the Ministry of Education, who had designed the curriculum, the school who implemented it and the people who sent their children to schools.

However, it should be mentioned here that empirical data in this study have been obtained from the study of only 4 rural schools. One may not extend the generalizations made from them beyond the four cases of study. Thus the following discussions are to be taken as applicable directly to the four schools in question although one would hope that their study would yield useful insights to other studies on rural education in Thailand.

Discussions

All parties concerned seems to have agreed on one thing and that is teaching literacy is one of the primary school's basic duties. However, educationists still have one question which is fundamental but challenging to answer : is literacy really essential to the living in Thai rural society? Many earlier researches as well as this one have shown that the Thai rural people do not think there was any benefit to be gained from literacy. One thing is certain : it has not helped improving their economic stability nor make their agricultural

work more prosperous. Schooling to them is just another rite of passage, like puberty rite. So when the time has come that extra labour is needed on the farm, they would move the children from school to be put on the farm. One evidence for this is the high rate of drop out after Primary Four when most children are of the age when they can work as full labourers. One can equally argue that literacy is redundant to their way of living as communication with the outside world can still be made through other media such as transistors, television, movies or other forms of media. Literacy or book learning had been non-existent for so long and even modern society has found little use in it. However, more researches need to be carried out before one can draw any more conclusion on this .

The next aspect of primary education to be considered is its compulsory duration. How long do the children need to stay in school. One can answer this question by examining (a) the time actually used in teaching the curriculum contents (b) one's expectation of the possible career the school leavers will take (c) the age when they are ready to take up the career and (d) their physical, intellectual and mental readiness for the career. An analysis of the 1978 primary education curriculum has shown it to be so crammed with subject contents that one already doubts if the 6 years is sufficient for their teaching. If the educationists do not wish to reduce the syllabus contents, at least, they should show the teachers the priority in the syllabus of what is vitally important and what are of decreasing importance. However, one will not go too deep into this as the research does not intend to set up an educational reform here. One will confine oneself to a comparison of the people's expectation to that of the state's. Only time can tell which expectation is more feasible and more practical. Two points will be mentioned on duration of compulsory education: first, there should be a revision to some educationists' ideas of extending compulsory education to lower secondary education as this will surely widen the existing gap between the rural people's expectation and that of the state's; secondly, the state should look into the possibility of complying with the people's wish in offering the pre-school educational service and this would be more beneficial to the rural people. In fact there is an argument for opting out for the second alternative should one wish to increase the number of years in compulsory education. Curle was of this opinion when he commented:

"If we jump from the discovery that education is factor in development to the conclusion that it is an incontrovertibly good thing, and the more of it the better, we are making a dangerous error."

(Curle 1969, cited by Holmes, 1973)

What benefits other than literacy can a school give to the children then? Our findings also showed that rural people were not interested in subjects in the life experience block. Their world was confined to their village or those nearby. Any life experience they needed to know, they can get from their own environment without having to be 'taught' by the school. On the other hand, they gave much emphasis to the school's functioning as mentors of their children's habit and character formation. This aspect, therefore deserves greater attention from curriculum designers. At present, character formation is taught through the hidden curriculum, and it is the school who has made this hidden

curriculum. The school's values and prohibitions filter through the children and form their subsequent character and values. There has been no planning nor any discrimination made in the implementation of the hidden curriculum and it may not be surprising to find that some of the values implanted by the school do not coincide with the national educational policy.

In a rural society like Thailand where the people's economic largely depends on farming production, the people may not need any knowledge other than what has been passed on through generations as their cultural heritage. Rural people thus feel that there is no need to learn anything else apart from literacy (an urban value which is widespread and which has taken a firm root among the rural people) and character formation. They do not see any point in teaching any other skills except maybe farming skills. In fact, it seemed that economic change will have to take the lead first and then education can prepare the people for the change. Any attempt to teaching students other skills will remain a thankless task until one can prove that such trainings are useful in a more varied rural society in terms of occupations. Thus the Ministry of Education's selection of subject contents for the work orientation block will have to take into account of the social and economic contexts of the Thai rural society.

We have seen in chapter IV and Chapter V that certain parts of the syllabus contents do not correspond too closely with the Thai rural life. This is due to the lack of local or regional curriculum which can serve as a link between the national curriculum and the local needs to make the education more meaningful to the rural people. One will have to revise the existing curriculum or be landed with having 2 curricula: one for the urban society and the other for the rural society as has been suggested by Bennett (1977) but this may not coincide with the national educational policy.

Curriculum analysis also reveals another point for revision. Half of the teaching time is allocated to the skill block in the lower primary education (Primary One and Two) while the habit formation block only has a quarter of it. It has been confirmed by child psychologists and educationists alike that the most formative years are the early years of childhood. Parents also expect the school to give moral teaching to their children so it is a shame that one has not devoted the early part of the schooling to habit and character formation. This is another point to be revised. Moreover, an increase in the teaching hours for habit and character formation block will automatically mean fewer teaching hours for the skill subjects and this change will reduce cramming of the early stage. It can also create a more positive attitude to school among children who naturally prefer story telling and taking part in activities to the laborious work involved in reading and writing.

It is hoped that these observations will be of future use to the development of curriculum in Thailand.

Regarding teaching-learning and assessment system, no detailed discussions are needed under this topic as it is fairly self evident that any improvement in teaching-learning and assessment will almost automatically bring about an improvement in the quality of

rural education as this factor has the most direct effect in students' learning achievement as well as receives the effects from other factors. Therefore, the teaching-learning and assessment system are intervening factors while other factors like school management system, headmasters, teachers, parent-students and school communities are factors which can explain the students achievement indirectly.

Empirical findings reveal that curriculum implementation and school monitoring link these six factors together and if one wants to improve quality in education, one has to improve the implementation and the monitoring first (on the assumption that the curriculum is suitable and correspondent to the country's needs.). Implementation here involves other factors like supply and use of teaching equipment, in-service teachers' training programs, teachers' thorough understanding of the curricular conceptual framework, and the actual time spent on teaching. Monitoring involves variables like school supervision, a check on the headmaster's and the teachers' administrative or teaching performance. Thus we can see that the real keys to an improvement in quality of education lie in implementation and school monitoring and our target group should not be confined to the teachers but should include supervisors. In actual fact, supervisors should be our first target as they are responsible in explaining the curriculum to the teachers in the first place. It is also their job to give advise and to monitor teachers. Curriculum developers and supervisors should have been working hand in hand from the start.

In a way, it is impossible to have an educational reform without any preparation for the change in the educational infrastructure and the change in the total social structure. In Thailand, educational reform took shape in 1976 (see Report of the committee for the Framework of Education Reform, 1976). The new education system was proclaimed in 1977 and the new curriculum implemented in 1978. Our data shows that little preparation had been arranged to anticipate the reform in terms of budget allocation for personal training and the revision of the previous administration structure. The Office of the National Primary Education Commission was not formed until after the reinforcement of the new curriculum. Thus, even now, it is still too premature to expect to see any substantial result of the implementation as the educational structure was not ready for it. On the change in the whole social structure, one may well argue that this is more difficult to change but it has to be insisted here that any change in education without changes in larger social systems like the economic, social and political systems cannot create the result aspired by the educationists. We simply cannot prepare our children for the professional skills if there is no work for them once they leave the school. One cannot train one's children to be self disciplined and open minded in the school when the society outside still has no regard for any of these concepts. And in this lies the roots of all the irrelevance one finds between the curriculum and the society, and it looks as if the educationists are fighting an endless war in this.

