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AUTHOR Khemmani, Tisana; And Others
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ABSTRACT

To develop innovative, developmentally appropriate models of child rearing in Thailand, several studies examined Thai child-rearing practices, principles which should be used in early child rearing, and models and strategies which could be used in child rearing in this cultural setting. Six different studies were conducted, using a variety of methods, including documentation, surveys, ethnography, and continuing education. These studies indicated the following patterns of child rearing: (1) freedom with some restrictions; (2) control with some negligence; (3) implicit acceptance; (4) parental modeling; (5) natural learning through interaction and participation; (6) inconsistent parenting behavior which is dependent on mood; (7) verbal behavior without explanation of reasons and (8) shared responsibility in child rearing. These patterns were found to be inconsistent between home and school. Patterns which were consistent between home and school were: (1) authoritative practices; and (2) response to children's needs according to their maturity, age, and gender. Results also indicated the importance of dialect and local culture on the intellectual and socio-emotional development of children, parents, and child care workers, and their effect on "culturally appropriate" education programs that facilitate the transition from home to school. Two models were then developed--the Family Based Model and the Early Childhood Education Model, both of which proved only marginally successful. Derived from the Family Based model, a Family Life Education curriculum was developed for use in an educational satellite program intended to reach rural populations. (An appendix contains a synopsis of Thailand.) (JW)

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PRINCIPLES AND MODELS
OF
EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT
IN THAI CULTURAL WAYS:
SELECTED RESEARCH FINDINGS
RELATING TO
SOCIAL CONTEXT AND CHILD'S TRANSITION
FROM HOME TO SCHOOL

by

Tisana Khemmani

Boosbong Tantiwong

Sarinthorn Vidhayasirinun

Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

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Tisana Khemmani

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AUTHORS: Tisana Khemmani
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It is generally accepted that early childhood is the critical period in one's life. Appropriate child rearing during his early years is of utmost importance for normal and proper child development. Thailand is a country which has been well-known as "the land of smiles" and its people have been recognized and appreciated as "friendly, smiling, generous, and easygoing people." This famous Thai personality reveals the fact that there must be something unique in the Thai way of child rearing. Yet, there has not been any research studies that can give needed explanation. From most of the Thai studies relating to child development of child care, it was found that socio-cultural factors were often ignored, omitted, or of minor emphasis. Since Thailand is now undergoing a rapid development and change, it is time to give a real concern and take a serious look into the culture and find out its uniqueness before it gets lost in the globalized process. The aim of this study was to suggest some innovative models which are culturally appropriate for developing young children of Thailand.

Research Questions

To achieve the aforementioned aim, three major research questions were stated as follows:

1. What are the Thai ways of child rearing?

2. Based on the findings on the Thai way of Child rearing, what principles should be used for developing Thai children in their early years ?

3. What models and strategies should be used for developing Thai children in their early years ?

Three research studies (1985-1989) were conducted to answer the first question. Based on the data from a documentation study, a survey study, and an ethnographic study, ten patterns of child rearing typical to the Thai ways of living were identified. The researchers further proposed practical guidelines for each aspect of child development, that should be maintained or promoted, be corrected or improved, and that should be studied further.

To answer the second question, two more studies (1986-1992) were undertaken to explore concepts and beliefs basic to the Thai society and people. Finally four sets of background data on Buddhism, Thai culture, early childhood education, needs, problems, and trends of Thai society and children were analyzed, translated into principles, and integrated into a set of principles called " Principles of Early Child Development in Thai Cultural Ways ". The principles developed included both the universal principles and the Thai cultural-based principles.

To answer the third research question, the researchers proposed the Family-Based and the Center-Based Models of Early Childhood Development in Thai cultural Ways. The Family-Based Model was designed for parents whose children were under three years of age. The strategy was to stimulate the adults' desire to learn more about parenting by organizing a continuing education program in the villages. Thirty-seven lessons were designed for informal study groups run by community development workers or volunteer community leaders who were aided by instructional packages equipped with instructional materials especially designed for

villagers who still had literacy limitation. This informal education process was conducted continually for 8 months by local leaders within local environment.

The Center-Based Model was constructed to foster all aspects of child development through child attendants who were responsible for the operation of the village centers. The implementation strategy was to provide on-the-job training for child attendants to be able to organize learning experiences responding to the basic principles of early childhood development in Thai cultural ways. As well, the attendants were also trained to teach and work with parents, local child development committee and community.

From 1992-1993 models were experimented in four rural villages. These villages were typical to each of the four regions of Thailand ,i.e., Northern, Northeastern, Southern and Central. The experimentation of the Models was completed in about eight months and a follow-up study was carried out for one more year between 1993-1994.

1. Selected Findings and Implications for Early Childhood Development : Transition From Home to School.

There were many significant findings resulting from the Ethnographic Study of Thai Ways of Child Rearing Practices (1989) but only a few outstanding ones relating to the issue of the child's transition from home to school have been selected for discussion here.

Patterns of Child Rearing at Home and School : A Transition from Home to School.

In the attempt to answer the first research question, it was found that Thai child rearing practices in the child's home and at the child development center could be classified into 10 patterns. Eight patterns were found inconsistent while the other two were consistent.

Patterns of child rearing found inconsistent between home and school practices were as follows :

1) Giving freedom with some restrictions. In general, adults at home gave children the freedom to make their own decisions on personal matters and children were expected to help themselves. Adults controlled the children loosely only to ensure their safety. However, their freedom became lessened when they went to a child development center as they had to follow the schedule there.

2) Controlling with some negligence. At home, adults controlled the children's daily activities and always kept them in sight. However, control over children, especially when they were disobedient, was not consistent. Adults might sometimes ignore the child's behavior or become very strict depending on their feelings at that moment. When children entered the school, they experienced more consistent control.

3) Implicit acceptance. Adults accepted the child's behavior but did not show their acceptance explicitly. From infancy to age three, adults often expressed their love to the child through close physical gestures such as hugging and kissing. As the child grew, physical contact decreased and the adults' love and acceptance was expressed through speech and action. If the child behaved properly, adults would say nothing which implied that they accepted such behavior. On the contrary, if the child behaved improperly, adults would give a warning, a scolding or blame and instruct the child. However, children going to a child development center would receive more verbal acceptance for their appropriate behaviors.

4) Modeling. Children learned through modeling. They imitated adults' positive behaviors such as showing respects to the elders and monks or helping neighbors. Yet, they also imitated adults' negative behaviors such as scolding, quarreling, and telling a lie. At the center, the children also experienced both positive and negative behaviors, but emphasis was towards the positive actions.

5) Natural learning through interaction and participation. Children learned from their physical environment. Through interaction and participation in daily life activities, children's natural learning occurred with no formal pattern. On the contrary at the center, children were expected to listen and follow the teachers' instruction as well as followed the class schedule.

6) Inconsistent behavior. The adults' behavior was not consistent and depended on their good or bad mood at that time. The parents usually taught their children with emotion rather than telling them the reason why. At the center, the child experienced more consistent behavior.

7) Using verbal behavior without explaining reason. At home, adults told the children what to do. They commanded, forbid, warned, scared, threatened, scolded, and reinforced the children. However, reasons were rarely given. The children tended to react by keeping quiet or staying away from adults. At the center, the children received more verbal instruction, feedback, and more reasoning.

8) Shared responsibility in child rearing. Besides parents, relatives such as grandmothers, elder sister or brother, or sometimes even neighbors, also helped in child rearing. At the center, however, the children were mainly looked after by the child attendant.

Patterns of child rearing found consistent between home and school were as follows:

1) Authoritative rearing. At home, adults were authoritative both in speech and manner. When children's behavior was undesirable, adults would scold or punish them. Teachers or child attendants at the child development center were also authoritative and always expected the children to follow their command, which is general, the children did.

2) Responding to the children's needs according to their age, maturity and gender. Smaller children received more physical contact while the older ones received less but more verbal feedback. Girls were taught to be cautious in their manners while boys were taught to be tough and patient. At the center, child attendants also treated girls and boys differently.

From the aforementioned findings, one could easily see a gap in the child's transition from home to school. To facilitate the smooth transition, the child attendants need to be made aware of this gap. They should be trained to make a good bridge for children so that the change would not be so abrupt for them. A gradual change will facilitate the child's learning and enhance positive emotional and social development of the child.