Considering the quality of school leavers: the next question one needs to consider is : what do children get from going to school? The answer was that they play with friends. In Primary Six students' essays on their feeling on leaving the school, most children

mentioned that they felt sad to have to leave their friends. To the children, what matters most are their friends at school while for us the grown-ups, it's their final accumulated scores that matter. **It looks as if we are more anxious to produce the clever human beings as opposed to the socialable ones.** Adults also differ in their concepts of what constitutes a good student. The adult in the Ministry of Education seem to interpret them as being diligent, hard-working, honest, thrifty and self-disciplined. The adults who are their teachers want them to be obedient, diligent and attentive on school work while their adults at home expect them to be obedient, diligent, moralistic and religious. Notice also that these qualities serve different functions and are for different target groups. The discrepancies between the Ministry of Education's expected qualities, the schools' and the parents' reveal the lack of unity in the Thai common educational goal. The Ministry's expectation is useful and essential to people living in a changing social and economic world and should be encouraged and fulfilled. But if the teachers themselves lack these qualities, how can we expect them to be capable of instilling these qualities among their pupils? Thus, it is not enough to set up desirable qualities in the curriculum objectives. One has to create a thorough and efficient design where every factor and process involved are taken into consideration. One of the processes will be first to educate the teachers and parents.

Life in the rural society does not correspond or fall in with the Ministry of education's expected quality in the students. The curriculum success in terms of giving work experience thus depends largely on the one's ability to change the social environment and to educate the rural parents that they need to be aware of what goes on outside their little village should they wish to improve their lot.

Another point which deserves to be mentioned here is the role of education in rural development. Recently, rural schools have been counted upon to take important role but our close study of the schools has convinced us that the schools should have been assigned only one role of teaching and educating of the next generation of human resources which is its proper job. At present, the headmasters are too involved in village council work; teachers have to help with promoting more jobs for the rural population as well as in the non-formal education while the students are asked to take part in the village development activities—all at the expense of teaching and learning in the school. These other works should take a second priority. They are irregular, and superficial while the school in fact has a definite target goal which is to help producing the next generation with good quality and already they have found it hard work just to do the one job they have well. This sole job is highly fundamental to the future society which is likely to take an even more materialistic development.

The final point to make comes from Rapee Sakrik's quotation (Sakrik, 1983) :

“In improving the quality of education, one has to decide first if we have given higher quality to the school through material aids in the hope that the students will be of higher quality or if we are improving the students' quality so that the school will be recognized as a good school even though it has no classroom walls and its roofs can just adequately be called 'roofs.'”

In the past, educationists have focused their attention to the quantitative variables in education and now there has been a trend to look also from the qualitative aspects. Let's hope, however, that this new interest will not confine itself to the materialistic quality of education at the expense of the humanistic quality which is the final goal of education.

Recommendations

The following are recommended for the management of rural primary education in Thailand:

1. Should primary education be extended, the direction for extension should go down to the early year of childhood—ie. the offering of pre-school education as more benefit would be obtained compared with the upward extension to include the lower secondary education. Also this early year of childhood is crucial to the instilling of the fundamentals quality in young population and also this service will be of greater benefit to the greater proportion of the Thai population.

2. A greater focus and increase on the teaching of the habit formation block of experience are recommended highly for Primary One and Two while the amount of teaching in the skill block should be reduced to make room for the increase as this age is open to formation of good habits.

3. Attention should be directed toward the improvement in the curriculum implementation especially the training of supervisors and those in charge of giving teachers advice and monitoring their work. Every teacher should be directly trained by the centre in charge as it has proved ineffective to rely on the first bunch of trainees to pass on what they have been trained in to their colleagues in the same provinces. It is important to make sure that the right teachers are trained for the right blocks of experience. In fact, one would recommend an integrated model of training as the teachers at the primary level have to be in charge of all the subject for one class, this may not be true of primary schools in the big cities but it is certainly the case with most rural primary schools.

4. It is crucial to mention that all in-service training especially the higher certificate of teaching offered by the teacher training colleges are relevant to the need and practice in the primary teaching. The training contents should have greater focus on the increase in teaching methodology and techniques and those taking part in the training must be made to feel that it is a real professional training programme which has not been set up just to increase their qualification with only effect on higher status and salary.

5. Supervisory units must be made to function more effectively especially in monitoring, assessing and giving needed professional advice. Both the supervisors and headmasters should be carefully selected and trained to be capable academically and professionally.

6. Assessment methods must be practical reaching the realistic and essential goal

with priority list made in the learning objectives set. It is important to give every teacher training in assessment and evaluation as well as facilitate the administration for the assessment through all possible means like available forms, audio-visual equipment, allocated time for test taking and remedial teaching which is counted as part of the teachers' teaching load and taken into consideration at time of promotion. A system should be set up in a school where there is a reliable assessment of each students' ability as prescribed by the syllabi and learning objectives.

7. The state must always recognize and remember that the principle duty of the school is human resource development and that this is a fairly difficult task which required all the manpower the school has. The state should not burden the school with any materialistic development which should be allocated to other office. The state must also realize that human development takes years to see the fruit of the investment and does not pressurize the school with high aspiration to be realize overnight.

8. The government should revise the allocation of budget both in terms of cash and subsidies. It is important to make sure that each school is self support to a certain extent with the government budget being adjusted by the school non-government budget. There exists such a varieties in the schools in different parts of Thailand in terms of needs and available raw materials. The conformity used in the allocation and distribution of the available school equipments and expendables has resulted in a great deal of waste and the inability to make of what is available through the local supply which serves the local needs better.

9. At present, since it is not possible to retrieve the loan workbook, or coursebooks at the end of the year, it is not advisable to use good and therefore expensive materials which has brought up the cost of their production.

10. Serious attention must be direct to the development of regional syllabi to supplement the national curriculum. The school cluster is the appropriate unit to set up this project. However, for this development, it is stressed here that the understanding through a thorough understanding of the region infrastructure, needs and supplies are crucial hence the local people must be involved as the crucial part in the development.

11. It would be worthwhile to commission research to confirm or refute the belief that the modern technology and mass media like television, radio, movies, video-tapes etc. have helped to dissipated illiteracy in the rural society. How much illiteracy is still exists in the Thai rural areas, where and what have obstructed or resisted the changes.

12. One feels that primary education in the rural area would do well if attached more closely to the temples where it would benefit from the religious and moral teaching and this will have increase the role played by the monks.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Factors Affecting the Quality of Rural Primary Education

The findings from this research have shown that certain input factors received by the four schools seem to affect the quality of education found in the schools. Thus in order that the rural school administrators might benefit from these findings, they are listed in this appendix.