2. Selected Findings and Implication: Influences of Social Context on Family and Child Development.

Based on the above findings, two models aimed at child development through family and child attendants were constructed and experimented between 1992-1993. From the follow-up study between 1993-1994, two selected issues relating to the influences of social context on child development will be discussed as follows:

2.1 Dialects and Local Cultures

In the implementation of the Center-Based Model of Early Childhood Education in Thai Cultural Ways, dialects and local cultures were found to be key factors in determining its cultural appropriateness and bringing forth notable insights into the child's transition from home to school.

In order to understand the influences of dialects and local cultures on Thai children's learning, background information on Thai society needed to be reviewed.

Thailand is relatively a homogenous country. She is certainly much more homogenous than Burma and Laos, the two neighboring societies. The alleged homogeneity of Thai society is an image purposefully promoted by Thai kings and national leaders in order to unify the various groups of the kingdom into a single nation. Concerning the ethno-linguistic aspect of the Thai collective identity, the languages spoken in Thailand are a mix of languages from the Tai language-family and other language family groups. About 83% of the Thai population speak one of the dialects belonging to this Tai language family. About 25% speak official or national Thai which was spoken by the prestigious social classes of the capital, Bangkok. (Wangsotorn, cited in Cohen, 1991) "The question whether these are separate languages or mere dialects is as much a political as linguistic one." (Cohen, 1991)

According to a nationalized cultural standard, the Thais seem to be united under a national Thai language through the educational system, official communication and mass media. Thai local cultures are also integrated under national celebration such as Thai New Year (Songkran), Reverences for the Monarchy, and Buddhist traditions. The national Thai language is used as a medium in all levels of education including the early childhood education level. The child attendants mainly use the national language to teach preschool children, thinking this better facilitates learning abilities and social standing. Education in Thailand, even in the rural and remote areas where rich and diverse dialects are spoken, holds nationalized cultural and language tradition in high regard.

One can say with pride that in the early stage of the nation's development, Thailand has been successful in achieving social integration through national language and culture. However, to have a balance of national unity and individual's pride of one's own heritage, it is now the time to reconsider its educational application for optimal results. A few points have been selected for a discussion hereafter.

a) cultural bias of standardized test

With the researchers' presumption that Thais were united culturally and linguistically, a Thai standardized test was administered to evaluate the learning abilities of the project children. Through the testing process, cultural bias was recognized. As Mills and Mills (1993) have found, a standardized test cannot be just literally translated from one language to another. What language carries is a whole knowledge and value system which embody a cultural identity. It was also found from the research experimentation that social context played an important role in the assessment of child development. Not only the difference of the two languages (the national language and local dialects), but social and physical environment were also key factors in decreasing the reliability and validity of such testing. For example, a child who was unable to score well in a standardized physical test was later observed in his own environment climbing a rope and jumping over a small furrow, thus giving evidence that standardized testing was not a fair assessment for children in different context. Another example was observed when a child who scored low in a visual discrimination test could though discriminate the different shades of color of the bamboo shoots in the woods. The results were devastating and frustrating, and the researchers became more and more convinced of the need for an alternative approach to standardized testing.

b) Intellectual and social-emotional development of rural children

As a way of monitoring children's learning, testing inspired the researchers to future investigate the children's developmental process in their socio-ecological context. Natural environment and cultural ways of life were found to be major resources which develop and define dialect in any community. The children were better able to relate to their environment, culture, self and others through the use of their own dialect. It is important for the children to be exposed to, and allowed

to use their familiar language in a wide variety of ways, especially in their early years when their thinking and language abilities are at a vital state of development. Because language and intellectual development are so interrelated, when young children hear their home language spoken in familiar settings as well as in the classroom, they are exposed to more words, more complex sentences and thoughts not recognizable in the national Thai language.

This broad range of linguistic and intellectual experiences in natural situation and in their home languages enriches development of both communication and intellectual functioning in rural preschools. Once they are denied to think and express in their own dialect, their intellectual growth may become blocked. On the contrary, a firm foundation in their dialect will support and enable the children to learn the national language more readily and with greater ease.

Dialect has also proved relevant to the pride of the community and hence to the adults' and children's social-emotional development. As outside influences of mass media using the national Thai language and representing a successful and modern way of life penetrates the rural community through televisions, printed materials and consumer products, adults and therefore children grow to be embarrassed and ashamed of their own dialect and culture. In the process of denying one's dialect and culture, the sense of self worth and esteem were shaken by confusion and negativity, which can lead to feelings of complacency and futility. Consequently, the adults' inadequate and inferior feeling, may affect their children's perception of themselves.