1. The national curriculum:

In 1978, the Ministry of Education issued an act which offered the implementation of a new primary education curriculum in replacement of the previous curriculum which had been in use since 1960. The present curriculum consists of 4 blocks of education areas namely block of skills, block of life experience, block of habit formation and block of working experience. The approximate ratio of time allocated to these blocks is as follows:

	Primary 1-2 %	Primary 3-4 %	Primary 5-6 %
Block of Skills	50	35	25
Block of Life Experience	15	20	25
Block of Habit Formation	25	25	20
Block of Working Experience	10	20	30
Total	100	100	100

When this research was conducted, the new curriculum was in its third year of implementation. Practical analyses of the curriculum, lesson plans and the teacher's manuals prepared by the Ministry to implement the new curriculum and observations of the schools under study have revealed the following major problems:

1.1 Curriculum development

(a) The time allocated for the block of working experience seems unrealistic in proportion to its subject content. A look at the curriculum reveals 45 pages of content for the block of working experience while each for the other 3 blocks exceeded 100 pages. Six members were working on the committee for this block compared with 30 members in the committee working on the Thai language; 24 in the block of life experience committee and 22 in the block of habit formation committee. A detailed content analysis also shows that the block of working experience cover only 6 subjects namely handicraft, craftsmanship, house keeping, agriculture and other vocational trainings in accordance with the local needs.

Only 2 subjects, are specified in vocational trainings : beautician training and selling-giving services but no further details were supplied in their lesson plans and teacher's manuals. This means that should the teacher choose to offer these subjects they will have to set up their own syllabi and lesson plans- a highly demanding task even for a skilled curriculum developer. Also this block is compulsory and amount as to as much as 30% of all the teaching hours in the syllabus for Primary 5 and 6, yet it is surprising that the content is so diluted. On the other hand, Primary 6 is the crucial point when all children have to take the common school cluster examination. Thus the teachers tended to devoted most of the time available to teaching all the required skill courses first in order to pass this examination at the expense of the subjects in the working experience block. The lack of emphasis on this block of working experience could give an undesirable; effect when one considers that the Thai people in general do have very little aptitude in buying, selling and giving service. On top, the majority of the Thai population are agricultural workers with little or no skill at all in producing, manufacturing and marketing their farm products.

(b) Certain parts of the curriculum content are more suitable for schools in urban areas then for those in the rural, The criticism had often been made with no substantiating evidence. In this research, schools under study are rural village schools. The researchers analyzed the primary education curriculum in details and was monitoring its implementation closely in the schools under study. Our observations yield evidence of some incongruities between the curriculum contents and the actual rural conditions and environment. One teacher commented that it was impossible to conduct certain prescribed activities such as "choosing the children toys (see curriculum for block of life experience, Primary 1-2), discussing the violation of rights and destruction of public properties such as picking flowers in public parks, using public roads for car repair garage, throwing garbage in public waterways etc. (see curriculum for ethics, Primary 1-6), living room and kitchen decoration, planning for school living rooms and canteens, choosing tablecloths and curtains, floral arrangement, visiting material and fabric shops, visiting dress making shops, choosing dress patterns for fashion catalogues, proper ways of ironing materials made of cotton, silk and nylon (see curriculum for block of working experience, Primary 5-6), crocheting the edges of handkerchiefs and underwear (see curriculum for handicraft and craftsmanship, Primary 3-4, Ministry of education, 1978)" These numerous examples seem to support criticisms from several educationists that most curricula in developing countries in Asia received far too much influence from the West and were more suitable for urban society (Manalang, 1971 ; Bennett, 1973 ; Singleton, 1873). Thus local curriculum development is urgently needed to eliminate this incongruity as it has been confirmed by this research that the teachers under study were unable to adapt the parts mentioned to their actual rural environment and the widespread solution to the problem was to omit those parts altogether in their teaching.

1.2 Curriculum implementation

(a) **Inadequate preparation of instructional plans for the new curriculum.**
In the schools used as units of analysis, it was found that there had not been adequate

orientation of teachers in anticipation of the curriculum implementation. Moreover, the syllabi, teacher's manuals, coursebooks and supplementary readings had either not been prepared or if prepared, had not been delivered to the schools before the beginning of the semesters. Nor could one confidently say that there had been enough readiness in terms of monitoring, supervising and arrangements for the formative evaluation of the implementation. This situation seems to support a remark once made by Hurst, a World Bank expert, *The transition from piloted curriculum project to large-scale national adaptation of a curriculum is often made without the provision of necessary complementarity, such as teachers, textbooks and physical resources.* (Hurst, 1981) Another revealing evidence was found in the allocation of budget for primary schools in 1978 – a year before the implementation of the new curriculum. No budget had been allocated for expenses on software and hardware teaching material and equipment which had been specified by the activities in the new curriculum. In fact, their allocation of budget came a year after the enforcement of the new curriculum with only just over 22 million baht (approximately one million dollars allocated to all the rural schools in the country. Also only 453,000 bath was allocated to the Department of Curriculum and Instructional Development in 1978 for the purpose of orientating and training of the teachers on the national scale to the implementation of the new curriculum. This amount, ironically, was less than the budget allocated for the teachers' in service training in 1976 when there was no curriculum change. Consequently, only 260 teachers had received any orientation (according to records for the Research Division under the Department of Curriculum and Education Technique in the Ministry of Education) True, the Province Administrative Organization also received some budget for the orientation of their teachers but when one considers that there were well over 300,000 primary school teachers (50,000 of whom teach in Primary One), one has to conclude that the teacher training and orientation for the new curriculum have been too limited to be effective.

This deplorable allocation of educational budget reflected the government's underestimation of the importance of education and does recall Levine's remark:

“A review of the educational reform and implementation literature suggests that the rhetoric or reform is probably its most important manifestation, rather than the changes that it claims to produce”

(Levine in Weiler (ed) 1980)

It left the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development under the Ministry of Education who was responsible in initiating the curriculum change struggling with what limited resources they had. One must say they certainly did a good job out to the limited fund they had by coming up with the project of pioneer school. These schools implemented the new curriculum on the full scale so that problems thereof could be identified and subsequently tackled. Concurrent efforts was made among education policy makers and administrators to secure more budget for provision of all the facilities required by the new curriculum. An evidence for this can be seen in the details for budget allocation in primary education and in the numerous projects for primary education development in the 5th

National Educational Plan (1982-1987). The plan aims at full scale implementation of the new curriculum by 1987.

(b) Problems arising from the unrealistic demand made by the new curriculum on the teachers. Curriculum development can be compared to making an architectural design with the curriculum developers being its architects making blueprints for the construction builders. But this process cannot do without assistance from an engineer who helps also to estimate and adjust the loading feasibility to the design before the actual construction. Otherwise one may land with a beautiful, functional and useful building on a shaky foundation. Likewise, a new curriculum cannot make an overload demand on the unprepared teachers who are also unwilling to work any harder for a distant and vague output of education. Hurst had mentioned more than once that real education evaluation is based on 2 instrumental factors namely the teachers' conviction and their teaching skills and that the smallest unit where one may decide if the education reform had succeeded or failed is the classroom. (Hurst, 1981). Thus another problem in the implementation of the new curriculum in the Thai educational context is caused by an over-estimation of the potentialities and willingness from teachers who are underpaid and have poor morale in carrying out their job.