There is a tremendous need to recognize and support the rich linguistic and cultural resources of the native villagers. As the researchers became more sensitive to the villagers' unique ways of living, a greater interest, admiration and respect for them were formed. The villagers sensed this regard and began to appreciate in themselves, their own worth, wisdom and knowledge. Their sense of

pride in turn motivated their interest and involvement in such areas as planning, running and supporting their own child development centers. As the adult community began to feel more comfortable with themselves, they were better able to instill in their children the same sense of worth, pride and self-esteem. The children then became more confident, receptive and comfortable at school, thus enabling their intellectual and social-emotional skills to be further developed.

Implication

In order to provide a 'culturally-appropriate' education program which facilitates children's transition from home to school, it is important to recognize the significance of dialect and local culture in the intellectual and socio-emotional development of children, parents, child attendants, and adult members of the community. There is a need to reconceptualize instructional principles provided for the rural children and minorities in their early years in schools. Their home languages as well as local cultures have to be respected and taken into consideration. Educators, child attendants and preschool teachers must be made aware of the significance of the child's home culture and language and the possible consequences of prohibiting the child's expression in his own dialect.

The educators need to revise early childhood curriculum to include the bilingual and multicultural concepts and support teachers to optimize the child's learning. Without such recognition, the child's culturally-appropriate development would be impossible.

Apart from curriculum, assessment is another area influenced by dialects and local cultures. As many child service projects are nationally and internationally funded, norm-referenced evaluation is a common approach to monitor the children's developmental progress. Standardized tests with national norms and translated standardized tests are normally used to evaluate the projects' 'output'. The findings of this study strongly recommend that there should be an attempt to identify behaviors naturally displayed in the children's own context. Without such attempt to

bring cultural, social and environmental contexts into the content and method of testing, it is unlikely for a child to be validly and reliably assessed.

To be able to bring the bilingual and multicultural concept into practice, there is a need to understand more about children and teachers with dialects and local cultures. Research implication on this issue was done by the research assistants who were thus inspired to do their Master's theses on teaching and learning of bilingual and multicultural children, teacher's use of local culture in preschool classrooms, and construction of local curriculum in different parts of Thailand. Examples of those theses are : A Study of Teacher's Methods of Promoting Thai Language to Preschool Khmer Children, A Study of Instructional Problems Caused by Language Obstacles Between Teachers and Hilltribe Karen Preschoolers, The Development of Integrated Instructional Package for Preschool Children in Rural Area : A Case Study of Buffalo Market Village.

The knowledge gained from the theses supports teachers in optimizing bilingual and multicultural children's learning thus making it possible for rural children to have culturally - appropriate development.

2.2 Social Mobilizing Initiatives for Family and Child Development

Meeting the learning needs of all families is obviously a long-term undertaking. Experiences involving the participation of families, local communities, business, nongovernmental and governmental organizations improve the quality of education as well as help to sustain the actions. Research finding and the lessons learned from the follow-up of the Model's small-scale innovation leads to realistic exploration of further initiatives.

a) Sustainability of the Models : weak local management and external factors

The experimentation of the Family-Based Model was successful in stimulating the participating adults' desire to learn more about parenting. The parent-

child interaction became more reasonable and consistent as parents were more sensitive to their positive and negative influence on their children's development. Unfortunately, their nutritional, health and hygiene habits which directly related to their child rearing did not show notable improvement. Their educational opportunity should continue to be translated into meaningful development.

The Early Childhood Education Model was tried out in child care centers in the same villages as the Family-Based Model. The community development workers, the child development committee and child attendants were responsible for the financial and managerial operation of the village centers.

Of the four sites wherein we implemented our Model, only one site was unable to sustain the Model's requirement. At the end of the first year (1993), we followed-up on the three remaining sites. Six months later, one outstanding site closed down due to the national expansion of preschool level in local schools under the Ministry of Education. The enrollment in the community child care center dropped remarkably and the child attendant, a parent from the community, had to seek more reliable employment elsewhere. Such an incident as this reflected what happened to other centers in terms of outside factors and weak management of the centers.