2. Supervision and monitoring

2.1 Problems due to the lack of adequate management for supervision and monitoring.

In the 1977 Ministry of Education's regulation, ten job descriptions were made of supervisor's post. We can classify the ten duties into 3 categories namely professional duties, inservice training, educational standard control with professional duty being the primary and the most essential responsibility. This consists of giving teachers pedagogical and professional advises, carrying out research projects, instructional development, preparation of teachers' manuals and teaching instructions as well as providing suggestions for evaluation procedures. This regulation was inadequate, containing no specifications to help the supervisors in coping with the changes in the new curriculum; yet it was in use for 3 more years after the enactment of the new curriculum in 1978 and not until 1981 that a new regulation was issued with details for more measures to be taken in the implementation specified right down to the units of school clusters in accordance with the curriculum principles and contents. Thus it can be seen that 3 years has lapsed after the enforcement of the new curriculum before any measures was taken for supervision and monitoring which have been given under the care and responsibility of the newly founded commission of the Primary Education Office under the Ministry of Education.

2.2 The lack of clear cut specification of duties and responsibilities in supervision and monitoring. Although both regulations for supervision (1977 and 1981) have specified that these two jobs come under the responsibility of the supervisory units, supervisors have a tendency to regard themselves responsible for professional supervision only especially in rural education which until 3 years ago, was under the Province (Changwaad) Administrative Organization (CAO), the Ministry of Interior. Then the supervisors, under the Ministry of

Education had no real authority over the actual monitoring since they had no real power to reinforce. The CAO on the other hand, believed or considered the monitoring to be the supervisors' job so had neglected this aspect in the monitoring of the school in the province. Thus in the past, no one was responsible for the monitoring of the curriculum until the reorganization for primary education system in 1980 when the Office of the National Primary Education Commission (ONPEC) was set up under the Ministry of Education and all the rural schools which were previously under the CAO were transferred and put under its responsibility that the 2 jobs could be integrated in the same department. The ONPEC set up its own supervision division. However, it is yet too early to say how much this change will effect the monitoring and professional supervision of the rural schools. ONPEC's current policy is to assign more important role to school clusters in professional supervision and school monitoring.

3. Budget

A study by a sub-committee for primary education budget allocation mentioned that in the past, there existed certain inequality and inequity in budget for primary education and suggested that this could be better allocated by using educational needs index for each province (Report of the Sub-Committee on Primary Education Budget Allocation 1981). Thus one may expect in future a more widespread distribution of budget for primary schools in the country which should better serve to meet the needs nationwide. However, certain points should be considered on the ratio for the allocation of different expense categories. **Table 1** below gives the details of the budget allocation for primary education between 1977-1981. The budget is classified in various categories of expense. It is worth noted that 3/4 of the total budget was spent on operational cost- 80% of which was for salary, leaving only 20% for any other management and development cost. Data obtained from the schools under study even revealed a more worrying ratio. There as much as 96% of the running cost (compared with 92% in the previous year) was spent on teachers' and administrators' salary (see Table 1). The school could rely on two other groups of expense namely equipment and miscellaneous expenses for the improvement of school academic standard. But again, the equipment expense was mainly used for producing school forms and documents for the school administrative routine work, not for teaching equipment. Thus the only fund available for any development in the teaching-learning which was the heart of the school function lay in the miscellaneous expenses category which went towards purchase of the new teaching materials as specified by the new curriculum, of coursebooks and of school stationary for needy children. Yet, shockingly, this miscellaneous budget amounted only about 10% of the running and management budget, and its proportion to the other budget did not changed much either before or after the implementation of the new curriculum. This figure may account for the reason why teachers had been forced to stick to the traditional lecturing method with no aid from teaching equipment nor any kind of activities due to lack of fund for the required equipment and material for the activities as more resources had been allocated for teaching staff as opposed to the acquisition of the required teaching materials. However, although the government spent well over 8,000 million baht on salary

in the year the research was conducted, and the national ratio of teacher: students was 1:23. There were inadequate numbers of teachers in the four schools in the rural areas that we have based our study on.

Table 1 : Budget Allocation for Primary Education (1977-1981)

unit : 1,000,000 baht

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
TOTAL	8,691.26	9,096.10	9,993.90	12,594.02	15,507.41
Operational cost	6,202.39	6,874.48	7,586.35	9,523.77	12,495.85
Salary	5,121.13	5,769.19	6,371.21	8,076.75	10,746.9
permanent employment	175.56	203.98	225.51	292.19	393.3
temporarily employment poraly	9.92	13.22	13.61	16.13	7.6
numeration	85.11	92.34	82.11	67.38	86.7
incurred expense	26.87	35.06	68.11	102.73	87.9
light equipment	72.03	68.89	73.54	108.46	137.15
overhead expenses	—	—	—	5.40	1.9
subsidy	27.27	30.90	31.99	39.88	60.5
miscellaneous expense	684.50	660.90	720.27	814.85	973.6
Capital cost	2,488.87	2,221.62	2,407.55	3,070.25	3,011.56
heavy equipment	135.89	149.31	185.76	233.44	300.3
land and construction	2,353.98	2,072.31	2,221.79	2,836.81	2,711.1

Source *Thailand : An Educational Sector Survey, Office of the National Education Commission, 1982 (in Thai)*

4. The role of the school cluster in school administration.

A new policy under the present curriculum was to decentralize educational responsibility from the district level to the inter-school cluster level especially the professional responsibility such as supervision, testing and evaluation (one joint board of examination per one school cluster). This policy was welcome by most teachers as it directly benefited them and their students. However, there was some administrative problems in the running of the school cluster as no fund had been provided for the teachers to travel to the inter-school group meetings at the school used as an office for the school cluster. Also the group meet rather regularly so many teachers had to be excused from schools and thus were absent from the classes there were in charge of. If these two problems can be tackled, the school cluster could cause a considerable improvement in the quality of education among the rural primary schools.