The remaining two sites in this project faced similar problems. But, fortunately both sites, one in the North and one in the Northeast had enough preschool children to survive financially. In addition, to the financial survival, the Northern site had a subdistrict health care worker whose exhaustive study into the number of malnourished at risk children led to educating the child attendant in his target group. The site in the Northeast had added financial assistance from an NGO. This NGO also supported the milk program and therefore required systematic evaluation of the children's development.

It can be seen that many factors contribute to the survival and quality of the rural child care service. Conflict in educational arrangement was observed. With the average education of Thai adults at only 5 years, expectation of poor, uneducated villagers to take responsibility for both quality and survival of the centers is unrealistic. Most local management of the village child care centers could not be fairly appraised. We must acknowledge that the same child care leaders are also parents whom we were trying to teach and that most of their time has been and will continue to be spent on basic economic survival. Therefore, it is not certain whether villagers will be able to maintain support for their centers. More skill in management is needed to serve new changes.

Implication

With the limitation of the rural resources, reliance on volunteer child care leaders is unrealistic and only temporary. In order to provide dependable access to further education and positive change in adults' habits and behaviors on child rearing, other more sustainable strategies must be used. The research team has been exploring possible multisectoral innovations and plans of action which integrate development efforts by expanding existing-collaborations and forging new partnerships. Nongovernmental and governmental organizations, the media and business sectors are partners who play their parts in implementing the Models. Partnerships at the community, subnational, national and international levels are expected to utilize resources more effectively and mobilize additional financial and human resources where necessary.

a) Application of the Family-Based Model to the educational satellite programs.

Based on the Family-Based Model, a Family Life Education curriculum has been developed for out-of-school elementary and secondary equivalent programs. In response to the national policy on Education for All, the Department of Nonformal Education, Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Thaicom Foundation will be

using educational satellite programs to provide distance education for youth and adults with little or no access to basic learning opportunities, especially, the underprivileged rural. Each year, approximately 3 million people enroll in various non-formal education programs. The research team has provided consultations on the content and instructional methods of the Family Life Education. The Nonformal Educational is responsible for the teaching and learning processes that will reach the students. The Thaicom Foundation provides communication technology and satellite to air the programs. At present, the programs can be received by 56 reception locations in the rural areas and through a cable television network in 6 major cities. The programs aim at increasing awareness of family members' significant roles and educate the students of family life skills necessary to maintain family cohesiveness. With this partnership, a new far reaching and long lasting educational strategy will become accessible. The potential of which is quite promising in the sense that the partnership has brought about institutional change which serves the public and will yield officially accepted outcomes.

Small and large institutions wishing to upgrade their staff can use the normal service of the programs or implement the programs on their own. For example, the Department of Community Development, as a small institution, prefers to send their child care givers to attend the normal programs, whereas the military as a large institution with modern information media technologies will be encouraged to implement the programs for their draftees.

The educational satellite program is an attempt to design and manage learning needs of Thai population. The innovation requires low and middle level management based in existing institutions, i.e., the Department of Nonformal Education and a newly established organization, i.e., The Thaicom Foundation. This innovation will enhance the national capacities in educating the Thai family.

b) Dissemination of principles and models to private sectors for personnel development.

The Center-Based Model has been used by the Northeastern Nongovernmental Organization Coordinating Committee, an organization of 20 nationally and internationally funded NGOs. These NGOs operate child care centers in the Northeastern rural communities and support child care services in the neighbouring countries such as Laos and Cambodia. Examples of these NGOs with inter-country projects are Save the Children Fund (Japan, U.K., U.S.) Redd Barna, Ecole Sans Frontieres. Their personnel usually work with the Thais and refugees displaced by war, political unrest and other calamities, thus often suffer from low morale.

The research team provided the NGOs with participatory training for their supervisors and child care givers. Adapting the Center-Based Model to their local context, the trainees were encouraged to exercise their personal capacities, local wisdom, as well as professional and cultural esteem. With this partnership, the Model has been shared by Thailand's neighboring countries as language and cultural similarities extend beyond political boundaries.

Besides the implementation of the Center-Based model by the NGOs the underlying principles of both Models will also be utilized by the business sector. The National Convention Center (N.C.C.), a corporation of 8 companies with over 1,000 employees, will be using the four sets of background data on Buddhism, Thai Culture, Family and Child Education, and needs, problems and trends of Thai society as part of the principles of their staff development program. By its line of work, the NCC offers services for large scale national and international conferences and activities, therefore running its own bank, hotel, restaurant, public relation facilities, etc. To better compete in the global market, the corporation has recognized the need to draw upon the desirable characteristics, such as friendliness, politeness, gratefulness, inherent in

the Thai people as well as to improve their undesirable characteristics to develop more efficient and responsible staffs. The corporation shares the researchers' view that harmony among family members will result in more capable, and happy employers, and sees the relevance of the researchers' experience of educating rural villagers as the majority of their employees are the migrating population with family members still residing in the rural regions. For an example, some NCC employees return to the family rice field during harvesting. These staffs members will pass along knowledge and managerial skills acquired from the staff development program to their families and will exercise their sense of belonging and responsibility which will in turn benefit both the corporation and the rural community.

In sum, the implication of the Models demonstrated many joint activities among local and subnational groups that support national and even international plans for children and family education. Several existing mechanisms have been utilized to create new networks in this area. The research team's collaboration with these networks can be summarized as follows : consultation on production of education programs for distance education ; training of education personnel; and construction of employee development program within business community .

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Appendix

A Synopsis of Thailand

Location, Geography and Climate

Thailand, the former Siam, is situated in mainland South East Asia. Her neighbors are Burma to the North and West, the Kingdom of Laos to the Northeast, Cambodia to the East and Malaysia on the southern tip. Covering an area of 513,115 square kilometers, the country is roughly the same size as France or Indiana State. Central Thailand is a vast fertile plain, the North is mountaineous, the Northeast is semi-arid and the South is tropical. The climate is tropical with an average temperature of 29.5 °C (85°F), the high being 38 °C (100°F) in April and the low being 21 °C (78°F) in January.

Economy

Traditionally, Thailand's economy was based on agriculture. It is only since the 1960's that Thailand has diversified the agricultural base towards industrialization, manufacturing and tourism, which have resulted in urban migration. With the encroachment of industrialization and manufacturing as well as mass communication many rural villages have been abandoned and traditional ways of life are changing rapidly. In 1993, the majority of the population lived in rural surrounding, but in 1995, the majority have migrated to the urban areas.

Culture

On the surface, Thailand is united culturally, religiously and linguistically. But, beneath this surface rich cultural diversity amongst the many ethnic groups which make Thailand a nation. The united image has been purposely promoted for the last 100 years by national leaders in order to merge the various ethnic groups of the kingdom into a single nation. Ninety-four percent of Thai people practice

Theravada Buddhism, 6% muslim, with a small portion of Christians, Hindus and Sikhs. Together with the Monarchy, Buddhism has had a lasting effect in unifying the kingdom of Thailand. Linguistically, 83% of Thais speak one of the Tai language family, but only 25% speak national Thai, or the language of the central region of Thailand. National Thai is taught in schools throughout the country, but there are regions where the ethnic-linguistics are so diverse that communicative intelligibility becomes very difficult. Through the various influences of dialects, religions and geographical terrain, it becomes clear that in Thailand there are some very distinctive ethno-cultural subcultures, and that Thailand is unified not exclusively as a homogenous society but is also interwoven by distinctive ethno-cultural subcultures.

Population

The population of Thailand is 63,432,000 with 6,237,000 under the age of 6. The annual number of births are 1,157,000 with 38,000 deaths under the age of 5. Approximately 75% of the population live in the urban sectors. The growing number of migrant workers providing the cheap labor has alleviated some of the economic hardships at home, but this entrance into the national labor has led to structural dependency of the central region.

Government

Thailand is ruled by an elected civilian coalition government. There is a strong centralization which makes and carries out the national policies for all 76 provinces in Thailand. Each province has limited authority in initiating policies and projects within their own region. Thus, in running their own communities or welfare projects, local administrators usually adhere to the national policy consensus which tends to put less consideration on the subnational impact.

Education

Compulsory education begins from the age of 7 to 14 . The Thai government provides free education in terms of tuition until the secondary level. Unfortunately, due to many hardships, many children are unable to complete their basic education or just satisfy the attendance requirement but fail to acquire the essential knowledge or skills.

Public spending on education is 36% of the GNP or 19.4% of the government budget.

The government agencies responsible for child care and education services are the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Interior affairs and the Ministry of Defense. Nongovernmental organizations are also responsible for similar services. Fifty-five percent or 3,511,056 children under the age of 5 receive educational service.