5. Teaching-learning assessment.

Assessment is one controlling factor of educational quality and thus it is essential that there should be an assessment of all the objectives pre-set by the curriculum. Formally, the traditional way of assessment was to use a test at the end of each term plus an annual test for each subject at the end of the academic year. This has been changed in 1977 when the ministry of education enforced a new evaluation method for the new curriculum whereby regular assessments are carried out throughout the term as formative evaluation measure for the teachers to give remedial work that the students need and final testing at the end of the academic year only applies to Primary Two, Four and Six in order to have some control over the national standard of educational quality. Under this new procedure, in principle it means automatic yearly promotion for the students' even though some of them may not have achieved all the objectives as set by the syllabus. However, the schools are required to provide remedial lessons for these children either during the vacation or at the beginning of the following term until they have achieved the goal of each objective. However, this research had found that in practice, the measure did little to help increase the Thai education quality due to the following factors:

5.1 Teachers' lack of training in testing and evaluation. The modern testing methods are quite alien to the majority of Thai teachers who have to rely heavily on suggestions obtained at the ministerial orientation and guidelines which were never quite adequate. The orientations usually lasted 3-5 days and this topic is usually touched lightly upon so usually the teachers have to depend on the curriculum guidelines, the teachers' manuals and the lesson plans. From what the researchers have observed in the classrooms, there have been very little evaluation in the teaching. Our analysis of the guideline and the teachers' manuals which are the sole sources of information for the teachers on this topic was disappointing since they all lack the operational details which would be useful to the teachers. For instance, in the teacher's manual for teaching the Thai language, Primary Three, the objective based assessment is

"The teacher should select or obtain suitable sets for each behavioral objective and proceed to evaluate the students accordingly"

Such recommendations are not only unoperational, they also mean nothing. Some tests are very difficult to devise even with training in this field such as those for subjects in character development area where one needs to quantify such abstract concepts as diligence, unselfishness, gratitude etc. Some of the recommended evaluative procedures suggested by the manuals were unrealistic. For instance, the lesson plan for Primary Three in Habit Formation Block, (p.51) the teachers were recommended to observe the students' behaviour while they (the students) are standing still and remembering other people's virtues. It seems that what the teachers would need to evaluate subjects in this block is to use a provided ranking scale evaluation from observation.

5.2 An increased burden on the teachers. Individual evaluation, to be carried out successfully, is time consuming. It is even more so when one considers the numerous

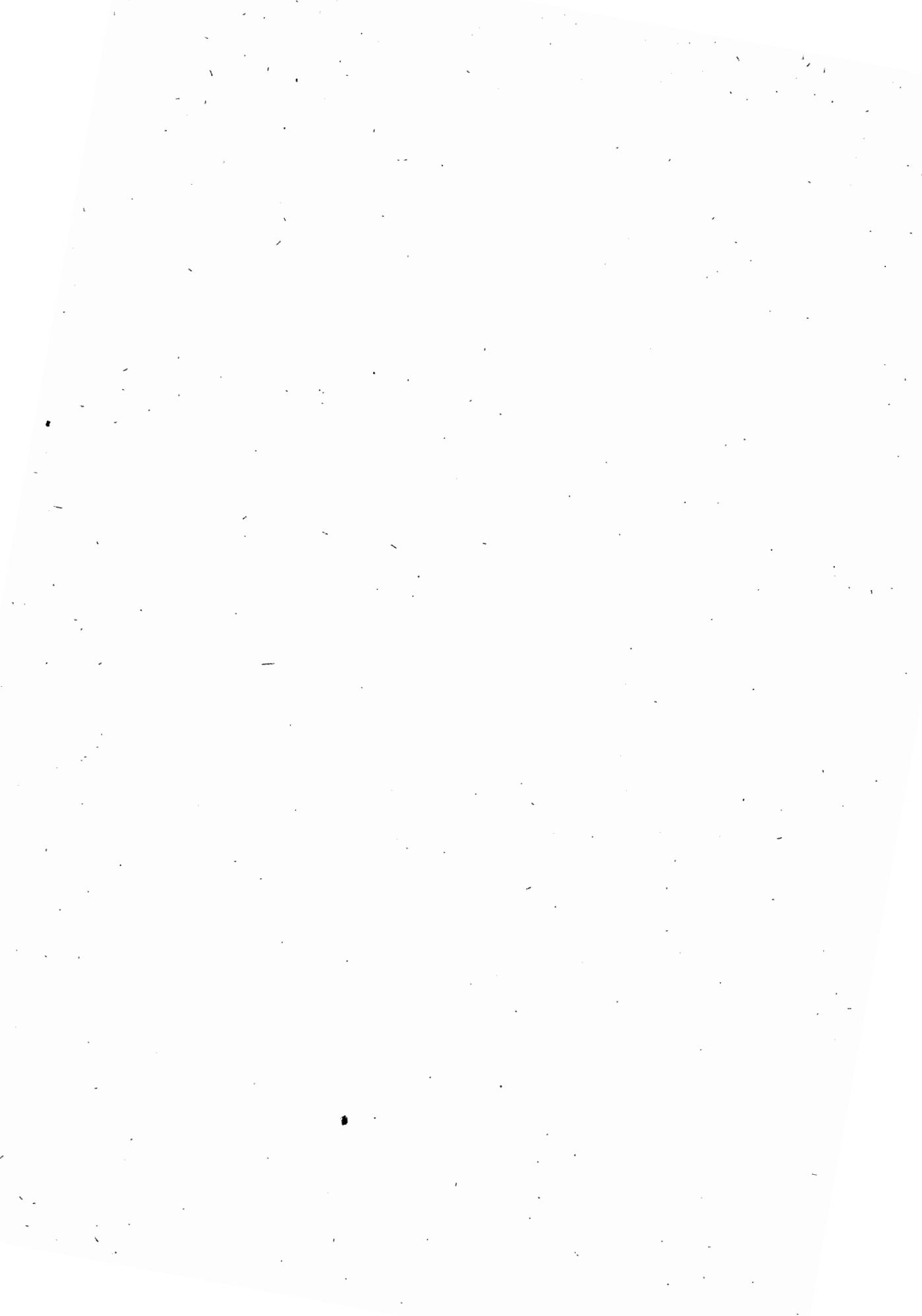
objectives required by each subjects. For instance, Primary One alone has 170 learning objectives. Thus it is impossible to expect the teachers to do this job well on top of their normal teaching load. In practice, the teachers just take for granted that the students have achieved those objectives without administering any test and without the tests, remedial works are meaningless and futile since the teachers have no way of telling which objectives the students have not achieved and what their problems are. The teachers probably know vaguely which students are clever and advanced or which are weak and slow. This modern method of testing is therefore unrealistic as it expects far too much and is beyond the teachers' ability. Also when one remembers how heavy their teaching load was and how much they were worried about covering all the contents in time, it is obvious that they would have no time to give remedial lessons to the slow students as this would have held back the whole class.

5.3 Automatic class promotion. As mentioned before, the most vital part of evaluation under the new curriculum was the assessment through the pre-set behavioral objectives. But no rigorous assessment had been carried out. It was also expected that students were individually assessed which meant more work for the reluctant teachers. Thus it seemed that no serious assessment was ever made and without them, one had no way of knowing the students' learning achievement and without which no remedial teaching was possible. Therefore, automatic promotion at the end of the year is not advisable when there were no regular assessment and remedial work as essential part in the evaluation system.

6. The people's attitude to teachers.

This factor is very interesting and deserves more careful study in depth. It has to be studied diachronically in terms of the history of Thai education. Originally, the temples were the only existing schools, this educational institute was the same as the religious institute. The teachers then were the monks who gave both the cognitive and moral teaching in the Buddhist traditional form. Skill learning was acquired through apprenticeship. Notice also that then the monks received no payment for the educational service they gave. The return of this service was indirect in the form of the students' gratitude and co-operation as well as donation from the local people to the temples. The modern education has the school as the institute. It also requires that the teachers are laymen. The educational goal has been shifted and greater emphasis was given to cognitive learning. However, the first generations of teachers were the product of the old system and the teachers were expected to give both cognitive and moral teaching. Thus the teachers' image then was not much different from that of a monk in terms of selflessness and disinterested devotion to their profession. However, this was not the model taken by the subsequent generations of teachers. In the past, only cognitive achievement was evaluated so the teachers paid less and less emphasis on giving moral teaching to their students. Also when the Primary Education Act was first introduced, there was a great shortage of teachers especially in the rural areas. One had to set up primary teachers training schools which took in people with only 4 years of education for a 4 year training (see Pin Malakul, 1946). Those teachers

were poorly qualified and it was these people who had to fulfil the monks' role in education. Thus there was such a contrast in the teachers' quality. The birth of schools in Thailand had created a change in social stratification in people whose job was to educate the Thai youths. The teachers were no longer the holy and reverend monks but just laymen who earned their living through the teaching job. The sacredness of education passed out of their hand and was given to the profaned hand of someone no better than the man nextdoor. The teachers' roles as model of moral guidance was reduced both in the teachers' consciousness and the parents' expectation. The parents no longer had a high opinion of the teachers. One often heard them discussing among themselves with great detest at the teachers' behaviour like moonlighting, coming to work late while leaving early, getting drunk, having affairs with married men etc. The people at Klong Yaaw village once criticized Khruu Ramphaa who was wearing a side slit skirt : How did you get your skirt torn?" This comment reflects the conflict the teachers are likely to have when they give moral teaching. Here one could see that the people's attitude to the teachers had deteriorated causing them to lose faith in the school and the teachers alike and this may have reduce their enthusiasm for their children's education.



APPENDIX II

Recommendations of primary school curriculum related to agriculture

1. Build an inventory of technical concepts which can be drawn from an intensive and specialized training.
2. Familiarize the rural people with available sources of technical information.
3. Give an accurate information about agricultural professions, while trying to instil a positive attitude for the profession without being unrealistic about it.
4. Inform the rural people about the government current projects on rural development, their step by step progress.
5. Give training in cost-benefit analysis to the students in the context of agricultural enterprise and farm management
6. Give students more practice in record keeping and computation.
7. Introduce students to the world of small machine technology.
8. Give the students first hand experience in management and monitoring control of money and of labor.
9. Introduce the idea of alternate uses of land.
10. Make students aware of symptom and treatment for the major rural plant and animal diseases.

Morris in Sheffield 1966 : 347

Sheffield, J. **Education, employment and rural development.** The proceeding of a conference held at Kericho, Kenya in September, 1966. Published under the auspices of University College, Nairobi. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Good Education: Characteristics of desirable teaching and learning.

1. A willingness to build the curriculum from the experiences of the pupils (rather, there would be a tendency to stay close to the prescribed syllabus).
2. The encouragement of curiosity and the observant exploration of local social, economic and natural phenomena and history (rather, again there would be a tendency to learn only from textbooks) ;
3. Encouraging searches for explanations and solutions to phenomena and problems (rather, there would be a tendency simply to give information for memorization) ;
4. Fostering a reliance on careful reasoning, (rather than on learning facts and formulas by heart) ;
5. Fostering original thinking and creative reasoning (rather, there would be a tendency to standardized responses) ;
6. devising practical projects to apply mathematical and scientific principles and

knowledge ;

7. a willingness to digress from the strict curriculum for the sake of solving a local query ;

8. due to attention to all aspects of the curriculum (rather than undue emphasis on those parts important for qualification) ;

9. the encouragement of cooperative learning (rather than exclusive attention to individual achievement) ;

10. equitable attention to all students, with particular help for the weaker (rather than excessive attention to the more able and those likely to achieve qualification).

Brooke and Oxenham 1980 : 3

Brook, Nigel, with Oxenham, John, **The quality of education in Mexican Rural Primary Schools** IDS. Research Reports. Brighton : University of Sussex, October 1980.

Some thoughts on curriculum development

1. Ability to speak, read, and write some "World language" that is, a language which will make participation in international conferences and free movements about the world possible ;

2. A grasp of the framework of western economy, use of money and credit, and a recognition of the implication of living in a contract rather than a status society ;

3. A modicum of cross-cultural sophistication which enables the individual concerned to work among people with different codes and standards without taking offense or becoming disoriented ;

4. A working acceptance of the state of mind roughly summarized in such phrases as the scientific attitude with an ability to act within its premises in public interpersonal contexts, political, economic, and technological ;

5. Some conceptualized view of history which makes it possible to deal with the time perspectives (toward the past and future) of the great civilizations ;

6. A sufficient independence of the living mesh of his own culture to be able to exist outside it without crippling nostalgia.

Margaret Mead. "Professional Problems of Education in Developing Countries." **Journal of Negro Education**, Vol.15, Summer 1946, pp.346-357.

APPENDIX III

Anthropological Fieldwork Experience on the Education in the Thai Rural Society

This article is a report of a case study of 4 schools in the central and north-eastern parts of Thailand. The emphasis will be on the experience in fieldwork the researchers have had while studying the quality of education in the Thai rural society.

Data for this research was collected by 4 researchers who were based in each school in the 2 provinces, one in the central part of Thailand and the other in the northeastern part. While staying among the people in the villages, the role the researchers took was that of assistant teacher. Recordings were made of the schools, communities, teachers, students and parents. Simultaneously, they co-ordinated closely with the research director and the consultants by having monthly discussions when they came to Bangkok. The research director and the consultants also occasionally visited the 4 sites.

Herriot's technique of cross-site study (Herriot 1977) was used in the selection of the schools and villages. Thus two sites were selected in each part of Thailand for comparative study across the geographical regions. This choice increased the complexity of the research and entailed more detailed study as each sites had its own particular characteristics. This method of site selection also increased the complexity of the data collection as well as the variables involved. The work would have gone more swiftly had only one site been used. But this would also mean that the findings would be limited as no generalization beyond the case studied would be possible. As it was expected that findings from this research could be used for policy making in Thai rural education, it is important to establish some claim to validity of any generalizations from the findings. Thus 4 schools and 4 communities were selected.

All the four researchers were graduates in social science with some background and experience in rural fieldwork. However, before the beginning of data collection, they receives some orientation and training in research methodology and filing techniques by experienced social anthropologists. They also made an intensive study by reading up background on primary education for a month before the starting of the data gathering in May, 1980 which co-incided with the beginning of the school term. The research team was in the school by the end of April. It was planned that each researcher should spend 12 months in the school so that the whole year cycle of school life and activities could be observed and recorded. They had to make 3 trips to Bangkok to reports their findings to the committee and to have discussions on the implication of the findings. However, it was found that 12 months was not sufficient as certain data had to be checked and rechecked for validity and more data were needed. In fact the fieldwork did not finish until December 1981.

In the regular meetings between the research director, the consultants and the site researchers, valuable points were made in the discussion about the advantage and disadvantage of the various research techniques used and the effect they had on the monitoring of the research project. It was felt that the lessons learned were valuable and could give useful insights for future research works employing similar research method and techniques. So it was decided to append this recording of the points made in the discussion in the research report.

1. The orientation of the researchers. Fieldworkers are not just data collectors but they are the most important research instruments. It is imperative that they understand thoroughly the scope of the project, its inter-related areas, its research questions as well as its underlying theory or principles. They also have to be up to date with recent findings in the topic. In fact, as pointed out by Wolcott in 1975, fieldworkers are usually the researchers themselves.

“...I am inclined to view fieldwork as essentially an individual undertaking. Sometimes one finds a team, usually a husband and wife and often there are assistants present at particular stages during the data gathering...”

Thus it is important that when many researchers are involved at the data gathering stage, they would have to be highly trained. We found that the researchers who were civil servants at the National Education Commission were more equipped as researchers than the hired research assistants as the latter had not enough background in the field. Also they are not very competent in terms of decision making on what might be relevant and could serve as more variables in the study although intensive training had previously been given to them.

It is crucial that before the starting of the fieldwork, the researchers should meet to agree on the frame of references and variables which they should keep in mind through the data gathering phase. In most educational researches the usual factors are factors on the schools, the teachers, headmasters, students etc., (However, in actual fact, different schools have different conditions which may increase or decrease the number of variables under study or lend themselves to a different pattern of relations but this different condition and environment would not become apparent to the researchers until after they have been in contact with and understood the society they are studying.) But this pre-data collection agreement on the factors framework should not be based on any model or theory yet as it would have a pre-determining effect on the data to be collected. Also this approach would go against the qualitative design which aims at establishing a theory and not to test or refute one. The agreed framework would also give direction and confidence to the researchers especially when they are not the research director. At these early meetings, the director should also establish guidelines of research methodology as well as give some insights into the techniques. For instance, the site researchers often ask for a discussion on the various techniques one could use for data collection.

2. The researcher status, role and personality. It is rather unfortunate that an anthropologist on fieldwork often falls under suspicion by all parties concerned. The villagers often take them to be a spy from the government while the government takes them for a communist. This view seems to prevail in all parts of the non-communist worlds. This is because he has a rather ambiguous role to play among the villagers. Spindler (1974) thus emphasizes that the researchers have to be assigned an appropriate role, and their status and role must be convincing enough for him to stay in the community while collecting the data. In this research, the site researchers were assigned the roles of temporary assistant teachers. Only the headmasters knew who they actually were. However, this disguise did not last as the headmasters soon told everyone to be careful in their work as information was being collected. Thus it was necessary for the researchers to clarify themselves that they were not there to report on the teachers. Admit this suspicion, one fact emerged. It seemed that the site researchers who were the government civil servants were accepted by the teachers and villagers as they know who they were and which government department they came from. Thus the villagers were willing to co-operate in giving information. But it did not mean that the villagers would give all information to the civil servants. On the contrary, they seemed to be more relaxing in giving information to the temporary researchers who were not government officials so could not endanger their position in the government service. But still the villagers suspected their motivation, had low opinion of them as they were "unemployed" (i.e. not having a permanent job) and suspected that they may be there to rally some mob protest against the government and this ironically made them unwilling to impart any information to them.

Future researchers should avoid any change of site researcher mid way through the research as the villagers will compare the new research with the previous one. The second one often suffers this comparison and may not get the same amount of co-operation. For instance, the villagers may not give him some information if new sets of different questions were asked on the grounds that "The last one never asked me this kind of questions". On the other hand, the second site researcher also had to be careful not to repeat any questions that have been asked by the first researchers as this would create the villagers' annoyance. It would be useful if the site researchers could develop a playful and talkative personality. Being pleasant, good-humored and patient is a good asset to him as often it is not possible to obtain any information. The most one could do was to socialize and lay a good grounding for future inter-personal relationship.

Also in a research which involves people from several departments, it is crucial that each researcher knows exactly what their roles are. In a survey research, the researchers only need to take out the questionnaires and interview people who are the target-group. But in a qualitative research, the researchers are both the research instrument, the interviewers and sometimes the source of information themselves.

3. Forming the interpersonal relationship. Once the site researcher had taken residence and been introduced to the members of the community, it is important that he stays

with the assigned role through the data collection period so that a stable relationship could be established. The best way is to 'live in' with one of the family and join in all their activities without any resentment or unwillingness. This would help him to understand the villagers' world view very fast and would make the villagers warm themselves to him sooner. Once he has familiarized himself and was accepted, he must stay that way and participate in all the local activities to make him an "in-group". To refuse would bring back the alienation. He must also prove himself to be reliable, hospitable, sympathetic and could give valid advice to the villagers. All these traits of personality would facilitate the research work. However, 2 pitfalls should be avoided. He must not take on a greater role than that which had been assigned to him and also he must not take sides and must stay unbiased in data gathering, and interpretation.

Gift presentation is good on some occasions but the researchers must be careful in making sure that they are tokens of appreciation for an appropriate occasion. He should not make the villagers 'expect' a present for each visit nor should the gift be expensive. In a small community, news travels very fast and if a gift is given, it should be given equally to everyone otherwise people could not but compare what they get with one another. A researcher must be careful also in any letter he wrote to anyone in the village as the letter would be circulated and read by everyone.

On occasions, the researcher may use the significant friend approach (Spindler 1971). That is to say he would strike up a close friendship with one member of the community who could lead him on to be introduced to other members of the community. This technique works well in a closed society. For instance, in a community where the teachers were suspicious of the site researcher, the latter may try to make friends with one of the more friendly teachers. In Singapore, a sociologist who was studying the Chinese secret societies employed this technique (Mak 1980). Mak called this technique **Snow Ball Sampling Technique** using the analogy of the first member being the first lump of snow which gathers more and more snow as it moves on through the data gathering process.

4. Interviews. Informal interviews is the technique used most frequently in this research and the researchers has obtained certain insights through its use. In general, no interview should be made until a rapport has been established between the researcher and the interviewee. The researcher must also bear in mind that people are busy and the interviewing time should be kept as short as possible. Friendship with a grown-up is more easily established through friendship with his or her child. On arrival to the site, it is essential to find out who are key informants in the community. This could be the village head, his wife, the headmaster, the caretaker etc. Moreover, the site researcher must testify if the obtained data was biased through the use of triangulation by asking the person himself, by probing or by a second interview which usually yields better result than the first one.

Different interviewing techniques are required with interviewees in different age groups. Students are slow thinkers and tend to be shy even after they have got to know the

researcher. Thus other technique such as essay writing may be required as this would give them more time to think. However, after reading the essay, the researcher often has to probe further by interviews, using the information obtained in the essays (which often are unusable yet) or by asking more questions and asking the students to write down the answer again. Often this had to be carried out three times before the needed information was yielded. As soon as the answer was obtained, it has to be followed immediately by an in depth interview. This complex use of technique is required when the information needed were ideas, concepts or feeling, while factual information could be more easily collected. In the research, information had to be obtained from retarded students or those who failed the examination and to stay in the same form for more than one year as they are cases of interest. With this type of informants, the use of an interpreter through another students who did the interviewing for the researcher seems to work well.

With adults, the researchers must be careful about the language he or she uses. In sensitive matters which are critical such as the internal conflict within the community, debts, the villagers' attitude to the researcher etc, it would be better to ask a third person for instance, another researcher or someone else on the research team who understands the research design well to conduct the interview as the interviewee would feel less embarrassed to give out information. I have called this technique "**third person interview**" (Chantavanich 1980) and it has proved to be a highly effective technique.

During the harvest season, the site researcher should time the interview carefully as the villagers would be very busy and would cut short the interview. Moreover, it was found that the people tend to be more willing to give more information to the researcher director or consultant than to the researcher as they feel that the former were more important. One should also mention here that the sex of the interviewer could have an effect on the villager's decision as to which piece of information should or should not be given.

5. The duration of the fieldwork. This project had first been designed that the data collection on the site should last one year as this period would have been sufficient for an experience researcher well versed in data collection techniques and the design of the research. However, one needs not restrict oneself with the original design. Instead, the research's discretion is much more important than the original design. For instance, in this research, 18 months were needed for data collection due partly to insufficient experience among some site researchers. We also found that there was no need to treat the four communities in the same way for conformity. We have also decided that each researcher should give greater consideration to the activities so the priority was for him to stay and take part in his own local activities. The planned meeting in Bangkok were often postponed if they co-incided with an important local activity which might enable him to meet certain people and obtain important information or to establish rapport with some informants or which might interfere with certain role which has been assigned to him (i.e. missing classes when he is an assistant teacher).

Daily activities have to be planned in advance. Usually, it would be impossible for

the researcher to collect data, take notes, make a fieldwork recording as well as analyze and check its validity. The checking and analysing usually takes place at weekends. However, it is important that he did not leave the analysis too late as it was possible that certain features could not be later retrieved. In a sense, to be away from the sites and the people involved during the analysis helps to increase the objectivity and accuracy of the information obtained.

Some researchers rotated their stay in key informant's houses so that details information could be obtained from other members of the families. The woman researcher was of the opinion that a team of two researchers works better than one as information obtained, if proved to complement each other, could add extra confidence to the researchers. If a researcher is operating on his or her own, it is advisable to meet the other researcher in the nearby village every 3 days at least for consultations as well as for confidence boosting. They also could help each other by using the third person interview technique.

6. Coordination with the research director. In this particular type of research, a close co-ordination between the research director and the team is very important. The site researchers are the director's representatives and the director has to perceive everything through the eyes of the site researchers. It is worth recording here the remarks made by the site researchers that in the initial phase, a close guidance and contact with the director was needed frequently while in the later phase, they needed to work on their own to digest and systematize the data obtained. The site researchers made a request that for consultations, it was found useful to have all the site researchers at the meeting to discuss but individual consultation complementary to the joint consultation was also needed so that individual differences may be explored and concluded. Valuable lessons could be learned from the group meetings as these had help them in avoiding similar pitfalls or see how they could also solve similar problems that happened in their own sites. Moreover, they also gained a great deal by sharing or being aware of their colleague other hypotheses.

The researcher director also has to help to sort out, check and validate the data collected periodically. Often, we found that not enough data have been covered or their reliability remained doubtful. Periodical validation of data also help increase the efficiency of data collection as the data would be updated and set aside so the site researcher did not have to worry for both the data to be obtained and the old one to be validated. The director was also crucial in the setting up for mutual agreement of the hypothesis for each bunch of the information obtained as this would help establish mutual understanding among the team members. Sometimes, the site researchers have not included all dimensions in the analysis when he or she set the hypothesis or the director may have set up one without being aware of certain facts which would have been in conflict with the hypothesis. Thus it would be better for the team to form a hypothesis together. The director should be available all the time and regularly checks the site researchers' objectivity. The director's proximity to the site could also help in solving certain problems or making some decision on the research thus it is advisable for the research director to devote full time to the project with no other research work which may claim equal demand on his or her attention.

7. Recording the data and the use of ancillary equipment. Fieldwork notes are the crucial source of information for anthropologists. To prevent any forgetfulness and to help the researcher to sort out the ideas in his head, it is advisable for him to make recording of his findings nightly. Some researcher who are not used to fieldwork would write a diary and then scan what he had written to look for the relevant variables. A good note should record who did what, where, with whom, and how. One could also describe an event as it consists of a set of acts of behaviour and then trace the causal relation back to the agents of the acts especially in a case when the phenomenon under study was so complex that the researcher felt at a loss as to where to start as recommended by Burnett Hill (Burnett Hill 1980). If one goes back regularly to the notebooks for forming hypotheses and getting information to answer the research various questions, soon the site researchers would discover the adequacy (or inadequacy) of his note taking and how to improve on its methods and procedures. Once the data obtained is systematized, it is possible to store it in a computer for further analysis. Available software are **EUREKA**, **EURUP**, **ICE** (Illinois Central Editor) Text editor. This use of computer would reduce both the time and the labor involved in data collecting and analysing. However, it is not practical yet to go computerized in Thailand where we still have problems with the basic infra-structure in term of the language used, the ability to write programs for the analysis and co-ordination with the computer engineer is not easily obtainable yet.

In a village where there is no electricity, the site researcher has to use lamp to work at night and his lamp may be the only one that kept burning through most of the night. This could have cause curiosity as well as suspicion. The next morning when he started walking with his notebook, the villagers would want to read what he has in his hand. Some researchers solve the problem by letting them read whatever they want. Another researcher kept the notebook in a bag so the villagers did not see it. Thus clothes with large pockets or a big bag would be a useful asset. It is advisable also not to carry with one the old notes as it is heavy, open to more curiosity as well as running the risk of losing.

Other recording equipment are camera and tape recorder. Some researchers would also like to take movie or video-tape and it is crucial that he or she has learned how to operate them efficiently as no help is available in the village. These equipments could also have a double -edged effect. If used on inappropriate occasions, it could destroy all the trust that the researcher has taken so much pains to establish. On the other hand, if used appropriately, an indepth study of an event could be made. It was found that in most villagers in the rural area, this use of equipment draws much attention from the villagers. Some foreign researchers, like Jacquetta Hill and Nancy Eberhard would take photographs and use them for conversational topics so that one could learn about the villagers' world views (Jacquetta Hill, 1980, Nancy Eberhard, 1980) Other researchers like Robert Textor (Textor, 1979) used cassette tape and video recordings and this helped to make the interview concise. It was also possible to make a verbal analysis of the interviews. However, it seems that in an urban society, the people tend to become suspicious of the use of these equipments.

Conclusion

Methodology for qualitative researches are badly needed in Thailand at the moment and thus the author has recorded here a detailed description of the method and techniques used in the research from the initial phase of site researchers' orientation, selection of sites, the researchers' role and personality, establishing rapport with the local people, interviewing techniques, time tabling, co-ordination with research director, note taking, and use of equipments. It is hoped that this information would be useful for any one wishing to employ the qualitative research design in his work.

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